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A KEY

TO THE

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.



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OR

## A KEY

TO THE

### CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY

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## PREFACE.

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ANY ONE may see at a glance that your volume contains a mass of materials, and so evinces considerable industry ; but may it not be asked, Is it *operæ pretium*? Has not the same ground been traversed often before by other and those able writers?

I must admit that the work has not at first sight the air of novelty, but examine it closely and you will find that it possesses some peculiar characteristics. Almost all chronologers have applied themselves to the discussion of particular questions, and have made their arguments bear upon these isolated points, without reflecting that such a process must be very fallacious. To ascertain the precise date of any event the antecedent and subsequent history must be placed in juxtaposition with it. In chronology, as in other sciences, a single fact, taken by itself and left to stand separate from what precedes and follows, will be often misplaced. To arrive at the truth you must construct a series of continuous tables, and then you may hope to ascertain correctly the relative positions *inter se* of the several occurrences.

But has not this been done by Fynes Clinton in the *Fasti Hellenici* and *Fasti Romani*, which comprise the period from B.C. 70 to A.D. 70?

No. Fynes Clinton has directed his principal attention to the heathen world, and from the vast extent of the period embraced within his labours, he has necessarily been obliged to omit matters of detail ; whereas, in these pages, the heathen world has been thrown into the background, and the Jewish and Christian history brought prominently forward. I have also not only adverted to the leading dates, but endeavoured, though only in skeleton, to produce a connected narrative. By turning, for instance, to the paragraphs which are referred to by numbers, the fortunes of countries and the succession of princes may be readily followed.



Your object, then, is to illustrate more particularly sacred chronology, a province which belongs more properly to the divine? The wearer of the surplice is necessarily from his office familiar with the early history of Christianity; but what has the long-robe to do with the first footsteps of the Church?

My principal aim is to impart knowledge for the purpose of promoting religion; and there is this advantage on the side of the layman, that while the churchman is regarded as a partisan, and is, therefore, supposed to write with a bias, the layman is at least free from any suspicion of that kind, and thus his testimony carries with it the greater weight. A juriconsult, too, may plead another justification, viz. that although he has less leisure for the study of theological questions, he approaches them with a more disciplined mind. From day to day, and from year to year, he is compelled, in the exercise of his professional calling, to minutely scrutinise contradictory evidence for the purpose of striking the balance truly. His only hope of success in life is by bringing a correct judgment to bear upon discordant facts, and so conduct his client to a sound and practical conclusion.

Admitting your professional occupation not to incapacitate you for these pursuits, let me ask, Whether you have brought forward any new lights, whether errors have been corrected, whether the sphere of chronological knowledge is likely to be enlarged?

I can only answer that new and original views have been advanced, and the grounds on which they rest have been fully and fairly stated; and where there is collision of opinion the cause of truth can scarcely fail to be promoted. Besides, whether the author's deductions can be maintained or not, the student will here find the materials for inquiry ready at hand, and may judge for himself. If he do not approve the edifice erected, let him demolish it, and use the common data for constructing another in better architectural taste.

This may be all very well if the subject were of sufficient importance to command public attention; but, to strike at the root of the matter, what can it signify whether the birth of Christ was a few years earlier or later than the commonly received date? whether He began His ministry in A. D. 26 or A. D. 29? or what was the exact year of the Crucifixion?



Here I think you go too far. If this reasoning were to be applied to history generally, we should soon be involved in a cloud that would grow into darkness itself. If history be valuable at all, the more certain and distinct are its features, the better its purposes will be answered. Chronology in history is what perspective is in painting, without it there would be a confusion of images which would rather perplex than edify.

These remarks are just enough in the abstract, but how do you apply them to the present case? Is there no *direct* and *immediate* benefit to be expected from your labours?

The evidences of Christianity are closely interwoven with the chronology of the times when our Lord and the Apostles lived. If, for instance, in prosecuting a minute inquiry into the events which immediately preceded and followed the introduction of Christianity, I had found the narrative of the New Testament inconsistent and at variance with heathen testimony, I might have been led to suspect that the wild speculations recently broached by infidel writers were not without a semblance of reason; but when the more closely I sift the records of that period, the more, at every step, I find the sacred penmen confirmed in their most casual and passing allusions to contemporary personages and ancient customs, I necessarily feel that my creed rests on no insecure foundation—that it is not ‘the cunningly devised fable’ of an after age, but is part and parcel of actual history. If such be the result to myself, may I not anticipate that the reader who accompanies me may anchor his bark in the same peaceful haven? I believe that many who indulge in scepticism do it, not from conviction, but from never having seriously addressed their attention to an inquiry into the truth.

But for these results to follow the book must be read, and for the book to be read it must be interesting, and can these pages lay claim to such merit?

Undoubtedly the slipshod reader of novels and other similar literature, will seek in vain for pleasure or pastime in this volume; but there are others whose minds are braced up and kept well strung, who can ramble to their satisfaction wherever they can gather fruit; besides, there are literary productions which, unattractive in themselves, are useful as works of

reference, not intended to be read as a whole, but to be consulted from time to time as opportunity offers. Who, in a Christian country, does not read the New Testament? and who that reads it would not desire to understand the political state of the provinces in which the transactions occurred, and catch glimpses of the characters of the several personages that appear upon the scene? in short, to have a general panoramic view of the whole horizon of so momentous a period? When we read in the Acts of the Apostles that Herod, after slaying James the brother of John with the sword, and putting Peter in prison, went down to Cæsarea, and there, arrayed in royal apparel, harangued the Tyrians and Sidonians in the theatre, and then, amidst their shouts that he was a god, was arrested by the hand of death, does it not gratify a natural curiosity to discover, from a careful comparison of dates, that this Herod is by Josephus called Agrippa, and that the reason of his visit to Cæsarea was the celebration of the safe return of Claudius Cæsar—from what country?—from our own island of Great Britain, then, for the first time, brought under the Roman yoke by the capture of Camulodunum, or Colchester? When, again, we read that St. Paul, at Corinth, joined himself to his fellow-countryman and fellow tent-maker, Aquila, who had just arrived from Italy, ‘because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome,’ is it not a pleasure, or at least a satisfaction, to learn that while St. Paul was on the road from Macedonia to Corinth an insurrection broke out in Judæa, and that the arrival of St. Paul at Corinth was just after an edict, issued by the timorous Claudius from alarm at the rebellion, for the expulsion of all Jews from Rome? And numerous other instances might be adduced in which, by following the thread of sacred chronology in conjunction with profane history, we are enabled to detect curious coincidences, and throw a halo of light around occurrences which would otherwise be wrapped in mysterious obscurity. The divine, in particular, whose duty it is to expound the Scriptures by the aid of contemporary history, and to reproduce, as far as possible, the life of our Lord and the Apostles for the edification of his flock, or the defence of the faith against the scoffs of unbelievers, can here at once command a clear outline of the whole subject, and at the same time, by referring to the original authorities, can fill up the framework by interweaving such further particulars as the nature of his inquiry may call for. But, even supposing that few will personally peruse the work, it does not follow that they will derive no benefit from it. Many drink



who have not drawn from the spring themselves; and so, many may have information imparted to them who know nothing of the source from which it is derived. The writer who produces a fascinating history must have the ground prepared for him; he must have ready at hand geographical maps of the countries, and chronological tables of the times. The geographer and chronologer therefore, though their labours do not appear, lay the strong underground foundations upon which the superstructure is afterwards raised. The historian takes the dry bones and clothes them with flesh, and invests them with form and beauty. The geographer and chronologer may attract little notice and attain little panegyric, but the office is indispensable, and is perhaps the more praiseworthy, as less conspicuous in the eyes of the world and as gathering fewer laurels.

But a work on chronology, if intended as the foundation of some imposing fabric by the hand of the accomplished master-builder, ought to be remarkable for its accuracy; but you confess to many sins both of commission and omission, and probably there remain many others which the partial eye of the author has failed to detect.

I am far from thinking that the work can claim perfection, for

*Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille est,  
Qui minimis urgetur.*

But the difficulties with which the author has to struggle, and the vantage-ground on which the reader stands must be taken into consideration. The author often writes, as in the present instance, at distant intervals and as opportunity offers. There is no continuous woof from beginning to end, but piece is added to piece, and patch to patch, as leisure allows or new materials for information present themselves. The reader, on the other hand, free from the confusion created by a scarcely legible manuscript and repeated revision of the work in a disjointed form, looks at the subject through a clear atmosphere, takes the whole in at one comprehensive view, is able to compare with readiness the distant parts, and so to detect the least want of symmetrical consistency. Thus faults, that escaped observation in manuscript, are now, from the clearness of the type, distinctly visible, and blemishes make their appearance which had before been hid beneath the haze in which the writer was enveloped.

Let me ask, in conclusion, whether you had any sufficient reason for placing the *commencement* of the tables in B.C. 70? Why they should *close* in A.D. 70, as the *terminus ad quem*, is obvious enough, as the Jewish polity then ended by the final capture of Jerusalem; but apparently there was no great event in B.C. 70 which could equally justify the selection of that year as the *terminus a quo*.

I am free to confess that there is some ground for the remark, and the only explanation I can offer is, that it was found impossible to determine some of the most important dates without unravelling the previous history for a lengthened period. Thus, the date of the death of Herod involved a knowledge of his earlier career, and this again connected itself with the rise of the Roman power in the East. The intervention of the Romans with the affairs of Judæa under Pompey in B.C. 65, arose from the disputes between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus as to the high-priesthood, that is, the sovereignty of Judæa; and the contest between the two brothers began on the accession of Hyrcanus on the death of his mother Alexandra in B.C. 69. For the sake of uniformity therefore, and for better stamping the first as well as the last year of the Tables upon the memory, another, the preceding year, was taken into account, and thus B.C. 70 was made the starting-point, as A.D. 70 was made the goal.



# CONTENTS.



	PAGE
DISSERTATION ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT . . . . .	ix
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES FROM B.C. 70 TO A.D. 70 . . . . .	1
APPENDIX . . . . .	363
JEWISH YEAR . . . . .	363
SYRO-MACEDONIAN YEAR . . . . .	364
ATTIC YEAR . . . . .	364
ROMAN CALENDAR . . . . .	364
PARALLEL YEARS . . . . .	369
TABLE OF ECLIPSES . . . . .	371
CENOTAPHIUM PISANUM . . . . .	376
MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM . . . . .	377
MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM GRÆCE . . . . .	382
FASTI CAPITOLINI . . . . .	383
STEMMA CÆSARUM . . . . .	386
FAMILY OF THE HERODS . . . . .	387
INDEX . . . . .	389
ERRATA AND ADDENDA . . . . .	431





DISSERTATION  
ON THE  
CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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CHAPTER I.

DATE OF THE DEATH OF HEROD.

It is singular that the Christian Era, by which the computation of time amongst civilised nations is now regulated, should have for its basis a date which is confessedly erroneous; and it is little less singular that all the learning of the most enlightened ages has hitherto been unable to determine with precision what is the exact amount of the mistake. The year A.D. 1, which purports to commence from the birth of Christ, was fixed upon by Dionysius Exiguus, a monk of the sixth century; and as he flourished in the dark ages, it is not surprising that he should have failed in solving satisfactorily a perplexed and difficult problem. Some think that the miscalculation was of one year only, while others place the Nativity so far back as B.C. 8; and every year between these two points has had its advocates. A few writers in their eccentric flights have ventured beyond even these extremes, and have hazarded hypotheses which it would be idle to pursue. That the present discussion should clear up a mystery which has hitherto baffled the research of the most accomplished chronologers, cannot be anticipated; but as knowledge is continually advancing, it may be useful to carry the landmarks forward, and draw distinctly the boundary line of our present information.

One fact is clear beyond all question, viz. that our Lord was born when Herod, king of Judea, was still living. The embassy of the wise men of the East to Herod, and the subsequent massacre by him of the Innocents at Bethlehem, must instantly recur to every one's recollection. We shall therefore break ground by the inquiry (which in itself is of some nicety)—What was the year of Herod's death?

Josephus, besides other circumstances of less note, furnishes us with two distinct and independent tests for discovery of this year. In the first place, he tells us that shortly—i.e. a few days or weeks—before the death of Herod occurred an eclipse of the moon at Jerusalem at *night*;<sup>a</sup> and, secondly, that about Midsummer of the same year,<sup>b</sup> Archelaus, a candidate for the kingdom of Judæa, pleaded his cause before Augustus at Rome, when Caius, the grandson and adopted son of Augustus, was present.<sup>c</sup>

1. First, then, was the death of Herod in B.C. 1? Assuredly not, for there was neither an eclipse of the moon at Jerusalem during that year, nor was Caius at Rome,

<sup>a</sup> Καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλιπεν. Ant., xvii. 6, 4. See B.C. 4, No. 905.

<sup>b</sup> See B.C. 4, No. 943.

<sup>c</sup> Ant., xvii. 9, 5. See B.C. 4, No. 943.

for he had sailed from Italy toward the close of the preceding year, or, at the latest, in the spring of B. C. 1,<sup>d</sup> and was now occupied somewhere in the East, from which he never returned.

2. Can the death of Herod be referred to the year B. C. 2? We may admit that Caius was at this time present in Rome; but then there was no eclipse of the moon that year at Jerusalem *at night*, though one occurred at Jerusalem *in the daytime*, viz. on 20th January, at 2h. 27m. p. m.<sup>e</sup> We must also reject this year on another account. Josephus states that Archelaus reigned ten years,<sup>f</sup> and we learn from Dion Cassius that he was deposed in A. D. 6,<sup>g</sup> which is confirmed incidentally by the statement of Josephus that the census consequent on the banishment of Archelaus was completed in the 37th year of the Actian era, i. e. some time between 2nd September, A. D. 6, and 2nd September, A. D. 7.<sup>h</sup> Archelaus, then, could not have begun to reign, on the demise of his father so late as B. C. 2, and *à fortiori* not so late as B. C. 1; for on the former supposition Archelaus in A. D. 6 would have reigned only eight years, and on the latter only seven. It may also be noticed that about six months after the death of Herod, his son Herod Philip, who had followed Archelaus to Rome, was appointed by Augustus tetrarch of Trachonitis, and then returned to Judæa, and then, after enlarging and improving the village of Bethsaida, called it Julias, in honour of Julia, the *daughter* of Augustus.<sup>i</sup> But Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was disgraced and banished soon after Midsummer B. C. 2; and if so, had Herod died in the spring of that year, there would not have been time for Herod Philip to have sailed to Rome and to have disputed with his brothers before Augustus, and then to have returned to Syria and beautified and re-named the city—and all this before the disgrace of Julia in the autumn of B. C. 2.

3. Can we assign the death of Herod to the year B. C. 3? The objections to this, again, are insuperable; for during this year there was no eclipse of the moon at all at Jerusalem; and further, if Archelaus succeeded Herod in B. C. 3, he could not be said to have reigned ten years on his dethronement in A. D. 6. The latter argument is met by those who advocate the year B. C. 3 by the counter statement that Josephus, in the 'Wars,' speaks of Archelaus as banished not in his tenth but in his ninth year.<sup>j</sup> This, no doubt, is so; but the 'Wars' was Josephus's earliest production, and when he had not made himself so perfectly master of the previous history. In the subsequent and more accurate work of the 'Antiquities,'<sup>k</sup> and in the life of himself,<sup>l</sup> written at a later period still, he computes the reign of Archelaus at ten years; and if so, Archelaus could not have begun to reign in B. C. 3, if, as Dion asserts, and as is confirmed by the testimony of Josephus himself, he was deposed in A. D. 6. If Josephus do not contradict himself, the nine years must mean nine *complete* years; and the ten years must mean ten *current* years. In neither case could Herod have died in B. C. 3, as Herod would thus have reigned only eight complete and nine current years.

Coins also of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, another son of Herod, have been found, with the stamp on some of the forty-third year of his reign, and on others of his forty-fourth year.<sup>m</sup> The genuineness of the former is not to be questioned, and

<sup>d</sup> See B. C. 2, No. 962.

<sup>e</sup> See Table of Eclipses.

<sup>f</sup> Δεκάτω δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς, &c. Ant., xvii. 13, 2. Βασιλευόντος Ἀρχελάου τὸ δεκάτων. Vit., s. 1. See A. D. 6, No. 1011.

<sup>g</sup> Dion, lv. 27. See A. D. 6, No. 1011.

<sup>h</sup> Ant., xviii. 2, 1. See A. D. 7, No. 1021.

<sup>i</sup> Jos. Ant., xviii. 2, 1; and see B. C. 4, No. 953.

<sup>j</sup> Ἐρεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνάτω. Bell., ii. 7, 3.

<sup>k</sup> xvii. 13, 2.

<sup>l</sup> Vit., s. 1.

<sup>m</sup> See A. D. 39, Nos. 1585, 1586; A. D. 40, No. 1610.



there appears no sufficient ground for impeaching the genuineness of the latter. Now Antipas was certainly deposed between 1st April and 31st August A.D. 40,<sup>n</sup> and if so, he could not at that time have reached his forty-fourth year, on the assumption that his reign commenced on the death of Herod in B.C. 3. *A fortiori* he could not have begun to reign in B.C. 2; and *à fortiori* still in B.C. 1.

4. We come next to the year B.C. 4; and several arguments derived from independent sources converge to the conclusion that the death of Herod must be assigned to this, and cannot be referred to any later year.

(a) An eclipse of the moon did actually occur at Jerusalem this year, on the night of 12–13th March, from 1h. 48m. a.m. to 4h. 12m. a.m.;<sup>o</sup> and if we examine the events which are related by Josephus as happening between this eclipse on 12th March and the following Passover on 10th April (just before which Passover Herod died), we shall find that they exactly fill up, without exceeding or even over-crowding, the interval between these two *termini*. Indeed, the very adaptation of the intermediate occurrences during this limited space furnishes an argument in itself for placing the death of Herod in B.C. 4. This will appear from the following table, in which every minute circumstance is set down, that the fullest weight may be given to the objection insisted on by some (but who cannot have sufficiently examined Josephus for this purpose), that the facts narrated cannot all be compressed into the interval between the eclipse on 12th March and the Passover on 10th April B.C. 4.<sup>p</sup>

B.C. 4.

March 12. The Rabbins are burnt alive at the stake by Herod at Jericho. Ant., xvii. 6, 4.

12–13. An eclipse of the moon the same night. *Ib.*

14. Herod's disorder increases, and by the advice of his physicians he crosses from Jericho to Callirrhoe, on the eastern coast of the Dead Sea, where he tries the warm baths. Ant., xvii. 6, 5; Bell., i. 33, 5.

19. He is plunged into a vessel of oil, and is almost killed by it. *Ib.*

20. He despairs of life in consequence, and distributes a donation to the army, and returns to Jericho and summons thither the chief men of Judæa, who, as they arrive, are imprisoned in the Hippodrome. Ant., xvii. 6, 5; Bell., i. 33, 5 and 6.

27. Letters come from Rome, and Herod revives a little. Ant., xvii. 7, 1; Bell., i. 33, 7.

28. He relapses, and makes an attempt upon his own life; and Antipater, on hearing the outcry in consequence, tries to bribe his gaoler, as if Herod were dead, to release him; but Herod is informed of it, and instantly orders the execution of Antipater. Ant., xvii. 7, 1; Bell., i. 33, 7.

April 1. Death of Herod on the fifth day inclusive from that of Antipater. The prisoners in the Hippodrome are immediately released, and then, but on the same day, the death of Herod is publicly announced. Ant., xvii. 8, 1; Bell., i. 33, 8.

8. Herod is buried at Herodium,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Jerusalem, and the mourning of seven days from the death of Herod ends. Ant., xvii. 8, 3; Bell., ii. 1, 1.

<sup>n</sup> See A.D. 40, No. 1592.

<sup>o</sup> See B.C. 4, No. 905.

<sup>p</sup> See B.C. 4, Nos. 905–924.

B. C. 4.

April 9. At the close of the mourning Archelaus offers sacrifices in the Temple, and the mourning for the Rabbins begins the same evening. Ant., xvii. 8, 4; Bell., ii. 1, 1.

10. A disturbance in the city by the friends of the Rabbins, when Archelaus sends an officer to appease them by soft words, but he is pelted; and then others are sent, with no better success; and then a band of soldiers; and then the whole army, when 3000 of the people are slain; and at this time the sacrifices at the Passover were proceeding. Ant., xvii. 9, 2 & 3; Bell., ii. 1, 2 & 3.

In this table, different persons may perhaps entertain different opinions as to the exact time to be allowed for each particular event; but the reader cannot fail to see that the occurrences, upon the whole, adapt themselves remarkably to the actual interval between the eclipse on 12th March and the Passover on 10th April. Should any portion appear to demand somewhat more space, it may be conceded, for the suppression of the *émeute* caused by the friends of the Rabbins has been placed on 10th April, the *first* day of the Passover; whereas Josephus states only that the people were engaged upon their sacrifices; and as the Passover was an eight-day festival, and sacrifices were offered from first to last, the tumult on account of the Rabbins may have occurred not on the first but on the last day of the Feast, that is, not on the 10th but on the 17th April, so that seven days more, if necessary, might be allowed to the foregoing series of events.

(b) The next argument for placing the death of Herod in B. C. 4 has not the same cogency as that derived from the eclipse, but is entitled to consideration as harmonising with the conclusion drawn from other quarters. Josephus describes Herod as being at the time of the eclipse (12th March B. C. 4) ‘*about* his seventieth year,’<sup>a</sup> and as Josephus is here making the *most* of his age, I understand him to mean that Herod was not *in* his seventieth year, but close upon it, i. e. in his sixty-ninth year. Josephus, in his other work, the ‘Wars,’ expresses the same thing by saying that Herod was ‘*well nigh* of the age of seventy;’<sup>r</sup> and had Herod already attained his seventieth year, Josephus would have so written; and this again leads to the inference that Herod was in his sixty-ninth year. Supposing this to be so, have we any notice of Herod’s age previously, from which we can determine with what year B. C. the sixty-ninth year of Herod would coincide? In B. C. 47, Antipater, on his return to Judæa from escorting Cæsar from Egypt to Asia Minor, appointed his son Herod to be captain of Galilee, when quite a youth, ‘for he was only fifteen years of age.’<sup>s</sup> It is admitted on all hands that here is a mistake of the transcriber; for not only would a boy of fifteen be incapable of government, but as Herod certainly died, as all agree, either in B. C. 4 or within a short time before or after it, and as at his death he was in his sixty-ninth year, he could not by any computation have been fifteen in B. C. 47. The approved and, indeed, only suggested correction, is the alteration of the first figure by substituting 25 for 15; and, as Josephus is here making the *least*, and not the *most*, of Herod’s age, we may conclude from this expression that Herod had then completed his twenty-fifth year, and was therefore in his twenty-sixth year. But if Herod was in his twenty-sixth year in B. C. 47, he would be in his sixty-ninth year in B. C. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Περὶ ἑβδομηκοστῶν ἔτος ἦν. Ant., xvii. 6, 1.

<sup>s</sup> Πεντεκαίδεκα γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγγεγόνει μόνα ἔτη. Ant.

<sup>r</sup> Ἦν μὲν γὰρ σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. Bell., i. 33, 1.

xiv. 9, 2; and see Bell., i. 10, 4.



(c) We have already remarked that at the hearing of Archelaus before Augustus, in the Midsummer of the year in which Herod died, Caius, the adopted son of Augustus, was present; and it is clear that Lucius his brother, the other adopted son of Augustus, was not present, or the names of Caius and Lucius would necessarily have been coupled together. This mention of Caius and omission of Lucius is just what we should expect at a public audience in B. C. 4. Caius had assumed the *toga virilis*, and been admitted to councils of state in the preceding year B. C. 5;<sup>†</sup> but Lucius did not attain the same privileges until B. C. 2.<sup>‡</sup> Caius, therefore, would naturally be present at an important public discussion in B. C. 4, but Lucius would not.

(d) Let us next see how far the death of Herod in B. C. 4 is consistent with the length assigned to the reigns of his three sons, Archelaus, Philip, and Antipas.

Archelaus, according to Dion, was dethroned in A. D. 6; and, as Dion states this expressly and unmistakably, we should have no right to question his testimony if it stood alone; but borne out and confirmed as it is by the incidental remark of Josephus, that the census under Cyrenius, consequent upon the dethronement of Archelaus, was completed at least before 2nd September A. D. 7, we cannot entertain a doubt that the date given by Dion is correct;<sup>‡</sup> and if so, then, as Archelaus was banished in his tenth year, he must have commenced his reign on the death of his father in B. C. 4.

Herod Philip, another of Herod's sons, and the tetrarch of Trachonitis, reigned thirty-seven years, and died in the twentieth year of Tiberius.<sup>¶</sup> But the twentieth year of Tiberius was from 19th August A. D. 33 to 19th August A. D. 34; and if, as we have supposed, Herod died a little before the Passover, say on 1st April B. C. 4, the thirty-seventh year of Herod Philip, reckoned from the death of his father, would be complete on 1st April A. D. 34; and if so, part of his thirty-seventh year would coincide with part of the twentieth year of Tiberius, that is, the interval from 19th August A. D. 33 to 1st April A. D. 34 would fall within the thirty-seventh year of Philip and also within the twentieth year of Tiberius.

Next, as to the reign of Herod Antipas. We have already referred to certain coins struck by him or at his mint, some of which have the stamp of the forty-third year of his reign, and others the stamp of his forty-fourth year.<sup>‡</sup> Eckhel suggests that Vaillantius and Gallandus, on whose authority the latter coins depend, may have been mistaken, and have misread the inscriptions,<sup>‡</sup> but there is no other reason, as it seems, for questioning the existence or genuineness of these coins than the supposed difficulty of reconciling them with the actual reign of Herod Antipas. But if we place the death of Herod, as we have done, in B. C. 4, the coins are capable of an easy solution. The forty-third year of Herod, on this hypothesis, would commence in the spring of A. D. 39, and his forty-fourth year in the spring of A. D. 40. What then was the exact time when Herod Antipas was deposed? We learn from Josephus that it was in the fourth year of the reign of King Agrippa over the tetrarchy of Trachonitis;<sup>‡</sup> and this tetrarchy had been conferred on Agrippa at the beginning of April A. D. 37.<sup>‡</sup> The deprivation, therefore, of Herod Antipas and the succession of Agrippa to his tetrarchy, as it fell in Agrippa's fourth year, could not have been earlier than April A. D. 40. It was, however, some time before 31st August A. D. 40, for on that day

<sup>†</sup> See B. C. 5, No. 889.

<sup>‡</sup> See B. C. 2, No. 959.

<sup>‡</sup> See A. D. 6, No. 1011.

<sup>¶</sup> Εἰκοστῷ μὲν ἔνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς, ἡγήσάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἰακόντων. Ant., xviii. 4, 6.

<sup>‡</sup> See ante, p. x.

<sup>‡</sup> Eckhel, iii. 486.

<sup>‡</sup> (Agrippa) Τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν Τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἔρχεται, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς. Ant., xix. 8, 2.

<sup>‡</sup> See A. D. 37, No. 1503.

Caligula returned to Rome from his Germanic expedition, and in Agrippa's letter to the emperor written shortly afterwards on the subject of the erection of Caligula's statue in the Temple at Jerusalem, Agrippa alludes to the banishment of Herod Antipas, and the gift of his tetrarchy to himself.<sup>b</sup> Assuming, therefore, that Antipas was dethroned some time between 1st April A. D. 40 and 31st August A. D. 40, the coins stamped with his forty-third year may very well have been struck by Antipas in A. D. 39, before he sailed to Rome, and those stamped with his forty-fourth year may very well have been struck in the spring of A. D. 40, before he was exiled, and *à fortiori* before the news of his banishment reached Judæa.

(e) The death of Herod in the spring of B. C. 4 is in harmony with the fact before referred to, that Herod Philip built the city of Julias in honour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, who was disgraced in the third quarter of B. C. 2; for the interval from the death of Herod in B. C. 4 to the third quarter of B. C. 2 would afford sufficient time for Herod Philip to reach Rome and return to Judæa, and then to enlarge the city, and name it after Julia before the intelligence of her disgrace. According to Eckhel,<sup>c</sup> from the evidence of coins, Julias was founded in B. C. 3; and if so, the death of Herod could not have occurred in any *later* year than B. C. 4.

(f) Herod, according to Josephus, began his reign *nominally* in the consulship of C. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio, i. e. in B. C. 40;<sup>d</sup> and Dion places the banishment of Archelaus in the consulship of Æmil. Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, i. e. in A. D. 6.<sup>e</sup> The interval from Herod's accession to Archelaus's dethronement is thus (including both extremes) forty-six years, to be divided between Herod and Archelaus. But Josephus assigns thirty-seven years to Herod, and nine, according to the 'Wars,' to Archelaus; and this would be so if we place the death of Herod in B. C. 4, and reckon that year into his reign, and omit it from the reign of Archelaus. But in the 'Antiquities' and the 'Autobiography,'<sup>f</sup> Josephus assigns ten years to Archelaus, which, with the thirty-seven years of Herod, would make forty-seven, so that Josephus must here count the year of Herod's death twice over, i. e. first in the reign of Herod and then in the reign of Archelaus, and thus the year of the death common to both reigns would fall in B. C. 4. Again, Josephus dates the reign of Herod *actually* from the year B. C. 37,<sup>g</sup> and the interval from this to the expulsion of Archelaus in A. D. 6 would be forty-three years, and Josephus divides this between Herod and Archelaus by assigning thirty-four years to Herod,<sup>h</sup> and nine or ten years as before to Archelaus; so that here again, in the computation of the *actual* as well as the *nominal* reign of Herod, Josephus refers the death of Herod to the year B. C. 4.

We shall now consider two objections that may be advanced against the hypothesis that Herod's death occurred in B. C. 4.

1. It may be said that John the Baptist, according to St. Luke, opened his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius,<sup>1</sup> i. e. after 19th August A. D. 28, and that Jesus, who followed John, could not have begun to preach until toward the close of A. D. 28 at the earliest; and yet Luke tells us that Jesus 'when he began His ministry was of about thirty years;'<sup>2</sup> so that His birth must be assigned to the close of B. C. 3,

<sup>b</sup> See A. D. 40, No. 1599.

<sup>c</sup> iii. 342.

<sup>d</sup> See B. C. 40, No. 468.

<sup>e</sup> See A. D. 6, No. 1011.

<sup>f</sup> See Tables, A. D. 6, No. 1011.

<sup>g</sup> See Tables, B. C. 37, No. 528.

<sup>h</sup> See Tables, B. C. 4, No. 925.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντηκαεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγευονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κ.τ.λ. Luke iii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν οἰκόντα ἀρχόμενος. Luke iii. 23. It cannot be meant that He was beginning his thirtieth year, for then the expression would have been ἔτους τριακοστοῦ ἀρχόμενος.



and then Herod, it is argued, could not, as we have supposed, have died in B.C. 4, as Christ was certainly born in the lifetime of Herod.

Such is the objection; but it may be shown to be untenable. The argument assumes the meaning of Luke to be that Jesus when He began was just about thirty years old, that is, within a few days, or weeks, or months of that exact age. But this interpretation proves too much; for if Christ was thirty years old in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, i.e. at the close of A.D. 28, He was born at the close of B.C. 3, and Herod must have died at the earliest in the spring of B.C. 2. But the latter fact may be pronounced *absolutely impossible*; for in the first place there was no eclipse of the moon in that year; and secondly, Archelaus, who was banished in A.D. 6, could not have reigned either nine or ten years, as Josephus states was the case; and thirdly, Herod Philip, who died in the twentieth year of Tiberius, could not have reigned thirty-seven years; and lastly, Herod Antipas, who was deposed in A.D. 40, could not have struck coins in the forty-third and forty-fourth years of his reign.

Luke then must be taken to mean not that Jesus was of the age of thirty years and a few weeks or months more or less, but only in round numbers that He was 'of *about* thirty years.' The evangelist might fix on the number thirty not only from the common usage of mankind in reckoning by decads, omitting the units, but also from the circumstance that the Levites, the Jewish priests, commenced their office at the age of thirty.<sup>k</sup> Luke then intends only that Jesus was nearer thirty than forty or twenty, as the expression 'about 300' might signify nearer 300 than 400 or 200. From the language of Luke on other occasions we should rather infer that in this place he employs the words 'of *about* thirty' with some degree of latitude; for he tells us that Jesus, when taken by His parents to Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover, was '*twelve years old*,'<sup>l</sup> not 'of *about* twelve;' so that when he speaks of Jesus as 'of *about* thirty,' he intends something different from thirty exactly. Again, he represents the transfiguration as occurring '*about* eight days' (ὥσεί ἡμέραι ὀκτὼ, Luke ix. 28) after the acknowledgment by Peter that Jesus was the Christ; but both Matthew<sup>m</sup> and Mark<sup>n</sup> say it was 'six days after.' Here therefore Luke, in calling six days '*about* eight days,' uses the same laxity of language as in the passage relative to the age of Christ. It is possible, nay even probable, that Luke at the time he was writing did not know how old our Lord at the commencement of His ministry really was, and therefore purposely expressed himself in such general terms. Joseph had been long since dead, and according to the ordinary course of nature the Virgin Mary also would be no longer living. From whom then was Luke, writing at a distance from Judæa, to ascertain the fact? and after all, what did it matter to the purpose in hand, whether Jesus when He began was just thirty, or two or three years more? We may also hazard the conjecture that the difficulty, if any, in the passage of Luke, may have arisen from the error of some transcriber. Jesus began His ministry in the spring of A.D. 29, when He was thirty-three years old; and Luke perhaps wrote, that Jesus when He began was τριῶν τριάκοντα or thirty-three, and in the MS. the reduplication of the τρια was not observed (ΤΡΙΩΝΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ), and, one of the two τρια being accidentally omitted, the copyist wrote 'of about thirty' instead of 'about thirty-three.'

2. Another objection urged against placing the death of Herod in the year B.C. 4,

<sup>k</sup> Numbers iv. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Ὅτε ἐγένετο ἐτῶν δώδεκα. Luke ii. 42.

<sup>m</sup> xvii. 1.

<sup>n</sup> ix. 2.

arises from the statement of Josephus that Herod reigned thirty-seven years from his appointment to the kingdom of Judæa by the Romans, and thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, the last of the Maccabean princes; ° whereas it is said that if Herod died B.C. 4 he had not reigned thirty-six years from the one event, or thirty-three years from the other.

In order to deal with this argument, and to understand what force is due to it, we must endeavour *in limine* to ascertain with some degree of precision, First, at what time Herod was declared king by the Romans, from which is to be dated what may be designated his *nominal* reign; and, Secondly, at what time occurred the death of Antigonus, from which began what may be called Herod's *actual* reign. We shall then proceed to determine in what sense Josephus is to be understood when he ascribes thirty-seven years in the one case, and thirty-four years in the other to the reign of Herod.

(a) As to the *nominal* reign of this king, all chronologers agree in assigning the commencement of it to B.C. 40, and we can arrive at the exact period of the year without much difficulty.

Early in B.C. 40, Pacorus and Barzaphernes, at the head of two divisions of Parthians, invade Judæa, the former proceeding along the coast and the latter through Galilee; and Pacorus advances against the two brothers Herod and Phasaelus, who were then in Jerusalem, about the time of the Pentecost, which was on 10th May.<sup>p</sup>

Pacorus, under pretext of reconciling differences, is shortly afterwards admitted into the city. Bell., i. 13, 3; Ant., xiv. 13, 4.

Hyrcaus and Phasaelus then go on an embassy to Barzaphernes in Galilee, and appearances of friendship are for some time kept up, but eventually Barzaphernes makes them prisoners. Bell., i. 13, 4; Ant., xiv. 13, 5.

Secret intelligence of this treachery is brought to Herod, and he and his adherents (9000 in all) quit Jerusalem at night. Bell., i. 13, 7; Ant., xiv. 13, 7.

The next day the Parthians are masters of the city, and make Antigonus king. Bell., i. 13, 9; Ant., xiv. 13, 10. (This was about 5th July B.C. 40; for at the fast, on 5th October B.C. 37, Antigonus had reigned three years and three months,<sup>q</sup> and if so, he had been declared king by the Parthians about 5th July B.C. 40.)

Herod fights with his pursuers at Herodium, now the Frank Mountain, seven and a half miles distant from Jerusalem. Bell., i. 13, 8; Ant., xiv. 13, 9.

He meets his brother Joseph at Thressa, and commits his family to him, and posts him with a garrison at Masada in Idumæa, a place well stored for a siege, and proceeds himself to Petra. Bell., i. 13, 8; Ant., xiv. 13, 9.

Herod is repulsed by Malchus, king of Petra, and retires towards Egypt. He sleeps the first night in a temple, and the next night reaches Rhinocolura, on the borders of Egypt, where he hears of the death of Phasaelus. Bell., i. 14, 2; Ant., xiv. 14, 2.

Herod cannot procure a passage from Rhinocolura to Alexandria by sea, but is at length allowed to pass thither by land. Bell., i. 14, 2; Ant., xiv. 14, 2.

At Alexandria Cleopatra detains him, and tries to prevent his further progress. Ant., xiv. 14, 2; Bell., i. 14, 2.

He sets sail for Rome, though he would have to encounter the winter on his

° Βασιλεύσας μεθ' ἃ μὲν ἀνέλειπεν Ἀντίγονον ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, μεθ' ἃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποδέδεικτο ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Jos. Ant., xvii. 8, 1.

<sup>p</sup> See B.C. 40, No. 450.

<sup>q</sup> See B.C. 37, No. 528.



voyage, μήτε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑποδείσας. Bell., i. 14, 2; and see Ant., xiv. 14, 2.

He sails by way of Pamphylia and is overtaken by a storm, and reaches Rhodes with difficulty. Bell., i. 14, 3; Ant., xiv. 14, 3.

At Rhodes he fits out another ship and sails to Brundisium, and then proceeds to Rome, which he reaches in due time. Bell., i. 14, 3; Ant., xiv. 14, 3.

During his absence his kinsfolk are distressed for water at Masada but are relieved by the rains (which usually occur about a month after the Feast of Tabernacles, and therefore late in October). Bell., i. 15, 1; Ant., xiv. 14, 6.

The summary may thus be stated. Herod was at Jerusalem at the Pentecost on 10th May B.C. 40. His flight from Jerusalem was about 5th July B.C. 40. After settling the garrison at Masada, and a detention for some time at Alexandria, he may have set sail from Egypt about 1st August B.C. 40, and would arrive at Rhodes about the middle of the same August. After fitting out a ship he would again set sail about the end of September B.C. 40, and would arrive at Rome some time in November of the same year. He remained at Rome seven days only, and it was during this brief interval that by a decree of the senate he was declared king of Judæa.\*

2. We have to fix the commencement of Herod's *actual* reign, i. e. from the death of Antigonus.

The capture of Jerusalem by Herod was in the year B.C. 37. Dion Cassius, indeed, places it in B.C. 38;<sup>a</sup> but Josephus, in a matter peculiarly affecting his own people, is entitled to greater credit; and the series of events related by Josephus shows conclusively that Jerusalem could not have fallen *before* the year B.C. 37.<sup>b</sup> Assuming this to be so, the capture of the city was on the day of the Fast A.D. 37, that is, on 5th October.<sup>c</sup> Antigonus was then made a prisoner, and sent to Mark Antony at Antioch;<sup>d</sup> and here, at the instance of Herod, Antigonus was beheaded. The execution of Antigonus may be placed, therefore, in November B.C. 37; and from this event, which closed the line of the Maccabean princes,<sup>e</sup> commenced what may be called the *actual* reign of Herod.

Having ascertained with sufficient exactness the two *termini* from which the nominal reign and the actual reign of Herod are respectively to be dated, we have next to inquire in what sense Josephus attributes thirty-seven years to the nominal, and thirty-four years to the actual, reign of Herod.

We may observe, in the first place, that Josephus professes to and generally does write with no little precision. Thus, in the case of the Roman Emperors, Josephus gives us the exact length of each reign in the most particular manner. He tells us that Augustus reigned 57 years 6 months and 2 days;<sup>f</sup> Tiberius, 22 years 5 months and 3 days;<sup>g</sup> Caligula, 3 years and 8 months;<sup>h</sup> Claudius, 13 years 5 months and 20 days;<sup>i</sup> Nero, 13 years and 8 days;<sup>j</sup> Galba, 7 months and 7 days;<sup>k</sup> Otho, 3 months

\* Jos. Ant., xiv. 14, 4 and 3.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Ναρβάνου τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο. Dion, xlix. 22. See A.D. 37, No. 526.

<sup>b</sup> See B.C. 39, Nos. 485-487; B.C. 38, Nos. 497, 503-510; B.C. 37, No. 587.

<sup>c</sup> Τῆ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας. Ant., xiv. 16, 4.

<sup>d</sup> Ant., xv. 1, 2.

<sup>e</sup> Πάβεται οὕτως ἢ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἔτη

ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι ἑξ. Ant., xiv. 16, 1. See Tables, B.C. 37, No. 528.

<sup>f</sup> Ant., xviii. 2, 2; Bell., ii. 9, 1.

<sup>g</sup> Ant., xviii. 6, 10; but, according to the 'Wars, 22 years, 6 months, and 3 days. Bell., ii. 9, 5.

<sup>h</sup> Ant., xix. 2, 5; Bell., ii. 11, 1.

<sup>i</sup> Ant., xx. 8, 1; Bell., ii. 12, 8.

<sup>j</sup> Bell., iv. 9, 2.

<sup>k</sup> Bell., iv. 9, 2.

and 2 days;<sup>d</sup> and Vitellius, 8 months and 5 days.<sup>e</sup> Josephus may or may not be correct in his calculations; but this manifests, at all events, a desire, where he had the means, of marking the duration of reigns even to the minutest fraction.

The Jewish kings, however, were comparatively insignificant, and the world at large paid little attention to the times of their accession or demise. The historian therefore, with respect to *them*, had not the same sources of information, and could not descend into the same details. The reigns of Agrippa I. and Agrippa II., indeed, may have been well known to the historian, as they were his contemporaries;<sup>f</sup> but not so the reigns of their predecessors Herod the Great and his three sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip, as to whom Josephus could get no precise information. He could not, for instance, discover from any archives the day or month of Herod's accession or of his demise. All he could learn was the year. Herod, he says, was appointed king by the Romans *nominally* in the consulship of C. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio,<sup>g</sup> that is, in B. C. 40; and Herod became king *actually* in the consulship of M. Agrippa and Carinius Gallus,<sup>h</sup> that is, in B. C. 37.

It is obvious that the reign of Herod might be computed in three different modes; as, 1. From the commencement of the reign, *de facto*, if the time was known, that is, supposing Herod to have been appointed king *nominally* in November B. C. 40, and *actually* in November B. C. 37, the first year of the nominal reign might be reckoned from November B. C. 40, and the first year of the actual reign might be reckoned from November B. C. 37. 2. The computation of the reign might be regulated by the *Jewish* year, which began on 1st Nisan (March or April), and the first year of the reign might then be reckoned retrospectively, and carried back to 1st Nisan preceding the accession, so that the second year of the reign should begin on 1st Nisan following next after the accession. 3. The reign might be adapted to the Roman consular year, which began on 1st January, and then the first year of the reign might be carried back to 1st January preceding the accession, so that the second year should begin from 1st January next after the accession. We shall make some remarks upon each of these modes of computation.

1. The natural supposition would be that Josephus computed the years from the actual commencement of the reign, more particularly as such is his practice in the case of the Roman Emperors. Thus the Jewish war, which broke out in the month of Artemisius, or May, A. D. 66, is said to have commenced in the *twelfth year* of Nero,<sup>i</sup> that is, in the twelfth year as current from 13th October A. D. 65 to 13th October A. D. 66. Jotapata, which was taken in the month of Panemus, or July, A. D. 67, is said to have fallen in the thirteenth year of Nero,<sup>j</sup> that is, as current from 13th October A. D. 66 to 13th October A. D. 67. And again, the temple, which was burnt in the month of Lous, or August, A. D. 70, is said to have been thus destroyed in the second year of Vespasian, that is, in the second year as current from 1st July A. D. 70 to 1st July A. D. 71.<sup>k</sup> But in all these instances, Josephus was referring to reigns where the days of the accession were familiarly known, and where the years of the reigns were commonly employed by the world generally to designate the dates of occurrences. But in the case of the Jewish kings (with the exception of the two Agrippas, who were

<sup>a</sup> Bell., iv. 9, 9.

<sup>b</sup> Bell., iv. 11, 4.

<sup>c</sup> See A. D. 44, No. 1678, A. D. 49, No. 1726.

<sup>d</sup> Ant., xiv. 14, 5.

<sup>e</sup> Ant., xiv. 16, 4.

<sup>i</sup> Δωδεκάτῃ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας. Bell., ii. 14, 4.

<sup>j</sup> Bell., iii. 7, 36.

<sup>k</sup> Ἐτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιάνου ἡγεμονίας. Bell., vi. 4, 8.



Josephus's contemporaries) the same mode of reckoning was impracticable, as the exact times of their accession could not be recovered.

2. Josephus may have computed the reign of Herod by reference to the Jewish ecclesiastical year, which began on 1st Nisan. In fact the Jews are stated in the Rabbinical writings to have reckoned the years of their princes in this way—not from the actual day of accession, but from 1st Nisan preceding, and then to have attributed an additional year for every subsequent 1st Nisan, or New Year's day, that occurred during the reign.<sup>1</sup> So the Egyptians are said to have calculated the years of a king—not from the time of his assuming the crown, but from their month of Thoth.<sup>m</sup> To apply this mode of computation to the case in hand, if Herod began to reign *nominally* in November B. C. 40, and *actually* in November B. C. 37, the first year would be dated in the one case from 1st Nisan B. C. 40, and in the other from 1st Nisan B. C. 37, and the second year would be said to commence in the one case from 1st Nisan next after November B. C. 40, and in the other from 1st Nisan next after November B. C. 37. In this way, if Herod lived but a day beyond 1st Nisan B. C. 4, a new year would have begun. According to our tables (see B. C. 4, No. 924), Herod probably died on 1st April B. C. 4; and thus, as the Jewish sacred year had commenced on 7th March previously, Herod on 1st April had already advanced nearly a month into the new year. By this mode of computation, therefore, Herod would be said to have reigned thirty-seven years from his accession in November B. C. 40, and thirty-four years from his accession in B. C. 37.

3. Josephus, as writing at Rome and for a Roman public, might, when speaking of a prince's reign, have had in his mind the commencement of the Roman consular year, known universally to begin on 1st January. Thus, if Herod was king *nominally* in November B. C. 40, Josephus might naturally consider 1st January B. C. 39 as the commencement of the second year. So if Herod became king *de facto* by the death of Antigonus in November B. C. 37, he might consider 1st January B. C. 36 as the commencement of the second year. Assuming that Herod died on 1st April B. C. 4, the year from 1st January B. C. 4 would thus be reckoned as another year, though only a few months of it had elapsed; and in this way Herod would be said, at the time of his death in the spring of B. C. 4, to have reigned thirty-seven *consular* years from his appointment by the Romans in B. C. 40, and thirty-four *consular* years from the death of Antigonus in B. C. 37.

It is impossible, in the author's judgment, to say whether Josephus regulated his computations of Herod's reign by Jewish years from 1st Nisan, or by consular years from 1st January; but unless he adopted one or other of these modes, we cannot reconcile the historian to himself, or make his statements harmonise with the general tenor of history. If, on the other hand, we only suppose him to have had recourse to one or other of these two modes, we find him at once consistent with himself and others. After all, in reckoning after this fashion, he would be doing no more than what, for the sake of convenience, is a usual practice with all writers, viz. to treat current years as complete years. If a war began in A. D. 2 and ended in A. D. 4, it would be a common expression to say in general terms that it lasted three years, though, if the exact dates of the commencement and conclusion were ascertained, it

<sup>1</sup> Non numerant in regibus nisi a Nisano. Gemara. Bab. Nisanus initium anni regibus ac dies quidem unus in anno (viz. post calendar Nisani) instar anni computatur. *Ib.* Unus dies in anni fine pro anno nu-

meratur. *Ib.*; see Anger, p. 9 note (x); Wieseler, 52, note 1.

<sup>m</sup> See Anger, 15.

might be found that the actual duration was not quite two complete years.<sup>a</sup> In some cases an historian could not by any industry come at the true dates; and where he could, so strait-laced a reckoning would serve only to clog the style with unnecessary precision. That Josephus, at all events, availed himself of this latitude, not only where he was obliged for want of better materials, but also for convenience where he might have acquired more exact information, will abundantly appear from the numerous examples to which we shall now call attention.

1. The reign of Hyrcanus commenced on the day of the Fast, or 22nd September B. C. 63,<sup>o</sup> and terminated three months before the Fast, or about Midsummer B. C. 40,<sup>p</sup> so that Hyrcanus did not actually reign twenty-three years complete, and yet Josephus attributes to him twenty-four years,<sup>a</sup> that is, the Jewish year from 1st Nisan B. C. 63, or the consular year from 1st January B. C. 63, was reckoned as one year; and the Jewish year from 1st Nisan B. C. 40, or the consular year from 1st January B. C. 40, was reckoned as another year.

2. The capture of Jerusalem by Herod at the Fast, 5th October, B. C. 37, is said to have occurred at an interval of twenty-seven years from the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey at the Fast, 22nd September, B. C. 63,<sup>r</sup> that is, the space between these two events embraced twenty-seven Jewish years, as reckoned from every 1st Nisan, and twenty-seven consulships as reckoned from every 1st January.

3. Antigonus, the last of the Asmonean princes, was put to death by Antony, at the suggestion of Herod, towards the close of B. C. 37,<sup>s</sup> and this event is said by Josephus to have happened after a sway of the Asmoneans of 126 years.<sup>t</sup> The dynasty of the Maccabees dated from the peace between Antiochus Eupator and Judas Maccabæus in the year B. C. 162. Thus in the 150th year of the Seleucian era (i. e. some time between 1st October B. C. 163 and 1st October B. C. 162), Judas Maccabæus laid siege to the Macedonian citadel called the Acra, in Jerusalem, and threw up mounds, and constructed engines, and pressed the siege with such vigour, that messengers were despatched to Antiochus to bring immediate succour, or the fortress must fall.<sup>u</sup> Antiochus then collected an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, and attacked Bethsura, the frontier town, and *much time* was consumed in the siege of it.<sup>v</sup> Judas then marched to the relief of Bethsura, when a battle followed, and Judas was defeated and returned to Jerusalem.<sup>w</sup> Then Antiochus, leaving a detachment to continue the operations against Bethsura, marched himself against Jerusalem and besieged it, and this siege was also of *long* continuance.<sup>x</sup> Antiochus was then straitened for provisions and perplexed by troubles in his own kingdom, and eventually offered terms of peace which were accepted by Judas, and from that peace

<sup>a</sup> See A. D. 2, No. 981.

<sup>o</sup> See A. D. 63, No. 81.      <sup>p</sup> See B. C. 40, No. 454.

<sup>q</sup> ἦρξε δὲ . . . ὁ Ἰρκανὸς τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι. Ant., xii. 10, 4.

<sup>r</sup> Μετὰ ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ. Ant., xiv. 6, 4.

<sup>s</sup> See B. C. 37, No. 528.

<sup>t</sup> Ant., xiv. 16, 4.      <sup>u</sup> Ant., xii. 9, 3.

<sup>v</sup> Χρόνος ἐτίβητο πολὺς περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν. Ant., xii. 9, 4. and 5.

<sup>w</sup> Ant., xii. 9, 4 & 5.

<sup>x</sup> Πολλὰ δὲ χρόνῳ τὸ ἱερὸν πολιορκῶν. Ant., xii. 9, 5. The distress of the besieged was the greater by reason of the Sabbatic year which was current from 1st Nisan B. C. 163 to 1st Nisan B. C. 162. Τροφὴ δ' αὐτοῖς

ἐπέλελοιπεί, τοῦ μὲν ὕγτος ἐπαρηλωμένου καρποῦ, τῆς δὲ γῆς ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ ἔτει μὴ γεωργημένης, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸ ἔσδομον ἔτος ἀσπύρου μεμενηκυίας. Ant., xii. 9, 5. Assuming Josephus to mean that the Sabbatic year was current at the time of the siege in the 150th year of the Seleucian era, from 1st October B. C. 163 to 1st October B. C. 162, it is clear that the Sabbatic year was not reckoned, as some suppose, from the commencement of the civil year in the autumn, for then, as it would have begun in the autumn of B. C. 164, no part of it would have fallen within the 150th Seleucian year, which began in the autumn of B. C. 163. But if the Sabbatic year commenced with the sacred year on 1st Nisan B. C. 163, one half of it would fall within



dated the dominion of the Maccabees.<sup>y</sup> Thus, to recapitulate, Judas began the siege of the Macedonian Acra in the 150th year of the Seleucian era, i.e. not earlier than 1st October B.C. 163, and when only three months of B.C. 163 then remained; and after that was a *long siege* of Bethsura, and then *another long siege* of Jerusalem, and these and the other events before the conclusion of peace could not evidently have all occurred within the short space of the three remaining months of B.C. 163, but must have run into the commencement at least of the following year B.C. 162. If so, the dynasty of the Asmoneans dated from B.C. 162, and then, as Josephus makes it end in B.C. 37, and to have lasted 126 years, he must have reckoned either by Jewish years from every 1st Nisan, or by Roman consular years from every 1st January, and have counted the fragments of the years B.C. 162 and B.C. 37 as whole years.

4. The earthquake in Judæa in the spring of B.C. 31, and the battle of Actium on 2nd September B.C. 31, are both placed by Josephus in the seventh year of the reign of Herod, from the death of Antigonus in November B.C. 37.<sup>z</sup> In fact Herod had not in either case completed his *siath year*, but the period from November B.C. 37 to September B.C. 31, included the whole or parts of seven successive Jewish years from 1st Nisan B.C. 37, and of seven successive consular years from 1st January B.C. 37.

5. We read in Josephus, 'Now in this year, being *the thirteenth of Herod*, the greatest calamities overtook the country.'<sup>a</sup> Of what year is the historian speaking? Of the year B.C. 25, as may be thus shown. Josephus relates that a dreadful famine arose in *this year* (the thirteenth of Herod) from the failure of the crops, from the want of rain in the past autumn and the then present spring; and that from the dearth arose plagues amongst the people; but that nevertheless the seed was sown as usual, in the hope of better success at the next harvest. So ended the first year of the famine. But in the *next year* (the fourteenth of Herod) there was a failure of the crops for the second time (*μηδὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀνείσης τῆς γῆς*, Ant., xv. 9, 1), and Herod now became the subject of invective from the people, who, of course, attributed their distress to the want of foresight in their ruler. In this emergency Herod sent into Egypt for corn. The Romans were very jealous of the exportation of corn from Egypt to any country but Rome itself. It happened, however, fortunately enough that just at this juncture Petronius had the prefecture of Egypt;<sup>b</sup> and Petronius was a personal friend of Herod, so that the latter had no difficulty in obtaining leave from him to export corn to Judæa. Herod now regained the good will of his subjects by supplying their present necessities, and by furnishing seed which the following year produced an abundant harvest. About the same time with these importations from Egypt (*περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνου*, Ant., xv. 9, 3), Ælius Gallus, whose place Petronius had taken as governor of Egypt, made an expedition into Arabia by command of the emperor, and Herod sent him 500 auxiliaries. Here we have a clue to the exact period of which Josephus is speaking. Ælius Gallus made his campaign into Arabia, and Petronius succeeded him as governor of Egypt, in the year B.C. 24.<sup>c</sup> This, then, was the year in which Herod, by favour of his friend Petronius, procured corn from Egypt; and if so, the preceding year, the first of the famine and the thirteenth of Herod, was the year B.C. 25. It follows that Josephus computed the first year of

the 150th Seleucian year. It may be doubted, however, whether Josephus does not speak simply of the effect of the Sabbatic year during the siege, without asserting that it was then actually current. See B.C. 37, No. 525.

<sup>y</sup> Ant., xii. 9, 7.

<sup>z</sup> 'Ἐβδόμου ὄντος Ἡρώδη τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους. Ant.,

xv. 5, 2. Κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἔβδομον. Bell., i. 19, 3. See B.C. 31, No. 619.

<sup>a</sup> Jos. Ant., xv. 9, 1.

<sup>b</sup> Πετρωνίου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπὸ Καίσαρος εἰληφότος. Ant., xv. 9, 2.

<sup>c</sup> See Tables, B.C. 24, No. 686.

Herod from 1st Nisan B.C. 37, or 1st January B.C. 37; for in this way only could the thirteenth year of Herod be made to comprise the harvest of B.C. 25, when the famine began.

6. Augustus visited Syria at Midsummer B.C. 20, and at this time it is said that the seventeenth year of the reign of Herod from the death of Antigonus was *past*, and consequently that the eighteenth year was current.<sup>d</sup> In fact, Herod had not *completed* his seventeenth year, if reckoned from the actual time of the death of Antigonus, viz. from November B.C. 37. But if the reign of Herod was made to commence retrospectively from 1st Nisan or 1st January B.C. 37, then at Midsummer B.C. 20, as Josephus states, seventeen years would have expired and the eighteenth year would be current.

7. In B.C. 11 Herod sailed to Rome,<sup>e</sup> and Josephus, after relating his return to Judæa (which would be at the close of B.C. 11 or the beginning of B.C. 10), follows it up by saying that about that time Cæsarea was completed, in the twenty-eighth year of Herod.<sup>f</sup> As the completion of Cæsarea was after the voyage to Rome in B.C. 11, the historian apparently places it in B.C. 10, which would be the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod, reckoned as before either by Jewish years from 1st Nisan or by consular years from 1st January B.C. 37.

8. The capture of Jerusalem by Titus, on 8th Gorpiaëus, or 2nd September, A.D. 70, is said to have occurred 107 years after the accession of Herod, in November B.C. 37,<sup>g</sup> which would be correct on one hypothesis, and one only, viz. that Josephus meant either Jewish or consular years, as reckoned either from 1st Nisan or 1st January, so that fragments of Jewish or consular years should be counted as whole years.

After these repeated examples of Josephus's mode of computation by Jewish or consular years, we can have no difficulty in concluding that when he speaks in round numbers of the years of Herod's reign, he treats the nominal reign as running from 1st Nisan, or 1st January, B.C. 40, and the actual reign as running from 1st Nisan, or 1st January, B.C. 37; and then, if Herod died on 1st April B.C. 4, he would be said in the first case to have reigned thirty-seven years, and in the second case to have reigned thirty-four years.

The upshot of the foregoing discussion is, that the death of Herod must be placed in B.C. 4, and not in any later year; and having laid this foundation, we come next to the inquiry, to what year and to what season of the year must be referred the Nativity, or Birth of Christ, which certainly preceded the death of Herod?

<sup>d</sup> Ἡδὴδ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπτακαίδεκάτου παρελθόντος Ἰούλιου Καίσαρος εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο. Ant., xv. 10. 3.

<sup>e</sup> See B.C. 11, No. 789.

<sup>f</sup> Ant., xvi. 5, 1. See B.C. 10, No. 805.

<sup>g</sup> Χρόνος δὴ τούτων ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἑπτα. Ant., xx. 10, 5.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

THE circumstances from which any inference can be gleaned as to the space that elapsed between the death of Herod in the spring of B. C. 4, and the previous birth of Christ, are few and faint.

The circumcision was on the eighth day,<sup>a</sup> and 'when the days of her purification, according to the law of Moses, were accomplished, they brought Him to Jerusalem, to present Him to the Lord.'<sup>b</sup> The time of purification was, according to Leviticus, thirty-three days from the circumcision, that is, on the fortieth day from the birth;<sup>c</sup> and as the presentation in the Temple must necessarily have preceded the murder of the Innocents and the flight into Egypt, the Nativity was at least more than forty days before the death of Herod. But this brings us but a little way on towards the solution of the question, as no one could suppose that the birth of Christ preceded the death of Herod by a *less* interval than forty days.

Nor is much further light to be extracted from the statement that Joseph 'took the young child and his mother by night and departed into Egypt, and *was there until the death of Herod*;'<sup>d</sup> but if any deduction can be drawn from it, the distance of the country and the mention of a sojourn there would rather suggest that some considerable time must have intervened between the flight and the return.

Great stress for ascertaining the date of the Nativity has always and justly been laid on the enrolment or taxing referred to by Luke; but the Evangelist himself gives us no clue as to the precise date of it, remarking only in a general way, that 'this taxing was prior to Cyrenius being governor of Syria,'<sup>e</sup> and therefore not to be confounded with the great enrolment or taxing under the auspices of Quirinus, or Cyrenius, which was completed in A. D. 7.

From Josephus, however, some rays of light break in upon us, and lead us to conclude that an enrolment in Judæa was or may have been proceeding in B. C. 6. Herod, during his previous career, had been in high favour with Augustus, but in B. C. 7 Herod, vexed and annoyed by repeated affronts received from his inveterate enemy, Obodas, king of Petra, or rather from his prime minister Syllæus, solicited and obtained leave from both the prefect and the procurator of Syria to make reprisals. Herod thereupon marched, with a small force, against a fortress within the dominions of Petra, where certain delinquents were harboured, and a skirmish following, Nacebus, the Arabian commander, was slain. Syllæus, who at the time happened to be at Rome, suppressed the permission given by the prefect and procurator of Syria, and magnifying the petty passage of arms into a regular campaign, made the palace at Rome ring with the enormity of Herod's invasion of Petra

<sup>a</sup> Luke ii. 21.

<sup>c</sup> Levit. xii. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Luke ii. 22.

<sup>d</sup> Matt. ii. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Luke ii. 1. For the several interpretations of this passage, see B. C. 6, No. 870.

and the slaughter of vast multitudes of inoffensive Arabians. Of all outrages against the imperial policy the greatest was that of levying war, and on this occasion Augustus was thrown into a state of excitement but little consonant with the general mildness of his character. He sent off an angry and threatening letter to Herod, the sum of which was that ‘hitherto he had regarded him as a *friend*, but that henceforth he should treat him as a *subject*.’<sup>f</sup> The first thing done on reducing a kingdom to dependency on Rome, was to order an enrolment for assessing the public taxes. Thus, on the banishment of Archelaus, about twelve years after this, Cyrenius was sent from Rome to make a survey of Judæa, the new province.<sup>g</sup> If Herod then was to be dealt with as a subject, it is highly probable that an edict was issued that Judæa should be enrolled; and as the intelligence of Herod’s offence would reach Rome in the latter part of B. C. 7, the census, if ordered, would naturally begin in B. C. 6. It is not necessary to suppose that the census itself was ever brought to a conclusion, for Augustus, through the address and rhetorical talent of Nicolas Damascenus, was afterwards partially appeased, when the edict for the census may have been recalled or suffered to drop. It is sufficient for our purpose that a registration should have been commenced, and the reason why this enrolment is not particularly noticed by the Jewish historian may be the very fact that before its completion it was countermanded.

There are some further indications still to be found in Josephus of a census in Judæa in the year B. C. 6. Thus, contemporaneously with the misunderstanding between Herod and Augustus, Herod was contriving measures for taking the lives of his two sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus. He had groundlessly conceived the intensest hatred against them; but, standing now in the light of a subject, he dared not proceed to extremities without the sanction of the emperor. However, when the wrath of Augustus had a little subsided, Herod obtained the emperor’s leave to bring his sons to trial, not in Jerusalem before his own council, but at Berytus, within the province of Syria, before the prefect and other magnates of that province, a symptom (it may be remarked, by the way) that Judæa was already in some sense deemed an appanage of Syria, a political change which would involve a census as a necessary accompaniment. But further, Josephus states that at the trial of Herod’s sons, which occurred in the first half of B. C. 6,<sup>h</sup> there were present amongst other assessors ‘Pedanium and his suite.’<sup>i</sup> This Pedanium was evidently a person of high official dignity, yet the post that he filled has been overlooked or suppressed, and it has been surmised, and not without reason, that his mission from Rome was to superintend the census ordered a few months previously on Herod’s disgrace.

A more pregnant fact still is this: Josephus informs us that a little after the trial of Herod’s sons, about March B. C. 6, ‘the whole Jewish nation took an oath of fidelity to Cæsar and Herod.’<sup>j</sup> What was the critical juncture that called for this oath not only to Herod but to Augustus? An enrolment almost invariably led to popular commotion. Thus there was a general outbreak in Gaul when the first census was commenced there;<sup>k</sup> and on the death of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, when the country became a Roman province, the order for a census caused a rebellion of the

<sup>f</sup> Ὅτι πάλα χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται. Ant., xvi. 9, 3.

<sup>g</sup> See A. D. 6, No. 1012.

<sup>h</sup> See B. C. 6, No. 857.

<sup>i</sup> Οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρόσβει. Bell. i. 27, 2. See B. C. 6, No. 857.

<sup>j</sup> Πάντος γοῦν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι’ ἕρκων ἢ μὴν εὐνοῆσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλέωσι πράγμασι, &c. Ant., xvii. 2, 4. See Tables B. C. 6, No. 867.

<sup>k</sup> ‘Tumultus qui ob censum exortus erat compositus.’ —Liv. Epit., 137.



Clitæ, who had been the subjects of Archelaus;<sup>s</sup> and, what is more to the point, when a census was commenced in Judæa on the expulsion of Archelaus the Ethnarch, Judas the Gaulonite headed a faction in opposition to it, and gave rise to the sect of the Galileans. Supposing Augustus, therefore, to have issued an edict for a census in Judæa in B. C. 6, a cautionary measure would be to exact from the people an oath of allegiance. Had Herod been as before an independent prince, the oath would have been to Herod only; but, on the occasion referred to, it was to Cæsar and Herod. This oath, as appears from the historian's account of it and the circumstances attending it, was administered not long after Midsummer B. C. 6;<sup>t</sup> and if it was preliminary to the enrolment or taxing during which our Lord was born, the Nativity must be placed in B. C. 6, and not long after Midsummer of that year.

Let us now consider another part of the sacred narrative, which will serve to throw additional light upon our present inquiry. Matthew relates that 'there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem, saying, Where is He that is born *king of the Jews*? . . . . When Herod the king heard of these things he was *troubled, and all Jerusalem with him*. And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where *Christ* should be born; and they said unto him, at Bethlehem of Judæa, for *thus saith the prophet*;<sup>u</sup> and very soon after followed the massacre of the Innocents at Bethlehem.

As the Gospels were written by illiterate fishermen, and solely with religious and not political views, and as Josephus, on the contrary, was a highly educated and accomplished courtier, and had more regard to popularity amongst his own countrymen than strict adherence to truth, we should expect to find these facts, so simply told by the evangelist, presented to us in very different colours and not a little distorted by the partial historian. The general features, however, are sufficiently preserved to establish the identity.

We shall first give the words of Josephus, and then offer a few comments upon them. 'The Pharisees,' says Josephus, 'who had the credit of *foreknowing events by divine inspiration*, foretold that a downfall of the throne was decreed by God against Herod, both himself and his issue, and that the kingdom would devolve upon her (Pheroras's wife) and the children that should be born to them. And these things, for they did not escape Salome, were communicated to the king; and moreover that they (the Pharisees) had corrupted some of those in the palace. And the king put to death not only the most guilty of the Pharisees, but also Bagoas the eunuch and one Carus, who exceeded all of that age in beauty, and was his *παίδικα*; and he slew also every one of his own family who assented to what the Pharisees said. But Bagoas had been carried away by them, as he was to be the father and benefactor of the *king that was to rise up according to the prophecy*, and who, *for all things were to be in his power*, would give him capacity for marriage and the procreation of children.'<sup>x</sup>

1. In the first place we have here a great sensation created at Jerusalem by the expectation of some extraordinary event about to happen, and this stir penetrates into the palace, and at length reaches the ears of Herod himself. What is all this but an expansion of Matthew's summary, that Herod 'was troubled and all Jerusalem with him!'

2. The extraordinary event that was looked for was the appearance of a *king*

<sup>s</sup> Tac. Ann., vi. 41.

<sup>t</sup> See B. C. 6, No. 857.

<sup>u</sup> Matt. ii. 1, &c.

<sup>x</sup> Jos. Ant., xvii. 2, 4.

who should displace Herod from the throne; which cannot fail to bring to mind the question of the wise men from the East, 'Where is He that is born *king of the Jews?*'

3. This report had been circulated by the sect of the Pharisees; which again tallies with the circumstance that the aged Symeon, at the time of the Presentation, took Jesus in his arms and pronounced Him to be 'a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of His people Israel:'<sup>v</sup> not that the Gospel describes Symeon in terms as a Pharisee, but he is believed to have been the son of Hillel and the father of Gamaliel, and if so, of the same sect. At all events, it was the Pharisees, according to the Gospels, who were anxiously looking for the Messiah; and, when John Baptist opened his ministry, the mission sent to inquire into his pretensions was deputed by the Pharisees.<sup>z</sup>

4. The rumour now so widely spread was in some way connected with prophecy, for it gained credit with the people from the 'foreknowledge' attributed to the Pharisees through 'divine inspiration:' the meaning of which is, that the Pharisees, as the most devoted to the study of the scriptures, were regarded as the best expositors of the sacred oracles, and so had credit for the gift of prophecy themselves. How this harmonizes with the account of Matthew that, on the arrival of the wise men, Herod consulted 'the chief priests and scribes of the people' (by whom Lardner unhesitatingly understands the Pharisees<sup>a</sup>) 'where Christ should be born; and they said unto him in Bethlehem of Judæa, for *thus it is written in the prophet.*'<sup>b</sup>

5. The coming king in Josephus was to be a *divine* person, who should work miracles, for 'all things were to be in his power,' insomuch that he was to remove the impotence of the eunuch and make him the father of a family. In short, he was to be the Messiah, for whom the children of Israel had been so anxiously waiting. When it is said that the throne was to devolve upon Pheroras's wife and her issue, we must suppose (if there be not a contradiction in the historian's narrative) that Messiah was to reign as supreme, and that in subordination to him the sovereignty was to be exercised by Pheroras's wife. This figment about Pheroras's wife was, as Josephus intimates, nothing but a piece of fulsome adulation which the Pharisees paid to her in requital for her kindness in having discharged the fine imposed a little before upon the Pharisees for refusing the oath of allegiance to Cæsar and Herod on the occasion of the census.<sup>c</sup>

6. The report propagated by the Pharisees, that a new and heavenly king was about to displace Herod from his throne, so inflamed the jealous temperament of Herod, that he instantly had recourse to the most barbarous measures for securing his power. Thus he inflicted capital punishment on all the Pharisees who had been active in the movement; he took the life of many inmates of his own palace, as Bagoas the eunuch and Carus his favourite page, and of those of his own family who had lent themselves to the Pharisaic views. All this coincides with and bears out the averment of the evangelist, that Herod, on hearing that Christ was born in Bethlehem, ordered the massacre of all the male children there, two years old and under. Matthew, whose attention was devoted only to the good tidings of the gospel at Bethlehem, does not record the bloody tragedy in Jerusalem; and the high-born Josephus has passed over in silence the murder of the infants in the humble village of Bethlehem. Each account, however, serves to confirm the other, by showing the state of frenzy, regardless of all consequences, under which Herod at the time was labouring.

<sup>v</sup> Luke ii. 32.

<sup>z</sup> John i. 24.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i. p. 295.

<sup>b</sup> Matt. ii. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Οἷδὲ ἀμειβόμενοι τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῆς, κ.τ.λ.

Ant., xvii. 2, 4.



Putting together all these particulars as given by Josephus with reference to the *emeute* of the Pharisees, and observing how nearly they answer to the 'trouble of Herod and all Jerusalem' on the arrival of the wise men from the East in search of the new-born king, as recorded by Matthew, we are driven to the conclusion that Josephus and Matthew are speaking of one and the same period, and are treating of one and the same event, though differently coloured according to the different medium through which the writers regarded it. Now it can be shown by tracing the narrative of Josephus, that the *emeute* of the Pharisees must have originated about the month of October, B. C. 6, and that the execution of the leaders of the movement and their partisans followed not long afterwards, say in November, B. C. 6. If then the arrival of the wise men from the East was contemporaneous with the *emeute* of the Pharisees, and the massacre at Bethlehem was about the same time with the massacre of the Pharisees, the arrival of the wise men must be placed in October, B. C. 6, and the massacre at Bethlehem about November of the same year: and if so, then the Nativity, which a little preceded the arrival of the wise men, would fall, as before, in B. C. 6, and not long after Midsummer of that year.<sup>d</sup>

The testimony of Macrobius, a heathen writer who flourished in the 4th century, is not at variance with, but rather confirmatory of, the foregoing conclusions. 'When Augustus (he says) heard that amongst the male children under two years in Syria whom Herod, king of the Jews, had ordered to be slain, a son of his own also had fallen a victim, he observed, "Better be Herod's swine than Herod's son."'<sup>e</sup> The expression, 'male children under two years in Syria,' is so peculiar that, without doubt, Macrobius is referring to the murder of the Innocents; but whether he borrowed the language from Matthew, or from an independent source, is another question. The only material circumstance as regards the present inquiry is the fact, that the massacre is here connected with the death of one of Herod's sons; so that, if we can ascertain what son is referred to and when he perished, we have a clue to the time when Rachel wept for her children at Bethlehem.

At first sight it might be thought that *Antipater*, who was put to death five days before the demise of Herod himself, may be the subject of the anecdote; and if so, the murder of the Innocents would be referrible to B. C. 4, when Herod died, and the Nativity itself would fall a little earlier, say at the close of B. C. 5. But, on reflection, the idea that Antipater is the son of Herod alluded to by Augustus must be discarded. Herod was evidently still living when the saying was uttered; but as Antipater was executed five days only before the death of Herod, the intelligence of both events would be carried to Rome by the same mail. Besides, Antipater was such a monster of vice, he was so execrated at Rome as well as in Syria, that the capital punishment of such 'a mystery of iniquity,' as Josephus calls him, would, instead of exciting commiseration, have been hailed with the utmost satisfaction.

Very different was the case when *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, the two unhappy sons of Herod by Mariamne, became the victims of Herod's jealousy. Handsome and accomplished, and free from any serious charge, they had been caught in the meshes of Antipater's artifices, and, after a mock trial, had been put to death by the hands of their own father. Such an outrage upon humanity, where there was no actual guilt, had raised an outcry throughout the civilised world, and in particular had created the strongest sensation at Rome, where the young men had been educated. On such a violation of the ties of nature, Augustus might well have exclaimed, 'Better be

<sup>d</sup> See B. C. 6, Nos. 857, 867.

<sup>e</sup> Macrobius Saturn., ii. 4.

Herod's *swine* than Herod's *son*.' If in fact it was this occasion that called forth the caustic remark, then, as the execution of Alexander and Aristobulus was enacted on the first half of B.C. 6,<sup>f</sup> the murder of the Innocents, which is coupled with it, must also have fallen about the same time. This hypothesis, however, is open to one objection, viz. that the death of Alexander and Aristobulus occurred about March, B.C. 6, whereas the murder of the Innocents, according to our view, fell about November, B.C. 6, so that the two events, though comprised under the same year, are separated by such an interval that they would not very naturally be associated together in the speaker's mind. We look around, then, for some other solution, if such can be found, which shall be free from this objection.

Now it is observable that this son of Herod is said by Macrobius to have perished 'amongst the male children under two years;' and this implies that the son of Herod also was under that age. Josephus, in his account of the *emeute* of the Pharisees, mentions that, when the rumour of a coming king was rife at Jerusalem, Herod, in his fury, not only put to death the leading Pharisees who had propagated the report, but also 'every member of *his own family* that was implicated in the movement.'<sup>g</sup> It would seem, therefore, that certain of Herod's own lineage had fallen victims; and if so, an infant son of Herod might have been amongst the number. Certainly a child under two years old could not have been an accomplice in the designs of the Pharisees; but one motive may easily have been mistaken for another, and while the rest were put to death as conspirators, the child may have been sacrificed because born, and born perhaps at Bethlehem, within the period during which, according to the Pharisees, the new king who was to subvert Herod's throne had come into the world.

It is also possible that as Herod, according to Josephus, at this time (B.C. 6) put to death *Carus*, his *παιδικά*, Rumour, which always exaggerates, may have substituted *παῖδα* for *παιδικά*, and have carried the news to Rome that Herod, in his phrenzy, had not even spared his own *son*.

Whether the victim was an actual son of Herod, or was his *παιδικά*, this bloodshed in the palace must, according to Josephus, have occurred about November B.C. 6, and then the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem, which is coupled with it by Macrobius, must be referred to the same period; and if so, the Nativity, as it must have preceded the massacre by some three months, would fall as before in B.C. 6, and soon after Midsummer of that year.

Assuming the Nativity to have occurred in B.C. 6, let us next see whether, by any possibility, we can determine within narrower limits, and by quite a different process, about what day of the year this event happened.

Luke remarks incidentally that Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was a priest of the course of Abia or Abijah,<sup>h</sup> and upon this statement, simple as it is, rests, if not the whole, yet the main part of the superstructure about to be raised. The temple was burnt by Titus on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, 9 Ab, or 4 August, A.D. 70;<sup>i</sup> and according to the Rabbins, who on such a point are entitled to more than usual credit, this was the day on which the course of Jehoiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses, entered upon its duties.<sup>k</sup> The courses served *seriatim* as they were numbered, each for a week; and it seems to confirm the testimony of the Rabbins that, if

<sup>f</sup> See B.C. 6, No. 857.

<sup>g</sup> Πάν ὅ, τι τοῦ οἰκείου συνειστήκει οἷς δ' ἑρασιαῖος ἔλεγεν. Ant., xvii. 2, 4.

<sup>h</sup> Luke i. 5.

<sup>i</sup> See Tables A D. 70, No. 2149.

<sup>k</sup> Mishna iii. 298, 3.



the first course began, according to Ezra, on the first day of the seventh month of the first year of Cyrus,<sup>1</sup> the first course would again take up its ministry on 4th August A.D. 70.<sup>m</sup> Now, from the time of the Nativity to the final destruction of the Temple, no political revolution occurred to interrupt the ordinary and regular rotation of the courses; and we may assume, therefore, that the usual succession continued throughout. From 4th August, then, A.D. 70 (exclusive) to 4th August B.C. 70 (inclusive) would be 27,759 days, and as each one of the twenty-four courses consumed 168 days, if we divide the former number by the latter, there will remain 39 days over; that is, on 4th August B.C. 7 the twenty-four courses had still 39 days to run before completing their cycle of 168 days, and must therefore have begun their cycle 129 days before 4th August B.C. 7, that is, on 28th March B.C. 7; but if the first course began on 28th March B.C. 7, the eighth course, which was that of Abijah, would begin on 16th May B.C. 7.

The conception of John the Baptist was at the close of Zachariah's course of seven days,<sup>n</sup> and therefore about 22nd May B.C. 7; and the annunciation to the Virgin Mary was on the 6th month current (not the 6th month complete) after that,<sup>o</sup> and therefore in November B.C. 7. The Nativity then, at the end of nine months from that time, would fall early in August B.C. 6; say, for the sake of clearness, on 1st August B.C. 6.

Such a season of the year agrees with the few particulars connected with the birth of Christ. It happened at the time of an enrolment or census, which could not with any probability have been fixed for a day during the winter, but might well have been ordered for the month of August, when the harvest was over, and the rains had not yet commenced. How, during the inclemency of a winter month, for instance, could the Virgin Mary, in an advanced state of pregnancy, have been suffered to travel all the way from Nazareth to Bethlehem? 'Pray ye (says our Lord) that your flight be not in winter.'<sup>p</sup> The serenity of the air also, at the time of the Nativity, is evidenced by the fact that the shepherds were keeping their flocks in the open fields.<sup>q</sup> According to the Rabbins, the flocks in Judæa were usually turned out at the Passover, and penned again in October.<sup>r</sup>

We should be chargeable with imperfectly treating our subject if, in discussing the date of the Nativity, we omitted all reference to the appearance of the star which brought the wise men to Jerusalem to greet the new-born King. It is said that Herod 'enquired of them diligently *what time the star appeared?*'<sup>s</sup> and that afterwards, when he was mocked of the wise men, he slew all the children of Bethlehem 'from two years old and under, *according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.*'<sup>t</sup> It has hence been inferred that the star must have appeared *just* two years before the murder of the Innocents, but this fails to do full justice to Herod's cold-blooded policy. His great object was, with all possible certainty, and at any expense of human life, to secure his victim; and we may conclude, therefore, that Herod's edict would, with that view, embrace all the children who had been born even some time (say six months) previously to the reported first appearance of the star. Thus we must look for the heavenly phenomenon not two years, but eighteen months, before the massacre. Assuming, as we have shown, that Matthew's account of the circum-

<sup>1</sup> See Ezra i. 1; iii. 6.

<sup>m</sup> This is Browne's calculation. *Ordo Sæclor.*, p. 33.

<sup>n</sup> Luke i. 23.

<sup>o</sup> Luke i. 36.

<sup>p</sup> Mark xiii. 18.

<sup>q</sup> Luke ii. 8.

<sup>r</sup> Anger, p. 12. note (k).

<sup>s</sup> Matt. ii. 7.

<sup>t</sup> Matt. ii. 16.

stances attending the arrival of the wise men from the East is only another version of the *emeute* of the Pharisees from the expectation of the coming king as recorded by Josephus; the arrival of the wise men, as contemporaneous with the *emeute* of the Pharisees, would fall about October B.C. 6,<sup>u</sup> and then the order for the massacre at Bethlehem, on Herod's finding himself mocked by them, would be referrible to November B.C. 6. But about eighteen months before this, viz. on 29th May B.C. 7, was an extraordinary conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, so as to present the appearance of a double star in the zodiacal sign of Pisces, the zodiacal sign that more particularly dominated over the fortunes of the Jews.<sup>x</sup>

It may be objected to this explanation that such a conjunction was temporary only, while the star of the wise men 'went before them and came and stood over where the young child was'<sup>y</sup> Our reply is a conjectural illustration from an analogous case. In A.D. 1604 was a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, and in A.D. 1605 was a conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars; and a few months after, in the same year, a new and extraordinary star of great brilliancy presented itself, and shone continuously for about eighteen months and then vanished.<sup>z</sup> In correspondence with these phenomena there occurred, according to Kepler, a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in B.C. 7, and then a conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars in B.C. 6;<sup>a</sup> and then, according to Matthew, an extraordinary star (which was evidently of some continuance) appeared at the birth of Christ, which we have placed soon after Midsummer B.C. 6. These parallelisms are so singular as almost to amount to argument.

<sup>u</sup> See B.C. 6, No. 878.

<sup>x</sup> Wieseler's Chronol., p. 65. Ideler's Hand-book, vol. ii, p. 404. See B.C. 7, No. 834.

<sup>y</sup> Matt. ii. 9.

<sup>z</sup> Wieseler's Chronol., p. 63.

<sup>a</sup> Wieseler's Chronol., p. 64.



## CHAPTER III.

## THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

WE shall now investigate some of the most important dates connected with the first propagation of the Gospel, as, 1. The date of the commencement of the ministry of John the Baptist as the forerunner of Christ; 2. The date of our Lord's baptism; 3. The date of the commencement of our Lord's ministry; and 4. The date of the Crucifixion. These topics are to a great extent linked together, and the results will be found mutually dependent upon each other; but the arguments will be best understood, and be presented in the most cogent form, if we discuss the several questions in exactly the inverse order to that in which we have stated them. We shall, therefore, begin with the date of the Crucifixion.

That our Saviour was crucified on a *Friday* is a fact familiar to all. Now if we can show from the Gospels that the Jews did actually celebrate their Passover on the evening that preceded the Crucifixion, that is, on the Thursday, and that the Passover, by the rules which regulated it, would fall on a Thursday in the year A.D. 33, but would not so fall in any year either before or after A.D. 33, for a considerable period, it will necessarily follow that the crucifixion of our Lord must be assigned to the year A.D. 33, and cannot be referred to any earlier or later year. We have therefore to establish these two propositions: 1. That the Jewish Passover was eaten by the Jews on the evening next before our Lord's crucifixion; and 2. That, in the year A.D. 33, the Paschal feast fell on a Thursday,

1. That the Passover was eaten by the Jews on the evening which preceded the Crucifixion, is a point upon which there is the most perfect harmony amongst the *three first evangelists*. It is indeed so clearly stated by them, that one would think not a doubt could be raised about it.

The reader will bear in mind that the only question in dispute is, whether the Paschal feast of the Jews was eaten by them on the evening *before*, or on the evening *after*, the Crucifixion. What does our Saviour Himself foretell as to this? We find the following passage in Matthew: 'Ye know that after two days *is the feast of the Passover*, and *the Son of Man is betrayed* to be crucified.'<sup>a</sup> Is it not to be plainly understood from these words, that the Passover was to begin *before* the Son of Man should be betrayed? If so, as Christ was betrayed on the Thursday night, and was crucified on Friday morning, the Passover could not commence on the Friday evening, but must have begun the day before.

Again, what account do the three first evangelists give of the Last Supper? Do they call it the Passover? and if so, Do they imply that our Saviour ate the Passover with His disciples at the usual time, or that He ate it proleptically, as it is called, i.e. by anticipation, and that while *He* kept the Passover on the Thursday, the *Jews* generally kept it on the Friday?

<sup>a</sup> Matt. xxvi. 2.

What says St. Matthew? 'Now the *first day* of the feast of Unleavened bread (*τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων*), the *disciples* came to Jesus, saying unto Him, Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat *the Passover*? And He said, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will *keep the Passover* at thy house, with My disciples. And the disciples did as Jesus had appointed them; and they *made ready the Passover*. Now *when the even was come*, He sat down with the twelve.'<sup>b</sup> Here we have not the most distant hint that our Saviour ate the Passover a day before the usual time. On the contrary, it was manifestly at the ordinary season, for the question where He was to eat it was put to Jesus by the *disciples* themselves, who, of course, would reckon the Passover as their countrymen did. The very day, too, in which the inquiry is made, is called the *first day of unleavened bread*, i. e. the day of the paschal sacrifices, in the evening of which the paschal supper was eaten. An attempt, indeed, is made to explain this away by the suggestion that *τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων* means the day *before* the feast; but this cannot be, for both Mark and Luke, as we shall see, call it the day of the paschal sacrifices. The supper, too, is repeatedly designated by Matthew as *the Passover*, without anything in the context to indicate that it was not the ordinary feast, eaten at the accustomed time. 'Where wilt Thou that we prepare *the Passover*?' 'I will keep *the Passover*.' 'They made ready *the Passover*.'

Mark gives the same relation, and in very similar terms, as Matthew,<sup>c</sup> but to the words *τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Ἀζύμων*, 'on the first day of unleavened bread,' he adds, '*when they killed the Passover*,' which is very observable, as identifying the very day on which the supper was eaten, for the paschal lamb was killed between noon and eventide (and generally between 3 and 5 o'clock), on the day in the evening of which the Paschal feast was celebrated.

St. Luke tells us, in the corresponding passage,<sup>d</sup> 'Then *came* the day of *unleavened bread*, *when the Passover must be killed*,' *ἦλθε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν Ἀζύμων ἐν ἣ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα*. Here we are told expressly that the day (that is, the first day) of unleavened bread was *come*. It was not the day before, but the very day on which the Passover was slain in the afternoon, and was eaten in the evening. And Luke implies also, that our Saviour eat the Passover at the usual hour, for he adds, when 'the hour,' i. e. the customary hour, 'was come, (*ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα*,) He sat down.'<sup>e</sup>

We shall now advert to the objections that have been urged against the hypothesis, that the Passover of the Jews preceded the Crucifixion. It is said, that if the Passover began on the Thursday, Christ was arrested by the rulers of the Jews *during the feast*; whereas, at the Sanhedrim previously held by them, they had come to the resolution of not apprehending Him 'on the feast day (*ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ*), lest there should be an uproar among the people.'<sup>f</sup> And not only so, but the Crucifixion, it is said, would then be during a feast, and it was not lawful amongst the Jews to put any man to death during a festival. To the first of these objections we answer, that the rulers of the Jews had come to the resolution referred to, when they supposed that the apprehension of Jesus would be conducted openly and by force. But very unexpectedly Judas Iscariot presented himself to the rulers, and offered to *betray* Jesus, when their counsels were at once altered, for by means of the proffered treachery, which they accepted with eagerness, they were enabled, as they did, to arrest Jesus without the

<sup>b</sup> Matt. xxvi. 17—20.<sup>c</sup> Mark xiv. 12.<sup>d</sup> Luke xxii. 7.<sup>e</sup> Luke xxii. 14.<sup>f</sup> Matt. xxvi. 5. Mark xiv. 1.



least public disturbance. As to the objection, that the Jews would not have put our Lord to death during a festival, the answer is, that the *Jews* did *not* put Him to death. If they had done so for blasphemy, the first accusation, our Lord would have been stoned, and then His prediction would not have been verified, that He should be ‘lifted up;’ but the rulers of the Jews admitted themselves before Pilate, ‘It is not lawful for *us* to put any man to death,’<sup>g</sup> viz. during the feast; but by accusing Jesus of setting Himself up as king, they made it a Roman offence,—no less a charge than a violation of the Julian laws, or high treason; and it was upon this count that Jesus was eventually tried before Pilate, and condemned, and then crucified,—the Roman mode of execution. Now, whatever scruples the Jews might have of profaning the festival by capital punishment, the Romans had none, but, on the contrary, considered the feasts, when such multitudes were congregated together, as the fittest occasion for making a public example. Even the Jews, however, occasionally, and under special circumstances, appear to have had recourse to capital punishment during their feasts, otherwise Hegeppus, in his account of the martyrdom of James the Just, would not have stated it to have occurred at the time of a Passover.<sup>h</sup> The fact may or not have been as related, but at all events it is evident that, in the writer’s opinion, there was no absurdity in the supposition.

But in support of the hypothesis that the Passover was eaten, not *before*, as we have assumed, but *after*, the Crucifixion, reliance is principally placed upon certain *ambiguous* expressions found in the Gospel of St. John, and which we shall now examine.

The first passage is the following: ‘Now *before the feast of the Passover* (πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα), Jesus, knowing that His hour was come that He should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved His own which were in the world, He loved them unto the end;’<sup>i</sup> and the evangelist then recounts the instance of love to which he alluded, viz. the washing of the disciples’ feet, and begins his narrative with the words, ‘And supper being ended,’ &c., ‘He riseth from supper,’ &c. Here, it is said, the washing of the disciples’ feet is expressly stated to be *after* the supper, and yet *before* the Passover, so that the supper of our Lord on the Thursday could not have been the celebration of the Passover itself. What are the facts? John had stated in the previous chapter, that Jesus came to Bethany, in the suburbs of Jerusalem, ‘*six days before the Passover.*’<sup>k</sup> By the expression, then, πρὸ ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα, he does not mean *the day* before the arrival of the Passover, or he would have used words to that effect, this evangelist being remarkably particular in the sequence of the *days*, as any one must observe on a perusal of the first chapter of his Gospel; but the import of the phrase is, ‘now immediately before the *feast* of the Passover, or *paschal supper*,’ Jesus testified His love by washing the disciples’ feet, which was a preliminary ceremony before eating the lamb. Philo tells us, that before the guests presumed to eat the Passover they purified themselves by ablution, that is, by washing the head, and hands, and feet.<sup>l</sup> Jesus discharged the most menial of these offices by washing, not the hands or head, but the feet of the disciples. Peter asked that

<sup>g</sup> John xviii. 31.

<sup>h</sup> Euseb., l. ii. c. 23.

<sup>i</sup> *ἁγνηρίοις κεκαθαμένων.* Philo de Septenario, s. 18.

<sup>j</sup> John xiii. 1.

<sup>k</sup> John xii. 1.

Indeed, generally, the Jews, before a banquet, were wont to wash their feet, as we may learn from the words of Christ when he supped with Simon the Pharisee, ‘I entered into thy house, thou gavest Me no water for My feet.’—Luke vii. 44.

<sup>l</sup> Ἐκάστη δὲ οἴκᾳ κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον σχῆμα ἱεροῦ καὶ σεμνότητά περιβέβληται τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν εὐωχίαν εὐτρεπιζομένου, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ συσσίτια συνευγεγμένων ἀγνευτικοῖς περι-



his hands and his head also might be washed, but Jesus rebuked him, as He had intended only to give a lesson of humility. The paschal supper, then, had not yet begun, and if we follow the narrative we shall find this to be the case. The words translated ‘and supper being ended, . . . He riseth from supper,’ are an unfortunate mistranslation of the words *καὶ δείπνου γενομένου . . . ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου*, which should be rendered, ‘and when it was supper,’<sup>m</sup> &c., ‘He riseth from table,’ &c. For that the supper had not yet taken place is evident from the sequel. After Jesus had concluded the ceremony of washing the disciples’ feet, He sat down again, *ἀναπεσὼν πάλιν*, John xiii. 12, and the supper commenced. This is shown by the subsequent introduction of our Lord’s declaration. ‘Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray Me;’<sup>n</sup> for both Matthew (xxvi. 21), and Mark (xiv. 18), who relate the same words, expressly say that they were uttered while Jesus and His disciples were eating the Passover, *ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν*. The same thing is also implied in the Gospel of John himself; for when John asked Jesus who it was who should betray Him, Jesus said, ‘He it is to whom I shall give a sop,’ for no doubt the sop was given so as not to excite observation, in the course of the supper.

There are still three other passages of St. John which have been relied upon as showing that Christ was crucified *before* the Passover; and one of them is connected with the subject just discussed. When Judas, after the sop, left the room and went out, with an intimation from Jesus not to tarry, ‘what thou doest do quickly,’ the disciples surmised either that he had been directed to ‘buy those things that they had need of against the feast’ (*ὧν χρειαὶν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*), or to ‘give something to the poor.’<sup>o</sup> The former supposition, it is said, assumes that the feast had not yet begun. However, though the paschal lamb had been eaten, yet some ceremonies might still remain, and it is much more likely that Judas, at that unseasonable hour, should have quitted the table abruptly to purchase something needed immediately for the due observance of the feast which they were then celebrating, than to procure provisions for a feast to begin the following afternoon. But even supposing that Judas’s object was to buy provisions for a feast which was to be observed the next day, it by no means follows that such feast was the Passover. The feast of Unleavened bread continued, after the day of the paschal sacrifice, an entire week, and during the whole of that time unleavened cakes were eaten and sacrifices made; Judas, therefore, might well be thought to be engaged in making purchases against one of the remaining days of Unleavened bread.

Another passage is, that when the Jews conducted Jesus to the Prætorium they would not enter in, ‘lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover;’<sup>p</sup> and these words have been cited as a proof that the Passover had not then been celebrated. But how is this language at variance with the hypothesis that the paschal lamb had been eaten the evening before? If, as is supposed on the other side, the Jews would not pollute themselves the morning *before* a feast, *à fortiori* they would not do so when the feast had actually begun, and was in the course of celebration. The words, ‘that they might eat the Passover,’ do not necessarily have any reference to the Passover in the strict sense, for the whole seven days of Unleavened bread were called the Passover, and as they were distinguished by the eating of unleavened cakes, ‘to eat the Passover’ was a synonymous expression with keeping the feast.<sup>q</sup> The Jews there-

<sup>m</sup> Thus *γενομένης δὲ ἑσπέρας*, Philo in Flacc., s. 13, is ‘when evening was come,’ and not ‘when evening was past.’ So *ὄψις γενομένης*. Matt. xxvi. 20; Mark xiv. 17.

<sup>n</sup> John xiii. 21.

<sup>o</sup> John xiii. 29.

<sup>p</sup> John xviii. 28.

<sup>q</sup> ‘They ate throughout the feast, seven days  
2 Chron. xxx. 22.



fore would not enter into the Prætorium, not that they might eat the paschal lamb in the evening (by which time possibly they might have purified themselves again<sup>r</sup>), but that they might 'eat the Passover,' i.e. keep the remaining days of the feast without defilement.

The only other objection drawn from St. John's Gospel is the passage, that when Pilate took his seat on the tribunal, upon the Gabbatha or tessellated pavement, John remarks that 'It was *the Preparation of the Passover*;' <sup>s</sup> words which have been accepted as equivalent to 'the preparation *for* the Passover,' and indicating that the Passover had not yet arrived. Now the expression Preparation (Παρασκευή) had amongst the Jews a purely technical import, and signified *the day before the Sabbath*. Thus Mark writing for Roman converts, who might not be acquainted with the term, and speaking of the Friday of the Crucifixion, observes, 'It was the *Preparation*, that is, *the day before the Sabbath*, ἡν Παρασκευή, ὃ ἔστι προσάββατον, Mark xvi. 42. Both Matthew and Luke, and even John himself, use it in the same sense.<sup>t</sup> The Passover (by which name the feast of Unleavened bread was commonly known) lasted seven days, besides the day of the paschal sacrifices, and of course a Sabbath occurred during the week. This Sabbath was called the Sabbath of the Passover, and the preceding day, or Preparation, (Παρασκευή,) was known as the Preparation of the Passover. Thus the expression of John, instead of proving that the Passover was still future, indicates exactly the reverse, inasmuch as this Preparation is called the Paschal Preparation, or that which occurred *in* the paschal week.

Perhaps the ambiguous phrases found in the Gospel of St. John, and which we have just discussed, *might* at first sight, and taken by themselves, suggest the notion that the evangelist assumed the day of the Passover to be still future; but even in John we meet with other expressions implying as clearly that the Passover had already commenced. The words, 'The Preparation *of* (not *for*) the Passover,' tend to this conclusion: and again we read, 'The Jews therefore, because it was the Preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day (which began at sunset on Friday), for that day was a high day, besought Pilate,' &c.<sup>u</sup> Here the evangelist speaks of the Sabbath commencing on Friday at sunset as a 'high day;' but if, as supposed by those whose opinion we are impugning, the Passover itself was to take place on Friday, John would have called it the Passover, or *the* high day, and not merely *a* high day. But if, on the contrary, as we contend, the paschal supper had been eaten the previous evening (Thursday), the language is most appropriate, for the day after the Passover, or second day of the feast of Unleavened bread, viz. from Friday at sunset to Saturday at sunset, though not *the* high day, was *a* high day, being the feast of the Sheaf-offering.<sup>x</sup> Again, Pilate is described in St. John as saying to the people on the Friday morning, 'Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the Passover,' ἐν τῷ Πάσχα,<sup>y</sup> i.e. 'during,' or 'in the course of,' the Passover; does it not then follow that at the time when these words were uttered, the Passover had already commenced?

The result of the argument is that Matthew, Mark, and Luke state most positively that the paschal supper was eaten the evening before the Crucifixion, while all the passages in St. John having a contrary tendency are capable of explanation.

<sup>r</sup> In general, however, a purification required a whole day.

<sup>s</sup> John xix. 14.

<sup>t</sup> Matt. xxvii. 62; Luke xxiii. 54; John xix. 31.

<sup>u</sup> John xix. 31.

<sup>v</sup> Philo de Septenario, sect. 20.

<sup>y</sup> John xviii. 39.

We must therefore conclude that the paschal supper was eaten by the Jews on the evening of the Thursday next preceding our Lord's crucifixion.

2. We have now to establish that the Passover, or supper of the paschal lamb, in the year A.D. 33 fell on a Thursday, and did not fall on that day in any other year either before or after, for a period of many years.

Before we enter upon a discussion of the authorities as to the rule by which the Passover was regulated, we must premise some general observations, without which the disjointed passages which will be cited can scarcely be understood.

The Passover (Πάσχα), or feast of Unleavened bread ('Αζυμα), for both terms were used,) in their ordinary and common acceptation comprised three distinct feasts that fell together at the same season of the year, viz. First, the Passover, properly so called; secondly, the feast of Unleavened bread; and thirdly, the feast of the Sheaf-offering. The Passover was always on 14th Nisan, reckoned from sunset to sunset, the paschal sacrifices being killed on 14th Nisan between noon and eventide, and the paschal supper being eaten the same evening. The feast of Unleavened bread began with 15th Nisan at sunset, and ended at sunset on that day week, during all which time certain sacrifices were killed, and unleavened cakes were eaten. The feast of the Sheaf-offering began with the second day of the feast of Unleavened bread, and lasted one day, the sheaf being offered in the morning. Thus, supposing 14th Nisan to begin on Wednesday at sunset, the paschal sacrifices would be killed on Thursday in the afternoon, and the paschal supper would be eaten the same evening. The feast of Unleavened bread would begin at sunset on the same Thursday, and expire at sunset on the Thursday following. The feast of the Sheaf-offering would begin at sunset on Friday, and the sheaf would be offered on Saturday morning, and the feast would end at sunset on Saturday. The Jewish Sabbath and the Sheaf-offering in this case falling together, would more particularly make the day what St. John calls 'a high day.' We may further remark, that the sacrifices for the Passover were killed, according to Philo,<sup>2</sup> from 12 at noon till eventide, or, according to Josephus,<sup>a</sup> between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. on 14th Nisan. But both agree that this 14th of Nisan was reckoned the first day of the feast, so that the Passover, or feast of Unleavened bread, (in the larger signification of those terms,) was said to last eight days, beginning on 14th Nisan, and ending on 21st Nisan. The writers of the New Testament speak of the feast in the same way. Thus Matthew writes, 'On the *first day* of Unleavened bread,'<sup>b</sup> (which evidently, from the context, was the day of the paschal sacrifices,) the disciples asked Jesus where He would eat the Passover, which was to be celebrated the same evening. So Mark in similar terms, 'On the *first day of Unleavened bread, when they killed the Passover* ;<sup>c</sup> and Luke, 'Then came the *day of Unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed*.'<sup>d</sup>

What we have now to ascertain in the first place is, by what rule from year to year the recurrence of the paschal festival was determined. The pivot of the whole year was 15th Nisan, or the first day of Unleavened bread. The 14th day (exclusive) before it was the 1st Nisan, or the commencement of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, and all the other feasts followed at certain regular intervals.

The 15th Nisan then was *that day (reckoned by the Jews from sunset to sunset) on which occurred the full moon, at the time of the vernal equinox, when the sun*

<sup>a</sup> Ἀρχάμενοι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἕως ἑσπέρας. Philo de Septen., sect. 18.

<sup>b</sup> Θύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ἕρας μέχρι ἐνδεκάτης. Jos.

Bell., vi. 9, 3.

<sup>c</sup> Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων. Matt. xxvi. 17.

<sup>d</sup> Mark xiv. 12.

<sup>e</sup> Luke xxii. 7.



was in Aries; and as, according to the Ancients, the sun entered Aries on 17th March and passed into Taurus on 17th April, the Passover was necessarily celebrated between these two limits. The Passover proper, or day of paschal sacrifices, was the day before, on 14th Nisan, and therefore always *preceded* the full moon. In strictness, the paschal sacrifices were to be both killed and eaten on 14th Nisan, viz. before sunset; but as the sacrifices were usually killed between the hours of 3 and 5, the paschal supper often, and in later times generally, extended into 15th Nisan, i. e. was celebrated after sunset on 14th Nisan.

According to the law of Moses, the lamb was to be chosen on 10th Nisan, and was to be killed on 14th Nisan, between the evenings, that is, in the twilight or afternoon, and was to be eaten the same evening,<sup>o</sup> with bitter herbs and unleavened bread.<sup>f</sup>

We cannot have any higher authority, after holy Writ, than Philo, who was living at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, and was the most learned Jew of the day, and composed a tract upon the nature of the Jewish feasts. Philo then tells us that the *sacrifices* for the Passover were killed from noon to eventide on 14th Nisan,<sup>g</sup> and were eaten the same day with the saying of prayer and the singing of hymns. And he then informs us that the feast of Unleavened bread, (in its proper and confined sense,) joined on to the feast of the Passover, and he proceeds thus:—'This feast (of Unleavened bread) begins on 15th Nisan, the day that divides the month, and *on which the moon arrives at the full*, in order that on that day there may be no darkness at all.<sup>h</sup> The 15th Nisan then, which began at sunset of the day on which the paschal sacrifices were killed, and in the evening of which the paschal supper was eaten, was that day reckoned from sunset to sunset on which the moon arrived at the full, and for the reason assigned by Philo, viz. that there might be no darkness.

In a subsequent passage he is still more decided, for he explains the reason why the feast of Unleavened bread was observed on 15th Nisan thus:—'That not only by day, but by night also, the world may be full of the all-glorious light of the sun and moon, which on that day rise in *exact opposition to each other* with blended beams, so as to leave no interval of darkness.<sup>i</sup> The 15th Nisan, therefore, was the day on which the sun and moon were in direct opposition, that is, when the moon was at the full.

In another passage Philo observes:—'Moses writes, that the first month should begin with the vernal equinox. And in that month, on *the fourteenth day*, when the moon's orb is just *about to be full*, the Passover, a notable festival, called in Chaldee Pascha, is celebrated.<sup>k</sup> This exactly accords with his previous statement, viz. that the paschal sacrifices were killed on 14th Nisan, and that on 14th Nisan the moon was not full, but just about to be full, (*μέλλοντος γένεσθαι πλησιφαούς*), i. e. it would be full a few hours after on 15th Nisan.

We cannot part from Philo without adverting to another remarkable passage, in which he states that the feast of the New moon was celebrated as being the *first day of the month*, ἀρχὴ μηνός, and also as the day on which the new moon became visible

<sup>o</sup> Levit. xxiii. 5.; Numb. ix. 3; xxviii. 16.

<sup>f</sup> Exodus xii. 8.

<sup>g</sup> Ἄγεται δὲ ἡ πάνδημος θυσία (the Passover) τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός (Nisan). Philo de Septen., s. 18, 19.

<sup>h</sup> Τῆς δὲ ἑορτῆς (Ἁζύμων) διχόμενος ἔρχει ἡ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ καθ' ἣν σελήνη πλησιφαῆς γίνεται, προνοία τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι σκότος καθ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. Philo de Septen., s. 19.

<sup>i</sup> Ἴνα μὴ μεθ' ἡμέραν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ πλήρης

ὁ κόσμος ᾗ τοῦ παγκάλου φωτός, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καθ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀλλήλοις ἐπαταελλόντων ἀγααῖς ἀδιαστίκτοις, αἷς μεθόριον οὐ διακρίνει σκότος. Philo de Septen., s. 24.

<sup>k</sup> Τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐαρινῆς ἰσημερίας πρώτων ἀναγράφει μῆνα Μωυσῆς. . . . Τῷ δὲ μηνί τούτῳ περὶ τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτῃν ἡμέραν μέλλοντος τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου γένεσθαι πλησιφαοῦς ἄγεται τὰ διαβατήρια δημοφανῆς ἑορτῆ τὸ Χαλδαιοτὶ λεγόμενον Πάσχα. Phil. Vit. Moys., iii. 29.



to the eye ; in other words, that the *first day of the month* was regulated, not by the actual new moon, or the change, but by the phasis.<sup>1</sup> The explanation is as follows:—The interval between the actual new moon, or change, and the full moon, being fourteen days and eighteen hours, and the full moon always falling on 15th Nisan, the *change* of the moon would not necessarily be on 1st Nisan, but would sometimes take place as much as eighteen hours before. Thus, if the full moon occurred at the first instant of 15th Nisan, the new moon would at the beginning of 1st Nisan be eighteen hours old ; while, as the opposite extreme, if the full moon occurred at the last instant of 15th Nisan, the actual new moon would take place about six hours after the commencement of 1st Nisan. On the other hand, the moon not being visible until eighteen hours after the change, and again disappearing eighteen hours before the next change, (making together thirty-six hours, or a day and a half,) the whole lunation of the *visible* moon was just twenty-eight days, and the interval between the *phasis* or first appearance of the moon and the full was exactly fourteen days, and thus if the full moon was always on the 15th Nisan, the phasis would be always on 1st Nisan, and *vice versâ*. The Jews, therefore, regulated their ecclesiastical year, not by the *change*, but by the *phasis* of the moon ; and thus, as Philo remarks, the full moon was always on 15th Nisan, and the new moon was always on 1st Nisan.

Turn we now to Josephus, who being himself a priest, and acquainted with Jewish ceremonies, and living at the same time with Philo, though somewhat junior to him, must rank next to him in authority. We read in the Antiquities, ‘ But Moses made it a law, that in the month Xanthicus, called by us Nisan, and which is the beginning of the year, *on the fourteenth day* according to the moon, [i. e. according to the moon’s *phasis*,<sup>m</sup>] *when the sun is in Aries* [from 17th March to 17th April] we should every year *kill the sacrifice called the Passover*. But on 15th Nisan, the feast of *Unleavened bread*, which lasts seven days, *succeeds the Passover*, and on the second day of the feast of Unleavened bread, being 16th Nisan, we offer the *first-fruits* of the barley, (i. e. the Sheaf-offering).<sup>n</sup> Here we have a statement that the Passover was on 14th Nisan, and since the historian mentions in another place that the sacrifices were between 3 and 5 p.m., it follows that the paschal supper was eaten in the evening of the day on which began 15th Nisan, reckoned from sunset to sunset. Again, he tells us, as Philo had done before, that the feast of Unleavened bread commenced with 15th Nisan, and that the Sheaf-offering was on the second day of that feast, viz. on 16th Nisan. Thus the Passover was on the day *before* the full moon, the feast of Unleavened bread began on the day *of* the full moon, and the feast of the Sheaf-offering was on the day *after* the full moon.

Another passage is this:—‘ Having performed the *sacrifice* called the *Passover* on the 14th day of the same month, (Nisan,) they feasted seven days.’<sup>o</sup> Here again the Paschal sacrifices are placed on 14th Nisan, i. e. in the afternoon of that day, (the

<sup>1</sup> Τρίτην ἑορτὴν ἀναγράφουεν τὴν κατὰ σελήνης νομηνίαν. Πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀρχὴ μηνὸς . . . ἔπειτα δὲ ὅτι κατ’ αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ἀφωτιστὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ· τρίτον δὲ, ὅτι τῷ ἐλάττουι καὶ ἀσθενεστέρῳ κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ δυνατώτερον ἀφελείας ἀναγκαίας μεταδίδωσι. Νομηνία γὰρ ἄρχεται φωτίζειν αἰσθητῶ φέγγει σελήνην ἥλιος, ἣ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον κάλλος ἀναφαίνει τοῖς ὄρωσι. Philo de Septen., sect. 17.

<sup>m</sup> It cannot be from the moon’s change, for then 15th Nisan would not always be the day of the full moon, which it invariably was.

<sup>n</sup> Τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῷ Ξανθικῷ ὃς Νισὰν παρ’ ἡμῖν καλεῖται, καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην, ἐν Κριῷ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος . . . τὴν θυσίαν Πάσχα λεγομένην δι’ ἔτους ἐκάστου θύει ἐνόμισε . . . Πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ δεκάτῃ διαδέχεται τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα ἢ τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτὴ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὄσα . . . Τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ (ἕκτῃ δ’ ἐστὶν καὶ δεκάτῃ) . . . τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶ τῆς κριθῆς ἐπιφέρουσι. Ant., iii. 10, 5.

<sup>o</sup> Τὴν πάσχα προσαγορευομένην θυσίαν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς (Nisan) ἐπιτελεσάντες κατεωχῆθησαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. Ant., xi. 4, 8.



paschal supper therefore being in the evening,) and after that, and exclusively, follow the seven days of Unleavened bread, making together, for the whole festival, eight days, the duration reckoned by Josephus in an earlier page of the same work.<sup>p</sup> In the Wars we read, 'The feast of Unleavened bread (*Ἄζυμα*) being in the course of celebration on the 14th day of the month Xanthicus;<sup>q</sup> which is consistent with his former accounts, for the feast of Unleavened bread (*Ἄζυμα*) here means the whole festival, called indifferently Πάσχα and Ἄζυμα, commencing with the paschal sacrifices on 14th Nisan, and making, with the seven days of Unleavened bread, the eight days allowed by him for the entire festival.

Eusebius furnishes us with the additional testimony of Aristobulus, who was an ancient master in Israel, and is said to have assisted in translating the Septuagint. It runs as follows:—'The day of the Passover being appointed for the 14th day of the month (Nisan), after eventide, the moon will be in diametrical opposition to the sun (as may be seen on every day of the full moon), and they will be, the sun in the quarter of the heavens denoting the vernal equinox, and consequently the moon in the quarter of the heavens denoting the autumnal equinox.'<sup>r</sup> The passage is somewhat obscure, but we may collect the same results as before, viz. that the paschal sacrifices commenced on 14th Nisan, and that the paschal supper was eaten the same evening; i. e. after sunset, and therefore on 15th Nisan; and that on the latter day, i. e. some time between the sunset of 14th Nisan and the sunset of 15th Nisan, the sun and moon were in direct opposition, and consequently the moon was at the full.

The citations which have been adduced appear to justify the following conclusions, 1. That the Passover, including the paschal sacrifices and the paschal supper, was observed on 14th Nisan, the day next *before* the full of the moon; 2. That the feast of Unleavened bread began on 15th Nisan, reckoned from sunset to sunset, and was the *very day* of the *full moon*; and 3. That the feast of the Sheaf-offering was on the second day of the feast of Unleavened bread, and therefore on the day *after* the full moon.

There is one fact incidentally recorded in history which is usually appealed to on the subject of the Jewish festivals, and therefore must not be passed over in silence. Josephus relates that when Antiochus Sidetes made a campaign against the Parthians, he was accompanied by Hyrcanus the Highpriest; and Josephus refers, in confirmation of this statement, to Nicolas Damascenus, who related that Antiochus, after a victory over Indates, the Parthian general, halted two days on the banks of the Lycus, in deference to Hyrcanus, as the Jews were observing a festival which prevented them from marching; and Josephus adds that Nicolas was perfectly right, for that, as it happened, 'the Feast of Pentecost in that year followed after a Jewish sabbath,' so that the Jews could not move from their quarters during those two days.<sup>s</sup> Of what year then is the historian speaking? Livy, according to his epitomiser, mentions the consulship of M. Perpenna (B. C. 130), and then the campaign of Antiochus against the Parthians, and then the consulship of Sempronius (B. C. 129),<sup>t</sup> so that Livy

<sup>p</sup> Ant., ii. 15, 1.

<sup>q</sup> Τῆς τῶν Ἄζυμων ἐνστάσης ἡμέρας τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ Ἐανθικοῦ μηνός (Nisan). Bell., v. 3, 1.

<sup>r</sup> Δοθείσης τῆς τῶν Διαβατηρίων ἡμέρας τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός μεθ' ἑσπέρας, ἐσθίξεται μὲν ἡ σελήνη τὴν ἐναντίαν καὶ (lege κατὰ) διάμετρον τῷ ἡλίῳ στάσιον· ὥσπερ οὖν ἐξεστὶν ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις ὄρων

ἔσονται δὲ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἑαρινὸν ἰσημέρινον ὁ ἥλιος τμήμα, ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατὰ τὸ φθινοπώρινον ἰσημέρινον ἡ σελήνη. Eccles. Hist., vii. 32.

<sup>s</sup> Ἐνέστη γὰρ ἡ Πεντηκοστή μετὰ τὸ σάββατον Ant., xiii. 8, 4.

<sup>t</sup> Liv. Epit., lib. 59.

evidently placed the campaign of Antiochus against the Parthians in the consulship of C. Claudius and M. Perpenna, i. e. in B. C. 130.

There is a little confusion as to the details of the war, but the fullest account of it is to be found in Justin, viz. that Antiochus advanced boldly into the enemy's country and fought three battles successfully, and then dispersed his troops into winter quarters in different parts of Babylonia, and that this division of the forces emboldened the king of Parthia to resume the offensive, and Antiochus was slain in the winter.<sup>a</sup>

This date of the war is confirmed by a decree of the Romans, preserved by Josephus. 'When Hyrcanus,' writes the historian, 'heard of the death of Antiochus, he sent an embassy to the Romans, to obtain, if he could, a restitution of the dominions of which he had been deprived by Antiochus, and solicited for this purpose the Roman alliance.\* The decree of the Senate in answer runs thus:—*Φάνιος, Μάρκου υἱός, στρατηγὸς βουλήν συνήγαγε πρὸ ὀκτῶ εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν Κομιτίῳ, παρόντος Λουκίου Μαννίου, Λουκίου υἱοῦ Μεντινᾶ καὶ Γαίου Σεμπρονίου, Γαίου υἱοῦ Φαλέρνα, περὶ ὧν ἐπρέσβευσε, &c.*<sup>†</sup> The consuls for the year B. C. 129 were Manius Aquilius and C. Sempronius,<sup>‡</sup> whose names appear in the decree as presiding in the senate. Thus the date of the decree was 6th February B. C. 129, and the war of Antiochus against the Parthians must therefore have been waged the year before, i. e. in B. C. 130. This agrees with the other dates in the life of Antiochus, for he came to the throne in the 174th year of the Seleucian era,<sup>§</sup> i. e. some time between the autumn of B. C. 139 and the autumn of B. C. 138; and Eusebius tells us that Antiochus reigned nine years,<sup>b</sup> which he would thus have done, if he ceased to reign toward the close of B. C. 130. We cannot doubt, therefore, that the victory over Indates, mentioned by Josephus, was the first of the three battles fought in B. C. 130, and that the Pentecost alluded to was the feast of that year.<sup>c</sup>

On what day, then, did the feast of Pentecost fall in the year B. C. 130? The hinge upon which the whole Jewish year turned was, as we have said, the 15th Nisan, which was always the day of full moon, about the time of the vernal equinox, when the sun was in Aries, that is, between 17th March and 17th April. The Passover full moon then, in B. C. 130, was that which occurred at the latter end of March. The real new moon was on 11th March, at 1 a. m.;<sup>d</sup> and the phasis therefore would be eighteen hours after, on 11th March, at 7 p. m., and the full moon would be fourteen days after, on 25th March, at 7 p. m. Thus the 15th Nisan, or day of full moon, was from sunset on 25th March to sunset on 26th March. The Sheaf-offering, or 16th Nisan, was from sunset on 26th March to sunset on 27th March, and Pentecost was the fiftieth day from that (exclusive), and was therefore from sunset on 15th May to sunset on 16th May.

That the Pentecost, or fiftieth day, was thus computed may be satisfactorily proved. In Leviticus, xxiii. 15, we read, And ye shall count unto you from *the morrow after*

<sup>a</sup> Justin, xxxiii. 10.

<sup>‡</sup> Ant., xiii. 9, 2.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid.

<sup>§</sup> Vell. Pat., ii. 4.

<sup>c</sup> 1 Maccab., xv. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. Chronic.

<sup>c</sup> See further Wiesel, Chron. Synop., 455. We should add that there are coins of Antiochus Sidetes with the stamp of a Seleucian era of a later date than B. C. 130, viz. B. C. 129 and B. C. 128, Eckhel, iii. 237. But there seems to be no doubt that the Parthian expedition was in B. C. 130, though the historians may be in error in assuming that the death of Antiochus was contempo-

aneous with his defeat. Demetrius, his immediate predecessor, ceased to reign in B. C. 138, on being made prisoner by the Parthians; but he was again set at liberty in B. C. 130, in order to aid the Parthians by embarrassing Antiochus the reigning king, when Demetrius, pursuing his own interests, resumed the throne for himself, and the reign of Antiochus was then considered as closed, though possibly Antiochus may have lived somewhat longer.

<sup>d</sup> Wiesel, Chron. Synop., 461.



the Sabbath (meaning by the Sabbath the 15th Nisan). From the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering, (the 16th Nisan,) seven Sabbaths (or weeks) shall be complete. Even unto the morrow *after* the seventh Sabbath (or week) shall ye number fifty days, and ye shall offer a new meat-offering,' &c. (viz. the Pentecost). So Philo tells us that the 16th Nisan, or second day of Unleavened bread, was called the sheaf (*δράγμα*,) and 'from that day forward is reckoned the Pentecost, or fiftieth day, *the odd day setting the seal to the sacred number of seven weeks.*'<sup>h</sup> And Josephus uses very similar terms.<sup>i</sup> Indeed, Maimonides expressly tells us that the Pentecost was the fiftieth day from 16th Nisan, *exclusive.*<sup>k</sup> Our Church, therefore, has from the earliest ages celebrated Whit-Sunday, which corresponds to the Jewish Pentecost, on the right day; for our Saviour was crucified, as we shall see, on Friday, the 15th Nisan, so that Saturday was the 16th Nisan; and Whit-Sunday is always the fiftieth day from the Saturday next before Easter, *exclusive.*

On what day of the week, then, did 16th May B.C. 130 fall? We turn to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks (whose calculations can be relied upon, not only from the reputation of the writer, but from their corresponding with the German computations), and we find that 16th May B.C. 130 was a Saturday, or Jewish Sabbath. But, if so, the Pentecost in B.C. 130 did *not follow* a Sabbath, but was on the day of the Sabbath itself. If we stopped here we should be chargeable with error either in the date of Antiochus's war in B.C. 130, or in our canons for determining the Jewish festivals. But another ingredient calls for attention. The Jews thrice in every octad of years intercalated a month, and the 5th year of the Sabbatic cycle (such as was the year B.C. 130) was in great favor for intercalation. Not only so, but the paschal moon of that year, if there was no intercalation, would fall almost as early as it possibly could, viz. on 25th March, the very day of the equinox itself, as calculated by the ancients. It is more than probable, therefore, that the year B.C. 130 was fixed upon for intercalation; and if so, the paschal full moon would be a month later, viz. in April. The full moon for that month was on 24th April,<sup>l</sup> which was therefore 15th Nisan, and 25th April was 16th Nisan, and the fiftieth day from that (exclusive), or 14th June, was the Pentecost. We open De Morgan's Book of Almanacks and find that 14th June was a Sunday, and the day before it was a Saturday, or Jewish Sabbath. Thus, as Josephus remarks, 'the Pentecost that year followed next after a Sabbath.'

We have now to apply the foregoing principles to A.D. 33, the year to which we have assigned the Crucifixion. In A.D. 33 the full moon of the vernal equinox, when the sun was in Aries, i.e. between 17th March and 17th April, was at Jerusalem on 3rd April at 5h. 12m. p.m.<sup>m</sup>

The 15th Nisan then was from sunset on 2nd April to sunset on 3rd April. The paschal sacrifices were killed the day before, i.e. on 2nd April, between noon and eventide, and the paschal supper was eaten the same evening. On *what day of the week*, then, did the 2nd of April fall in A.D. 33? We consult the Book of Almanacks,

<sup>h</sup> Ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας Πεντηκοστῆ ἀριθμείται, ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων ἱερὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισφραγισομένης μονάδος. Philo de Septen., sect. 21.

<sup>i</sup> Ἐβδόμη δ' ἑβδομάδος διαγεγενημένης μετὰ ταύτην τῆν θυσίαν (αἷται δ' εἰσιν αἱ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἡμέραι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑννέα), τῇ Πεντηκοστῇ, ἣν Ἑβραῖοι Ἀσαραθὰ καλοῦσιν . . . προσάγουσι τῷ Θεῷ ἄρτον. Ant., iii. 10, 6.

<sup>k</sup> See Jennings' Jewish Antiq. on the subject of the Pentecost.

<sup>l</sup> Anger, 36; and see L'Art de Verifier les Dates.

<sup>m</sup> The eclipse of the moon, which can only be at the full, occurred on 3rd April A.D. 33, at 3 p.m., for the meridian of Paris; i.e. at 5h 12m., for the meridian of Jerusalem. See Pingré, *post*, p. 374; Greswell's Diss., vol. i. p. 357; Anger, p. 37; Browne's Ordo Sæclorum, p. 55; Wieseler's Chron. Evang., p. 446; and see A.D. 33, No. 1458.

and we there learn that 2nd April was a *Thursday*.<sup>n</sup> This, then, agrees with the narratives of the New Testament, for the Evangelists tell us that the Crucifixion occurred on the day preceding the Sabbath, that is, on a Friday, and that the paschal supper was eaten the evening before, that is, on a *Thursday*. It is stated by Mr. Mann,<sup>o</sup> in his Essay on the time of our Saviour's Passion, that the paschal feast did not fall on a Thursday from A.D. 26 (exclusive) to A.D. 35 (inclusive), except in the year A.D. 33. What is the result? That the year A.D. 33, and no other, was the year in which our Saviour was crucified.

Can this date of our Lord's crucifixion be confirmed by any external testimony? We learn from the Evangelists, that on the day of our Lord's crucifixion occurred a supernatural darkness from 12 o'clock at noon to 3 p.m.<sup>p</sup> Now Phlegon, a heathen writer, the author of the Olympiads, and who flourished in the reign of Adrian, records the fact of an eclipse of the sun at noon in the 4th year of the 202nd Olympiad.<sup>q</sup> The 4th year of the 202nd Olympiad was from Midsummer A.D. 32 to Midsummer A.D. 33, and on referring to the Table of Eclipses which will be found in *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*,<sup>r</sup> it will be observed that from Midsummer A.D. 32 to Midsummer A.D. 33, there was *no natural eclipse of the sun*. Phlegon, therefore, records what never happened, unless the occurrence mentioned by the Evangelists be true. If the Gospels be authentic, and if, as we have shown, the crucifixion of our Lord was at the Passover of A.D. 33, the Evangelists and Phlegon confirm each other.

Our Lord's crucifixion has been referred to the Passover of A.D. 33, from a careful comparison of historical data, without the least reference to the fulfilment of prophecy, which of course could not be allowed to accomplish itself by influencing our view of the current of events. Having arrived, however, at the above conclusion, upon perfectly independent principles, we may point out in how striking a manner the prediction of the seventy weeks in the book of Daniel is fulfilled upon this hypothesis. The prophecy is one of the most remarkable in Holy Scripture, both from the definite manner in which the periods of years are marked, and the certainty with which the *terminus* from which they commence can be ascertained. The words of the prophet are as follows:—

1. '*Seventy weeks* are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to *anoint the most Holy*.
2. 'Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment *to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince* shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks.
3. '(In the seven weeks) the street shall be built again, and the *wall*, even in perilous times.
4. 'And *after* the sixty-two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for Himself; and (thereafter) the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the *sanctuary*, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

<sup>n</sup> See also *post*, A. D. 33, No. 1458.

<sup>o</sup> De Anno Emortuali, &c., and see A. D. 33, No. 1458.

<sup>p</sup> Mark xv. 33; Luke xxiii. 44; Matt. xxvii. 45.

<sup>q</sup> Τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς σθ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἕκλειψις ἡλίου, μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωρισμένων πρότερον, καὶ νιξ ὄρα ἕκτη

τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι, Σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιθυνίαν γενόμενος τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας καταστρέψατο. Müller's Frag. Græc. Hist., vol. iii. 607.

<sup>r</sup> See *post*, p. 374.



5. 'And the one week shall confirm the covenant with many<sup>s</sup> and in the midst of the week, (i.e. in the middle year, being the fourth of the week,) he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.

6. 'And (thenceforth) for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.'<sup>t</sup>

The weeks are of course weeks of years, and thus we have 7 weeks, or 49 years, for the rebuilding of the city; then an interval of 62 weeks, or 434 years; and then the last week, or a compass of 7 years, during which the prophet tells us, 1. That the new covenant should be introduced; 2. That in the middle year of the week, the Messiah should cause the ceremonial law of Moses to cease; and 3. That at the end of the week, being the end also of the 70 weeks, the Messiah should be cut off, not for Himself, but as an atonement for the sins of mankind.

It will be observed that the decree from which the 70 weeks, or 490 years, are to be reckoned, is not the decree to rebuild the *sanctuary*, but to restore the *street and wall* of Jerusalem. The decree of Cyrus to the Jews was to rebuild the temple,<sup>u</sup> and the decree of Darius the Mede was to the same effect,<sup>x</sup> and the temple was rebuilt and finished accordingly.<sup>y</sup> But after this, Artaxerxes, in the seventh year of his reign, issued a decree to Ezra to establish *Jerusalem as a city*, by appointing magistrates and judges, with the power of inflicting capital punishment;<sup>z</sup> and this included the rebuilding of the street, and also of the wall, for Ezra tells us that God had 'extended mercy unto them in the sight of the kings of Persia . . . to give them a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem.'<sup>a</sup> The decree, therefore, to which the prophet refers is that of Artaxerxes, (as indeed all commentators agree,) and we have now to investigate the precise time at which it was issued. Ezra tells us that 'the first day of the first month (Nisan) was the foundation of the going up<sup>b</sup> from Babylon,'<sup>o</sup> and that this was in the *seventh year* of the reign of Artaxerxes.<sup>d</sup> When, then, did Artaxerxes begin to reign? We have some light upon this from Scripture itself, and we shall refer to it before we cite the heathen writers. We have seen that the Nisan in question was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes; and Ezra tells us in another place<sup>e</sup> that the fifth month or Ab was also in the seventh year, so that he did not ascend the throne at any time between Nisan and Ab, that is, between April and August. Again, Nehemiah informs us that Chisleu, or December, was in the 20th year of Artaxerxes,<sup>f</sup> and that the month of Nisan was also in the 20th year,<sup>g</sup> so that Artaxerxes did not commence his reign at any time during the interval between Nisan or April, and Chisleu or December; and putting the testimonies of Ezra and Nehemiah together, Artaxerxes could only have come to the throne some time between Ab and Chisleu, i.e. between August and December.

But in what *year* did this occur? Thucydides, the most accurate of historians, and the contemporary of Artaxerxes himself, states in his immortal work, the Peloponnesian War, that when the summer half of the seventh year of the war, i.e. B.C. 425, was ended,<sup>h</sup> and the winter half had set in,<sup>i</sup> an envoy from Persia was intercepted and brought to Athens, and that the Athenians thereupon sent an embassy to Ephesus,

<sup>u</sup> Καὶ δυνατώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς ἑβδομάς μία. Sept.

<sup>v</sup> Dan. ix. 24.

<sup>w</sup> Ezra i. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Ezra vi. 15.

<sup>y</sup> Ezra ix. 9; and see Nehem. i. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Ezra vi. 1.

<sup>aa</sup> Ezra vii. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Marginal reading for 'began to go up,' in the text.

<sup>c</sup> Ezra vii. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Ezra vii. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Ezra vii. 8.

<sup>f</sup> Nehem. i. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Nehem. ii. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα. iv. 49.

<sup>i</sup> Τοῦδ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος. iv. 50.

where they heard that Artaxerxes was just dead.<sup>k</sup> From this account it is evident that the Athenian envoys heard the news at Ephesus about December, so that the death of Artaxerxes had occurred about the month of November. Now Diodorus Siculus states that Artaxerxes reigned forty years,<sup>l</sup> and he afterwards repeats the same thing without any variation;<sup>m</sup> and as all history harmonizes with the fact, we may safely assume it. If we reckon back these forty years from November B.C. 425, it will carry us to November B.C. 465, as the commencement of the reign of Artaxerxes, which agrees with the inferences from the passages noticed in Scripture, that he mounted the throne some time between August and December. The seventh year of the reign would therefore be from November B.C. 459 to November B.C. 458. The decree consequently would be dated the 1st Nisan, B.C. 458, that day being stated as 'the foundation of the going up from Babylon.'<sup>n</sup> The prophet, therefore, predicts that during 7 weeks, or 49 years, from Nisan B.C. 458, the street and wall of Jerusalem should be built (as it was) in troublous times; that an interval of 62 weeks, or 434 years, should then intervene; and after that should commence the last week, which should bring in the covenant, set aside the law of Moses, and witness the cutting off of the Messiah. The 7 weeks and 62 weeks make together 483 years, and reckoning them from the month of Nisan B.C. 458, we come to the month of Nisan A.D. 26, as the commencement of the last week. Was then the prophecy fulfilled? In the course of that week, viz. from Nisan A.D. 26 to Nisan A.D. 33, the covenant was confirmed to many, first by John the Baptist, and then by our Saviour. 'In the midst of the week,' or in the middle year of the week, viz. at the Passover, A.D. 29, Jesus began to preach the new dispensation, which was to supersede the sacrifices and oblations, and this ministry of Christ was continued until the end of the week which expired at the Passover, A.D. 33. And lastly and chiefly, at the Passover of A.D. 33, being the end of the week, and also of the 70 weeks, or 490 years, the Messiah was cut off, and the typical sacrifices of the law were concluded and determined by the real sacrifice once offered for the sins of the world.

From that time forth the Jews were from year to year oppressed more and more by the Romans, until they were driven to arms against their masters, and eventually 'the prince that should come destroyed the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof was with a flood, and unto the end of the war were desolations.'

<sup>k</sup> \*Οι πυθόμενοι αὐτοῖσι βασιλείᾳ Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου νεωστὶ τεθνηκότα (κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν) ἐπ' οἶκον ἀνεχώρησαν. iv. 50.

<sup>l</sup> Τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξιόμενος ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἐβασίλευσεν

ἕτη τεσσαράκοντα. xi. 69.

<sup>m</sup> Ἀρταξέρξης δ' ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἕξας ἕτη τεσσαράκοντα. xii. 64.

<sup>n</sup> Ezra vii. 9.



## CHAPTER IV.

## DURATION OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

WE have found the extreme limit one way of our Lord's ministry in the date of the Crucifixion; we have next to investigate the period occupied by the exercise of His ministry, which will enable us to determine the time of its commencement. The duration of the ministry may be measured by the several Passovers.

The *first* is that when Jesus, after His baptism, returned to Cana, and thence visited Capernaum, and thence after a few days went up to Jerusalem at the Passover.<sup>a</sup> This was *before* the arrest of John the Baptist; for when Jesus returned after the Passover to some part of the land of Judah, John was still at large and baptizing at Ænon. 'John,' says the evangelist, 'was not yet cast into prison.'<sup>b</sup>

The *second* Passover is not mentioned expressly, but is indicated as plainly as if it were. Thus we are told that Jesus, after the first Passover, retired into Judæa, and then preached long enough to make more disciples than John; then, on hearing that the Baptist had been incarcerated, returned to Galilee, and fixed His abode at Capernaum; then made a circuit through at least some part of Galilee, and came back to Capernaum; then made a circuit through the *whole* of Galilee, which again terminated at Capernaum; and then commenced a third circuit, and in the course of it passed through the cornfields on a Sabbath day, when the disciples rubbed the ears of corn in their hands. This, therefore, must have been in the month of May or June and not long after a Passover, which always a little preceded the harvest. Considering the various intervening events which we have enumerated, it is quite impossible that the Passover next before the journey through the cornfields could have been the Passover already mentioned, when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum. But further, the sabbath when Jesus was in the cornfields is designated by Luke as *δευτεροπρωτων σαββατων*.<sup>c</sup> The most commonly received opinion is, that this means the first sabbath after the Sheaf-offering the second day of Unleavened bread, from which day Pentecost, or the Feast of Weeks, was reckoned; and if so, it would prove decisively that the Passover referred to under the word *δευτεροπρωτων*, cannot be identical with the Passover when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum, as it would be absurd to suppose that the intervening events could be compressed into so short an interval. The more correct interpretation, however, of the word *δευτεροπρωτων* is the first sabbath of the second Jewish month Ijar; and even on this supposition there would be a space of about a fortnight only between the close of the Passover and the *δευτεροπρωτων σαββατων*, a period much too brief to include the several occurrences before noticed. We cannot then avoid the conclusion, that the term *δευτεροπρωτων* coupled with the journey of our Lord on that day through the

<sup>a</sup> John ii. 1.<sup>b</sup> John iii. 24.<sup>c</sup> Luke vi. 1.

ripe cornfields, necessarily implies another distinct Passover from that when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum. In a word, the Passover when Jesus was at Jerusalem was certainly before the Baptist was cast into prison,<sup>d</sup> and the journey through the cornfields was certainly after John was cast into prison,<sup>e</sup> and yet the latter event was about the time of some Passover, or the corn would not have still been standing; and the two Passovers referred to could not be identical, as the occurrences between the first Passover and the journey through the cornfields show that a lengthened interval had intervened.

A *third* Passover is that mentioned by John as being nigh at hand, when the 5,000 were fed.<sup>f</sup> This of course is not the Passover when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum, as the same evangelist records both facts. Neither can it be the Passover when Jesus passed with His disciples through the cornfields; for on the latter occasion the Passover was already past, but at the time of feeding the 5,000 (which was unquestionably a later event than the journey through the cornfields), the Passover had not yet arrived. No more, therefore, need be said to show that we have here a third Passover.

A *fourth* Passover is attended with more difficulty, but still can be distinctly proved. In the first place, a Passover seems to be implied by the call made upon our Lord at Capernaum to pay the half siclus or didrachm, the tribute-money or Temple rate due to the Temple exchequer, called the corban;<sup>g</sup> for, on the authority of the Mishna, the tribute was collected on 15th Adar, i. e. a little before the Passover;<sup>h</sup> and if a Passover can be assumed at this time, it was certainly not the Passover when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum, or the Passover when Jesus passed through the cornfields. The only question is, whether it could have been the Passover which was at hand when the 5,000 were fed or the Passover of the Crucifixion, or whether in fact it was some intermediate Passover. It could not have been the Passover at the feeding of the 5,000, for at the time of that miracle the Passover was nigh, ἐγγύς,<sup>i</sup> i. e. only a few days off. But between this miracle and the payment of the tribute-money, our Lord visited the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and Cæsarea Philippi, which He could not have done before the actual arrival of the Passover, if nigh at hand when the miracle was wrought. Neither could the tribute-money have been demanded on 15th Adar, before the Passover of the Crucifixion, for in that case there would not remain sufficient time for the long journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, related as a subsequent event by Luke ix. 51—xix. 28.

However, we cannot assume with certainty that the tribute was in fact demanded and paid by our Lord on 15th Adar. No doubt as the Passover was the first feast of the sacred year, the tribute properly became due, as we have seen from the Mishna, just before that feast. But there were constantly large arrears, arising from the absence of some ratepayers and the inability of others, and in consequence the tax was gathered from the defaulters as opportunity offered, and particularly a little before the Pentecost, and again a little before the Tabernacles,<sup>k</sup> at which times these arrears called *sicli veteres* could be conveniently carried up by the pilgrims to the

<sup>d</sup> John iii. 24.

<sup>e</sup> Compare Luke iv. 14 with Matt. iv. 12, Mark i. 14.

<sup>f</sup> John vi. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Matt. xviii. 24.

<sup>h</sup> XV Adar ubique sederunt nummularii extra Hierosolymam, et pridie a quovis semisiclum expeterunt, nec tamen adegerunt, qui tunc nondum obtulerat. A die xxv vero, cum in sanctâ urbe sedissent,

tandiu quemvis urgebant donec tradidisset, et si longas moras nexisset nec dedisset in pignus, vel veste retentâ oppignerabant. Tractat. Talmud. Schekalim.

<sup>i</sup> John vi. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Ter in anno curant de conclavi—in spatio semestri (fifteen days) ante Pascha—in spatio semestri ante Pentecosten—et in spatio semestri ante Scenopegiam.



Temple. Still here, on the hypothesis that the corban was occasionally collected previously to the Feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles, as well as before the Passover, the very circumstance that our Lord paid the tribute at all leads to the presumption that a year had intervened between the Passover when the 5,000 were fed and the Passover of the Crucifixion; for as our Lord had been at Capernaum just before the miracle of the 5,000, and was again there just after it, we must conclude that He had long ago paid the tribute for that year on one of those occasions. Neither on the other hand could the tribute now demanded have been that for the Passover of the Crucifixion, as our Lord must have quitted Capernaum, and commenced the journey recorded by Luke ix. 51 long *before* 15th Adar, i.e. long before the tribute for the year of the Crucifixion had even become due.

If the Temple tax then was demanded at the usual time, i.e. a little before a Passover, it is clear that such Passover could not have been the first, second, or third Passover of our Lord's ministry, nor the Passover of the Crucifixion, and must therefore have been some other Passover not particularly mentioned by the Evangelists. And even supposing that the tax was not demanded before a Passover at all, it would still appear highly probable from the foregoing remarks, that a fourth Passover, omitted by the Evangelists, must have occurred.

We shall now proceed to show, from a careful analysis of the long journey recorded by Luke, from ix. 51 to xix. 28, that in fact a fourth Passover did intervene between the Passover when the 5,000 were fed and the Passover of the Crucifixion, so that the Passovers during our Lord's ministry were, in all, five in number. The details of this journey are as follows:—

It was in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi that our Lord first openly announced to His disciples that He was the Messiah, and as such that He must be betrayed and put to death, and on the third day rise again, Matt. xvii. 22; Mark viii. 31; Luke ix. 22. Thus at the very outset, before the journey begins, an impression is created that our Lord from this forewarning was about to suffer shortly. Eight days after this was the Transfiguration, when Moses and Elias were seen conversing on the subject of His approaching death, *τὴν ἐξοδὸν αὐτοῦ ἣν ἔμελλε πληροῦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*, Luke ix. 31; and as Jesus and His three disciples were descending from the mountain, our Lord in explaining Elias to be John Baptist again referred to His passion, *οὕτω καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει πάσχειν*, Matt. xvii. 12. What could be the meaning of these repeated warnings, but to prepare the minds of His disciples for the scene at Jerusalem at His next visit there.

Jesus then passed through Galilee to Capernaum, but the journey was a private one, and why? Mark tells us that it was for the purpose of instructing His disciples by the way, on the subject of His betrayal and death at Jerusalem, Mark ix. 31.

On arriving at Capernaum, the corban, or Temple tax of a half sicles or didrachm a head, was demanded of Him, Matt. xviii. 24.

Our Lord then bade adieu to Capernaum and set out for Jerusalem; but the words of Luke are remarkable: *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐστήριξε τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ*, Luke ix. 51. After all the distortions to which this passage has been subjected in the hands of commentators and harmonists, there cannot be a shadow of doubt that

Mishna ii. 184, 3; which Maimonides interprets thus:—Tempore Festi Paschatis publicabatur adducendam oblationem primam de loco propinquiori; et illi, qui

remotiores erant, adducerent tempore Pentecostis; et illi, qui remotissimi erant, adducerent tempore Festi Tabernaculorum. See 2 Gresw. Diss., 342.



the natural meaning is the true one, viz. that, when the days of our Lord's assumption were accomplishing, He set His face resolutely to go to Jerusalem. The words *ἀναλήψεως* and *συμπληροῦσθαι* must be interpreted from the use of them by the same writer. Thus in the Acts we have *ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας . . . ἀνελήφθη* (i. 2), and *ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς* (ii. 1). Luke then tells us in the plainest terms, that Jesus was now going up to Jerusalem to His death; in other words, that this was His last journey.

On entering a Samaritan village by the way, Jesus was repulsed by the inhabitants, and then changed His route, and appointed seventy disciples to make ready before Him in the new line He meant to take.<sup>1</sup> The seventy went two and two, and therefore to thirty-five different places. It is not said whether they all started together while our Lord waited for their return, or whether they were dispatched from time to time and returned to Jesus, or were overtaken by Him, according to circumstances. In the first case a long interval would elapse before our Lord could resume His progress; but even on the latter supposition it is evident that our Lord contemplated teaching Himself in thirty-five different localities between the appointment of the seventy and His arrival at Jerusalem. If we allow only a day's sojourn at each place, we should thus have thirty-five days, but which of course would fall very far short of the time actually consumed including the delays of travelling from station to station.

The next incident is of considerable importance, and one which has not hitherto received the attention it deserves. While our Lord was upon the road to Jerusalem, intelligence was brought to Him that Pilate had mingled the blood of the Galileans with their sacrifices, *τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὧν τὸ αἷμα Πιλάτος ἔμιξε μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν*, Luke xiii. 1. Now, sacrifices, could be performed nowhere but at Jerusalem, which therefore, as we should have otherwise concluded, was the scene of the massacre. But the Galileans resided at a distance from Jerusalem, and only went up thither at the principal Feasts. On these occasions vast multitudes flocked to Jerusalem, and, as we learn from Josephus, tumults, often accompanied with bloodshed, were of frequent occurrence, notwithstanding the occupation of the western cloister by the Roman soldiery for the purpose of keeping the peace. The massacre of the Galileans, therefore, over their sacrifices implies that one of the great Jewish Festivals occurred while our Lord was on His way to Jerusalem.

Again; while He was still *en route* along the borders of Samaria toward the Jordan, we find Him preaching in a synagogue on one sabbath,<sup>m</sup> and eating bread with a Pharisee on another Sabbath.<sup>n</sup> We have here, then, an interval of a week at least which we do not dwell upon as material in respect of time, but as evidencing the deliberate manner in which our Lord was progressing; for, from the point at which He had been repulsed by the Samaritans, the journey to the Jordan would, by the direct route, occupy at the most two days only; but we have here an interval of a week mentioned incidentally on the road. Plainly, therefore, our Lord was not travelling with the sole view of reaching His final destination, but was exercising His ministry amongst the cities and villages within His reach. Indeed, Luke tells us this in express terms, *καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πορεύαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ*, Luke xiii. 22.

After this some Pharisees, emissaries of Herod, came to our Lord, and told Him, with the view of getting Him out of Galilee, that Herod was seeking His life. Our Lord answered that He was travelling from day to day until He should reach Jerusalem; for that, like every prophet, He must suffer at Jerusalem, Luke xiii. 31. What

<sup>1</sup> Luke x. 1.<sup>m</sup> Luke xiii. 10.<sup>n</sup> Luke xiv. 1.



possible inference can be drawn from this but that Jesus was now on the road to Jerusalem to meet his death, and consequently that this journey was the last. But further, our Lord, apostrophising Jerusalem, adds that the Holy City should see Him no more until they should say, 'Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord : ' that is, I am now on my way for the last time to Jerusalem, and henceforth (i.e. after this my final visit) they shall see Me no more till my triumphant appearance at the day of judgment.\*

A little further on we find our Lord still pursuing His journey along the borders of Samaria and Galilee toward Jerusalem, *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσου Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας*, Luke xvii. 11. We shall only observe upon this, that Luke very pointedly throughout lays a stress on the word Jerusalem. Our Lord was to suffer at *Jerusalem* (Luke ix. 31); He sets His face to go to *Jerusalem* (Luke ix. 51); He is seen advancing from place to place on His way to *Jerusalem* (Luke xiii. 22); and here again He is said, though travelling eastward, to be on His way to *Jerusalem*. His object throughout, therefore, was to go up to Jerusalem. These remarks are made with reference to the theory advocated by some, that this journey was merely to Judæa, and that after his arrival in Judæa, he went up to Jerusalem at the *Ἐγκαίνια*, and returned to Galilee, and then again went up to Jerusalem at the Passover at which he suffered. Such a view is at variance with the whole character of the journey as described by Luke, which is repeatedly said to have had, not Judæa, but Jerusalem, for its object; and Jerusalem not as an arena for the exercise of his ministry, but as the terminus or goal at which he was to close his life at the hands of his enemies.

Our Lord now crosses the Jordan into Peræa, where he resumes his labours as usual, and was therefore occupied for some considerable time, *καὶ ὡς εἰώθει, πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοῦς* (Mark x. 1).

From Peræa He crosses the Jordan, and then, passing through Jericho, arrives at Bethany six days before the Passover, and on the day of the paschal sacrifices is betrayed, and the next day suffers death.

As this journey of our Lord occupies from Luke ix. 51 to xix. 28, or about ten chapters out of the twenty-four comprised in the gospel, this alone tends to show that the time thus occupied must have been no brief interval.

The conclusions, therefore, to be drawn from this lengthened journey are—1. That it was *one* continuous journey; 2. That it was our Lord's *last* journey to Jerusalem; and, 3. That it must have occupied at least several months. We now proceed to build some arguments on the foundation which has thus been laid.

The question is, Whether, between the Passover at the feeding of the five thousand (John ii. 13) and the Passover of the Crucifixion, another Passover did or did not intervene?

1. The first argument is of a negative character, and arises from the unreasonableness of a contrary supposition. Let us assume (and it is immaterial what year we take) that the Crucifixion occurred at the Passover A. D. 33, which fell on 2nd April of that year, and that the Passover at the feeding of the five thousand was in A. D. 32, which fell on 13th April of that year. Now John tells us that *after* this miracle of the five thousand Jesus attended the feast of Tabernacles, and after that the feast of *Ἐγκαίνια* at Jerusalem. The latter feast in A. D. 32 was on 16th

\* See A. D. 32, No. 1412.



December (see Tables) and lasted eight days, and therefore ended on 23rd December A.D. 32. After this Jesus went over Jordan to Bethabara, and there abode, *καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ* (John x. 40), and that long enough to make many converts there (John x. 42). We cannot well allow *less* than a fortnight for this retirement, which will bring us to 6th January, A.D. 33. Then Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus, send a message from Bethany, and two days after Jesus returns and raises Lazarus (John xi. 6), and then retires to Ephraim (John xi. 54). For this we should add another week, which will reach to 13th January, A.D. 33. At Ephraim he made a sojourn, *καὶκεῖ διέτριβε* (John xi. 54), which would require about a fortnight, and, if so, we come to 27th January. As the Passover of A.D. 33 was on 2nd April and our Lord arrived at Bethany six days before, he would reach that place on 27th March. From 27th January to 27th March would be just two months, and if we further deduct the time required for his return to Galilee, viz. another week, the remnant will be seven weeks only. As the journey recorded by Luke was one continuous journey, and that the last, all the events comprised within its limits must have occurred within this short compass of seven weeks; and looking to the variety of the incidents and the time they must have occupied, more particularly the mission of the seventy, two and two, and therefore to thirty-five different places, we must conclude that, instead of a few weeks, many months must have been consumed, and consequently that the *Ἐγκαλία* referred to by John could not have been the feast which immediately preceded the Passover of the Crucifixion, but must have been the feast of the previous year, viz. A.D. 31, and that between it and the Passover of the Crucifixion was another Passover, viz. the Passover of A.D. 32.

2. A second argument is this. We have seen that, during our Lord's last journey, Pilate mingled the blood of the Galileans with their sacrifices; in other words, that one of the great festivals of the Jews had been celebrated; for at a feast only could such a massacre have been committed. What feast then could this be, on the supposition that the Passover at the feeding of the five thousand was in A.D. 32, and the Passover of the Crucifixion in A.D. 33? Was it the *Pentecost* of A.D. 32? Impossible; for between the Passover and Pentecost were fifty days only, and from the miracle of the five thousand to the news of the Galilean massacre the following events happened. Our Lord returns to Capernaum, retires to the borders of Tyre and Sidon, exercises his ministry in Decapolis, crosses the lake to Bethsaida, retreats northward to the villages of Cæsarea Philippi, returns to Capernaum, enters a Samaritan village, and, being repulsed by the inhabitants, takes the road to the Jordan; sends the seventy, two and two, and therefore to thirty-five different places, &c. It is evident at first sight, that all this cannot on any hypothesis be compressed within the compass of fifty days; and, if so, the feast when the Galileans were slain could not be the Pentecost of A.D. 32. Was it then the *Tabernacles* of A.D. 32? Certainly not, for John tells us that *after* the miracle of the five thousand Jesus was at a feast of Tabernacles at *Jerusalem*, and if the Passover of the Crucifixion was in the year which followed that of the miracle of the five thousand, the Tabernacles referred to by John could only be that of A.D. 32; and at the Tabernacles of A.D. 32 our Lord was at Jerusalem itself, and therefore not in Galilee, which was his whereabouts when intelligence was brought to him of the outrage committed by Pilate against the Galileans. Was the feast in question, then, the feast of *Ἐγκαλία*? We answer no, for the like reason, viz. that at the *Ἐγκαλία* also Jesus was at Jerusalem, and not in Galilee. There remains only one other feast, viz. the feast of Purim; and as to this we would



observe, in the first place, that this festival was not of sacred institution, and was of secondary importance. Besides, the Purim did not require the Jews to go up to Jerusalem at all, but was celebrated at their own homes. But on another ground also the massacre could not have befallen at the feast of Purim. The days during which it was celebrated were 13th Adar, which was a fast, and the 14th and 15th Adar, which were feasts. The season, therefore, was just one month before the Passover; and as our Lord reached Bethany six days before the Passover, three weeks only would intervene between the massacre, if enacted at the Purim, and the arrival at Bethany. But, after our Lord received intelligence of the massacre, two sabbaths are mentioned as having happened while he was still in Galilee (Luke xiii. 10 and xiv. 1), and he preached in cities and villages *καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων*, Luke xiii. 22, and is found travelling along the borders of Samaria and Galilee towards the Jordan, Luke xvii. 11; then crosses the Jordan and exercises his ministry as usual in Peræa, *καὶ ὡς εἶωθε πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοῦς*, Mark x. 1; and finally passes through Jericho to Bethany. Considering the slow rate of our Lord's progress while he was thus preaching in the numerous cities and villages which lay within reach, and to which he had sent the seventy disciples to prepare for him, it seems in the highest degree improbable, and all but impossible, that three weeks only should have been consumed. The inference is that the feast at which the blood of the Galileans was shed cannot be accounted for at all on the hypothesis, that the Passover of the Crucifixion followed next after that of the feeding of the five thousand; but if we place the latter miracle two years before the last Passover, i. e. in A. D. 31, then all runs smoothly. There is time enough for the intervening events, and all these difficulties vanish.

The general result of the preceding discussion is, that the ministry of our Lord comprised five distinct Passovers, and therefore lasted four complete years. In the previous chapter it has been shown that our Lord's crucifixion occurred at the Passover A. D. 33, and it consequently follows that it commenced four years before, viz. at the Passover A. D. 29.

## CHAPTER V.

## DATE OF OUR LORD'S BAPTISM.

WE have now established the proposition, that the ministry of our Lord commenced at the Passover, A.D. 29, and, keeping this date in view, we can determine, with some degree of exactness, the time of our Lord's Baptism. The Passover A.D. 29, when Jesus began his ministry, was on 16th April, and He had come to Jerusalem from Capernaum, and to judge from the course adopted by Him on another occasion,<sup>a</sup> He reached Jerusalem six days before the feast. His arrival, therefore, would be on 10th April, and allowing a week for the journey from Capernaum, He may have set out on 4th April. At Capernaum He sojourned not many days (say four), *οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας*.<sup>b</sup> He had come from the marriage at Cana, therefore, on 31st March. Nuptial rejoicings are said to have continued among the Jews for seven consecutive days, and, if so, His arrival at Cana was about 23rd March. This was on the third day after He had left Bethabara, *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ*,<sup>c</sup> which carries us back to 21st March. The day before that, or 20th March, John pointed out Jesus to two of his disciples.<sup>d</sup> The day before that, or 19th March, John testified that Jesus was the Lamb of God.<sup>e</sup> This was at the close of the forty days' temptation, and allowing two days more for the retreat into the adjoining wilderness, and the return from it, we arrive at 4th February for the day of the Baptism.

We have reached this result by a retrograde calculation from the Passover A.D. 29 to the preceding Baptism. But some of the steps are, as regards time, of uncertain duration. Thus, it does not follow that Jesus, when He went up to Jerusalem, A. D. 29 arrived there six days before the Passover, nor, when he attended the marriage feast at Cana, is it likely that he remained there for the whole seven days of the nuptial rejoicings. We should place the baptism, therefore, somewhat later than 4th February, but only by a brief interval.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> John xii. 1.<sup>b</sup> John ii. 12.<sup>c</sup> John ii. 1.<sup>d</sup> John i. 35.<sup>e</sup> John i. 29.<sup>f</sup> See Tables A.D. 29, No. 1180.



## CHAPTER VI.

## DATE OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF JOHN THE BAPTIST'S MINISTRY.

ASSUMING that we have correctly assigned the baptism of Jesus to the first part of February A. D. 29, we may take this as the extreme limit *after* which John the Baptist could not have commenced his ministry, and the other extreme limit *before* which he could not have commenced his ministry may be determined by the testimony of Luke. His words are, 'Now in the *fifteenth year* of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod (Antipas) being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.'<sup>a</sup> The fifteenth year of Tiberius began on 19th Aug. A. D. 28, and therefore John entered upon his office some time between 19th Aug. A. D. 28, the commencement of the fifteenth year, and 4th Feb. A. D. 29, when our Lord was baptized; and during this period, as stated by Luke, Pontius Pilate *was* procurator of Judæa, Herod Antipas *was* tetrarch of Galilee, Herod Philip *was* tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Caiaphas, with Annas his father-in-law, *was* highpriest.

One would suppose that here no door was open to controversy, and yet some chronologers, labouring under the impression that the mission of John in A. D. 28-29 cannot be reconciled with the statement of Luke, that Jesus, when he began, was of about thirty years, have endeavoured to evade the express testimony of Luke as to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, by surmising that the reign of Tiberius was computed by him not in the ordinary mode from 19th Aug. A. D. 14, the death of Augustus, but from some point of time two years earlier, in A. D. 12; and they rely upon certain passages in Tacitus, Suetonius, and Vell. Paterculus,<sup>b</sup> but which, when taken together, show only that in A. D. 12 large powers were conferred on Tiberius, but not that he was then emperor jointly with Augustus, or that his reign was ever supposed to commence from that period. Other chronologers, as Burton, admit that the fifteenth year of Tiberius must begin in A. D. 14, but then they maintain that instead of being computed from 19th Aug. of that year, it must be referred back to 1st January of the same year; for as the Romans reckoned their year from one first of January to another, the whole year within these limits was, according to Burton and his followers, considered as the fifteenth year of Tiberius.

These hypotheses are open to one overwhelming objection, viz. that the reign of Tiberius, as beginning from 19th Aug. A. D. 14, was as well-known a date in the time of Luke as the reign of Queen Victoria in our own day, and that no single case has ever been or can be produced in which the years of Tiberius were reckoned in any other manner.

<sup>a</sup> Luke iii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> See A. D. 12, Nos. 1042—1044.

Tacitus opens the fourth book of his Annals with these words, 'C. Asinius and C. Antistius being consuls, it was the *ninth* year of Tiberius;'<sup>c</sup> that is, he makes the 1st of Jan. A. D. 23 (the year of this consulship) coincide with the *ninth* year of Tiberius, which could only be the case on the assumption that the ninth year commenced on 19th Aug. A. D. 22, and ended, not, as contended by Burton and others, on 31st Dec. A. D. 22, but on 19th Aug. A. D. 23. So Pliny the Elder refers the same consulship to the same year of Tiberius: 'In the *ninth* year of the reign of Tiberius, in the consulship of C. Asinius Pollio and C. Antistius Vetus:'<sup>d</sup> that is, the consulship of Asinius Pollio and Antistius Vetus, reckoned from 1st Jan. A. D. 23, fell in the ninth year of Tiberius up to 19th Aug. A. D. 23, when the tenth year would commence. Dion Cassius again reckons in the same way, for in speaking of the year A. D. 24 he mentions, that in the course of it (viz. on 19th Aug.), 'ten years of the reign of Tiberius expired;'<sup>e</sup> and again, he places the consulship of Lucius Vitellius and Fabius Persicus on 1st Jan. A. D. 34, in the twentieth year of Tiberius.<sup>f</sup> So Philo computes the reign of Tiberius in round numbers at twenty-three years; and as Tiberius died in A. D. 37, Philo, of course, dated the commencement of the reign from 19th Aug. A. D. 14.<sup>g</sup> So Josephus computes the reign of Tiberius from 19th Aug. A. D. 14; for he assigns the death of Herod Philip, which was at the close of A. D. 33, to the twentieth year of Tiberius, and the remnant of the year A. D. 33 from 19th Aug. would fall in the twentieth year of Tiberius.<sup>h</sup> And again, Josephus reckons the reign of Tiberius at 22 years, 5 months, and 3 days;<sup>i</sup> or, as in another place, at 22 years, 6 months, and 3 days;<sup>k</sup> and as the death of Tiberius occurred on 16th March A. D. 37, Josephus refers the commencement of the reign to 19th Aug. A. D. 14.

There are two coins of Antioch, however, which have been thought to countenance the notion that Tiberius began to reign in A. D. 12. One of them has the head of Tiberius, with the inscription *Καισαρ Σεβαστος, ΓΜ*, i. e. in the 43rd year of the Actian era, commencing from 2nd Sept. B. C. 31, and therefore struck in A. D. 12-13, and the other has the head of Tiberius, with the inscription *Καισαρ Σεβαστος, ΔΜ*, i. e. in the 44th year of the Actian era, and therefore struck A. D. 13-14;<sup>1</sup> and as the head of Tiberius is found on these coins with the title of *Augustus*, it has hence been argued that he was emperor as early as A. D. 12. The genuineness of these coins has been questioned by Eckhel, iii. 277. But even admitting them to be free from suspicion, they prove only that Tiberius had then been honoured with the title of Augustus, not that he had then begun to reign as emperor. Besides, there are other undoubted coins of Antioch which show conclusively that the Antiochians (and Luke himself was a native, or at least an inhabitant, of that city) dated the reign of Tiberius not from A. D. 12, but from the death of Augustus in A. D. 14. Thus we have one coin of Antioch with the head of Tiberius and the letter A, i. e. in the first year of his reign, and coupled with the Actian year EM, or 45, and therefore equivalent to A. D. 14-15. Again, there are other coins with the head of Tiberius, and the letter Γ,

<sup>c</sup> C. Asinio, C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberius annus erat. Tac. Ann. iv. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Tiberii demum principatus nono anno. . . C. Asinio Pollione, C. Antistio Vetere consulibus. Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Διεθλότων ἰὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ. Dion, lvii. 24; and so Dion, lviii. 24.

<sup>f</sup> Dion, lviii. 24.

<sup>g</sup> Τρία πρὸς τοῖς ἑκοσι ἔτη γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀνα-

ψάμενον τὸ κράτος. Philo, Leg., 21.

<sup>h</sup> Τότε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος (Ἡρώδου δὲ ἦν ἀδελφὸς) τελευτᾷ τον βίον εἰκοστῶ μὲν ἐνιαυτῶ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς, ἡγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ καὶ τριάκοντα τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος· καὶ τοῦ Βασιναίων ἔθνους πρὸς αὐταῖς. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 6.

<sup>i</sup> Ant., xviii. 6, 10.

<sup>k</sup> Bell., ii. 9, 5.

<sup>1</sup> Eckhel, iii. 276.



i. e. that is, in the third year of his reign, and coupled with the Actian year ZM, or 47, and therefore equivalent to A. D. 16-17.<sup>m</sup>

In the time of Luke, then, the reign of Tiberius was a well-known date, as beginning from 19th Aug. A. D. 14; and the evangelist, in referring the commencement of John's ministry to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, must have meant the fifteenth year as universally computed, viz. from 19th Aug. A. D. 28. We shall assume, therefore, that John the Baptist lifted up his voice in the wilderness, as the harbinger of the Messiah, some time after 19th Aug. A. D. 28, when the fifteenth year of Tiberius began, and some time before 4th Feb. A. D. 29, when, as we have seen, our Lord was baptized.

At what exact time, during that interval, John the Baptist commenced, it is hard if not impossible to say. The only fact that has any bearing upon the subject is the statement in the fourth gospel, that on the day next preceding our Lord's return from the Temptation to John at Bethabara, and therefore about March A. D. 29, a commission, consisting of Priests and Levites of the Pharisaic party, arrived at Bethabara to inquire into the nature of the Baptist's office, whether he were the Messiah or not;<sup>n</sup> from which two inferences may be drawn, 1. That John the Baptist must have proclaimed the coming Messiah some little time previously, or he would not have attracted the attention of the Sanhedrim; and, 2. That he could not have been preaching this doctrine for any *great* length of time, or the embassy would have been sent at an earlier day, for the Pharisees were at this period on the watch for the Messiah, and so soon as John proclaimed the revelation made to him, they would examine into his pretensions.

The birth of John the Baptist was in the sixth month current before the birth of Christ, and it is not improbable that the precursorship of John the Baptist preceded the baptism of our Lord by about the same period. We should therefore place the commencement of John's ministry in the latter end of Aug. A. D. 28, being the sixth month current before the baptism of Jesus in the first half of February A. D. 29. This interval of about six months between the commencement of John's ministry and the arrival of the mission of the Pharisees is sufficient to account satisfactorily for the spread of John's notoriety, and the consequent excitement of the Pharisees as to the Baptist's character.

In speaking of the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry, we mean of course his ministry as precursor of the Messiah; for as John at the time of the revelation made to him was already in the wilderness,<sup>o</sup> it seems to be implied, and can scarcely be doubted as a fact, that from his youth upward, and for many years before the announcement of the coming Messiah, he had been a preacher of righteousness, and had admitted disciples by the rite of baptism.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Eckhel, iii. 278.    <sup>n</sup> John i. 19.    <sup>o</sup> Luke iii. 2.    as at Ephesus (Acts xix. 3), which rather implies a

<sup>p</sup> We hear of a number of John's disciples so far off    lengthened exercise of his ministry.

## CHAPTER VII.

## NOTES OF TIME TO BE FOUND IN THE GOSPELS.

WE shall now advert to some chronological *indicia* which appear in the Evangelists, and which will be found, if we mistake not, to confirm, or at least to harmonise with, the views adopted in the foregoing pages.

1. The first note of time is this. At the Passover, when our Lord opened His public ministry (i. e. in A. D. 29), the Jews, when our Lord was discoursing with them in the temple, exclaimed, '*Forty and six years has this temple (ὁ ναὸς οὗτος) been building.*'<sup>a</sup> To understand this, we must remember that Herod the Great had begun the restoration of the temple, and that the fabric was not fully completed until the year which preceded the Jewish war, viz. A. D. 65.<sup>b</sup> At the time when these words were spoken forty-six years are said to have elapsed since the commencement, and if we can ascertain in what year Herod first began the structure, we shall be able to elicit the year of the Passover when the expression was used.

The circumstances under which Herod undertook to rebuild the temple were these. In the latter part of the year B. C. 20, Augustus arrived at Antioch, and Herod shortly afterwards visited him there and established himself highly in the emperor's favour.<sup>c</sup> Before winter set in Augustus sailed to Samos,<sup>d</sup> and Herod returned to Jerusalem, and in order to conciliate the Jews, remitted to them one-third of their taxes.<sup>e</sup> He next erected a temple to Augustus in the neighbourhood of Paneas, afterwards Cæsarea Philippi.<sup>f</sup> He then for the first time unfolded to his countrymen the grand project of taking down the temple of God and restoring it on a much more magnificent scale. What induced him to undertake so vast a work was, as we learn from Josephus, the distinguished favour in which he now stood with the Romans;<sup>g</sup> so that the conception was certainly posterior to the meeting of Herod with Augustus at Antioch in A. D. 20. In the Antiquities Josephus refers the undertaking to the nineteenth year of Herod's reign, or B. C. 19;<sup>h</sup> and in the Wars the expression is *πεντεκαίδεκάτω γοῦν ἔτει*,<sup>i</sup> which is clearly a mistake, and probably miswritten for another word much resembling it, viz. *ἐννεακαίδεκάτω*, i. e. the nineteenth year as stated in the Antiquities,

<sup>a</sup> Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος. John ii. 20. The authorised translation, 'Forty and six years was this temple in building,' does not correctly represent the original, as it implies that the temple, at the time when the words were spoken, was completed, which was not the fact.

<sup>b</sup> Jos. Ant., xx. 9, 7.

<sup>c</sup> Jos. Ant., xv. 10, 3.

<sup>e</sup> Jos. Ant., xv. 10, 4.

<sup>f</sup> Jos. Ant., xv. 10, 3.

<sup>g</sup> Ἐνθεν ἐπὶ πλείστον μὲν εὐδαιμονίας προῤῥοφεν, εἰς

μείζον δὲ ἐξήρθη φρόνημα καὶ τὸ πλεόν τῆς μεγαλοίας ἐπέτειεν εἰς εὐσέβειαν. Jos. Bell., i. 20, 4. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, φίλοι καὶ δι' εἰνοίας οἱ πάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν κρατούντες Ῥωμαῖοι. Jos. Ant., xv. 11, 1.

<sup>h</sup> Ὀκτωκαίδεκάτου τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ. Ant., xv. 11, 1; where γεγονότος seems equivalent to παρελθόντος in Ant., xv. 10, 3; viz. 'being passed.' See Tables, B. C. 20, No. 738.

<sup>i</sup> Jos. Bell., i. 21, 1.



Herod had first of all some difficulty in obtaining the consent of the people, who were naturally apprehensive that the structure might be taken down and never restored at all. At last it was agreed that Herod should not remove a stone of the temple until all should be in readiness for the erection of the new fabric. Herod now employed himself in collecting the most costly materials for the work from various quarters, and a thousand wagons were made ready for the transport. He also procured 10,000 skilful artisans for laying the foundations and constructing the cloisters; but as to the *ναὸς* or temple itself, it could only be built by the priests, and for this purpose 1,000 priests were apprenticed as masons and carpenters to learn the necessary handicrafts.<sup>k</sup> As the temple was remarkable for its exquisite workmanship, these priests must have been occupied some time in learning their trades. Now, we cannot allow less than one year for the full preparation of the materials and for the training of the priests. If we suppose, therefore, that Herod first entered upon his *design* about the Passover of B.C. 19 (six months after his intimacy with Augustus at Antioch), the temple itself would be commenced about the Passover of B.C. 18. And if we reckon forward forty-six years from this date, it will bring us to the Passover of A.D. 29. It is not a little remarkable that Josephus, in speaking of the *building* of the temple after the completion of the *preparations*, uses the expression, *ἠκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναός*, &c.,<sup>l</sup> corresponding word for word with the language of the Evangelist, *Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ἠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος*. St. John and Josephus are manifestly speaking of the same subject-matter.

2. The imprisonment of John the Baptist is a chronological premiss of some importance. We learn from John's gospel, that after the first Passover—i.e. the Passover of A.D. 29—Jesus retired into some part of Judæa, and there exercised his ministry long enough to make more converts than John the Baptist, who was still at liberty.<sup>m</sup> This remarkable success called forth the jealousy of the Pharisees, and therefore our Lord withdrew into Galilee. But when he did so, John the Baptist was already in prison, Mark i. 14; Matt. iv. 12. The incarceration of the Baptist must therefore have occurred in the latter half of A.D. 29; and this, so far as can be ascertained, was the fact.

The circumstances were as follows. Herod Antipas (called by our Saviour 'that fox') was a crafty monarch, and had contrived by fawning flatteries, and the meanest artifices, to insinuate himself into the favour of the Emperor Tiberius. At the very beginning of A.D. 29 died Livia, or Julia, or Augusta, the wife of Augustus, and mother of Tiberius.<sup>n</sup> Caligula, then a youth, delivered her funeral oration,<sup>o</sup> and she was interred in the tomb of Augustus, and at the same time the ladies of Rome were ordered to wear mourning for a whole year.<sup>p</sup> Addresses of condolence poured in upon the emperor from all quarters, and it seems that Antipas, amongst others, made a voyage to Rome for the purpose. Livia had held some valuable possessions in Judæa, viz. Jamnia and Archelais, and the palm-groves of Phasaelis;<sup>q</sup> and perhaps the artful tetrarch may have entertained the hope of obtaining a grant of them from the emperor, his patron, more particularly as Antipas had built two cities in honour of the imperial family, one, Tiberias, after the name of the emperor, and the other, Julias, after the name of Livia herself.<sup>r</sup> Antipas, on his way from Galilee to the embarkation, lodged with his brother Philip (not the tetrarch, but called by Josephus, Herod), when he

<sup>k</sup> Jos. Ant., xv. 11, 1, 2. See Tables B.C. 20, No. 738; B.C. 18, No. 745.

<sup>l</sup> Jos. Ant., xv. 11, 3.

<sup>m</sup> John iii. 24.

<sup>n</sup> Tac. Ann., v. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Dion, lvi. 2.

<sup>p</sup> An<sup>t</sup>, xviii. 2, 1, 3; Bell., ii. 9, 1.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Jos. Bell., ii. 9, 1.

became enamoured of Philip's wife Herodias. Antipas had been married for some years to a daughter of Aretas, king of Petra, and as Philip had a daughter Salome by Herodias, her marriage to a brother of Philip would be a most heinous infraction of the Jewish law. The unprincipled Antipas, however, cast aside all scruples, and Herodias was induced to enter into a compact with him, that on his return from Rome she should elope from Philip and become his wife. As Antipas sailed to Rome in the spring of A.D. 29, and would return with all speed to carry out his compact with Herodias, his arrival in Judæa may be placed in the third quarter of A.D. 29. Antipas's own wife saved him the trouble of a divorce, for having during his absence discovered the plot against her, she escaped from the tetrarch and took refuge with her father at Petra. As soon as publicity was given to the fact of Herod's marriage contract with Herodias, John the Baptist openly rebuked him. Antipas himself had a respect for the Baptist, and might have overlooked the affront, but the malice of Herodias prevailed, and John was apprehended and imprisoned. Thus the historical facts attending the imprisonment of John warrant us in placing it as we have done, in the latter part of A.D. 29, about the time of our Lord's departure from Judæa into Galilee.

We shall here notice an objection that has been, and may again be urged, against this date of John's imprisonment. It is said that Drusus, the son of Tiberius, died in A.D. 23,<sup>a</sup> and that Agrippa was obliged shortly afterwards to leave Rome, as Tiberius, from grief at his son's loss, could not endure the sight of Agrippa, the friend of Drusus;<sup>b</sup> and that Agrippa therefore, in A.D. 23, or A.D. 24 at the latest, sailed to Judæa, and resided at Malatha, and that his sister Herodias, as expressly mentioned by Josephus, was then already living with Herod the tetrarch, and exerted her influence with him to procure some relief for Agrippa.<sup>c</sup> If so, it is argued, the imprisonment of John, which arose from his rebuke of Herod's marriage with Herodias, must have followed soon afterwards, and cannot be placed so late as A.D. 29. Now this objection is founded upon an entire misapprehension. True, Drusus died in A.D. 23, but his death was then attributed to the effects of his own intemperance; and Tiberius, so far from being overcome with sorrow upon the occasion, affected the utmost indifference at it, and even made a jest of it. When the Ilians or Trojans, for instance, offered their condolence for the loss of Drusus, the emperor begged to condole with them in return for the death of Hector.<sup>d</sup> Agrippa then could not have been obliged to quit Rome at this time, as it would have been a direct contradiction to the emperor's other demeanour. It was in A.D. 31, and not before, that the necessity for Agrippa's departure arose as follows. Sejanus was put to death on 18th October A.D. 31; and a few days after, from an examination of his wife, Apicata, it came to light, for the first time, that Drusus in A.D. 23 had not died, as before supposed, from his own excesses, but that he had been poisoned by Sejanus, to make room for that courtier's own ambitious views.<sup>e</sup> Now it was that Tiberius, finding his son to have been the victim, not as he had been led to believe of his own debauchery, but of conspiracy, gave way to the deepest sorrow for his loss, and displayed a spirit of fretfulness and exasperation against all about him.<sup>f</sup> It was at this juncture that Agrippa, as reviving the memory of Drusus, was dismissed

<sup>a</sup> Tac. Ann., iv. 8; Dion, xvii. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Jos. Ant., xviii. 6, 1.

<sup>c</sup> Ἡρώδη τῆς Τετραῖς χερ συνοικοῦσαν. Ant. xviii., 6, 2.

<sup>d</sup> Suet. Tib., 52; Tac. Ann., iv. 8, 13; and Senec.

Consol. ad Marciam, 15. See the passages cited under A.D. 23, No. 1147.

<sup>e</sup> Dion, lviii. 11.

<sup>f</sup> Suet. Tib., 62. See A.D. 3, No. 1358.



from the emperor's presence, and sailed to Judæa. He would on this supposition reach Malatha, in Idumæa, either at the close of A. D. 31, or the beginning of A. D. 32; and in either case he would find his sister Herodias living with Antipas, as the marriage contract between them had been entered into at the very commencement of A. D. 29.

3. The feast of Tabernacles which our Lord attended at Jerusalem, John vii. 2, could not, as we have shown, be that of A. D. 32, the year next before the Crucifixion; but, in order to allow time for the intervening events, it must have occurred one year earlier, viz. in A. D. 31. Supposing this to be so, have we any circumstance in John's gospel confirmatory of the hypothesis? We read that our Lord was present on the *last* day of the feast, and then retired, as was his custom, to Mount Olivet. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς, John vii. 37. The next morning, and therefore the day after the feast, Jesus returned to the temple, when the people attempted to stone Him, but He escaped, and on His way from the temple wrought the cure of the man who had been born blind, ὄρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, John viii. 2; and *the day on which the miracle was performed was a Jewish Sabbath*, i. e. a Saturday, ἦν δὲ σάββατον ὅτε τὸν πηλόν, &c. John ix. 14. We have then to ask whether, in A. D. 31, the day next after the close of the feast of Tabernacles was or not a Saturday? The feast of Tabernacles began on the day of full moon, about the time of the autumnal equinox. We find in Pingré's Tables that an eclipse of the moon occurred at 4 a. m. for the meridian of Paris, i. e. at 6.12 a. m. for the meridian of Jerusalem, on 19th October A. D. 31; in other words, that the moon was then at the full, when only an eclipse can occur. Greswell assumes that this 19th October was the first day of the feast of Tabernacles, and if so, then, as it was celebrated for eight days, the 26th October would be the last, and the 27th October would be the day after the close of the festival, and on which therefore the miracle must have been wrought. Was this 27th October, A. D. 31, a Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday? We consult De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, and we find that it was.

To this result, so in harmony with our calculations, there are, however, two objections. In the first place it may be questioned, whether the feast of Tabernacles did not begin a month earlier, for as the full moon in April A. D. 31 was on the 25th of the month at 9 p. m., the preceding full moon would fall on 27th March, at 9 a. m. for the meridian of Paris, i. e. at 11.12 a. m. for the meridian of Jerusalem; and the 26th March would therefore be, unquestionably, the day of paschal sacrifices, or 14th Nisan. The Tabernacles occurred in the seventh lunar month from Nisan, both inclusive, and if the Passover therefore was on 26th March A. D. 31, the Tabernacles would fall in *September* A. D. 31. There was an eclipse of the moon, and it was therefore full moon, on 19th October at 4 a. m. for the meridian of Paris, i. e. at 6.12 a. m. for the meridian of Jerusalem. The preceding full moon would therefore fall about 6.12 p. m. at Jerusalem on 19th September. The feast of Tabernacles would thus begin at sunset on 19th September, and being a feast of eight days would end at sunset on 27th September, or (as the full moon was just about sunset) it is possible that the feast of Tabernacles might have begun at sunset on 18th September, and have ended at sunset on 26th September, and we shall be content, as will be seen presently, to argue upon either of these suppositions.

The second objection to which we have referred is this. We have assumed, from the words ὄρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο, John viii. 2, that it was the morning after the last day of the feast spoken of just previously. But Lachmann, Tischendorf, and the best modern critics have come to the conclusion, that the whole passage, be-

ginning John viii. 2 down to viii. 11, is an interpolation not necessarily apocryphal, but more properly belonging to Luke's gospel, where also it is found in many ancient MSS.

These two objections are of course fatal to the line of argument with which we started, and which assumed the miracle to have been wrought on the day next after the feast, and the feast itself to have begun on 19th October A.D. 31. But let us see whether, even if we admit the objections, the narrative of John will not enable us, by a fair and even probable interpretation, to fix this feast of Tabernacles to the year A.D. 31. The gospel of John, if we reject the disputed passage, proceeds, after the account of the last day of the feast, as follows: *πάλιν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησε λέγων*, &c., John viii 12; and this discourse was delivered in the treasury, *ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακίῳ*, viii. 20; and as John here uses the introductory word *πάλιν*, and shifts the scene to the treasury, it is a reasonable inference that he intends a different day, and therefore the *first* day *after* the feast. A little after we find another note of time, *Ἔειπεν οὖν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς Ἐγὼ ὑπάγω*, &c. viii. 21; and as this was spoken in the temple without any reference to the treasury, it was presumably in a different part of the temple, viii. 59. Here then, from the repetition of the introductory word, *πάλιν*, and the change of the locality, we are justified in concluding that another day had commenced, being the *second* after the feast. It was on this latter day, as He was going out of the temple, that the miracle was wrought on the Jewish Sabbath or Saturday, ix. 14. If, therefore, the feast of Tabernacles ended, as we have supposed, on 27th September, the second day after it, and which should be a Sabbath, would be 29th September; and according to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, the 29th September A.D. 31 was a Saturday, or Jewish Sabbath. Even if the feast of Tabernacles began at sunset on 18th September, instead of at sunset on 19th September, and ended at sunset on 26th September instead of at sunset on 27th September, the miracle on the second day after the feast—i.e. on 28th September—would still fall on a Sabbath, if, as is not unlikely, it was wrought on Friday 28th September, toward the close of the day; that is, after sunset, when the Jewish Sabbath commenced.

As it is not an uncommon opinion that the feast of Tabernacles, John vii. 2, was the feast of Tabernacles next before the Crucifixion (A.D. 33), and therefore to be placed in A.D. 32, let us see if either the first or second day after the close of the feast in that year would fall on a Saturday, or Jewish Sabbath. In A.D. 32 the full moon of the autumnal equinox was on 7th October at half-past 1 p.m. for the meridian of Paris—that is, at 3.42 for the meridian of Jerusalem; for at that time there was an eclipse of the moon, which can only be at the full (see Pingré's Tables). The 7th October would therefore be the first day of the feast, and 14th October the last. The *first* day after the feast would be 15th October, and the second day after the feast would be 16th October. But the 15th and 16th October in B.C. 32 were *Wednesday* and *Thursday*, and therefore neither of them could be a Jewish Sabbath. The Feast of Tabernacles in question, therefore, could not have fallen in A.D. 32.

4. According to the system adopted in the preceding pages, the ministry of our Lord lasted four full years. Have we any trace of this four-year period in the Gospels? When our Lord was on his last journey to Jerusalem, and therefore toward the close of his career, he delivered the parable of the figtree. Jewry was the vineyard of Jehovah, and Jerusalem was the figtree which grew and flourished within it. In this parable the lord of the vineyard is represented as saying, *Three years* have I sought



‘fruit on this tree and found none,’ Ἴδὸν, τρία ἔτη ἔρχομαι ζητῶν καρπὸν ἐν τῇ συκῇ ταύτῃ καὶ οὐχ εὕρισκω, Luke xiii. 7. The vinedresser, i. e. our Lord himself, answers, ‘Let it alone *this year also*, that I may dig about it and dung it,’ Κύριε, ἄφες αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος, &c., Luke xiii. 8. Does not our Lord here plainly intimate that his ministry had already lasted three years without producing repentance, and that his labours would continue for one year more, i. e. a fourth year, and then that Jerusalem would be abandoned to its fate. The facts correspond with the parable. Our Lord opened his public ministry at Jerusalem at the Passover of A. D. 29. For the next three years he exercised his ministry in Judæa and Galilee. Then, in the fourth year, he made his longest and most laborious circuit, and thus dug about the ground and dressed it in the hope of eliciting fertility; and at the end of the fourth year, that is, at the Passover A. D. 33, he expired on the cross, and then closed his ministry with the dying words, which might be applied to the fate of Jerusalem, ‘It is finished!’

## CHAPTER VIII.

## DATE OF ST. PAUL'S FIRST ARRIVAL AT CORINTH.

WE now propose to investigate some of the leading dates in the life of St. Paul, as—  
 1. The year of his conversion, when on the road to Damascus; 2. The time of his visit to Jerusalem, when Herod Agrippa killed James, the brother of John, with the sword, Acts xii. 1; 3. The date of his arrival at Corinth on the first occasion, when he 'departed from Athens and came to Corinth, and found a certain Jew there named 'Aquila, lately come from Italy,' Acts xviii. 1; 4. The time of his visit to Jerusalem, when he was arrested by Lysias in the temple; and 5. The date of his release from imprisonment at Rome.

This is the order in which the events followed each other, but it will be necessary in our discussion to commence with the third question, viz. What was the date of Paul's arrival at Corinth at his first visit? as on the result of this will depend the year to which the conversion must be referred.

When all our inquiries have been answered, the harmony of the whole will be the strongest argument in support of each particular part; but at present, as we cannot show the time of Paul's arrival at Corinth by assuming any given date of his history anterior or subsequent, we must break ground by an appeal to independent circumstances peculiarly and exclusively applicable to the arrival itself.

We have two notes of time in the account of Paul's visit to Corinth, which may furnish us with a clue to the period of its occurrence. First, when Paul reached Corinth, he found there Aquila, a Jew of Pontus, 'just (*προσφάτως*) come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because that *Claudius* had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome;'<sup>a</sup> and secondly, towards the end of Paul's sojourn at Corinth (which was a year and a half<sup>b</sup>), Gallio was appointed proconsul of Achaia.

1. Expulsion from Rome was generally resorted to as a measure of security, and was enforced against some particular class of inhabitants, when the nation to which they belonged was either in open rebellion or was under grievous suspicion. Thus, when Varus lost his legions in Gaul, Augustus immediately issued a proclamation that all *Gauls* should depart from Rome.<sup>c</sup> As the edict against the Jews was promulgated by Claudius, whose reign was from A.D. 41 to A.D. 54, we have to look for some outbreak of the Jews against the Roman authority during this interval, and such we find in the histories of both Josephus and Tacitus. The former tells us that during the procuratorship of Cumanus, some Galileans, in passing through Samaria, on their way to the feast at Jerusalem, were intercepted by the Samaritans and slain. The Galileans flew to

<sup>a</sup> Acts xviii. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Acts xviii. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Dion, lvi. 23. See Tables A. D. 9, No. 1032.



Cumanus for justice, but the procurator, having been bribed by the Samaritans, slighted their remonstrances. Upon this the multitude, assembled at Jerusalem for *the feast*, determined on taking reprisals into their own hands, and, marching down into Samaria and joining their bands to Eleazar, a noted bandit, who had been proscribed by the Romans, sacked and burnt some of the Samaritan villages. Cumanus hastened down with horse and foot, and an engagement took place. Some of the Romans were slain,<sup>d</sup> but in the end the Jews were defeated, many killed, and more taken prisoners. Judæa, if not now in open rebellion, was expected momentarily to be so. Josephus calls it a revolt (*ἀπόστασις*), Ant. xx. 6, 3; and Tacitus says it was a miracle that the whole province was not in flames, Tac. Ann. xii. 54. Quadratus, the prefect of Syria, marched with his forces to Samaria, where he summoned the Jews and Samaritans before him, and investigated the cause of the disturbance, executed those whom Cumanus had taken, and then adjourned the hearing till he should reach Judæa. Some time after he proceeded to Lydda, where the trial was resumed, and the result was that further executions took place, and Cumanus, and Celer his tribune, were sent in chains to Rome, to plead before Claudius. After this, Quadratus marched to Jerusalem, to check any similar outbreak, and was present at the feast of the *Passover*.<sup>e</sup> It is evident from this narrative, that the feast at which the Jews had marched into Samaria, and joined their forces to the bandit Eleazar, was the preceding feast, and therefore the feast of Tabernacles. In what year, then, did this occur? Josephus informs us that Cumanus and Celer, who had been sent to Rome by Quadratus, were condemned, after trial, the one to banishment, and the other to death, and then subjoins, 'and Claudius also sends Felix, the brother of Pallas (*vice* Cumanus), to take the command of affairs in Judæa; and *having now completed his twelfth year*, he invests Agrippa with the tetrarchy,' &c.<sup>f</sup> The banishment of Cumanus, and the appointment of Felix, was therefore a little before the completion of Claudius's twelfth year. But the twelfth year of his reign expired on 25th January, A.D. 53. Cumanus and Celer, therefore, had been sent by Quadratus to Rome in A.D. 52, and at the Passover of that year Quadratus had been at Jerusalem, and the outbreak of the Jews had occurred at the preceding feast of Tabernacles A.D. 51. This inference from the account of Josephus is fully confirmed by the narrative of Tacitus, who places the trial of Cumanus before Claudius, and the pacification of the province by the intervention of Quadratus, in the consulship of Faustus Sulla and Salvius Otho, that is, in the year A.D. 52;<sup>g</sup> and if so, the revolt of Judæa must be referred to the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 51. Upon the concurrent testimony, therefore, of Josephus and Tacitus, we may refer the disturbances in Judæa to the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 51, which was on 8th October of that year; and assuming this to be so, intelligence of the rebellion would reach Rome at the very beginning of the following year A.D. 52, and Claudius, whose timidity of character is notorious, would, upon receipt of the news, issue an immediate order for the expulsion of the Jews from Rome.

Josephus, out of tenderness, perhaps, to his countrymen, has passed over this edict in silence, but, if we mistake not, there are some traces of it to be found in Tacitus. In the very first chapter relating to the events of A.D. 52 occurs the following passage: 'A decree was passed (as violent as it was *nugatory*) for the expulsion of the *Chaldeans*

<sup>d</sup> Cæsi milites, Tac. Ann., xii. 54.

<sup>e</sup> Jos. Bell., ii. 12, 6; Ant., xx. 6, 1.

<sup>f</sup> Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιος Φήλικα Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν (*vice* Cumani) τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστησόμενον

πραγμάτων. Τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκίως δωρεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ, &c. Ant., xx. 7, 1.

<sup>g</sup> Tac. Ann., xii. 52, 54.

(Mathematici) from Italy.'<sup>h</sup> And if the *Jews* were connected with the Chaldeans by Tacitus, whose ignorance, at least on this part of the Jewish history, is very remarkable,<sup>i</sup> the expulsion referred to by St. Luke, in the Acts, is confirmed by the heathen historian. It is singular that the two edicts, unless they were identical, should both have been issued at the same moment. They both also agree in this particular, that Tacitus calls the decree, mentioned by him, 'nugatory,' and we know that the order of Claudius, referred to by Luke was not long in force, for when the supposed rebellion had blown over, the Jews soon returned to the capital, and lived there in the same freedom as before.

The edict, then, against the Jews was promulgated at the very commencement of A.D. 52; and if so, Aquila would reach Corinth the beginning of February A.D. 52; and as Paul came thither about the same time, we may place his arrival also about the beginning of February A.D. 52.

2. Let us now examine how far this date is consistent with the other note of time, viz. the proconsulship of Gallio. The sojourn of Paul at Corinth, altogether, was a year and six months,<sup>k</sup> so that if he arrived at Corinth the beginning of February A.D. 52, his departure would be at the beginning of August A.D. 53, which would allow a convenient interval for reaching Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles (as he intended) on 16th September of that year.<sup>l</sup> Gallio had been some little time (*ἡμέρας ἱκανάς*, Acts xviii. 18) in office when Paul left, so that Gallio would probably come to Corinth a little before Midsummer, A.D. 53, which would be the usual season of a proconsul's entrance into his province, the order being that proconsuls should leave Rome by 15th April.<sup>m</sup> Can we then collect from the few facts known of Gallio the probability of his holding the province in A.D. 53? The advancement of Gallio must be ascribed to the influence of his brother Seneca. In the very first year of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41, Seneca was banished, and remained in disgrace until A.D. 49,<sup>n</sup> and it is unlikely that during this interval Gallio would have enjoyed the imperial favour while his brother was in exile. But in A.D. 49, Agrippina, who had just married Claudius, endeavoured to make herself popular by the recall of Seneca, and procured also at the same time his nomination to the prætorship, *Veniam exilii pro Annæo Senecâ, simul Præturam impetrat*, Tac. Ann. xii. 8. The elections for the prætorship were in the autumn, and the prætors entered upon office the 1st of January following. Now if Gallio, as well as Seneca, had been nominated to the prætorship at Seneca's return, it is scarcely possible that Tacitus should not have mentioned it. Neither is it likely that Seneca, immediately on his own recall, and before he had established his own influence at court, should have exerted himself to obtain the prætorship for his brother. It is improbable, therefore, that Gallio was amongst those elected in A.D. 49, and if so, he would not be in actual office as prætor for the year A.D. 50. But there is no objection to the hypothesis that Seneca's influence led to the nomination of Gallio to the prætorship in the autumn of A.D. 50, so that he

<sup>h</sup> De Mathematicis Italiâ pellendis factum senatus-consultum atrox et irritum. Tac. Ann., xii. 52. See Suet. Tib., 36.

<sup>i</sup> Compare Tac. Ann., xii. 54, with Jos. Bell., ii. 12, 3; Ant. xx. 6, 1.

<sup>k</sup> Ἐκείθισέ τε ἑνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ διδάσκων ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Acts, xviii. 11. See Tables, A. D. 53, No. 1793.

<sup>l</sup> Paul sailed from Philippi after the expiration of

the Passover, for the purpose of reaching Jerusalem at the Pentecost, the 50th day from the 2nd day of the seven days of Unleavened bread. Acts xx. 6. He thus allowed himself only forty-four days from Philippi to Jerusalem; and twice on the road, viz. at Troas and Tyre, he tarried a whole week.

<sup>m</sup> Dion, lx. 17.

<sup>n</sup> Dion, lx. 8. See Tables A. D. 41, No. 1627; A. D. 49, No. 1729.



might be actual prætor for the year A. D. 51. It was an inflexible rule of Claudius, and founded on the justest principles, that no two offices should be held consecutively, but that, on the expiration of any magistracy, there should at least be an interval of a year, during which the *functus officio* should be at Rome, and ready to answer any accusations that might be brought against him for maladministration.<sup>o</sup> If Gallio then was prætor in A. D. 51, he was at Rome during A. D. 52, but in A. D. 53 he was capable of taking a province, and his brother Seneca, being then at the height of his popularity, might, with every probability in its favour, have secured for him the proconsulship of Achaia. It is clear that Gallio in the following year, A. D. 54, was *not* in Achaia, but at Rome, as we find him exerting his wit there on the subject of the death of Claudius.<sup>p</sup> Assuming, then, that Gallio was proconsul for the year A. D. 53, he would leave Rome about the middle of April, and arrive at Corinth, as we have supposed, a little before Midsummer A. D. 53, a month or two before Paul's departure.

Having thus fixed the arrival of Paul at Corinth in A. D. 52, let us trace forward the apostle's history, to see the bearings of this hypothesis upon the date of his visit to Jerusalem, when he was arrested in the temple, and which in a future discussion will be referred to the time of the Pentecost A. D. 58. If Paul came to Corinth early in February A. D. 52, it follows that he quitted it, after a year and six months, early in August A. D. 53, and was at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, the 16th of September in the same year. He then went down to Antioch, and, after staying a little time there, *χρόνον τινά*, Acts xviii. 23, passed through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus. Now, on his way to Jerusalem, he had *promised* the Ephesians to return to them after the feast of Tabernacles, so that he would probably arrive at Ephesus in the spring of A. D. 54. He sojourned there three years, *τριετίαν*, Acts xx. 31, and left, sometime between the Passover and Pentecost, 1 Cor. v. 7, xvi. 8, and therefore between the Passover and Pentecost of the year A. D. 57, and remained during the winter at Corinth, for the space of three months, *μήνας τρεῖς*, Acts xx. 3. At the Passover of the following year, A. D. 58, he was at Philippi, Acts xx. 6; so that if we can establish, on independent grounds, that Paul was at Corinth the first time in A. D. 52, it results that he was at Philippi at the Passover of A. D. 58; and that Paul was at Philippi in A. D. 58 we shall show hereafter, by a perfectly different chain of reasoning. On the other hand, if we can prove, as we shall, that Paul was at Philippi at the Passover of A. D. 58, we have only to reckon backwards to arrive at the conclusion that Paul reached Corinth, on the first occasion, early in A. D. 52. Thus either date supports the other, and one being conceded, the other will follow.

<sup>o</sup> Dion, lx. 25.

<sup>p</sup> Dion, lx. 35.

## CHAPTER IX.

## DATE OF ST. PAUL'S CONVERSION.

THIS question depends, in great measure, on a passage in the Galatians. St. Paul, in speaking of the great mercy of God in having called him to be an apostle, tells us, that immediately after his conversion he went into Arabia, where he had no intercourse with man at all, but received certain divine revelations, and then returned to Damascus, Gal. i. 16. It is not clear whether the three years are to be reckoned from the conversion or from the return to Damascus. But as the seclusion in Arabia must have been very brief, the interval between the conversion and the return to Damascus may for our present purpose be disregarded. 'Then,' he proceeds, '*after three years, I went up to Jerusalem,*' ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία ἀνήλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, i. 18; and 'Then, *fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem,*' ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ii. 1. We have here, then, two consecutive periods of three years and fourteen years, making together seventeen years between the conversion and the subsequent visit to Jerusalem referred to by the apostle. Now this subsequent visit, described as occurring after an interval of seventeen years from the conversion, can be no other than that which we have placed at the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 53, and if so, then, reckoning backward the fourteen years and three years, making together seventeen years, we arrive at the feast of Tabernacles A. D. 36.

In order, however, to determine the time of the conversion more nearly, we must consider the exact force of the expressions, μετὰ ἔτη τρία and διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν. The former words have been translated in our bibles 'after three years,' but this scarcely gives the meaning of the original. According to the Greek idiom, μετὰ ἔτη τρία signifies not after the expiration of the three full years, but in the course of the third year current. Thus μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν is the next day: μετὰ ἔτη δύο, Bell. i. 13, 1, is varied in the Antiquities by the phrase δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει, &c., Ant. xiv. 13, 3, &c.<sup>a</sup> St. Paul, then, does not mean that three full years elapsed from the time of his conversion to this visit to Jerusalem, but only that this visit was sometime in the course of the third year current, i. e. more than two years after his conversion.

The expression, ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν, stands in the authorised translation, 'Then, fourteen years after;' but it should more properly have been rendered, 'after fourteen years,' i. e. after an interval of fourteen years complete. Thus Philo, a Jew and a contemporary of the Apostles, in speaking of the Sabbath, writes ἡ δι' ἕξ ἡμερῶν ἱερὰ ἐβδόμη;<sup>b</sup> 'the sacred day, the seventh after an interval of the six.' The phrase, διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν, will therefore carry us back through an interval of fourteen complete years from the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 53, i. e. to the feast of Tabernacles

<sup>a</sup> See A. D. 39, No. 1581.

<sup>b</sup> De Septenario, c. 6.



A. D. 39; and the third year current from the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 39, will be the year from the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 36, to the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 37.

But the conversion of St. Paul was connected with and immediately followed upon the martyrdom of Stephen. Is there, then, any reason for supposing that the protomartyr suffered between the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 36, and the same feast in A. D. 37. It is almost demonstrable that such was the case. The stoning of Stephen is the very counterpart of the stoning of James the Just, as recorded by Josephus, Ant. xx. 9, 1;° and as the latter occurred during a period of anarchy in the absence of a Roman procurator, we look naturally for a similar period of anarchy as prompting the martyrdom of Stephen, and just such an interregnum we find at the close of A. D. 36, and the beginning of A. D. 37.

Pilate, in A. D. 36, had committed a merciless massacre of the Samaritans, and a complaint was lodged against him in consequence before Vitellius, governor of Syria, who had then just returned to Antioch from the Euphrates, whither he had accompanied Tiridates on his expedition to Parthia. Pilate was ordered by Vitellius to meet the charge, and probably attended personally in his defence at Antioch; at least we do not hear of Vitellius himself visiting Jerusalem for the purpose. Pilate was tried, condemned, and deposed, and despatched to Rome. But at what time of year did this happen? This we can curiously enough determine with considerable accuracy, for Pilate, on being deposed, was obliged to sail instantly for Rome, εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπέειγτο,<sup>d</sup> and before he reached Rome the Emperor Tiberius was dead.<sup>e</sup> The demise of Tiberius was on 16th March, A. D. 37, so that Pilate must have commenced his voyage at the very end of A. D. 36, when the Jews were left without a procurator. But further, Vitellius visited Jerusalem at the next Passover, A. D. 37, to keep the peace, and on that occasion displaced Caiaphas, the tool of Pilate, and appointed in his stead Theophilus (the son of Ananus, or Annas, who had been so instrumental in procuring the death of Christ, and the brother of that Ananus who, a few years after, procured the death of James the Just). Vitellius was returning from Jerusalem to Antioch, when he unexpectedly received orders from Tiberius, the patron of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, to march against Aretas, king of Petra, who had lately declared war against Antipas, and defeated his general in a pitched battle; and Vitellius, on receipt of this despatch, led back his forces on his way to Petra, and went up with Antipas to Jerusalem, and was there at the feast of *Pentecost*, on 9th May, A. D. 37. Four days after the feast came the news of the death of Tiberius in the preceding March, when Vitellius, whose heart rankled with revenge against Antipas, for an affront offered him the year before on the Euphrates, turned his back on the tetrarch and returned to Antioch. The Jews were now left to themselves. No successor to Pilate had yet arrived. The prefect of Syria was at Antioch, and Tiberius, whose severity they had dreaded, was dead.<sup>f</sup> Under such a fortunate combination of circumstances, the Jews might well rush upon their prey, and vent their smothered fury upon Stephen, the most zealous of the sect.

From the presence of the Hellenists, who disputed with Stephen, and who came from Cyrene, Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia,<sup>g</sup> it was evidently the season of some public festival when Stephen was martyred; and as Tiberius died on 16th March, A. D. 37, and about two months would be required for the transmission of the intelligence to Jerusalem, the feast in question was, we may presume, that of the Pentecost, which was

° See A. D. 62, No. 1931.

<sup>d</sup> Ant., xviii. 4, 2.

μετασάς. Ant., xviii. 4, 2.

° Πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῆς Ῥώμης προσχεῖν αὐτὸν φθάνει Τιβέριος

<sup>f</sup> Jos. Ant., xviii. 5, 3.

<sup>g</sup> Acts vi. 9.

celebrated on 9th May, A. D. 37. If the death of Stephen, then, occurred in May, A. D. 37, the conversion of Paul would follow very shortly afterwards; and if so, it would be in the third year current before the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 39, and in the seventeenth year current before the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 53.<sup>h</sup>

It is not an uncommon opinion, and therefore we notice it, that not only the three years, but also *the fourteen years*, are to be dated from the time of St. Paul's *conversion*; but this is not the natural sense, and cannot be adopted without absolute necessity. Supposing, however, that the language itself offered no objection, the assumption could not be made to harmonize with the facts. Thus, if the voyage from Corinth to Jerusalem be placed, as it must be, at the feast of Tabernacles A. D. 53, fourteen years before that would, on this hypothesis, carry us to the feast of Tabernacles A. D. 39 as the time of the conversion. Paul visited Jerusalem three years after his conversion, Gal. i. 18, which would therefore be in A. D. 42, and we shall show presently, as a date to be received without the least question, that he was again at Jerusalem at the Passover of A. D. 44. Now in this interval of two years, from A. D. 42 to A. D. 44, occurred the following events:—Paul, after attempting to preach at Jerusalem, was obliged to leave it, and was sent by the disciples to Tarsus, where he sojourned, Acts ix. 30; the Churches had an interval of rest, Acts ix. 31; Peter made a general circuit (*διὰ πάντων*), Acts ix. 32; Cornelius was called at Cæsarea, Acts x. 1; Peter returned to Jerusalem, and a council was held on the subject of the admission of the Gentiles, Acts xi. 1; the gospel was preached to the Greeks at Antioch, Acts xi. 19; the Church of Jerusalem heard of it, and sent Barnabas thither, Acts xi. 22; Barnabas went on to Tarsus, and brought Saul back with him, Acts xi. 25; Saul and Barnabas remained at Antioch *a whole year*, *ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον*, Acts xi. 26; Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem before the Passover, A. D. 44. Now these events are far too numerous to be compressed within the space of two years only, and if so, Paul's first visit to Jerusalem, after his conversion, could not have been in the year A. D. 42; that is, his conversion could not have been three years before, in A. D. 39; in which year, however, it must be placed, if the fourteen years before his visit in A. D. 53 were dated from the conversion, and not from the expiration of the three years. It follows that the three years and the fourteen years of the Galatians must be distinct and consecutive periods, and the first visit to Jerusalem after the conversion being in A. D. 39, the conversion itself must be carried back to the third year current before, viz. to the year A. D. 37.

<sup>h</sup> That the martyrdom of Stephen was either at the feast of Tabernacles A. D. 36, or at the Passover A. D. 37, or Pentecost A. D. 37, is almost certain, but the reader may well hesitate to which of these three feasts it should more properly be referred. If it be thought that some considerable time elapsed between the martyrdom of Stephen and the conversion of Paul, and that some considerable time also elapsed from the time of the conversion to Paul's return from Arabia to Damascus, then as the conversion, or at least the return from Damascus, is stated to have been in the

the third year current before Paul's visit to Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles A. D. 39 (which was on 21st September), the time of the martyrdom might perhaps be more consistently assigned to the Passover A. D. 37, or to the feast of Tabernacles' A. D. 36. In either case there was the absence of a Roman governor from Jerusalem, as Pilate, towards the close of A. D. 36, had been summoned by Vitellius to Antioch to meet the charges of the Samaritans, and was thence sent to Rome.



## CHAPTER X.

## DATE OF THE VISIT OF PAUL AND BARNABAS TO JERUSALEM, WHEN THEY WERE SENT UP WITH THE ALMS OF THE ANTIOCHIAN CHURCH.

THE circumstances of this visit are familiar to all. Agabus, a member of the Jerusalem Church, and who had lately come down with some others to Antioch, predicted that a general famine was at hand, and thereupon the Antiochian converts made a charitable collection amongst themselves for the relief of the poor brethren at Jerusalem, and forwarded it by the hands of Paul and Barnabas. The two envoys arrived at Jerusalem just before a Passover. Herod Agrippa, probably while Paul and Barnabas were at Jerusalem, slew James the brother of John, and furthermore cast Peter into prison, with the view of putting him also to death, after the Passover. Agrippa, when the feast was ended, 'went down to Cæsarea, and there abode,' and not long after was struck by the hand of death in the theatre.<sup>a</sup>

We have here two notes of time in connection with the journey of Paul and Barnabas,—first, the famine; and secondly, the death of Agrippa. Luke tells us that the famine came to pass in the reign of Claudius, Acts xi. 28, and therefore after 24th January A.D. 41, when Claudius ascended the throne, and before 13th October A.D. 54, when Claudius died. Josephus speaks of the same famine, and states that it occurred under the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander.<sup>b</sup> Cuspius Fadus was appointed in the latter half of A.D. 44, and was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander in A.D. 46.<sup>c</sup> The famine, therefore, may have commenced, according to Josephus, in the latter part of A.D. 44; but apparently it had begun to be felt somewhat earlier, for Cuspius Fadus was sent to Judæa in the latter half of A.D. 44, in the place of Agrippa, who had lately died; and in the lifetime of Agrippa, and therefore probably not later than Midsummer A.D. 44, the Syrians and Sidonians had arrived at Cæsarea, to make peace with Agrippa, 'because their country was nourished by the king's country.'<sup>d</sup> They were evidently straitened at this time for provisions from the prevailing scarcity. These notices of the famine therefore would lead us to the conclusion that, as Paul and Barnabas came up from Antioch to Jerusalem in *anticipation* of a famine, and just before a certain Passover, this Passover could be none other than that of A.D. 44.

But we shall arrive at this date with greater certainty by adverting to the other circumstance connected with the apostle's visit, viz. the death of Agrippa.

The account in the Acts runs:—'And he (Agrippa) went down from Judæa to Cæsarea, and there abode,' καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν. And Herod was highly displeased with

<sup>a</sup> Acts xi. 27, *et seq.*

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ (Fadus and Alexander) καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γένεσθαι. Ant.,

xx. 5, 2.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 44, No. 1679; A.D. 46, No. 1701.

<sup>d</sup> Acts xii. 20.

them of Tyre and Sidon,' &c., when follow the particulars of his death in the theatre.<sup>o</sup> The awful circumstances related by St. Luke were evidently so close after the Passover, as to force themselves from their proximity into the sacred narrative, though the writer had been treating of different matters. The words *ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν* do not imply any length of time, and should more properly have been rendered 'was sojourning there,' when the Tyrians and Sidonians implored his clemency, &c.

Agrippa, it is manifest, never returned again to Jerusalem, and therefore could not have long survived the Passover, for he was a rigid observer of the law of Moses, and would have deemed it a heinous sin not to attend the regular festivals. Accident or illness might lead to his absence from some one of the feasts, as the next Pentecost, but he must if living have worshipped again at Jerusalem before the Passover of the following year. His death, then, may probably be placed after an interval of two or three months, at the most, from the Passover when Paul and Barnabas were present with him at Jerusalem. In what year, then, did this occur? The answer will be found in Josephus. He mentions that Agrippa, at his death, had completed the third year of his reign over *all Judæa*: *τρίτον ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο*, Ant. xix. 8, 2; *βεβασιλευκῶς μὲν ἔτη τριά*, Bell. ii. 11, 6; and that he had reigned seven years, from the time of his appointment as king of *Trachonitis*, *ἄγων ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας ἑβδομον τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔνιαυτούς, τῆς μὲν Φιλίππου τετραρχίας εἰς τριετιαν ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς*, Ant. xix. 8, 2. Now Agrippa was made king of *all Judæa* by Claudius not long after his accession, and as Claudius succeeded Caligula on 24th January A.D. 41, the appointment of Agrippa may be placed in April A.D. 41, and three years from that time would bring us to April A.D. 44; but as at his death Agrippa had *completed* three years, he lived somewhat longer. Again, Agrippa was made king of *Trachonitis* by Caligula, soon after the latter came to the throne. Tiberius died on 16th March, A.D. 37, Tac. Ann. vi. 50, and Caligula was then in Campania, but celebrated the funeral at Rome, Suet. Calig. 13; and a few days after the ceremony, and therefore some time in April, he created Agrippa king of Trachonitis.<sup>f</sup> Counting, then, seven years from April, A.D. 37, as the commencement of Agrippa's reign, we arrive at April A.D. 44 as the completion of the 7th year. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the death of Agrippa must be placed in A.D. 44, and not long after the Passover, which was on the 31st of March.

This conclusion is confirmed by another circumstance mentioned casually by Josephus. Agrippa, the Jewish historian tells us, died during the celebration of some festival 'in honour of Claudius, *for his safety*,' *εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ*, Ant. xix. 8, 2.<sup>g</sup> I know not what this can refer to but the safe return of Claudius from Britain to Rome, in January A.D. 44, after a six months' absence.<sup>h</sup> Great festivities were everywhere celebrated on the occasion not only in Italy but in the provinces, and no doubt when the news reached Judæa, which would be about April, the same mark of respect would be paid to him at Cæsarea the Roman *capital*. Claudius was not only a patron of the Jews generally but of Agrippa in particular, upon whom he had conferred the kingdom of Judæa;

<sup>o</sup> Acts xii. 20.

<sup>f</sup> Γαῖος δ' ἄς ἐπὶ Ῥώμην παρῆν ἄγων τοῦ Τιβερίου, τὸ σῶμα, ταφάς τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται πολυτελεῖς ἰμοῖσι πατρίοις. Ἀγρίππαν δὲ αὐθημερὸν λύειν ὄντα πρόθυμον, κάλυμα Ἀντωνία ἦν. Διελθούσων μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν. . . . βασιλέα καθίστησι αὐτόν. Ant., xviii. 6, 10.

<sup>g</sup> The words *ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας* are the very same words as those used with reference to the sacrifices for the safe return of Caligula from Gaul. See A.D. 40, No. 1601.

<sup>h</sup> See A.D. 44, No. 1674.



and it cannot be doubted that Agrippa, when he heard of the emperor's return, would be present at a festival 'in honour of Claudius for his safety.' The death of Agrippa, on this hypothesis, if we allow some time for the preparations for the spectacle, would be about May, A.D. 44, and if so, the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem would be, as we have stated, a little before the Passover of the same year.

## CHAPTER XI.

## DATE OF ST. PAUL'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM WHEN HE WAS ARRESTED IN THE TEMPLE.

WE refer this visit to the year A.D. 58, and we shall establish this by shewing, first, That the visit cannot be placed in any earlier year than A.D. 58; 2. That it cannot be placed in any later year; and 3. That there are certain particulars belonging to this visit which characterise the year A.D. 58.

*First.* This visit of Paul cannot be placed in any year earlier than A.D. 58.

It is clear that the arrival of Paul at the Jewish capital was subsequent to the rise of the *Sicarii*, and even to the later event of the disturbance caused by the *Egyptian prophet*. Lysias, in his hurried conversation with Paul on the stairs of Fort Antonia, alludes both to the *Sicarii* and the *Egyptian*:—‘Art not thou that Egyptian which, before these days, madest an uproar, and leddest out in the wilderness four thousand men of the *Sicarii*?’<sup>a</sup> At what period, then, did the *émeute* of the Egyptian impostor occur? We learn from Josephus that it was in the time of Nero, and if we examine the events recorded by that historian under the reign of Nero, which preceded the appearance of the Egyptian prophet, we shall find that this impostor could not have made his attempt before the year A.D. 57. Nero began to reign on 13th October, A.D. 54, and the transactions in Judæa and the East during the time of Nero (τὰ Ἰουδαίους κατ’ αὐτὸν γενόμενα, Bell. ii. 13, 1; and see Ant. xx. 8, 4) are enumerated in the following order:—

1. Nero makes Soemus king of Emesa, and gives the Lesser Armenia to Aristobulus, and extends the dominions of Agrippa, Ant. xx. 8, 4; Bell. ii. 13, 2.
2. Judæa is filled with bandits, and Felix is busy in extirpating them, πολλοὺς μὲν, καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν λαμβάνων, Ant. xx. 8, 5; till the country is cleared, Καθαρθείσης τῆς χώρας, Bell. ii. 13, 3. Eleazar, the arch-robber, who had defied the governors for twenty years, is captured and sent to Rome, Ant. xx. 8, 5; Bell. ii. 13, 2. (The tranquillity thus produced is the peace for which Tertullus complimented Felix: πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ, Acts xxiv. 3.)
3. The rise of the *Sicarii*, or secret assassins, ἕτερον εἶδος ληστῶν, Bell. ii. 13, 3, chiefly at the great feasts. Jonathan, the high priest, is their first victim, and as this passed over with impunity, the evil spreads. Ant. xx. 8, 5; Bell. ii. 13, 3. Observe, also, that Lysias speaks of 4,000 *Sicarii*, τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν Σικαρίων, Acts xxi. 38. Some interval, therefore, had elapsed between the murder of Jonathan and the arrival of Paul, or the name of *Sicarii* would not have been so familiar, or their number so great.
4. Religious impostors στίφος ἕτερον πονηρῶν, Bell. ii. 13, 4, lead multitudes

<sup>a</sup> Οὐκ ἔρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατάσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν Σικαρίων. Acts xxi. 38.



of followers into the desert, and Felix sends a force against them and disperses them, Ant. xx. 8, 6; Bell. ii. 13, 4.

5. The Egyptian prophet, *μείζονι ταύτης πληγῆς*, Bell. ii. 13, 5, arises and leads 4,000 followers, Acts xxi. 38, from Jerusalem into the desert, and afterwards returns at the head of 30,000 men to the Mount of Olives, to make a triumphal entry into Jerusalem, but Felix attacks them and kills many, but the Egyptian himself escapes, Ant. xx. 8, 6; Bell. ii. 13, 5. Lysias had, not improbably, been sent by Felix against the Egyptian, and this would account for his having the Egyptian so much in his thoughts, Acts xxi. 38.

The above events were not contemporaneous, but followed each other, as in a broken constitution; no sooner was one disease cured than another showed itself. *Κατεσταλμένον δὲ καὶ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν νοσοῦντι σώματι πάλιν ἕτερον μέρος ἐφλέγμαίνεν*, Bell. ii. 13, 6.

A less space than three years cannot be allowed for this series of transactions, and this will bring us to 13th October A.D. 57. But Paul's arrival at Jerusalem was some time even after the attempt of the Egyptian, for Lysias speaks of it as having occurred 'before these days,' *πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν*, Acts xxi. 38. The arrival of the Apostle, therefore, cannot be placed earlier than some time in the year A.D. 58.

*Secondly.* We shall show that Paul's arrival at Jerusalem could not have been *later* than in A.D. 58.

Paul had been two years a prisoner at Cæsarea when Felix was succeeded by Festus, Acts xxiv. 27. The question then is, when was Felix recalled?

On Felix's return to Rome he was followed by an embassy of the Jews, to accuse him to the emperor, and he escaped condign punishment through the influence only of his brother Pallas, Ant. xx. 8, 9. But Pallas was taken off by poison in A.D. 62, Tac. Ann. xiv. 65; Dion. lxii. 14. The recall of Felix therefore, at least, could not have been later than the summer of A.D. 61, for Felix was certainly succeeded by Festus in some summer, and if it was the summer of A.D. 62, and not of A.D. 61, he could not have reached Rome in the lifetime of Pallas.

Neither could Felix have been recalled in the summer of A.D. 61; for if so, Paul also must have been sent by Festus from Cæsarea to Rome in the autumn of that year, and have reached Rome in the spring of A.D. 62. But when Paul arrived at Rome he was delivered to a single prefect of the Prætorium, *τῷ στρατοπεδάρχη*, Acts xxviii. 16, and not to prefects, in the plural. Now Burrhus had been the single prefect for ten years and upwards, but, at the very beginning of A.D. 62, Burrhus died, and from that time *two* prefects were appointed in his place. Paul, therefore, must have reached Rome in an earlier year than A.D. 62, that is, in A.D. 61; and if so, as he passed the winter at Malta, he must have sailed from Cæsarea in an earlier year than A.D. 61, that is, in A.D. 60. Consequently, Felix also, who was succeeded by Festus in the summer of the year in which Paul sailed, must have been recalled before the year A.D. 61, that is, in A.D. 60.

But if Felix was displaced in A.D. 60, then, as Paul was a prisoner for two years, he could not have been apprehended in the temple later than in A.D. 58.

We have assumed that Burrhus died at the very beginning of A.D. 62, and this will appear from the detail of events related by Tacitus, as occurring between 1st January and 9th June of that year.

The only facts recorded by Tacitus *before* the death of Burrhus, are the accusations against Antistius and Veiento, Tac. Ann. xiv. 48—51. But the occurrences between

the death of Burrhus and the death of Octavia on 9th June of the same year, are such as to require all the space that can be allowed them, even on the supposition that Burrhus died some time in the month of January. The events of this year up to 9th June are thus given :—

Antistius and Veiento are accused, Tac. Ann. xiv. 48, 50.	}	Jan.
The death of Burrhus, xiv. 51,		
Seneca loses his power in consequence, xiv. 51, 52.	}	Feb.
He is accused before Nero, and defends himself, xiv. 53.		
Rufus Feniis falls into disgrace, xiv. 57.		
Tigellinus, his colleague, urges the death of Sulla in Gaul, and Plautus in Asia, xiv. 57.	}	March
Sulla is executed in Gaul, and his head brought to Rome, xiv. 57 ; and Plautus is put to death in Asia, and his head also brought to Rome, xiv. 59. This voyage from Rome to Asia and back must have occupied a considerable time, the more so as the report of the plot against Plautus reached him, in Asia, before his executioners arrived.		
The Senate pass a vote of thanks to Nero, xiv. 59.		
Divorce of Octavia, xiv. 60.	}	May.
Nero's marriage with Poppæa, xiv. 60, twelve days after the divorce, Suet. Nero, 35.		
Murmurs of the people at the usage of Octavia, Tac. Ann. xiv. 60.		
Octavia recalled from Campania, xiv. 60.		
Rejoicings of the people, xiv. 61.	}	June.
Octavia banished to Pandateria, xiv. 63.		
Some days after ( <i>paucis interjectis diebus</i> ) Octavia is put to death, xiv. 64.		
This was on the same day as the death of Nero, and therefore on 9th June, Suet. Nero, 57.	}	

We leave the reader to judge from this table, whether Burrhus could have survived the month of January, and have been still alive when Paul reached Rome, at the end of February, or beginning of March.

*Thirdly.* There are arguments which will evince that Paul arrived at Jerusalem in the year A. D. 58, and not in any other year. Let the reader attend to the following remarkable coincidence. Paul had originally purposed to sail direct from Corinth to Judæa, but an ambush by the way was laid against him, and he was obliged for safety to go round by Macedonia. This circuit caused considerable delay, and he was under the necessity of making all haste, in order to reach Jerusalem at the Pentecost, 'if it were possible,' *εἰ δυνατόν ἦν αὐτῷ*, Acts xx. 16. He arrived at Philippi just before the Passover, and stayed till it was over. He then sailed for Troas, which he reached on the fifth day. He tarried there seven days, and the last was a Sunday, on which he preached, before departing on the Monday. *Ἡμεῖσδε ἐξεπλεύσαμεν μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἁζύμων ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, καὶ ἤλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα ἄχρις ἡμερῶν πέντε, οὐ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, &c.,* Acts xx. 6. Now in A. D. 58, the day of the pascal sacrifices, the first of the eight days' feast



fell on Monday the 27th of March (beginning at sunset of the evening before), and the last day of the feast was Monday the 3rd of April. Paul, therefore, started on Tuesday, the 4th of April, and reached Troas on Sunday, the 9th of April, and stayed a week there, and preached at Troas on Sunday the 16th of April.

Now every year about this time, except the year A. D. 58, presents features at variance with the fact mentioned by Luke, that Paul spent the Sunday, being the 13th day after leaving Philippi, in Troas. To have done this, Paul must have sailed from Philippi on a Tuesday, and this Tuesday must have been at the conclusion of a Passover. The following table will show how little any year but A. D. 58 will answer the requisitions : —

A. D.	Passover begins.	Passover ends.
53	March 22, Thursday.	March 29, <i>Thursday.</i>
54	April 10, Wednesday.	April 17, <i>Wednesday.</i>
55	March 30, Sunday.	April 6, <i>Sunday.</i>
56	March 19, Friday.	March 26, <i>Friday.</i>
57	April 7, Thursday.	April 14, <i>Thursday.</i>
58	March 27, Monday.	April 3, <i>Monday.</i>
59	April 15, Sunday.	April 22, <i>Sunday.</i>
60	April 4, Friday.	April 11, <i>Friday.</i> <sup>b</sup>

The years that agree best after A. D. 58 are the years A. D. 55 and A. D. 59, in which the Passover ended on a Sunday, and then, if Paul remained one day at Philippi, and started on the following day, viz. Tuesday, he would still be at Troas on Sunday, the 13th day after. But Paul could not have been at Philippi in A. D. 55, for then he would have reached Jerusalem at the Pentecost of the same year; but this could not have been the case, for the outbreak of the Egyptian referred to by Lysias must upon this hypothesis have occurred some time (say six months) before, which is utterly at variance with the narrative of Josephus, who places it much later, when Nero, who began to reign in the last quarter of A. D. 54, had been some years emperor. Neither could Paul have started from Philippi in A. D. 59, for then he must have sailed from Cæsarea in A. D. 61, and have been delivered over in February, A. D. 62, to Burrhus, τῷ στρατοπεδάρῃ, Acts xxviii. 16, but who had died the preceding month. We must conclude therefore, upon the whole, that Paul's departure from Philippi, and arrival at Jerusalem, was in A. D. 58, and could have been in no other year.

There is also an argument not identical with the foregoing, but connected with it, which is this. The Apostle started from Philippi *after* the Passover, and arrived at Jerusalem on or *before* the day of Pentecost. What space of time, then, was consumed in the journey? The Pentecost was the 50th day from the second day (exclusively) of the feast of Unleavened bread. We must deduct then the five last days of the feast of Unleavened bread, during which Paul was still at Philippi, and the day of Pentecost itself, and we have remaining forty-four days only. The enemies of Christianity have ventured on the assertion, that Paul could not possibly, between the Passover and Pentecost of any year, have accomplished the voyage from Philippi to Jerusalem; but although that proposition be untenable, we shall, nevertheless, be satisfied, from an inspection of the subjoined table, that the intermediate space is fully occupied, and

<sup>b</sup> For the feast-days in this table, see Greswell's Book of Almanacks; and see upon the subject generally, Wieseler's Chronolog. Apostol. 99.

that Paul had not even a day to throw away. Now, in A.D. 58, no time would be wasted, but in every other year one or more days would be necessarily so. Thus, to explain our meaning more fully, the Apostle's voyage from Philippi to Troas occupied five days, and he stayed at Troas seven days, and the last day was a *Sunday*, when *Paul* preached. He must, therefore, have started from Philippi on a *Tuesday*. In A.D. 58 the Passover ended on a *Monday*, and if Paul quitted Philippi the next day, Tuesday, no part of the forty-four days between the Passover and Pentecost was lost. But this would not be the case with any other year: thus, in A.D. 57, the Passover ended on a *Thursday*, and therefore, as Paul took his departure on a *Tuesday*, he would waste four days at Philippi between the close of the Passover and the commencement of his journey. Now, on this supposition, it is not *possible* that Paul could have reached Jerusalem before the day of Pentecost.

The following table will exhibit the course of Paul's voyage in A.D. 58, and the reader will collect from it that, to enable the Apostle to reach Jerusalem before the Pentecost, he must have quitted Philippi the very day after the Passover:—

## A. D. 58.

The Passover was on Monday, the 27th of March, beginning from 6 p.m. of the preceding evening, and ended on Monday, the 3rd of April, at 6 p.m.

Paul started on Tuesday, the 4th of April . . . . .	April 4
In five days ( <i>ἄχρις ἡμερῶν πέντε</i> , xx. 6), and therefore on Sunday, he reached Troas, and remained seven days, <i>οὗ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ</i> , xx. 6 . . . . .	9
On the last of the seven days, and therefore on Sunday, the 16th, Paul preached at Troas, xx. 7 . . . . .	16
On Monday, the 17th, he embarked at Troas, and reached Mitylene . . . . .	17
Tuesday, the 18th ( <i>τῇ ἐπιούσῃ</i> , xx. 15), to Chios . . . . .	18
Wednesday, the 19th ( <i>τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ</i> , xx. 15), to Samos . . . . .	19
Thursday, the 20th ( <i>τῇ ἐχομένῃ</i> , xx. 15), to Miletus, whence he sent off a despatch to Ephesus, for the elders to come to him . . . . .	20
Sunday, the 23rd, the elders arrived, and Paul addressed them, probably, through the night before his departure in the morning, as at Troas . . . . .	23
Monday, the 24th, Paul embarked apparently at the close of his sermon (see xx. 38), and reached Cos . . . . .	24
Tuesday, the 25th, ( <i>τῇ ἐξῆς</i> , xxi. 1), to Rhodes . . . . .	25
Wednesday, the 26th, to Patara . . . . .	26
Thursday, the 27th, Paul sailed direct for Tyre . . . . .	27
Sunday, the 30th, Paul arrived at Tyre, where they stayed a week ( <i>ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ</i> , xxi. 4) . . . . .	30
At the end of the seven days, that is, on Monday, when the Sabbath was over ( <i>ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμᾶς ἐξαρτίσαι τὰς ἡμέρας</i> , xxi. 5), Paul sailed to Acre . . . . .	May 8
At Acre, Paul stayed one day ( <i>ἡμέραν μίαν</i> , xxi. 7), and on Wednesday, the 10th ( <i>τῇ ἐπαύριον</i> , xxi. 8), to Cæsarea, whence intelligence was forwarded to Jerusalem . . . . .	10



Sunday, the 14th, Agabus arrived from Jerusalem, and warned Paul of his danger, xxi. 10. . . . .	May 14
Monday, the 15th, Paul, having stayed at Cæsarea several days ( <i>ἡμέρας πλείους</i> , xxi. 10), viz. five days, proceeded to Jerusalem, seventy-five miles distant . . . . .	15
On Wednesday, the 17th, Paul reached Jerusalem, and the Pentecost began at 6 p. m. . . . .	16

There are several circumstances belonging to Paul's visit to Jerusalem, when he was arrested, which, though they may not prove, yet confirm, the hypothesis that it occurred in the year A. D. 58. Thus, in the first place, Paul tells us that he had not been at Jerusalem before for several years, *δι' ἐτῶν δὲ πλείονων παρεγενόμην*, Acts xxiv. 17; and, according to the views which we have adopted, he had been last at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 53, nearly five years before. Again, when Paul was pleading before Felix, during this visit, he begins by alluding to the length of time during which Felix had been procurator: 'Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been for many years a judge unto this nation,' *ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ*, Acts xxiv. 10. Felix had been appointed in A. D. 52, and as the usual time of office was two or three years, Paul might well speak of a period of six years, viz. from A. D. 52 to A. D. 58, as a prolonged administration.

Another argument does not lie so much on the surface. It is this. If the date of Paul's voyage from Greece to Jerusalem be placed, as it is by Greswell, in A. D. 56, then Paul had left Ephesus for Greece in the preceding year, or A. D. 55, and had arrived at Ephesus from Galatia three years before that, viz. in A. D. 52; Acts xx. 31. That the Epistle to the Galatians was written after this second visit to Galatia is evident, for the Apostle alludes to the first: 'Ye know that through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you *the former time*;' *τὸ πρότερον*, Galat. iv. 13; and it must, therefore, have been despatched after A. D. 52. It was also sent to them during the observance of a Sabbatic year: 'Ye are observing days and months and seasons and years,' *ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς*, Galat. iv. 10, and therefore some time in A. D. 55, the Sabbatic year. But, if so, three years would have elapsed since his last appearance amongst the Galatians. Now, several passages in the epistle show that Paul had left them *not long before*: thus, 'I marvel that ye are *so soon* removed from the faith,' &c., Galat. i. 6.; and there are many other similar texts. But assuming the date of Paul's visit to Jerusalem to be, not in A. D. 56 but in A. D. 58, the difficulty vanishes; for Paul, on this supposition, had quitted Ephesus for Greece in A. D. 57, and his arrival at Ephesus three years before, from Galatia, had been in A. D. 54, and the Epistle to the Galatians would be written the following year, viz. in A. D. 55; and a brief interval of this kind accords admirably with the expressions in the epistle alluding to his presence amongst the Galatians not very long previously.

We must now advert to one or two objections against the date of A. D. 58. It is said by Josephus, that when Felix was recalled, his brother Pallas was still at the height of his influence, *μάλιστα διὰ τιμῆς*, Ant. xx. 8, 9; but if Paul arrived at Jerusalem in A. D. 58, then Felix was recalled in A. D. 60, and Pallas at that time, though still living, had lost his power. This objection proves too much, for Pallas was out of favour so early as A. D. 54,<sup>c</sup> and in A. D. 55 was actually deprived of office,<sup>d</sup> and Felix could not

<sup>c</sup> Tac. Ann., xiii. 2.<sup>d</sup> Tac. Ann., xiii. 14.

possibly have been recalled so late as A. D. 54, or A. D. 55; for, if so, Paul had been arrested by Lysias in A. D. 52, or A. D. 53, at which time he could not have been mistaken for the Egyptian, who, on the authority of Josephus himself, did not make his appearance till the reign of Nero, which began on 13th October, A. D. 54. Josephus then, in using the expression, *μάλιστα διὰ τιμῆς*, evidently exaggerates. Pallas, at the recall of Felix, was still living, and could, no doubt, still exert great interest for his brother with the judges before whom he was tried; but to describe Pallas as then *at the height of his influence* is a misrepresentation. Had the fact been so, Felix would not have been recalled.

Another objection to be noticed is, that if Paul arrived at Jerusalem in A. D. 58, then the Epistle to the Romans was written early in the same year, just before Paul started from Corinth, and in that epistle Paul sends a salutation to Narcissus at Rome, and Narcissus, it is said, had been put to death in A. D. 54. Tac. Ann. xiii. 1. We answer that this also *proves too much*; for if Narcissus was alive at the date of the epistle, then Paul must have written it in the spring of A. D. 54, and have visited Jerusalem at the Pentecost of A. D. 54. But this, again, would be before the appearance of the Egyptian false prophet, alluded to by Lysias, and placed by Josephus in the reign of Nero, which commenced on 13th October, A. D. 54. The Narcissus saluted by Paul in the Epistle to the Romans was, no doubt, a much purer character than the celebrated courtier of that name, and was probably some person eminent for his piety in private life. There were many Narcissuses at Rome, and two of them were freedmen of note,\* under Claudius and Nero, but neither of them could have been the Narcissus honoured with the Apostle's salutation.

\* A second freedman of that name was put to death by Galba. Dion, lxiv. 3.



## CHAPTER XII.

## DATE OF ST. PAUL'S RELEASE FROM IMPRISONMENT AT ROME.

THE arrest of Paul in the temple at Jerusalem, and his release from imprisonment at Rome, are dates mutually dependent upon each other. Thus, assuming that Paul was set upon in the temple at the feast of *Pentecost*, A. D. 58, Acts xx. 16, he was two years a prisoner at Cæsarea, Acts xxiv. 27, which brings us to the Pentecost of A. D. 60, and in the autumn of that year he sailed for Rome. He was at Fair Havens, in Crete, just after the fast, which this year, A. D. 60, was on 25th September, Acts xxvii. 9, and he spent the three winter months at Malta, Acts xxviii. 11, and therefore arrived at Rome in the spring of A. D. 61. He remained a prisoner there for two years, Acts xxviii. 30, and consequently was liberated in the spring of A. D. 63. The same result may be arrived at from the following circumstances connected with the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It is clear that this epistle was penned just after the Apostle's liberation from imprisonment, and when he was only waiting for the return of Timothy from Philippi, to set sail for Judæa. 'With whom (he writes) if he (Timothy) come shortly I will see you,' Heb. xiii. 23; for he could not have used this language if still a prisoner, and not master of his own movements. He was, however, still in Italy, as is manifest from the salutation, '*They of Italy salute you,*' Heb. xiii. 24. But, in the next place, Paul had recently received intelligence of a persecution of the Christians in Judæa, and indeed the epistle throughout is an earnest exhortation to the Hebrews, or Christians of Judæa, to persist in their faith, notwithstanding the severe trials to which they were exposed. They had lately seen, he says, their rulers put to death,<sup>a</sup> and many of the brethren were still in bonds;<sup>b</sup> and yet these sufferings were not for the first time, but a repetition of the like afflictions which the Church had experienced at an earlier stage.<sup>c</sup> Such a state of things agrees with the well-known persecution of the Christians at Jerusalem during the interregnum between the death of the Procurator Festus and the arrival of Albinus as his successor, during which occurred the martyrdom of James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem. The earlier persecution referred to by the Apostle was that under Agrippa, when James the brother of John was slain with the sword;<sup>d</sup> and the persecution referred to as having recently prevailed was that under the high-priest Ananus, the son of Annas, when James the Just and others with him were brought before the Sanhedrim and stoned, as related by Josephus.<sup>e</sup> In what year, then, are we to place the persecution so pointedly alluded to in the Epistle to the Hebrews?

It was certainly not later than A. D. 62, for, according to Josephus, the tragedy was enacted when Albinus was in Egypt, on his way from Rome to Jerusalem as the successor of Festus<sup>f</sup>; and it is clear, beyond question, that Albinus had actually

<sup>a</sup> Heb. xiii. 7.<sup>c</sup> Heb. x. 32.<sup>e</sup> Jos. Ant., xx. 9, 1.<sup>b</sup> Heb. xiii. 3.<sup>d</sup> Acts xii. 1.<sup>f</sup> Jos. Ant., xx. 9, 1.

arrived, and was present at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 62.<sup>g</sup> Neither, on the other hand, could the persecution (as it was after the death of Festus) have been earlier than Midsummer, A. D. 60, for it was about that time that Festus came to Judæa as successor to Felix.<sup>h</sup>

We have an account of the same martyrdom by Hegesippus, a writer of the second century, who tells us that the martyrdom of James the Just was at a *Passover*. That it took place at *some* feast may be assumed as matter of course, as all the popular ebullitions of Jewish patriotism or prejudice arose from the unruliness of the multitudes assembled at the public festivals; and though the details furnished by Hegesippus are mixed up with much that is fabulous, we have no reason to doubt that the martyrdom of James was perpetrated, as he asserts, at a *Passover*. If we follow up this clue, it will give us the year we are in search of. As the martyrdom of James the Just occurred after the death of Festus, who succeeded Felix at Midsummer A. D. 60, the Passover when James was stoned could not have been any Passover earlier than that of A. D. 61; and as the martyrdom preceded the arrival of Albinus, which was before the Tabernacles of A. D. 62, the Passover when James was stoned, could not have been any Passover later than that of A. D. 62? The only question then is, whether it was the Passover of A. D. 61, or of A. D. 62? and which of the two it was can be elicited from the facts in connection with it recorded by Josephus. No sooner had the outrage been committed at Jerusalem, than the temperate part of the community forwarded a despatch to Albinus in Egypt, and implored his interference. Albinus wrote a sharp and threatening letter to Ananus the highpriest, and, on its reaching Jerusalem, Agrippa deposed Ananus from the highpriesthood. If, therefore, the death of the protomartyr occurred at a Passover, the displacement of Ananus from the pontificate must have been about May of the same year; and as he held office for three months,<sup>i</sup> he must have been appointed in the previous February. But Ananus was the successor of Joseph, and the tenure of the latter was very brief, say a month, which would place his appointment in January. Joseph, again, was the successor of Ishmael, under the following circumstances. A dispute arose between Agrippa and the Jews about the erection of an upper apartment of his palace, which was intended to command a view of the proceedings in the temple, and the highpriest Ishmael was despatched upon an embassy to Rome upon the subject. The voyage itself could not have occupied less than two months. On the arrival of Ishmael at Rome, the matter in dispute was brought in a regular way before the tribunal of the emperor, when both parties were heard, and the emperor's decision given. For this proceeding we cannot allow less than another month. When the dispute had been settled, Poppæa, the paramour of Nero, and a Jewish proselyte, chose to detain Ishmael about the court; and on intelligence to that effect being transmitted to Jerusalem, which, as it was *winter*, would require three months more, Agrippa appointed *Joseph* to the pontificate. Thus, from the mission of Ishmael to Rome to the substitution of Joseph in January, we have a period of two months, one month, and three months, making in all six months. That is, Ishmael must have started from Judæa for Rome in July of the year which preceded the appointment of Joseph, that is, which preceded the martyrdom of James. Now the embassy of Ishmael was in the time of the Procurator Festus, who succeeded Felix at Midsummer A. D. 60. As the mission of Ishmael, then, was in some July, we ask whether this July could be the July of A. D. 60? The answer must be decisively in the negative, for

<sup>g</sup> See A. D. 62, No. 1933.

<sup>h</sup> See A. D. 60, No. 1893.

<sup>i</sup> Jos. Ant., xx. 9, 1.



between the arrival of Festus, at Midsummer A.D. 60, and the embassy of Ishmael occurred so many and important events, that they could not with any probability be compressed into so short an interval as from Midsummer to July of the same year. Thus the first business upon which Festus was engaged was to clear the country of bandits: he then put down a religious impostor. After that, Agrippa proceeded (which was a work of some time) to raise the height of his palace. Then the Jews set about building a counter-wall on the eastern side of the Temple, to shut out the view from Agrippa's palace, which was resented both by Agrippa and Festus, and the Jews were ordered to demolish the wall. Thereupon negotiations took place between the Jews and Agrippa and Festus, and the Jews obtained leave, not without difficulty, to send an embassy to Rome under Ishmael. How, then, could all this series of events have occurred in the short space of one month, between Festus's arrival at Midsummer A.D. 60 and the mission of Ishmael in July A.D. 60? Such are the anomalous consequences which flow from the assumption that the Passover at which James the Just suffered was the Passover of A.D. 61. If, on the other hand, we assume the martyrdom to have been enacted (as no doubt it was) at the Passover of A.D. 62, then the interval from the arrival of Festus at Midsummer A.D. 60 to the Passover A.D. 62, is just such as may be reasonably assigned to the succession of the several events interposed by the historian between these two extremes.

It may be thought an objection to this date of Ishmael's mission, that Josephus, in his relation of it, speaks of Poppæa at the hearing before the emperor at Rome, as *τῆ γυναικί*, Ant. xix. 8, 11. If he meant that Poppæa was then the wife of Nero, the transaction must have taken place as late as *May*, A.D. 62, when Nero divorced Octavia and married Poppæa. But the events related by Josephus himself show that this was impossible, for, after the hearing of the mission, the news of Ishmael's detention was transmitted to Judæa, which would require two or three months, and then Agrippa appointed Joseph, who held the office for some little time, say a month, and afterwards removed him, and nominated in his stead Ananus, who was in office three months before Albinus's arrival, and yet Albinus was at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, which in A.D. 62 was on the 7th of October, Jos. Bell. vi. 5, 3; and the interval between *May* A.D. 62 and the 7th of October A.D. 62 is clearly insufficient for these occurrences.

Josephus, then, cannot mean that Poppæa, at the period of which he is speaking, was actually married to Nero, but only that she was 'that woman' his paramour. It is remarkable that in the only other parts where Josephus speaks of Poppæa, and on both occasions subsequently to her marriage, he introduces her expressly as *the wife of Nero*; *φίλην οὖσαν τῆς Ποππηίας τῆς Νέρωνος γυναικός*, Ant. xx. 11, 1; *Ποππηία τῆ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικί γνωσθεῖς*, Vit. Jos. 3; whereas, at the time of Ishmael's mission, the expression is *τῆ γυναικί Ποππηία (θεοσεβῆς γὰρ ἦν) χαριζόμενος*, Ant. xx. 8, 11. Poppæa, as is well known, had been wedded to two husbands before, so that *τῆ γυναικί* was an appropriate designation of her; and on comparing the three passages together, the fair inference would be, that Josephus, so far from calling her the wife of Nero at the time of Ishmael's embassy, expressly guards himself against being so understood.

Our conclusion then is, that James the Just was put to death, not at the Passover of A.D. 61, but at the Passover of A.D. 62; and if so, the liberation of Paul cannot with reason be assigned to the same year; for as Paul reached Rome as a prisoner early in the spring of the year, and he remained in confinement just two whole years, he

must also have regained his liberty early in the spring of some year. But as the martyrdom of James the Just must be referred to a Passover, and that the Passover of A. D. 62, the news of the catastrophe could scarcely have reached Paul before he left Italy, had he been liberated in the spring of the very year in which the martyrdom occurred. Paul, therefore, must have been set at liberty, not in the spring of A. D. 62, but (as results from the other independent arguments before adverted to) in the spring of A. D. 63.



**CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.**





THE  
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.



**B.C. 70:** commencing from 1 January of this year.

**U.C. 684:** commencing from 21 April of this year.

**Olymp. 177, 3:** commencing from 1 July of this year.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS I. } consuls from 1 Jan.  
M. LICIN. CRASSUS. } of this year.

1. The *Judicia* at Rome, which had been vested in the Equites by the law of C. Gracchus B.C. 123, and then transferred to the Senate by Sylla B.C. 80, are now, B.C. 70, restored to the Equites. *M. Crassus et Cn. Pompeius consules. . . . Judicia quoque per Aurelium Cottam Prætorum ad Equites Romanos translata sunt.* Liv. Epit. 97 (see *Fasti Hellen.* B.C. 70).

2. Lucullus, having reduced Mithridates, king of Pontus, to submission, is occupied at Ephesus in composing the affairs of Asia, which Mithridates, before his defeat, had overrun. Λούκολλος δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλῆς μὲν εὐνομίας πολλῆς δ' εἰρήνης ἐμπεπληκώς, οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ πομπαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἐπινικίους, καὶ ἀγῶσιν ἀθλητῶν, καὶ μονομάχων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καθήμενος ἐδημαγώγει τὰς πόλεις. Plut. Luc. 23. Appian, *Mith.* 83.

3. Lucullus, having settled the affairs of Asia, proceeds to Pontus and takes Sinope. Plut. Luc. 23.

4. Tigranes, king of Armenia (to which he had also added Syria and Mesopotamia), is engaged, when Appian the ambassador from Lucullus arrives at Antioch, in reducing some cities of Phœnicia. Ἀππῆν γὰρ ἐνίας ἔτι τῶν ἐν Φοινίῃ πόλεων καταστρεφόμενος. Plut. Luc. 21. He had reigned at this time twenty-five years. Διὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτων, τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἐβασίλευσεν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὕβρισεν. Plut. Luc. 21.

5. While Tigranes is besieging Acre, Alex-

andra, queen of Judæa, apprehending an invasion, sends an embassy to him to make terms. Πολιουρκοῦντι τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα. Jos. Ant. xiii. 16, 4. Προσκαθεζόμενον Πτολεμαΐδι. Bell. i. 5, 3.

6. Appian, while at Antioch waiting the arrival of Tigranes, wins over to the Roman interest Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. Τιγράνῃν αὐτοῦ (Antioch) κελευσθεὶς περιμένειν . . . πολλοὺς μὲν ᾤκειώσατο τῶν ὑπούλως ἀκροωμένων τοῦ Ἀρμενίου δυναστῶν, ὧν εἷς ἦν καὶ Ζαρβιηνός, ὁ τῆς Γορδωνηῆς βασιλεύς. Plut. Luc. 21. But this is discovered by Tigranes soon after, and Zarbienus is put to death. Μηνυθεὶς δ' (Zarbienus) ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνὴ συναπώλοντο πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. Plut. Luc. 29 (see B.C. 66, no. 35).

7. Tigranes has an interview with Appian and is offended by his republican freedom, and refuses to deliver up Mithridates; and, on the contrary, pledges himself to Mithridates to support him. Tigranes had not previously admitted Mithridates, who had fled into his dominions, to a personal interview. Πρότερον μὲν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν ἠξίωσεν, οὐδὲ προσεπειν . . . τότε δὲ (after the interview with Appian) σὺν τιμῇ καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν (Mithridatem), &c. Plut. Luc. 22. Memnon, xvi. 55, Müller's *Frag. Græc.* iii. 555. It was twenty months since Mithridates's arrival in Armenia before Tigranes thus noticed him. Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ ἐν τοῖς μέρισι τῆς Ἀρμενίας διατρίβων, οὕτω εἰς ὄψιν κατέστη τοῦ Τιγράνου. Memnon, *ubi supra.* Appian states that Tigranes now sent for Mithridates, but still did not admit him to a

personal interview (Appian, Mith. 52), and that Tigranes did not see Mithridates till just before the battle between Lucullus and Tigranes in October of the following year. *Τότε πρῶτον ἐς ὄψιν ἔλθῶν.* Appian, Mith. 85.

8. In the third year of the 177th Olympiad (B.C. 70-69), Sanatruces, king of Parthia, dies, and is succeeded by his son Phraates III., or Phraates Theus. *Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη μέχρι τῆς ροζ' (177) Ὀλυμπιάδος . . . καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πλείστα ἐν ταύτῃ ξυνηρέχθη τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει αὐτῆς ἀπειτιμήθησαν μυριάδες ἐνεήκοντα καὶ μία (males and females). καὶ Σανατρούκην τὸν Πάρθων βασιλεία τελευτήσαντα διεδέξατο Φραάτης ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θεός.* Phlegon apud Phot., Müller's Frag. Græc. iii. 606. This date agrees with the notices in other writers. Thus Phraates was certainly king in B.C. 66 (Dion, xxxvi. 28; Plut. Pomp. 33), and even before that, in B.C. 68, when Lucullus and Tigranes sent embassies to him (see B.C. 68, no. 20). Sanatruces had reigned seven years. *Σανατροκλῆς δὲ ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς . . . ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἑπτά.* Lucian, Macrob. s. 15. How long Phraates reigned does not appear; but he was murdered by his sons, and was succeeded by Mithridates III., who was again expelled by his brother Orodes who was certainly on the throne in B.C. 55 (see B.C. 55, no. 125), (Justin, xlii. 4; Dion, xxxix. 56; Appian, Syr. 51); and Orodes reigned till B.C. 37 (see B.C. 37, no. 516). There are coins extant both of Sanatruces and Phraates Theus. See Eckhel, iii. 528.

9. A census of Roman citizens by Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius. *Cn. Lentulus et L. Gellius censores asperam censuram egerunt, quatuor et sexaginta senatu motis, a quibus, lustrato condito, censa sunt civium (males) capita quadringenta quinquaginta millia.* Liv. Epit. xviii. This was in the third year of the 177th Olympiad. Phleg., Müller's Frag. Græc. iii. 606. And the census was in the consulship of Pompey, for τότε δὴ προεκάθητο μὲν οἱ τιμηταὶ Γέλλιος καὶ Λέντλος ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ πάροδος ἦν τῶν ἰππέων ἐξεταζομένων. *Ἔφηθη δὲ Πομπηῖος ἄνωθεν ἐπ' ἀγορᾷν κατερχόμενος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς (the consulship mentioned a little before) ἔχων, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἄγων τὸν ἵππον.* Plut. Pomp. 22 (see B.C. 28, no. 658).

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle of seven years (see B.C. 37, no. 525).

Passover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

N.B. In some few instances where the precise times of the Jewish Feasts are of more than usual importance, particular calculations of them will be given, but in general, where not otherwise specified, the days of the Jewish Feasts appended to each year are taken from Greswell's Prolegomena, who, however, calculates the Feasts, not by the actual full moons, but by the mean full moons, so that the times assigned by him are to be regarded as approximations only. As to the days of the week on which the days of the months fell, Professor De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, which is known to be very accurate, and agrees with the computation of German writers, has been invariably followed.

#### B.C. 69. U.C. 685. Olymp. 177, 4.

QUINT. HORTENSIVS.

QUINT. CÆCILIUS METELLVS.

10. Hyrcanus, on the death of Alexandra, succeeds as king of Judæa, at about the age of forty (see B.C. 63, no. 81). *Τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδος ὑπατεύοντος Ῥωμαίων Κνίντου Ὀρθησιῶν καὶ Κνίντου Μετέλλου, ὃς δὴ καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκαλεῖτο, etc.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 1, 2. The first half only of the year belonged to the third year of the 177th Olympiad: but the usage of Josephus is to regulate his years either by the Roman consular year which began on January 1, or by the Jewish year which began on Nisan 1; and accordingly here, as elsewhere, Josephus designates the whole year by the year of the Olympiad with which the consular year or Jewish year began (see A.D. 63, no. 78; B.C. 40, no. 468; B.C. 37, no. 523; B.C. 31, no. 609). Alexandra had reigned nine years, and was seventy-three years of age. *Βασιλεύσασα ἔτη ἑννέα, τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα βίωσασα τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα.* Ant. xiii. 16, 6. Hyrcanus had been appointed *Highpriest* at the beginning of her reign. *Εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλευούσης αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρας Ἀρχιερεὺς καταστάς ἔθνους, ἔτεσιν ἑννέα τὴν τιμὴν κατέσχε.* Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 4; xx. 10, 4; xiii. 16, 2; Bell. i. 5, 1.

11. Aristobulus, the brother of Hyrcanus, makes war upon him forthwith, and defeats him



at Jericho. Πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐκφέρει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος. Jos. Ant. xiv. 1, 2; Bell. i. 6, 1. And after a reign of three months Hyrcanus resigns the kingdom in favour of Aristobulus. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀποθανούσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶ, καὶ ταύτην κατασχὼν τρεῖς μηνάς, ἐκπίπτει μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. Ant. xv. 6, 4, and see Ant. xx. 10, 4. The shortness of the interval between the accession of Hyrcanus and his expulsion by Aristobulus appears also from this, viz. Alexandra reigned nine years, and had at the commencement of her reign appointed Hyrcanus highpriest, and yet Hyrcanus, when deprived of the highpriesthood by Aristobulus, is said also to have held the office for nine years. Ἡ δὲ (Alexandra) τὴν μὲν Ἀρχιερωσύνην Ὑγκανῶ δίδωσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐννεὰ ἔτη κατασχούσα τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· τὸν ἴσον δὲ χρόνον τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς Ὑγκανὸς ἔσχεν· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς πολεμήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ νικήσας ἀφαιρεῖται μὲν ἐκείνον τὴν ἀρχὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐβασίλευσε καὶ ιεράτευσε τῷ Θεῶ. Ant. xx. 10; xv. 6, 4.

12. The war against Crete is committed to the consul Q. Cæcil. Metellus. Κληρομύων δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων, Ὀρθήσιος τὸν πρὸς Κρήτας ἔλαχε πόλεμον. Ἀλλ' ἐκείνος μὲν . . . τῶ συνάρχοντι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐθέλοντις ἐξέστη, καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ χώραν ἔμενε. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μέτελλος ἐστείλατο τε εἰς Κρήτην· καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἅπασαν ἐχειρώσατο μετὰ τοῦτο. Dion, Frag. 178. Τῶ δὲ τετάρτῳ ἔτει (Olymp. 177, 4) . . . Μέτελλος ἐπὶ Κρητικὸν πόλεμον ὀρμήσας τρία τάγματα ἔχων ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον. Phlegon apud Phot., Müller's Frag. Græc. iii. 606 (see B.C. 68, no. 19).

13. Lucullus, dissatisfied with the result of Appius's mission (see B.C. 70, no. 4), declares war against Tigranes. Plut. Luc. 24.

14. Tigranes, when the news of Lucullus's invasion reached him, had just taken Acre. Ἀρτι δὴ τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος ἐαλωκυίας, ἀγγέλλεται Τιγράνης Λεύκολλον διώκοντα Μιθριδάτην, ἐκείνον μὲν διαμαρτεῖν εἰς τοὺς Ἰβήρας ἀποφυγόντος, τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν πορθήσαντα πολιορκεῖν. Τιγράνης δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιγνοὺς ἀνεχώρει τὴν ἐπ' οἴκου. Jos. Ant. xiii. 16, 4; Bell. i. 5, 3.

15. Lucullus, early in the spring, passes the Euphrates. Λούκολλος δὲ συντόνως ὀδεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ κατιόντα πολὺν καὶ θολερὸν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εὐρὼν ἤσχαλλεν, Plut. Luc. 24; and advances through Sophene: Προῆγε δὲ τῆς Σωφηνῆς Plut. Luc. 24; and crosses

the Tigris and enters Armenia. Συντείνας δὲ τὴν πορείαν καὶ τὸν Τίγριν διαβάς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν. Plut. Luc. 24; and see Appian, Mith. 84; Memnon, Müller's Frag. Græc. iii. 606.

16. Lucullus defeats Tigranes at the head of the Armenians, Gordyeni, Medes, Adiabeni, Albanians, and Iberians. Plut. Luc. 26. Appian, Mith. 84. Memnon, *ubi supra*. This was the day before the nones (i.e. on 6th) of October. Ἦν δὲ ἡ πρὸ μιᾶς νόνων Ὀκτωβρίων. Plut. Luc. 27.

17. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia. Plut. Luc. 29. Dion, xxxv. 2. Eutrop. vi. 9. Appian, Mith. 84. Liv. Epit. xcviii. This was in the fourth year of the 177th Olympiad. Τῶ δὲ τετάρτῳ ἔτει (of Olymp. 177) Τιγράνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης. . . ἐπολέμησαν Λεύκολλον καὶ νικᾷ Λεύκολλος. Phlegon apud Phot., Müller's Frag. Græc. iii. 606.

18. Lucullus now strips Tigranes of Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene. Τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἔφησε (Pompey) δεῖν αἰτιᾶσθαι Λεύκολλον, ὑπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἀφῆρησθαι Συρίαν, Φοινίκην, Κιλικίαν, Γαλατίαν, καὶ Σωφηνήν. Plut. Pomp. 33; and see Plut. Luc. 33 (see B.C. 66, no. 33).

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

### B.C. 68. U.C. 686. Olymp. 178, 1.

L. CÆCILII METELLUS. (Mortuus est antequam mag. iniret. In ejus locum factus est . . . qui in mag. mort. est.)

Q. MARCIUS REX.

19. Metellus in Crète besieges Cydonia. Q. Metellus, proconsul (therefore not in B.C. 69 when he was consul), bello sibi adversus Creteniensis mandato, Cydoniam urbem obsedit. Liv. Epit. 98 (see B.C. 69, no. 12; B.C. 67, no. 28).

20. Lucullus and Tigranes both send embassies to Phraates, king of Parthia (see B.C. 70, no. 8), who wavers. Memnon, Müller's Frag. Græc. iii. 556.

21. Lucullus meditates an expedition against him, but from the mutiny of his soldiers is obliged to desist, and follows after Tigranes in midsummer. Θέρους ἀκμάζοντος. Plut. Luc. 31. Μεσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους. Dion, xxxv. 4.

Appian, Mith. 87. Memnon, Müller's Frag. Græc. iii. 556. Liv. Epit. xxviii.

**22.** Lucullus again routs the enemy and continues the pursuit, at the autumnal equinox (Sept. 24), *ώρα δ' ἰσημερίας φθινοπωρινῆς*, Plut. Luc. 32; but is compelled by the mutiny of his soldiers to return, when he besieges Nisibis, or Antioch in Mygdonia, which he takes. Eutrop. vi. 9; Oros. vi. 3; in the winter, *ὡς δ' ἔ, τε χειμῶν ἐνέστη*, Dion, xxxv. 7; and makes Nisibis his winter quarters, *καὶ ἐκεῖ διεχείμασε*, Dion, xxxv. 7.

**23.** Mithridates meanwhile, taking advantage of the mutinous state of Lucullus's army, repossesses himself of a great part of his kingdom, and defeats M. Fabius, the Roman general, and besieges him in Cabira; but Triarius, who was on his way from Asia to Lucullus, raises the siege, and both sides retire for the winter: *ἤδη γὰρ χειμῶν ἦν*. Dion, xxxv. 10. The army of Lucullus had refused to march against Mithridates, and pleaded the winter in excuse: *πρόφασιν δὲ τὸν χειμῶνα ποιούμενοι*. Plut. Luc. 34. Mithridates at this time was, according to Dion, upwards of seventy years of age: *ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς ἐμάχετο*. Dion, xxxi. 9 (but see B.C. 63, no. 74).

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

**B.C. 67. U.C. 687. Olymp. 178, 2.**

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO.

**24.** Mithridates defeats Triarius, Lucullus's lieutenant, at Dadasa. *Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔπει ἐπὶ τε Μανίῳ Ἀκίλιῳ καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Πείσωνος ὑπάτων, etc.* Dion, xxxv. 12; Appian, Mith. 89.

**25.** Lucullus comes up and offers battle to Mithridates, which he declines as wishing first to form a junction with Tigranes who was advancing. Lucullus, to prevent this, marches against Tigranes, but his soldiers desert him by the way. *Μιθριδάτου μὴ θέλοντος μάχεσθαι ἀλλὰ Τιγράνην περιμένοντος . . . ἔγνω (Lucullus) πρὶν ἀμποτέρους συνελθεῖν πάλιν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην. Πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ καθ' ὁδὸν οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ στασιάζοντες ἀπέλιπον τὰς τάξεις*. Plut. Luc. 35. This was in the summer, for the troops

at last agreed with Lucullus to remain with him for the rest of the summer and then to be free: *συνέθεντο παραμεῖναι τὸ θέρος*, Plut. Luc. 35; and, when the summer was over, they abandoned Lucullus accordingly: *τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος . . . ἀπεχώρησαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι πεπληρῶσθαι τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ὠμολόγησαν τῷ Λουκόλλῳ παραμένειν*. Plut. Luc. 35.

**26.** Glabrio, the consul, is sent as successor to Lucullus: *τὸν ὑπάτον αὐτῷ, τὸν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὄντα, διάδοχον ἐπεμψαν*, Dion, xxxv. 2; and this increases the disaffection in the army of Lucullus: *ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἀκίλιον τὸν ὑπάτον (ὃς τῷ Λουκόλλῳ διάδοχος, δι' ἅπερ εἶπον, ἐξεπέμψθη), πλησιάζοντα ἤδη ἐπύθοντο*. Dion, xxxv. 14.

**27.** Glabrio, hearing of Mithridates's successes and Lucullus's disasters, makes no haste to the scene of action, but lingers in Bithynia: *ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ ἐχρόνισε*. Dion, xxxv. 17. Plut. Pomp. 30. The result was that Mithridates recovered almost the whole of his own kingdom, and severely pressed upon Cappadocia. *Πᾶσάν τε ὀλίγου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀνεκτήσατο, καὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐλυμήνατο*. Dion, xxxv. 17.

**28.** Metellus accomplishes the subjugation of Crete in the third year current of the war. *Intra triennium omnem provinciam cepit*. Eutrop. vi. 11. (*Creta*), *ducibus Panare et Lathane, per triennium Romanos exercitus fatigaverat*. Vell. Pat. ii. 34. Two years were complete. *Cretam insulam per biennium Metellus evertit*. Oros. vi. 4. Metellus began the war at the close of B.C. 69, and concluded it at the close of B.C. 67 (see B.C. 68, no. 19).

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 17.

Pentecost, June 7.

Tabernacles, October 12.

**B.C. 66. U.C. 688. Olymp. 178, 3.**

M. ÆMIL. LEPIDUS.

L. VOLCATIUS TULLIUS.

**29.** The war against Mithridates is committed to Pompey. *Λούκιος τε Τούλλιος καὶ Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος ὑπατεύειν ἤρξαντο, etc.* Dion, xxxvi. 25. Plut. Pomp. 30; Luc. 35. Appian, Mith. 91. Liv. Epit. 100.

**30.** Pompey and Lucullus have a meeting in Galatia, Dion, xxxvi. 29; Plut. Luc. 36, Pomp. 31, at Danala. *Δάναλα ὅπου τὸν σύλ-*



λογον ἐποίησαντο Πομπήϊός τε καὶ Λούκολλος. Strabo, xii. 5.

**31.** Pompey besieges Mithridates for forty-five days in Armenia: ὁ δὲ (Mithridates) πεντὲ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πολιορκηθεὶς ἡμέρας, Plut. Pomp. 32; but Mithridates escapes towards the Euphrates, whither Pompey follows him and defeats him. Dion, xxxvi. 32. Appian, Mith. 100. Plut. Pomp. 32.

**32.** Mithridates flies to Sinorega, and passes the Euphrates on the fourth day: τὸν μὲν Εὐφράτην ὑπερῆλθεν ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα τετάρτῃ, Appian, Mith. 101; and three days after enters Armenia Chotene: τρισίδε ἄλλαις ἡμέραις καθιστάμενος καὶ ὀπλίζων τοὺς συνόντας ἢ προσιώντας, ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Χωτηνὴν ἐνέβαλεν, *ib.*; and winters at Dioscuri in Colchis. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐν Διοσκουρίοις χειμάζων, *etc. ib.* διὰ τῆς Κολχίδος ἔφευγε. Plut. Pomp. 32; and see Dion, xxxvi. 33.

**33.** Pompey receives the submission of Tigranes near Artaxata, and leaves him in possession of Armenia, but mulcts him of great part of his dominions. *Adempta est ei Syria, Phœnice, Sophene.* Eutrop. vi. 13. Liv. Epit. 101. Τὰ γὰρ προσκτηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (ἦν δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῆς τε Συρίας μέρη, ἦτε Φοινίκη καὶ ἡ Σωφάνηνη χώρα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις πρόσσρος) οὐ σμικρὰ παρείλετο αὐτοῦ. Dion, xxxvi. 36. But according to Plutarch (Pomp. 33, cited *b.c.* 69, no. 18), Lucullus had stripped him before of Syria, Phœnicia, Galatia, and Sophene, and Pompey did not deprive him of any further territory.

**34.** Tigranes was succeeded by his son Artavasdes on the throne of the Greater Armenia. Διαδέξάμενος δ' Ἀρταουάσδης ἐκείνον (Tigranem) τέως μὲν εὐτύχει φίλος ὢν Ῥωμαίοις, Ἀντώνιον δὲ προδιδούς Παρθυαίους ἐν τῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμῳ δίκας ἔτισεν. Strabo, xi. 14 (see *b.c.* 50, no. 239).

**35.** Tigranes, another son of Tigranes the elder, was made king of Sophene and Gordyene (see *b.c.* 70, no. 6; *b.c.* 69, no. 18). Καὶ διήτησε τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἄρχειν τῆς Σωφηνῆς καὶ Γορδυνηνῆς, αἱ νῦν ἄρα εἰσὶν Ἀρμενία βραχυτέρα. Appian, Mith. 105. Ἐφῆσε (Pompey) . . . Σωφηνῆς δὲ βασιλεύσειν τὸν υἱόν. Plut. Pomp. 33. But the son afterwards gave offence and was led in triumph by Pompey, and Sophene and Gordyene were given to Ariobarzanes whom Pompey had made king of Cappadocia. Appian, Mith. 105. Plut. Pomp. 33 (see *b.c.* 65, no. 57).

**36.** Pompey, while in Armenia, and carrying on the war against Tigranes, had sent Scaurus to Syria, who arrives at Damascus, then just taken by Lollius and Metellus. Ἐν τούτῳ πέμπει καὶ Σκαῦρον εἰς Συρίαν Πομπήϊος, αὐτὸς ὢν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ πολεμῶν ἐτι Τιγράνῃ. Ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν, Λόλλιον μὲν καὶ Μέτελλον νεωστὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡρῆκότας εὐρών, αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἡπείγετο. Jos. Ant. xiv. 2, 3; Bell. i. 6, 3.

**37.** It would appear that Gabinius had been sent to Syria or Judæa before Scaurus. Ὅς δὴ (Nicodemus) καὶ κατηγορεῖ τῶν λαβόντων χρήματα, Γαβινίου μὲν πρότερον, Σκαύρου δὲ ὕστερον. Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 2.

**38.** Pompey leaves Afranius in command of Armenia, and pursues Mithridates through Albania and Iberia. The Albanians attack him at the time of the Saturnalia (17 Dec.). Τῆς Κρονικῆς ἑορτῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καθηκούσης. Plut. Pomp. 34.

**39.** Pompey winters on the banks of the Cynrus. Πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κύρνῳ τριχῆ νείμας τὸν στράτον παρεχίμασε . . . παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ Κρόνια. Dion, xxxvi. 36 and 37.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 6.

Pentecost, May 27.

Tabernacles, October 1.

#### B. C. 65. U. C. 689. Olymp. 178, 4.

P. CORNELIUS SULLA } Hi antequam inirent  
P. AUTRONIUS PÆTUS } damnati sunt.

In eorum locum facti sunt

L. AURELIUS COTTA.

L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

**40.** Hyrcanus and Antipater, the father of Herod, who had fled together from Jerusalem to Aretas, king of Petra, march with the Arabians under Aretas against Aristobulus. Jos. Ant. xiv. 2, 1; Bell. i. 6, 2.

**41.** Scaurus, after no long stay at Damascus, hears of the siege of Jerusalem, and hastens to Judæa with all speed. Καὶ τούτους (Metellus and Lollius) μεταστήσας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπύθετο, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἔρμαιον ἡπείχθη. Jos. Bell. i. 6, 2; Ant. xiv. 2, 3.

**42.** In Judæa Scaurus hears ambassadors from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. Παραγενόμενος δὲ, πρέσβεις ἦκοντας, αὐτοῦ τε Ἀριστοβούλου, πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ Ἰρκανοῦ, συμμαχεῖν

ἀξιούντων ἑκατέρω, etc. Jos. Ant. xiv. 2, 3; Bell. i. 6, 3.

**43.** Hyrcanus and Aretas, king of Petra, his ally, were at this time besieging Aristobulus in Jerusalem, and during the siege occurred the Passover (March 26). Τούτων δὲ γενομένων κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς, ἣν Φάσκα λέγομεν, οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκλιπόντες τὴν χώραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔφυγον. Jos. Ant. xiv. 2, 1. Πολιορκουμένων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου, συνέβη τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιστῆναι τὴν καλουμένην Φάσκα, καθ' ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πολλὰ θύειν τῷ Θεῷ. Ant. xiv. 2, 2. This, therefore, could not have been the Passover of the preceding year, as Scaurus could not have been sent by Pompey from Armenia into Syria before midsummer, v.c. 66; and probably Scaurus was dispatched much later.

**44.** Scaurus favours Aristobulus, and obliges Hyrcanus and Aretas to raise the siege of Jerusalem; and Scaurus then retires to Damascus, and Aristobulus, in his absence, attacks and defeats the Arabians. (Scaurus) κελεύσας ἀναχωρεῖν τὸν Ἀρέταν ἢ πολέμιον αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίων ἀποδειχθῆσθαι. Καὶ Σκαῦρος μὲν εἰς Δαμασκὸν πάλιν ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμειος ἐπὶ τε Ἀρέταν καὶ Ὑκρανὸν ἐστράτευσεν, καὶ συμβαλῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Παπυροῦνα νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ, etc. Jos. Ant. xiv. 2, 3; Bell. i. 6, 3.

**45.** Mithridates having passed from Colchis to Bosphorus, drives out Machares, the partisan of the Romans, and possesses himself of the country. Dion, xxxvi. 33.

**46.** Pompey carries on the war against Oreses, king of the Albanians, and Artoces, king of the Iberians. Τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει τοῦ τε Κόττου τοῦ Δουκίου καὶ τοῦ Τορκουάτου ὑπατευνόντων, ἐπολέμησε μὲν καὶ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰβηρσι. Dion, xxxvii. 1; Appian, Mith. 103; Plut. Pomp. 35; Florus, iii. 5 (see v.c. 36, no. 335). Pompey was thus engaged during the summer and autumn. Καὶ τὸν τε Κύρνον, ἢ πορευσίμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐγεγόνει, πεζῇ διέβη . . . ὑπὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ καύματος . . . ἑταλαιπώρησεν. Dion, xxxvii. 3. And indeed up to the Saturnalia (December 17). Ὡ Κρόνια! Κρόνια! πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν σφῶν τὴν τότε γενομένην ἐπιλέγοντες. Dion, xxxvii. 4.

**47.** Pompey enters Colchis and proceeds as far as to the mouth of the Phasis, where he meets his admiral Servilius. Plut. Pomp. 34. Dion, xxxvii. 3. He then recrosses the Cynrus

and defeats the Albanians at the river Abas. Plut. Pomp. 35. Pompey retires to the Lesser Armenia. Εἰς δὲ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν ἀνεχώρησε. Plut. Pomp. 36.

**48.** Gabinus is sent across the Euphrates and penetrates to the Tigris. Ὁ, τε Γαούνιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην μέχρι τοῦ Τίγριδος προεχώρησε. Dion, xxxvii. 5.

**49.** Antiochus, king of Commagene (see *infra*, no. 54), and Darius, king of Media, are subdued. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερελθὼν, ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ, ἕως ἐς φιλίαν ὃ Ἀντιόχος αὐτῷ συνήλθεν. Ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Δαρεῖω τῷ Μήδῳ, μέχρις ἔφυγεν. Appian, Mith. 106.

**50.** The Parthians send an embassy to Pompey, who demands the cession of Gordyene, and dispatches Afranius to take possession of it. Afranius drives the Parthians out of Gordyene (see v.c. 66, no. 35), and marches to Syria, and suffers from the frost by the way. Καὶ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπάνειος τῶν τροφῶν ἐκακώθη. Dion, xxxvii. 5. Plut. Pomp. 36.

**51.** Pompey is at Amisus in Pontus, where he holds a levy of kings and other potentates, and makes a settlement of the conquered provinces. Plut. Pomp. 38.

**52.** Pompey deposes Antiochus Asiaticus, the last of the kings of Syria. Πομπήιος δὲ . . . Τιγράνῃ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν συνεχώρησεν ἄρχειν, Ἀντιόχον δὲ (Asiaticum) ἔξβαλε τῆς Συρίας ἀρχῆς. Appian, Syr. 49. Καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκείνου τὸν ἐκ τῆς Σελήνης αὐτῷ γενομένον, ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τε τραφέντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐπέκλην, Πομπήιος ἀφείλετο τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν. Appian, Syr. 70. Antiochus had reigned one year, which was during the time that Pompey was incessantly occupied against Mithridates. Βασιλεύσαντα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις ταῖς Πομπηίου ἐπὶ ἐν μόνον ἔτος. Appian, Syr. 70. Pompey had taken the field in v.c. 66, and the year of Antiochus Asiaticus would therefore expire in v.c. 65.

**53.** Dejotarus, tetrarch of the Tolistoboi in Galatia (Strabo, xii. 3), is made tetrarch of Galatia. Καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, εἴ' εἰς δύο ἡγεμόνας, εἶτα εἰς ἓνα ἦκεν ἡ δυναστεία, εἰς Δηϊόταρον. Strabo, xii. 5; Appian, Mith. 114, see *ib.* 75. with the part of Pontus between Amisena and Colchis, and the title of king. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἄλλιος ἢ Γαδιλωνίτις μέχρι τῆς Σαραμηνῆς. . . Ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας



τὴν μὲν ἔχουσιν Ἀρμεσηνοὶ, τὴν δ' ἔδωκε Δηϊοτάρω Πομπηΐος, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Φαρνακίαν καὶ τὴν Τραπεζουσίαν μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς Μίκρας Ἀρμενίας, καὶ τούτων ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν βασιλέα. Strabo, xii. 3. Eutropius assigns to Dejotarus Armenia Minor also. Eutrop. vi. 14 (see *infra*, no 58; v.c. 50, no. 239).

**54.** Seleucia and other parts of Mesopotamia are annexed to Commagene, the kingdom of Antiochus. Appian, Mith. 114 (see v.c. 65, no. 49; v.c. 50, no. 239).

**55.** Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, is made king of Bosphorus. Dion, xxxvii. 14; Appian, Mith. 113 (see v.c. 47, no. 304); and Attalus is made king of Paphlagonia (see v.c. 41, no. 435); and Aristarchus is made king of Colchis. Appian, Mith. 114; Eutrop. vi. 14 (see v.c. 36, no. 545).

**56.** Archelaus is appointed priest of Comana in Pontus, and the territory of it is extended one hundred and twenty stades, or fifteen miles round. Παραλαβὼν δὲ Πομπηΐος τὴν ἐξουσίαν, Ἀρχέλαον ἐπέστησεν Ἱερέα (τῶν Κομάνων), καὶ προσώρισεν αὐτῷ χώραν δίσχοιον κύκλω, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἐξήκοντα σταδίω, πρὸς τῇ ἱερᾷ. Strabo, xii. 3; Appian, Mith. 114. On his death (see v.c. 55, no. 130) he was succeeded by his son Archelaus, the father of the king of Cappadocia. Υἱὸς δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἱερωσύνην παρέλαβεν. Strabo, xii. 3. Πάππος δὲ (Archelaus) τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Καππαδοκῶν ὑστάτου καθ' ἡμᾶς, Ἱερεὺς δὲ τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ Κομάνων. Strabo, xvii. 1 (see v.c. 47, no. 305).

**57.** Ariobarzanes I. (who had been expelled by Tigranes from Cappadocia) is restored to that kingdom with the addition of Sophene (see v.c. 66, no. 35; A.D. 55, no. 1823) and Gordyene (see v.c. 66, no. 35), both forfeited by the son of Tigranes. Ὁ δὲ Πομπηΐος. . . Ἀριοβαρζάνη ἀπέδιδον βασιλεύειν Καππαδοκίας καὶ προσέδωκε Σωφηνὴν καὶ Γορδυνήν, ἃ τῷ παιδὶ μεμέριστο Τιγράνου. Appian, Mith. 105. Ariobarzanes I. afterwards resigned the kingdom in favour of his son Ariobarzanes II. Ἀριοβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τῷ παιδὶ περιῶν ἐνεχείρισε. Appian, Mith. 105. Val. Max. v. 7 (see v.c. 66, no. 35; v.c. 50, no. 239).

**58.** The arrangements made by Pompey are thus described by Appian: Τῶν δὲ εἰλημμένων ἐθνῶν, τὰ μὲν αὐτόνομα ἠφίει συμμαχίας οὐνεκα, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἐγένετο, τὰ δ' εἰς βασιλεία διεδίδον, Τιγρᾶνὴ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν, καὶ

Φαρνάκη Βόσπορον, καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνη Καππαδοκίαν καὶ ὅσα προεῖπον ἕτερα. Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ Σελεύκειαν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ὅσα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἄλλα κατέδραμεν. Ἐποίει δὲ καὶ Τετράρχας Γαλλογραικῶν μὲν, οἱ νῦν εἰσι Γαλάται, Καππαδοκίας ὄμοροι, Δηϊοτάρον, καὶ ἑτέρους. Παφλαγονίας δὲ Ἄτταλον, καὶ Κόλλων Ἀρίσταρχον, δυνάστην. Ἀπέφηνε δὲ τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις θεᾶς Ἀρχέλαον Ἱερέα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δυναστεία βασιλική. Καὶ τὸν Φαναγορέα Κάστορα, Ῥωμαίων φίλον. Πολλῆν δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις χώραν τε καὶ χρήματα ἔδωκε. Appian, Mith. 114; see *ib.* 113. The account of Eutropius is this: *Armeniam minorem Deiotaro Galaticæ regi donavit, quia socius belli Mithridatici fuerat: Attalo et Pylæmeni Paphlagoniam reddidit: Aristarchum Colchis regem imposuit.* Eutrop. vi. 14.

The Sabbatic year. N.B. As to the Sabbatic years and the time or season at which they commenced, see v.c. 37, no. 525; v.c. 23, no. 707.

Passover, March 26.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, September 20.

#### B.C. 64. U.C. 690. Olymp. 179, 1.

L. JULIUS CÆSAR.

C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

**59.** Pompey, by Afranius, his lieutenant, subdues the Arabs about Mount Amanus, and then enters Syria. Χειρωσάμενος δὲ δι' Ἀφρανίου τοὺς περὶ Ἀμανὸν Ἀραβας, καὶ καταβάς αὐτὸς εἰς Συρίαν. Plut. Pomp. 39.

**60.** Damascus, which had belonged to Tigranes (see Eckhel, iii. 248), was about this time annexed to Syria. See Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 4; xiv. 11, 7; Bell. i. 12, 1 (see v.c. 66, no. 36; v.c. 46, no. 322).

**61.** Pompey proceeds to Damascus, where he receives envoys from Egypt, Syria, and Judæa. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ Πομπηΐου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀφικομένον καὶ Κοίλην Συρίαν ἐπίοντος, ἦκον παρ' αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ἐξ ὅλης Συρίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 1; Bell. i. 6, 4. Florus, iii. 5.

**62.** In the spring of this consulship, Phraates, king of Parthia (see v.c. 70, no. 8; v.c. 55, no. 125), marches against Tigranes, and at first is worsted but afterwards is victor, when Tigranes sends for assistance to Pompey,

who at this time was in Syria. Εὐθὺς (Phraates) ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ᾧ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐδεδώκει ἐστράτευσεν ἐν τῷ ἤρῳ ἐν τῷ Λούκιος τε Καῖσαρ καὶ Γάϊος Φίγουλός ὑπάτευον, καὶ νικηθεὶς μάχῃ, ἔπειθ' ὕστερον ἀντεπεκράτησε· τοῦ τε Τιγράνου τὸν Πομπήϊον ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα ἐπικαλεσαμένου, πρέσβεις τε αὐθις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε, etc. Dion, xxxvii. 6.

**63.** Pompey sends mediators, when Phraates and Tigranes are reconciled. (His coss.) Dion, xxxvii. 7.

**64.** Pompey makes a long stay in Syria, of which Mithridates taking advantage meditates new schemes against the Romans. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ διέτριβε. Dion, xxxvii. 11.

**65.** Antipater an ambassador from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus an ambassador from Aristobulus, come on a mission to Pompey, who adjourns the hearing till the following spring. Κελεύσας δὲ (Pompey) ἤκειν τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας ἐνισταμένους τοῦ ἔαρος. Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 2; Bell. i. 6, 4.

**66.** Pompey winters at Aspis. Πομπήϊος δὲ ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσπίδι καὶ τότε ἐχείμασε. Dion, xxxvii. 7. It was in this year, for it follows immediately on the reconciliation of Phraates and Tigranes.

**67.** Birth of Nicolaus of Damascus: for in the year of Herod's death (B.C. 4) he was of the age of sixty. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν περὶ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη. Nicolaus Damasc., Müller's Frag. Græc. iii. 353.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 15.

Pentecost, June 4.

Tabernacles, October 9.

**B.C. 63. U.C. 691. Olymp. 179, 2.**

M. T. CICERO.

C. ANTONIUS.

**68.** Pompey in the spring moves towards Damascus. Ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ὤρμησεν ἐς τὴν Δαμασκηνήν. Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 2. And on his way razes the fortress of Apamea, and levies a tribute from Ptolemy Mennæi, king of Chalcis. Ant. xiv. 3, 2 (see B.C. 40, no. 439). The kingdom of Ptolemy Mennæi comprised the champaign or valley between Libanus and Antilibanus called Mar-syas, of which the capital was Chalcis; and the

mountain region of Antilibanus called Ituræa, which comprised Abylene (see B.C. 36, no. 537). Χαλκίς ἡ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Μενναίου τῷ τὸν Μαρσύαν κατέχοντι καὶ τῶν Ἰγυραίων ὀρεινήν. Strabo, xvi. 2. The ruins of Chalcis have been identified by Robinson. They are situate upon the slope of the watershed or saddleback which lies between Libanus and Antilibanus, a little to the north of the road from Damascus to Beirout. The place is called Anjar, and is about as far from Abyla as Abyla is from Damascus, and in the same straight line. The principal remains are the walls of the fortified city, nearly a square, with eight or nine towers on each side, and measuring on the north (the shorter side) 335 yards, or somewhat less than one fifth of a mile, and on the longer side a quarter of a mile. Robinson, *Biblic. Researches*, 1852, p. 496.

**69.** Pompey frees Byblus from the tyranny of Cinyras, whom he decapitates. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Βύβλος, τὸ τοῦ Κινύρου βασίλειον, ἱερά ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀδώνιδος, ἣν τυραννομένην ἠλευθέρουσε Πομπήϊος πελεκίσας ἐκείνον. Strabo, xvi. 2.

**70.** Pompey passes through Chalcis to Damascus. Διελθὼν δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὴν τε Ἡλιόπολιν καὶ τὴν Χαλκίδα, καὶ τὸ διεῖργον ὄρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν Κοίλιν προσαγορευομένην Συρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Πέλλης εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν. Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 2.

**71.** At Damascus Pompey hears the embassies of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and reproves the violence of Aristobulus, but defers his decision till he should arrive in Judæa. Πομπήϊος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας καὶ καταγνοῦς Ἀριστοβούλου βίαν, τότε μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψε διαλεχθεὶς πρῶως, ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔλεγε διατάξειν ἕκαστα ἐπειδὴν τὰ τῶν Ναβαταίων πρῶτον ἴδοι. Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 3.

**72.** Aristobulus assumes a warlike attitude, and retires to Delium, and thence to Alexandrium, a fortress in Judæa. Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 3 and 4; Bell. i. 6, 5.

**73.** Pompey marches through Pella and Scythopolis to Coreæ, the border town of Judæa, against Aristobulus, and the latter, at the command of Pompey, surrenders Alexandrium, and withdraws to Jerusalem; but, on Pompey's marching against Aretas, king of Petra, Aristobulus again prepares for war. Ἀνεχώρησεν (Aristobulus) εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο. Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 4; Bell. i. 6, 5.



**74.** The death of Mithridates at Pantacarpæum, in Bosphorus, occurs in this consulship. Τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Κικέρωνος τοῦ Μάρκου μετὰ Γαίου Ἀντωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος ὄ, τε Μιθριδάτης . . . αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διέφθειρεν. Dion, xxxvii. 10. Anno ab U. C. DCLXXXIX., M. Tullio Cicerone et C. Antonio coss., Pompeius, occisi Mithridatis nuntio accepto, etc. Oros. vi. 6. At the age of 68 or 69. Ἐβίω δ' ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξήκοντα ἔτεσι. Appian, Mith. 112 (but, as to his age, see B.C. 68, no. 23; Oros. vi. 6; Dion, xxxv. 9).

**75.** Pompey, who was on his march against Aretas, king of Petra, on being informed of Aristobulus's preparations, postpones his operations against Aretas, and marches, without loss of time, against Aristobulus, and hears by the way, at Jericho, of the death of Mithridates. Ὅδ', οὐ γὰρ ἐδίδου χρόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εὐθέως εἶπετο, καὶ προσεπέβρωσε τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτου θάνατος ἀγγελθεὶς αὐτῷ περὶ Ἱεριχοῦντα. Jos. Bell. i. 6, 6. Ant. xiv. 3, 4. Plutarch relates to the same effect, that Pompey heard of the news on his way to Petra, and when not far from it. Οὐδέτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ (Pompey) τῆς Πέτρας πολλὴν ὄδον ἀπέχοντος . . . γραμματιφόροι προσηλάνουν ἐκ Πόντου κομίζοντες εὐαγγέλια. Plut. Pomp. 41; and see Oros. vi. 6.

**76.** Aristobulus surrenders at discretion, and Pompey sends Gabinus to take possession of Jerusalem, but he is shut out by Aristobulus's partisans. Aristobulus is put in bonds, and Pompey, about midsummer, marches to Jerusalem. Jos. Ant. xiv. 4, 1.

**77.** The city, exclusive of the temple, is delivered up to Pompey, and confided to Piso; and Pompey assails the temple, which was still occupied by Aristobulus's party, on the north. Jos. Ant. xiv. 4, 2; Bell. i. 7, 2.

**78.** The temple is taken after a three months' siege. Hierosolyma caput gentis tertio mense cepit. Cn. Pompeius Judæos subegit. Fanum eorum in Hierosolymâ, inviolatum ad id tempus, cepit. Liv. Epit. 102. Id (templum) non solum naturâ loci, verum etiam ingenti muro fossâque maximâ munitum. . . . vix tertio mense expugnavit. Oros. vi. 6. On the Great Feast, or day of atonement, Tisri 10, or September 22. Περὶ τρίτον μῆνα, τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ, κατὰ τὴν ἐννιάτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὑπατευόντων Γαίου Ἀντωνίου καὶ Μάρκου Κικέρωνος. Jos. Ant. xiv. 4, 3. Τρίτῳ μηνί τῆς πολιορ-

κίας. Bell. i. 7, 4. Τρισὶ γοῦν μηνὶ πολιορκηθέντες αὐτοὺς παρέδωσαν. Bell. v. 9, 4. By the 179th Olympiad Josephus means the first year of it; for, though the first six months only of B.C. 63 belong to the first year of this Olympiad, the usage of Josephus is to designate the whole consular year by the year of the Olympiad with which the consular year commenced (see B.C. 69, no. 10).

**79.** Dion mentions that the capture was on a Sabbath, or Saturday. Ἐάλωσαν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ. Dion, xxxvii. 16. If the Feast of Tabernacles, or the day of the full moon, which was always Tisri 15, fell on September 28, then, according to De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacks,' 10 Tisri, the day of the Fast, September 28, fell in the middle of the week, and not on a Saturday. As, however, the city was taken on a Sabbath (viz. on the Fast, which was always observed as a Sabbath), this probably led Dion into the mistake of confounding an extraordinary with an ordinary Sabbath. It is observable also, that, according to Josephus, Pompey carried on his works every Sabbath-day, as the Jews, though they could defend their lives, could take no offensive measures on a Sabbath; and this also may have contributed to the mistake. Ῥωμαῖοι . . . κατ' ἐκείνας τὰς ἡμέρας ἅς δὴ σάββατα καλοῦμεν . . . χοῦν καὶ πύργους ἀνίστασαν. Ant. xiv. 4, 3. As the Romans are said to have carried on their works on a Saturday, this negatives the statement that they delivered the assault on that day. Besides, had they done so, Josephus would no doubt have mentioned it.

**80.** Pompey enters the Holy of Holies, but spares the sacred treasures. Jos. Ant. xiv. 4, 4; Bell. i. 7, 6; Flor. iii. 5; Liv. Epit. 102.

**81.** Hyrcanus is confirmed by Pompey in the highpriesthood, and his reign of twenty-four years is dated from this period (see B.C. 40, no. 454); but Jerusalem and Judæa are made tributary. Τὰ μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑποτελῆ φόρον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησε. Jos. Ant. xiv. 4, 4. Τῇ τε χώρᾳ καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσόλοιμοις ἐπιτάττει φόρον. Bell. i. 7, 6. And Judæa is confined within its proper limits, Gaza, Joppa, Straton's Tower (afterwards Cæsarea), and other cities, being set free, and annexed to Syria. Ant. xiv. 4, 4; Bell. i. 7, 7. Judæa was tributary to the Romans from this period, and apparently con-

tinued so even during the reign of Herod (see B.C. 42, no. 423).

**82.** Aristobulus, and his sons Alexander and Antigonus, are sent to Rome; but Alexander escapes by the way, and returns to Judæa. Jos. Ant. xiv. 4, 5.

**83.** Aristobulus is said to have reigned at this time three years and three months. "Ἐτει δὲ τρίτῃ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ πρὸς μῆσὶ τοῖς ἴσοις Πομπήϊος ἐλθὼν, etc. Jos. Ant. xx. 10, 4. I know not how this is to be reconciled with the fact that Aristobulus began to reign in A.D. 69 (see that year, no. 11). In another place in the 'Antiquities,' Aristobulus is mentioned incidentally to have reigned three years and six months. Βασιλεύσας μὲν καὶ Ἀρχιερέυσας ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. Ant. xiv. 6, 1. There is thus, in the same work, a direct contradiction as to the number of months, and hence a suspicion arises that the text is corrupt. It is to be observed that in the former passage Josephus states the number of months to be the same as the number of the years, πρὸς μῆσὶ τοῖς ἴσοις; and as in the second passage the months are expressly stated to be six, the whole reign, if the years were equal to the months, as asserted, would be six years and six months. This agrees with the facts; for Pompey took Jerusalem on September 22, B.C. 63; and shortly after (say in October) Hyrcanus was made highpriest, and Aristobulus was sent to Rome, with which event Josephus seems to close his reign; and if we reckon back six years and six months from September 22, B.C. 63, it will take us to March, B.C. 69, as the commencement of the reign of Aristobulus; and if we allow three months for the reign of Hyrcanus, as stated by Josephus (see B.C. 69, no. 11), we come to January, B.C. 69, as the time of Hyrcanus's accession, which may have been the case. However, it is not unlikely that Josephus has confounded the reign of Aristobulus with that of his son Antigonus, who reigned just three years and three months (see B.C. 37, no. 527). Curiously enough, Dion, *vice versâ*, speaks of Antigonus by mistake for Aristobulus. Dion, xviii. 26 (see B.C. 40, no. 454).

**84.** Pompey, having subdued Judæa, now again turns his attention to the affairs of Petra, and Aretas is obliged to make his submission. Τὴν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν κατεστρέψατο καὶ συνέλαβεν Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν βασιλέα. . . Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν περὶ τὴν Πέτραν Ἀράβων πρότερον

καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τιθεμένον . . . ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πέτραν. Plut. Pomp. 39 and 41 (see *supra*, no. 75; B.C. 47, no. 286). Dion and Appian, contrary to other authorities, place the expedition against Petra *before* the conquest of Jerusalem. Ἐπ' οὖν τοῦτον (Aretas) τοὺς τε πλησιοχώρους αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐλάσας ἀκοντὶ αὐτοὺς προσηγάγετο καὶ φρουρᾷ παρέδωκεν· κἀντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν Παλαιστίνην, ὧν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην κακώσαντας ὤρμησεν. Dion, xxxvii. 15. Ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Ἀραψι τοῖς Ναβαταίοις, Ἀρέτα βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν, καὶ Ἰουδαίους Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστάντος, ἕως εἶλεν Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἀγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς πόλιν. Appian, Mith. 106. The truth probably is that Pompey, on his way to Petra, heard of the designs of Aristobulus, and thought his immediate presence at Jerusalem of more consequence than the campaign against Petra, and altered his plans accordingly.

**85.** Pompey appoints Scaurus, who had been his quæstor, to the command of Syria, and proceeds to Cilicia. Πομπήϊος δὲ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν ἕως Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ Αἰγύπτου Σκαύρω παραδοὺς καὶ δύο τάγματα Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν ἄχθετο ἐπιειγόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην. Jos. Ant. xiv. 4, 5; Bell. i. 7, 7. Συρίας δὲ εὐθὺς ὁ Πομπήϊος Σκαῦρον τὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἑαυτῷ γενόμενον ταμίαν ἔταξεν ἡγεῖσθαι. Appian, Syr. 51 (see B.C. 61, no. 101).

**86.** Pompey proceeds to Amisus, in Pontus. Καὶ ταχὺ τὰς ἐν μέσῳ διεξελθὼν ἐπαρχίας εἰς Ἀμισὸν (Pompey) ἀφίκετο. Plut. Pomp. 42.

**87.** The conspiracy of Cataline (see Fasti Hellenici). Dion, xxxvii. 29.

**88.** The birth of Augustus on 23 Sept. *Natus est Augustus, M. Tullio Cicerone et Antonio coss., ix. Kalend. Oct.* Suet. Octav. 5. *Menstem Septembrem quo erat natus.* Suet. Octav. 31. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τύχης αὐτῷ γεγονέναι συμβέβηκεν, Κικέρωνος ὑπατεύοντος. Plut. Cic. 44. On the day of the debate on Cataline's conspiracy. *Quo natus est die quum de Catalina conjuratione ageretur in curiâ, et Octavius ob uxoris puerperium serius adfuisset.* Suet. Aug. 94.

**89.** C. J. Cæsar, on the death of Metellus Pius, is elected Pontifex Maximus. Dion, xxxvii. 37. Suet. Cæs. 13. Plut. Cæs. 7. Sallust. Cat. 49. He was succeeded by Lepidus (see B.C. 44, no. 353).



Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 24.

Tabernacles, Sept. 28.

**B.C. 62. U.C. 692. Olymp. 179, 3.**

DECIMUS JUNIUS SILANUS.

LUC. LICINIUS MURENA.

90. Cataline is slain at the very beginning of the year. Καταλίνας δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ᾧ Ἰουίνος τε Σιλανὸς καὶ Λούκιος Λικίνιος ἤρξαν ἀπεφθάρη. Dion, xxxvii. 39. Liv. Epit. 103. Sallust, 60.

91. At this time Pompey was in Asia, but on his way to Rome. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐτ' ἦν. Dion, xxxvii. 43. We find him first at Mitylene. Εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἀφικόμενος. Plut. Pomp. 42. Then at Ephesus. Αὐτὸς δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον καταβάς. Appian, Mith. 116. Plut. Cato Min. 14. Then at Rhodes. Ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ γενόμενος. Plut. Pomp. 42. Then at Athens. Ἐν δ' Ἀθήναις τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὅμοια τοῦ Πομπηίου. Plut. Pomp. 42. For the course of Pompey from Judæa to Italy, see also Dion, xxxvii. 20.

92. Pompey reaches Italy in the autumn of this year, for he writes word of his approach, and requests the senate to postpone the comitia until his arrival. The comitia were usually held in the latter half of the year. Πομπήιος δὲ μέγας ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας ἐπανίω . . . προὔπεμπεν ἀξίων τὰς ὑπατικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς παρὼν Πείσωνα συναρχαιρεσιάσῃ. Plut. Cato Min. xxx. Οὕτω πάντες τὸν Πομπήιον ἐδέδεσαν . . . ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ Μάρκον Πίσωνα ὑποστράτηγον πρὸς αἴτησιν ὑπατείας προὔπεμψε, τὰς τε ἀρχαιρεσίας, ὅπως ἀπαντήσῃ εἰς αὐτὰς, ἀναβαλέσθαι, καὶ παρόντα αὐτὸν ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἀποδεῖξαι. Dion, xxxvii. 44.

93. Pompey appears to have been at Rome before the end of the year, for, on new-year's day, Cicero writes, *Pompeium nobis amicissimum constat esse* . . . *Kal. Januar., M. Messallâ, M. Pisone* *coss.* Cic. Ep. Att. i. 12; and he was certainly in Rome before Feb. 13, B.C. 61, for Cicero writes, *Prima concio Pompeii qualis fuisset scripsi ad te antea* . . . *Idibus Februar.* Cic. Ep. Att. i. 14; and of course before the election of consuls in B.C. 61 for the year B.C. 60. Πομπήιος δὲ ἦλθε εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῇ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀφράγιον τὸν Λού-

κιον καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον τὸν Κέλερα, ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐποίησεν. Dion, xxxvii. 49.

94. Triumph of Metellus Cretensis. *D. Junio Silano et L. Murenâ* *coss. Metellus de Cretâ triumphavit.* Eutrop. vi. 16 (see B.C. 67, no. 28).

95. Flaccus was proconsul of Asia this year. *Silano et Murenâ* *coss.* Cicero pro Flac. 13. He was succeeded by Quintus Cicero (see B.C. 59, no. 105). Attalus had bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, who called it Asia, as then their only possession in that continent. Proconsular Asia comprised Ionia, Phrygia Major and Minor, Lydia, Mysia, Caria, and Pergamus. Noris. Cenot. Pis. i. 290.

96. C. Jul. Cæsar is full prætor in this consulship. Dion, xxxvii. 39, 44; Plut. Cic. 23; and had therefore been prætor elect the year before. Cic. Ep. Att. xii. 21.

97. Scaurus marches against Aretas, king of Petra, with whom Pompey had rather temporised, and obliges him to purchase peace. Σκαύρου δὲ ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῆς Ἀραβίας στρατεύσαντος, καὶ διὰ τὸ δυνεμβολωτάτην εἶναι τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ δηοῦντος αὐτῆς . . . Ἀντίπατρος . . . πεμφθεὶς πρὸς Ἀρέταν πρεσβευτῆς ὑπὸ Σκαύρου διὰ τὴν ὑποῦσαν ξενίαν, πείθει καὶ αὐτὸν ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δηωθῆναι τὴν χώραν δοῦναι. Jos. Ant. xiv. 5, 1; Bell. i. 8, 1.

98. Theophimus is archon at Athens. Euseb. Chron. lib. i. c. 29. He was archon in the consulship of Piso and Messalla, i. e. B.C. 61; but his archonship probably commenced at midsummer, B.C. 62. See *Fasti Hellen.* B.C. 61.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 23.

Pentecost, May 13.

Tabernacles, September 17.

**B.C. 61. U.C. 693. Olymp. 179, 4.**

M. PUPPIUS PISO CALPURNIANUS

M. VALER. MESSALLA.

99. Triumph of Pompey on September 29 and 30 (the latter his birthday). *Tertio triumpho quem de Piratis, Asiâ, Ponto, gentibusque et regibus* . . . *M. Pisone, M. Messallâ* *coss., pridie Kalend. Octob. die natalis sui egit.* Plin. N. H. xxxvii. 6. The triumph lasted two days. Τοῦ δὲ θριάμβου . . . εἰς ἡμέρας δύο μερισθέντος. Plut. Pomp. 45; and see *Fasti Capitol. infra*, no. 101 a.

100. Cæsar is in Spain the year after his

prætorship (see B.C. 62, no. 96). Τῆς τε Λυσιτανίας μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἤρξε. Dion, xxxvii. 52. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας τῶν ἐπαρχίων τὴν Ἰβηρίαν λαβὼν ἐξῆλθεν. Plut. Cæs. 11. Sueton. Cæs. 18. Appian, B. C. ii. 8. Liv. Epitom. 103.

**101.** Philippus is appointed to the province of Syria, in the room of Scæurus, who had been nominated by Pompey two years before, in B.C. 63. Philippus also held office for two years, and was succeeded in B.C. 59 by Marcellinus. Καὶ ἡ βουλὴ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ Σκαύρω τὸν Μάρκιον, καὶ Μαρκελλῖνον Λέντλον ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, ἄμφω στρατηγικοὺς κατ' ἀξίωσιν (ἔταξεν). Ἀλλὰ τῶν δὲ μὲν ἑκατέρω διετῆς ἐπίφθη χρόνος. Appian, Syr. 51 (see B.C. 63, no. 85; B.C. 59, no. 103).

**101 a.** Inscription.

[Cn. Pompeius Sex. N. Magnus III.] Pro Cos. [ex Asiâ Ponto Paphla]goniâ Cappadociâ [Ciliciâ Syriâ Arme]niâ Piræcis [Iberid Cretâ de regibus Mithridate et Tigrane per biduum, iii. prid.] K. Octo. An. DCXCII. (Varro, 693). Fasti Capitol.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 11.

Pentecost, June 1.

Tabernacles, October 6.

**B.C. 60. U.C. 694. Olymp. 180, 1.**

L. AFRANIUS.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CELER.

**102.** Ptolemy Auletes is king of Egypt, but was not acknowledged by the Romans until the following year. Ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δὲ τὴν χώραν βεβασιλευσθαι φασιν . . . μέχρι τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς μὲν παρεβάλομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Ἐβασίλευε δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, ὁ νεὸς Διόνυσος χρηματίζων. Diod. i. 44. Καθ' ὃν χρόνον Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὐπω προσηγορεύετο φίλος. Diod. i. 83 (see B.C. 59, no. 104).

**102 a.** Herodes archon at Athens. See Fasti Hellen. B.C. 60.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 31.

Pentecost, May 21.

Tabernacles, September 25.

**B.C. 59. U.C. 695. Olymp. 180, 2.**

C. J. CÆSAR, I.

M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.

**103.** Philippus is succeeded in the province of Syria by Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus. Appian, Syr. 51 (see B.C. 61, no. 101; B.C. 57, no. 114).

**104.** Ptolemy Auletes, in this consulship, by largesses to Cæsar, procures himself to be acknowledged king of Egypt by the Romans. *In primo consulatu . . . societates ac regna pretio (Cæsar) dedit, ut qui uni Ptolemæo prope sex millia talentorum suo Pompeiique nomine abstulerit.* Suet. Cæs. 54 (see B.C. 60, no. 102; B.C. 58, no. 110).

**105.** Quintus Cicero, the brother of M. T. Cicero, enters upon his third year of the proconsulship of Asia (see B.C. 62, no. 95; B.C. 46, no. 315). *Nunc vero tertius hic annus habeat integritatem eamdem quam superiores; cautio-rem etiam ac diligentio-rem.* Cic. Ep. ad Quint. i. 1, 4; and see *ib.* i. 1, 2, 14, 16. In B.C. 51, Thermus was prætor of Asia, as appears from Cicero's letters to him. See Cic. Ep. Fam. xiii. 53, *et seq.* (see B.C. 62, no. 95; B.C. 14, no. 766).

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 20.

Pentecost, May 10.

Tabernacles, September 14.

**B.C. 58. U.C. 696. Olymp. 180, 3.**

L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONINUS.

A. GABINIUS.

**106.** Cicero is banished, and had left Rome and was at Thurium some time before April 8. '*Dat. vii. Id. April. Thurii.*' Cic. Ep. Att. iii. 5 (see B.C. 57, no. 119).

**107.** Cato soon after is sent to Cyprus to eject Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, the brother of Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξέβαλε (Clodius) Κικέρωνα, καὶ Κάτωνα προφάσει στρατηγίας εἰς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε, *etc.* Plut. Pomp. 48; Cato Min. 34. Dion, xxxviii. 30. Liv. Epit. 104.

**108.** Cato proceeds to Rhodes on his way to Cyprus, and remains there some time. Ἀντὸς δὲ διέτριβεν Ῥόδῳ. Plut. Cato Min. 35.

**109.** Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, poisons himself, and Cyprus now becomes a Roman province. Ὁ δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ Πτολεμαῖος εὐτυχίᾳ τινὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἐαντὸν φαρμάκοις ἀπέκτεινε. Plut.



Cato Min. 36; and is annexed to Cilicia (see v.c. 51, no. 191).

**110.** Ptolemy, king of Egypt, is ejected by his subjects (see v.c. 59, no. 104), and Berenice is appointed in his place. Ptolemy, on his way to Rome, has an interview with Cato at Rhodes. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς, ὑπ' ὀργῆς τινὸς καὶ διαφορᾶς πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, ἀπολελοιπῶς μὲν Ἀλεξίαν δρεῖαν εἶς δὲ Ῥώμην πλέων, ὡς Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρος αἰσθίς αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνάμειος καταζόντων, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Κάτωνι βουλευθεῖς, προέπεμψεν ἐλπίζων ἐκεῖνον ὡς αὐτὸν ἴξειν. Plut. Cato Min. 35. This Berenice married, first Seleucus of Syria, who was soon after put to death, and then Archelaus, the priest of Comana in Pontus. Dion, xxxix. 57. Strabo, xii. 3 (see v.c. 65, no. 56; v.c. 55, no. 130).

**111.** Ptolemy is dissuaded from his purpose by Cato, but pursues his way to Rome. Plut. Cato Min. 35.

**112.** Cæsar is in Gaul, the province assigned to him at the expiration of his consulship. *Is dies* (when the Helvetians were to assemble on the banks of the Rhone) *erat a. d. v. Kal. April.* (March 28), *L. Pisone, A. Gabinio coss. Cæsari quum id nuntiatum esset . . . maturat ab urbe proficisci, et quam maximis itineribus potest in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genevam pervenit.* Cæs. B. G. i. 6, 7.

The Sabbath year.

Passover, April 8.

Pentecost, May 29.

Tabernacles, October 3.

**B.C. 57. U.C. 697. Olymp. 130, 4.**

P. CORNEL LENTULUS.

Q. CÆCILII METELLUS NEPOS.

**113.** Alexander, son of Aristobulus, and who, on his escape from Pompey, had taken up arms in Judæa, prevails against Hyrcanus, whom Pompey had left highpriest. Jos. Ant. xiv. 5, 2; Bell. i. 8, 2 (see v.c. 63, no. 81).

**114.** Gabinius, at the expiration of his consulship and early in this year, arrives in Syria as successor to Marcellinus, and from this time forward Syria is a consular province, that is, governed by persons who had passed the consulship. Ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένοντο Συρίας στρατηγὸι τῶν τὰ ἐπώνυμα ἀρξάντων ἐν ἄσσει . . . καὶ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶνδε ἐπέμθη Γαβίνιος. Appian, Syr. 51 (see v.c. 59, no. 103; v.c. 54, no. 154).

**115.** Gabinius defeats Alexander, who afterwards surrenders and is pardoned. Jos. Ant. xiv. 5, 2-4; Bell. i. 8, 3-5 (see *supra*, no. 113).

**116.** Gabinius establishes an aristocracy in Judæa, and divides it into five Sanhedrims. Πέντε δὲ συνέδρια καταστήσας, εἰς ἴσας μοίρας διένειμε τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, οἱ δ' ἐν Γαδάρει, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀραβοῦντι, τέταρτοι δ' ἦσαν ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Σεπφόροις τῆς Γαλιλαίας· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τῆς δυναστείας ἐν ἀριστοκρατείᾳ διήγον. Jos. Ant. xiv. 5, 4; Bell. i. 8, 5 (see v.c. 63, no. 81; A.D. 6, no. 1013).

**117.** Gabinius commits to Hyrcanus the care only of the temple. Τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραδὸς κηδεμονίαν αὐτῷ. Jos. Bell. i. 8, 5. Σχῆσοντα τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπιμέλειαν. Ant. xiv. 5, 4.

**118.** In May of the following year the question of a thanksgiving for Gabinius's successes was agitated at Rome. *Id. Maiis senatus frequens divinus fuit in supplicatione Gabinio denegandâ.* Cic. Ep. ad Quint. ii. 8. The occurrences, therefore, in Judæa had probably taken place in the latter part of the preceding year.

**119.** Cicero is recalled from banishment, and arrives at Brundisium on August 5. *Brundisium veni Nonis Sextilibus.* Cic. Ep. Att. iv. 1. After an exile of sixteen months. Τῶν δὲ περὶ Δέντλον ὑπατενόντων . . . κατῆει δὲ Κικέρων ἐκκαδεκάτῳ μηνὶ μετὰ τὴν φνηγὴν. Plut. Cic. 33 (see v.c. 58, no. 106).

**120.** Ptolemy Auletes obtains at first a decree of the senate for his restoration to the throne of Egypt; but the Alexandrians, hearing of his intrigues at Rome, send an embassy, and the decree is suspended. Καὶ ἔτυχεν (Ptolemy) ὥστε ὑπάτου Σπινθῆρος, ᾧ ἡ Κιλικία ἐπετράπετο, καταχθῆναι. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἀλεξανδροεῖς . . . ἀνδρας ἕκατον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμψαν, etc. Dion, xxxix. 12 et seq. (see v.c. 58, no. 110; v.c. 56, no. 122).

1st year of the Sabbath cycle.

Passover, March 28.

Pentecost, May 18.

Tabernacles, September 22.

**B.C. 56. U.C. 698. Olymp. 131, 1.**

CN. CORNEL LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.

L. MARCUS PHILIPPUS.

**121.** Ptolemy's suit for restoration to the throne of Egypt is still under discussion at

Rome in January and February. Cic. Ep. Fam. i. 1, 2, 4, 5 a, 5 b, 7.

**122.** Ptolemy is unable to induce the Romans to restore him, and he retires from Rome to seek an asylum from his creditors in the sanctuary of Diana at Ephesus. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τε Λουκίου Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ Γναίου Μαρκελλίνου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μαθὼν τὴν τε κάθοδον ἀπέγνω, καὶ ἐς Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν παρὰ τῇ θεῷ δειπᾶτο. Dion, xxxix. 16. Ptolemy, however, could not have remained long at Ephesus; for early the next year Gabinius took up his cause, and marched into Egypt to restore him to the throne (see B.C. 57, no. 120; B.C. 35, no. 130).

**123.** Cato returns from Cyprus in this consulship. Ὑπάτευε δὲ Φίλιππος. Plut. Cato Min. 39.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 16.

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11.

**B.C. 55. U.C. 699. Olymp. 181, 2.**

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, ii.  
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

**124.** The Roman provinces are assigned for five years as follows: Spain to Pompey, Gaul to Cæsar, and Syria to Crassus. *Idem* (Cato) *quum legem impediret, quâ Provincia Consulibus in quinquennium, Pompeio Hispanicæ, Crasso Syria et Parthicum bellum, Cæsari Gallia et Germania dabantur, a Cajo Trebonio tribuno plebis, legis auctore, in vincula ductus est.* Liv. Epit. 105. Καίσαρι μὲν ἄλλην ἐπέδοσαν πεμπταετίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχίων ἐψηφίσαντο Συρίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίας συναμφοτέρας. Κληρουμένων δὲ Συρίαν ἔλαχε Κράσος, τὰ δ' Ἰβηρικὰ Πομπηῖος. Plut. Crass. 15: and see Plut. Pomp. 53, Cæs. 21; Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 18; Suet. Cæs. 24; Dion, xxxix. 33.

**125.** Gabinius, in the spring, while meditating a campaign against the Arabians of Petra, is pressed by Mithridates III., the brother of Orodes, who had expelled him from the throne of Parthia, to undertake an expedition against the Parthians. Ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας ὀρμῶντα Μιθριδάτης μὲν ὁ Παρθυαῖον βασιλεὺς ἐξελαυνόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Ὀρώδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μετῆρεν ἐξ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους. Appian, Parth. 1. Dion, xxxix. 56 (see B.C. 70, no. 8; B.C. 37, no. 516).

**126.** Gabinius had passed the Euphrates. Τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤδη πεπεραιωμένῳ. Jos. Ant. xiv. 6, 2. Ὑποστρέψας ἀπ' Εὐφράτου. Bell. i. 8, 7. When he is bribed by Ptolemy Auletes, by 10,000 talents, to restore him to the kingdom of Egypt, which was now under the rule of Archelaus, who had married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy (see B.C. 58, no. 110). Μετὰ ταῦτα Γαβίνιον ἐπὶ μυρίας ταλάντοις Πτολεμαῖου πείθοντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἅμα συμβάλλειν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν. Plut. Ant. 3. Πτολεμαῖος δ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἐνδέκατος, Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς, ἐκπεσὼν καὶ ὄδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, μετέπεισε χρήμασιν ἀντὶ Παρθυαίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας ὀρμῆσαι. Appian, Parth. 1. Syr. 51. Gabinius had also received letters from Pompey in favour of Ptolemy. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου γραμμάτων ἦλθε, &c. Dion, xxxix. 56. But, according to Strabo, Gabinius, when entering upon the Parthian war, was recalled by an interdiction of the Senate. Οὐκ ἐπιτρεπούσης δὲ τῆς Συγκλήτου. Strabo, xii. 3.

**127.** Gabinius, on his way from the Euphrates to Egypt, sends Sisenna, with Antony and Servilius, against Aristobulus and his son Antigonus who had escaped from Rome, and, during the absence of Gabinius on his march against Parthia, had seized on the fortresses of Herodium and Machærus. Aristobulus and Antigonus are defeated and surrender at discretion, and are brought before Gabinius and by him sent to Rome. Aristobulus was kept a prisoner there, but Antigonus is set at liberty and returns to Judæa. Jos. Ant. xiv. 6, 1; Bell. i. 8, 6. Plut. Ant. 3. Dion, xxxix. 56. That the outbreak of Aristobulus and Antigonus occurred at this time appears from the narrative of Dion, for he relates first the attempt against Parthia, then the victory over Aristobulus, and then the invasion of Egypt. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνόει καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους, τὸν τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν στρατεύσων . . . αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἐλθὼν τὸν τε Ἀριστοβούλον (διαδράς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ὑπετάραττε τι) συνέλαβε . . . καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνέβαλεν. Dion, xxxix. 56.

**128.** Hyrcanus and Antipater, his minister, supply the army of Gabinius, *en route* for Egypt, with provisions, and induce the Jews settled about Pelusium to give a safe passage into that country. Jos. Ant. xiv. 6, 2; Bell. i. 8, 7.



**129.** Gabinus meets with no opposition till he reaches Pelusium, and then advances in two divisions and defeats the enemy in the field, and again both by land and water. Καὶ οὗτος ὡς μὲν τὸ Πηλούσιον ἀφίκετο, μηδενὸς ἐναντιούμενον, προΐων δὲ ἐντεύθεν, δίχα διηρημένῳ τῷ στρατῷ, τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπαντήσαντας οἱ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αὖθις ἔν τε τῷ ποτάμῳ καὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκράτησεν. Dion, xxxix. 58. And takes Alexandria. *Cepit Alexandriam.* Cic. in Pisonem, 21.

**130.** Archelaus is slain after a reign of six months. Ἐβασίλευσεν ἕξ μῆνας. Strabo, xii. 3 (see B.C. 58, no. 110). Ptolemy is placed on the throne. Strabo, xii. 3, xvii. 1. Plut. Ant. 1. Dion, xxxix. 58. Liv. Epit. 105. Cic. in Pisonem, 21 (see B.C. 56, no. 122). A rumour that Ptolemy had been placed on the throne was current in Italy on April 22, B.C. 55. *Puteolis magnus est rumor Ptolemæum esse in regno. Si quid habes certius, velim scire. . . Pompeius in Cumanum Parilibus* (April 21) *venit. Misit ad me statim qui salutem nuntiaret. Ad eum postridie mane vadebam, quum hæc scripsi.* Cic. Ep. Att. iv. 10. If this rumour was founded on the fact, Gabinus must have been in Egypt very early in the year. But the rumour may have been propagated when Gabinus first undertook the cause of Ptolemy, or may have arisen from the letters of Pompey in his favour (see *ante*, no. 126), but before the results were known.

**131.** While Gabinus is in Egypt, Alexander, son of Aristobulus, takes advantage of the absence of Gabinus, and again creates disturbances in Judæa. Τῆς δὲ ἄλλης Συρίας πρὸς τὸν Γαβινίου χωρισμὸν κινήσεις, καὶ Ἰουδαίους πάλιν ἀπέστησεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου. Jos. Bell. i. 8, 7; Ant. xiv. 6, 2. Gabinus returns from Egypt and defeats Alexander at Mount Tabor, slaying ten thousand of the enemy. He then visits Jerusalem, and settles the constitution at the dictation of Antipater, the father of Herod. Καὶ συμβαλόντων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ἕρος, μύριοι μὲν ἀναιροῦνται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐσκεδάσθη φυγῇ. Καὶ Γαβίνιος ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸ Ἀντιπάτρον βούλημα κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν. Bell. i. 8, 7; Ant. xiv. 6, 3.

**132.** Gabinus marches against the Arabians of Petra and defeats them. Καταστησάμενος δὲ Γαβίνιος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ὡς ἦν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θέλοντι, ἐπὶ Ναβαταίους

ἔρχεται, καὶ κρατεῖ μὲν τούτων τῇ μάχῃ. Jos. Ant. xiv. 6, 4; Bell. i. 8, 7 (see B.C. 63, no. 84).

**133.** Crassus leaves Rome for Syria at the close of his consulship. Κράσσος μὲν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπαλλαγείς τῆς ὑπατείας. Plut. Pomp. 52. Or somewhat earlier, for it was just after November 15. *Nos in Tusculanum venisse a. d. xvii. Kal. Dec.* (Nov. 15) *video te scire. . . Crassum quidem nostrum minore dignitate aiant profectum paludatum quam olim æqualem ejus, Luc. Paulum, iterum consulm.* Cic. Ep. Att. iv. 13. He passes through Brundisium in winter. Ὁ δὲ Κράσσος εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἦλθεν· ἐπὶ δ' ἀστάτου οὔσης χειμῶνι τῆς θαλάσσης, οὐ περιέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἀνήχθη καὶ συχνὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπέβαλε. Plut. Crass. 17.

**134.** Cæsar, towards the close of summer, prepares for an expedition against Britain. *Exiguâ parte æstatis reliquâ . . . tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit.* Cæs. B. G. iv. 20. Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὸν τε Ἕρνον πρῶτος τῶν Ῥωμαίων διέβη, καὶ εἰς Βρεταννίαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ Κράσσου ὑπατευόντων, ἐπεραιώθη. Dion, xxxix. 50. Plut. Cæs. 23. Liv. Epit. 105.

**135.** He sends Volusenus in a ship of war to reconnoitre the island, who returns, without having landed in Britain, on the fifth day after his setting out. *Quinto die ad Cæsarem revertitur.* Cæs. B. G. iv. 21.

**136.** Cæsar meanwhile marches into the country of the Morini, the people of Gaul, from whose coast was the shortest passage to Britain. *In Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus.* Cæs. B. G. iv. 21. Morinia, therefore, was the coast opposite Kent. According to Ptolemy, the people of Gaul to the east of the Seine were first the Atrebates (Arras), then the Bellovaci, then the Ambiani, whose city was Samarobriva (Sommebridge, or Bridge over the Somme, viz. Amiens), and then the Morini, whose city was Gessoriacum (Boulogne). Thus the Morini occupied the coast eastward of the Somme. Ptol. ii. 9, 7. Their territory may be taken to have reached from the Canche on the west to the Aa at Gravelines on the east.

**137.** Cæsar collects his ships at Portus Itius or Iccius: at least both expeditions appear to have sailed from the same port, and Portus Itius or Iccius was certainly the starting-place of the second expedition (see B.C. 54, no. 159).

Portus Itius or Iccius was Boulogne, and took its name either from the adjoining promontory of Iccium, now Cape Grisnez, a few miles to the north of Boulogne (*Ἰκίων ἄκρον*, Ptol. ii. 9, 2), or from the village of Isques at Pont de Brique, a little above Boulogne and anciently the head of the estuary. From Portus Itius or Iccius to Britain the passage is said to have been about thirty Roman miles. *Quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transjectum esse cognoverat circiter millium passuum xxx. a continenti.* Cæs. B. G. v. 2. The exact distance from Boulogne to Folkstone is thirty miles and two thousand six hundred and twenty-two feet English, which would make about thirty-three miles Roman.

**138.** Eighteen ships which should have joined Cæsar at Boulogne are windbound eight miles to the north of Portus Itius or Iccius, when Cæsar sends his cavalry thither for embarkation. *Huc accedebant xviii. onerariæ naves quæ ex eo loco (Boulogne) millibus passuum octo vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum pervenire possent.* Cæs. B. G. iv. 23. The port to which the cavalry were sent must have been to the north of Boulogne, as the wind, which was favourable for a descent upon Britain, prevented these vessels from reaching Boulogne. Accordingly, the port where they were windbound is described as *ulterior portus*, iv. 23; *superior portus*, iv. 27. The distance of eight miles is mentioned in explanation of the reason why the cavalry were sent thither, and therefore has reference to the land route; and at the distance by road of twelve kilometres, or seven and a half miles English (being rather more than eight miles Roman), to the north of Boulogne, is the port of Ambleteuse. (N.B.—The old road to Ambleteuse passes through Wimille, but within the last few years a new direct road has been made by Napoleon III. along the shore, and this is much less than eight miles Roman, viz. five or six miles.)

**139.** Cæsar sails from Boulogne about the third watch, i. e. about midnight when the third watch commenced. *Nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem tertiâ fere vigiliâ solvit.* Cæs. B. G. iv. 23. This was on August 26, i. e. the fifth day (both inclusive) before the full moon, which was on the night of August 30–31, at 3 A.M. High tide at Boulogne at the full moon is at 11 h. 20 m., and on the fifth day

before, or August 26, was about 8 P.M. The fleet, therefore, as the tide was running out, would drop down from the harbour and anchor outside till all were ready, and Cæsar then would set sail about midnight.

**140.** Cæsar reaches the coast of Britain next day, August 27, at the fourth hour, or 10 A.M. *Ipsæ horâ circiter quartâ cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit.* Cæs. B. G. iv. 23. The cause of the delay was partly from having waited in the offing for the eighteen ships to join him from Ambleteuse, which they never did, and partly from the deflection caused by the currents, and partly from the wind having shifted on the passage and become adverse.

**141.** The part of the coast which Cæsar first approached was hemmed in by mountains within a javelin's cast from the shore. *Cujus loci hæc erat natura: adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, ut ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset.* Cæs. B. G. iv. 23. Cæsar's first arrival, therefore, was at some point between Sandgate and the South Foreland.

**142.** As the Britons swarmed upon the cliffs which commanded the shore, Cæsar made no attempt at landing then and there, but waited until all his ships arrived, which was not until the ninth hour, or 3 P.M. *Hunc ad egrediendum nequâquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliquæ naves eo convenirent, ad horam ix. in anchoris expectavit.* Cæs. B. G. iv. 23. The interim was employed in giving instructions and explaining his plans to the officers. *Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis,* etc. B. G. iv. 23.

**143.** At 3 P.M. Cæsar sets sail with wind and tide in his favour. *His dimissis, et ventum et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum viii. ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit.* Cæs. B. G. iv. 23. The direction of Cæsar's course on weighing anchor must therefore be determined by the direction of the tide, which is said to have been in his favour. At *full moon* the tide off the coast between Sandgate and the South Foreland begins to run west at 3 h. 10 m., and continues to run so for six hours and a half, when there is slack water for a quarter of an hour, and then the tide turns east. See the Tide Tables published by the Admiralty. On August 27, B.C. 55, therefore being the fourth



day before the full moon, the stream began to run west about three hours earlier, or about noon, and would be in full flow westward at 3 P.M. Thus Cæsar, with the tide in his favour at 3 P.M., must have sailed to the west; and, as he would land at the first convenient place, he must have disembarked at or near Hythe, which would be eight miles from some point between Folkstone and Dover. Cæsar lands on the marsh (Romney). Τοὺς πρόσμιξαντας οἱ ἐς τὰ τεράγη ἀποβαίνοντι ρικίσης. Dion, xxxix. 51. At Hythe the cliffs retire inward, and a flat open beach commences which, up to Dymchurch Wall, is above high-water mark. This flat open beach is alluded to by Cæsar: *aperto ac plano littore*, B. G. iv. 23; *littore molli atque aperto*, v. 9. The shore there also shelves gradually, so that colliers can only unload at spring tides, which agrees with the account. *Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem nisi in alto constitui non poterant*. B. G. iv. 24.

144. The fourth day after Cæsar's arrival, and therefore on August 30, the eighteen vessels, freighted with the cavalry from Ambleteuse, attempt to cross, but encounter a storm when near Britain; and some put back, and others are cast away on the western parts of the island. *Post diem quartum quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves xviii. ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt, quæ quum appropinquarent Britannicæ et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est, ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed alicæ eodem unde erant profectæ referrentur; aliæ ad inferiorem partem insulæ, quæ est propius solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo dejicerentur*. B. G. iv. 28. The wind, therefore, was from the NE., and the words *eodem unde erant profectæ* mean, probably, not the very port from which they sailed, but the continent.

145. The same night was the full moon. *Eâdem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena, quæ dies maritimos æstus maximos in oceano efficere consuevit*. B. G. iv. 29. When Cæsar landed, the corn was still standing, and the harvest month in this part of the coast is August, and the full moon that year was at 3 A.M. on August 31. *Frumentum ex agris in castra quotidie (Cæsar) conferebat*, B. G. iv. 31; *omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento, una pars erat reliqua*, iv. 32. The fourth day before, therefore, or August 27, was the day of Cæsar's arrival.

146. The Britons concert a surprise upon the seventh legion while cutting the corn, and Cæsar with difficulty rescues it, iv. 32. The Britons had hid themselves in a wood, *noctu in sylvis delituerant*, B. G. iv. 32; and attacked the Romans in the adjacent cornfield, *in metendo occupatos subito adorti*, ib.; and the dust from the conflict, but not the conflict itself, was seen from the camp. *Ii qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant Cæsari renuntiaverunt, pulverem majorem quam consuetudo ferret eâ parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset*. Ib. In the neighbourhood of Hythe, Romney Marsh is girt in by uplands, the summit of which is a broad platform of cornland interspersed with woods. The corn grows up to the very edge, without any wall or hedge to intercept the view, so that from Cæsar's camp on the beach below the dust flying up from the cornfield would be easily visible, and there are still woods (as Parkwood and Fowkwood) close at hand.

147. Both Romans and Britons remain stationary for some days after the attack upon the seventh legion, on account of the weather. *Secute sunt continuos dies complures tempestates, quæ et nostros in castris retinerent, et hostem a pugna prohiberent*. B. G. iv. 34. The Britons then advance against the camp of Cæsar to storm it, but Cæsar leads out his troops and defeats them. B. G. iv. 35. In the field to the south and east of Hythe, wherever an excavation is made, human bones are disinterred, which are evidently of those slain in battle, for the skeletons are of adult males, and buried confusedly two or three feet beneath the surface.

148. Cæsar returns to Gaul a little before the equinox, then reckoned to be September 24. *Propinquâ die æquinocitii, infirmis navibus, hie mi navigationem subjiciendam non existimabat*. B. G. iv. 36. Thus Cæsar, in his first expedition, was not quite a month in Britain.

149. Two of Cæsar's ships drift to the south of Boulogne, and the 300 soldiers which they carried are put on shore, but on their way to the camp are attacked by the Morini. *Onerariæ duæ eodem portus (Ambleteuse and Boulogne), quos reliquæ capere non potuerunt, sed paullo infra delatæ sunt. Quibus ex navibus quum essent expositi milites circiter ccc., atque in castra contenderent, Morini, etc.* B. G. iv. 36, 37. The Morini, therefore, were to the south of Portus Itius, which negatives the theory advocated by some that the port from which

Cæsar sailed was the mouth of the Somme; for on the left bank of that river were the Ambiani, not the Morini. The two vessels carried 300 soldiers, or 150 men each. There had been originally eighty vessels in all, and two legions (B. G. iv. 22); but twelve ships were lost in the storm (iv. 31), which reduced the number to sixty-eight; and if we allow 150 men to each, the whole army would consist of 10,200 men, or 5,100 for each legion. However, the two ships were perhaps the most heavily freighted, and missed the port in consequence. As a legion usually consisted of about 5,000 men, we may assume the first expedition to have comprised about 10,000 men.

**150.** Timagenes, the sophist of Alexandria, comes to Rome this year. Ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῦ μεγάλου αἰχμαλωτὸς ἀχθεῖς εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου ἐξωνήθη ὑπὸ Φαύστου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σύλλου. Suidas, Τιμαγένης. If by this it be meant that Timagenes was now brought to Rome by Gabinius, the statement is clearly incorrect; for Gabinius was the whole of this year in the East, and during a great part of it in Egypt, whence, no doubt, on the capture of Alexandria, he sent Timagenes to Rome.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, April 30.

**B.C. 54. U.C. 700. Olymp. 181, 3.**

L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

**151.** This consulship is the 700th year *Urbis conditæ*. Ἐν μὲν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε ἑπτακόσια ἔτη ἀγούση ἐγένετο . . . τοῦ Δομιτίου αὐτῶ τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου Ἀππίου ὑπάτων. Dion, xl. 1.

**152.** Crassus sends his lieutenant to Syria to receive the province from Gabinius; but Gabinius refuses to deliver up the province except to Crassus himself. Προπεμφθέντα τινὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑποστρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδοχῇ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀθάνατον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰληφῶς κατέσχευ αὐτήν. Dion, xxxix. 6.

**153.** Crassus hastens on his road to Syria, and, passing through Galatia, has an interview with Dejotarus, king of the country, and then in extreme old age. Crassus at this time was upwards of sixty. Ἠπείγετο (Crassus) πεζῇ

διὰ Γαλατίας, εὐρῶν δὲ τὸν βασιλεία Δημόταρον πάνν μὲν ὄντα γηραιὸν ἦδη, etc. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Κράσσοσ ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη παραλλάττων. Plut. Cras. 17 (see B.C. 65, no. 53).

**154.** Crassus arrives in Syria, and Gabinius resigns the province to him. Jos. Ant. xiv. 6, 4; Bell. i. 8, 8 (see B.C. 57, no. 114; B.C. 53, no. 185, 186).

**155.** Crassus crosses the Euphrates, and overpowers the satrap of the province at Ich-niæ. Τὸν τε οὖν Εὐφράτην ἐπεραιώθη καὶ προ-ἦλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας φέρωντε αὐτὴν καὶ πορθῶν . . . ὥστε Ταλύμενος Εἰλακῆς ὁ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης σατραπεύων ἠττήθη τε περὶ Ἰχνίας, etc. Dion, xl. 12. And plunders Zenodotia. Plut. Crass. 17. Dion, xl. 10; but does nothing more, and, leaving garrisons in friendly cities, returns to Syria for the winter, where he is joined by his son from Gaul. Ἀνεχώρησεν αὐτὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαχειμάσων, καὶ δεξιό-μενος αὐτόθι τὸν υἱὸν ἦκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐκ Γαλατίας. Plut. Crass. 17.

**156.** Crassus is engaged, during his stay in Syria, in levying money. Ἐπειτα τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ διατριβὰς ἡτιῶντο, χρηματικὰς μᾶλλον οὔσας ἢ στρατηγικὰς. Plut. Crass. 17. And plunders the temple of Jerusalem of its treasures—10,000 talents in gold and silver, and one huge ingot of gold besides. Jos. Ant. xiv. 7, 1; Bell. i. 8, 9. Plut. Crass. 17. Oros. vi. 13.

**157.** Gabinius, apprehensive of danger awaiting him at Rome, tarries by the way. Ὡστε καὶ χρόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφικέσθαι. Dion, xxxix. 62. But at length arrives in the neighbourhood of Rome on September 20. *Ad urbem accessit ante diem vii. Kal. Oct.* Cic. Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. And on September 28 enters the city at night. *Gabinius a. d. iv. Kal. Oct. noctu in urbem introivit.* Ib. And is soon after tried for maladministration of his province of Syria, and acquitted before October 24 on the first count. *Gabinius absolutus est. . . Hæc scripsi a. d. ix. Kal. Novemb.* Cic. Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 4. But is condemned on the other counts, and banished. Τότε μὲν ἔφυγεν ἀλοὺς . . . ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατήχθη. Dion, xxxix. 63.

**158.** Cæsar sets out from his winter quarters for Italy; and, when the assizes for Cisalpine Gaul (part of his province) are over, proceeds to Illyricum, and, having concluded the assizes there also, returns to Cisalpine Gaul. Cæs. B. G. v. 1. He is here joined by Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator; and Quintus



Cicero and Cæsar write to the orator from Laude (twenty-four miles from Placentia and sixteen from Milan), and Cicero is in receipt of their letters at Rome on June 3. *A. d. iv. Nonas Jun.* (June 2), *quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas literas datas Placentiæ; deinde alteras postridie (June 3) datas Laude Nonis Maii* (May 7) *cum Cæsaris literis.* Cic. Ep. Quint. Frat. ii. 15 a. If the reading *Nonis* be correct, Cæsar wrote from Laude on May 7; but if we reject the word *Nonis*, which appears questionable, and allow a week for the transmission of the letters from Laude to Rome, Cæsar was at Laude about May 27. Cæsar was then contemplating a second invasion of Britain; for Cicero writes: *Modo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo.* Ib.

**159.** Cæsar visits the army in Gaul in their winter quarters, *circuitis omnibus hybernis*, B. G. v. 2; and orders them to assemble at Portus Itius (Boulogne), *atque omnes ad portum Itium convenire jubet*, Cæs. B. G. v. 2.

**160.** Cæsar marches against the Treviri (Triers) on the Moselle, v. 2. This was in summer, *ne æstatem in Treviris consumere cogeretur*, v. 4.

**161.** He returns to Portus Itius: *Cæsar ad portum Itium cum legionibus pervenit*, v. 5; where he is detained for twenty-five days by Corus (the NNW., and distinct from Caurus: see Vitruv. i. 3). *Dies circiter xxv. in eo loco commoratus, quod Corus ventus navigationem impediabat, qui magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flare consuevit*, v. 7.

**162.** He leaves Labienus with three legions and two thousand cavalry to defend the ports (Boulogne and Ambleteuse), *ut portus tueretur*, v. 8; and sets sail himself with five legions and two thousand horse, v. 8; at sunset with a gentle breeze from the SW., *ad solis occasum solvit, et leni Africo proventus*, etc. v. 8.

**163.** At midnight the wind drops, and he is drifted by the current up the channel, and at daylight descries Britain on his left hand. He had therefore passed the Straits of Dover, or at least the South Foreland. *Mediâ circiter nocte, vento intermisso, cursum non tenuit, et longius delatus æstu, ortâ luce, sub sinistrâ Britanniam relictam conspexit*, v. 8.

**164.** When the tide turns, which was at daylight, he follows the current, and by dint of rowing reaches at noon his former landing-

place (Romney Marsh). *Tum rursus æstus commutationem secutus remis contendit ut eam partem insulæ caperet, quâ optimum esse egressum superiore æstate cognoverat. . . Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore*, v. 8. The time of the second invasion may be thus determined. The fifteenth epistle of the fourth book of Cicero's letters to Atticus was written after July 15, for *senus ex triente Idibus Quint. factum erat bessibus*. Cic. Ep. Att. iv. 15, 7; and on the eve of the comitia, which were held on July 28. *Hæc ego pridie scribebam quum comitia fore putabantur. Sed ad te v. Kal. Sext.* (July 28), *si facta erunt, et tabellarius non erit profectus, tota comitia perscribam.* Ib. The date of the letter, therefore, was on July 27, and at this time Cicero supposes (though he had not yet heard) that Quintus Cicero, and consequently Cæsar, must have arrived in Britain. *Ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor jam eum esse in Britannia.* Ib. In Cicero's letter to Quintus, Ep. Quint. Frat. ii. 16, is the following passage: — *O jucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Quam timebam Oceanum! Timebam littus insulæ!* This letter of Cicero was therefore written at Rome just after the receipt of Quintus's letter announcing his safe arrival in Britain, and Quintus's letter had reached Cicero at Rome in the month of August, for it was *anni tempore gravissimo et caloribus maximis* (ib.), and it was after the acquittal of Drusus, *quo die hæc scripsi Drusus erat . . . absolutus* (ib.), and before the trial of Scaurus, *Scauri judicium statim exercebitur.* Ib. But on July 27 (the eve of the comitia, when Cicero wrote Ep. Att. iv. 15: see *supra*) both Drusus and Scaurus were only preparing for their trial; for on that day Cicero writes: *Deinde me expedio ad Drusum, inde ad Scaurum.* Ep. Att. iv. 15, 7. The letter, therefore, to Quintus could scarcely have been written earlier than in August. But Scaurus had been acquitted at least some days before the end of September, for on September 30 Cicero writes: *Scaurus, qui erat paucis diebus illis absolutus . . . obnuntiationibus per Scævolam interpositis, singulis diebus usque ad pridie Kal. Octob.*, *quo ego hæc die scripsi, sublatis, populo tributum domi suæ satisfecerat.* Ep. Att. iv. 16. The letter, therefore, in which Cicero congratulates his brother on having arrived in Britain, must have been written some time in August or

September. But the date of his letter may be a little further traced as follows. Cicero tells us that on the day when he wrote he had attended in court to defend Vatinius, but that the trial had been adjourned to the month of September. *Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatiniūm aderam defensurus. Ea res facilis est. Comitia in mensem Septembrem rejecta sunt.* Ep. Quint. Frat. ii. 16. The letter itself, therefore, was not written in September; and as we cannot suppose that the trial would stand over for more than a few days, we may conclude that it was adjourned at the latter end of August, and that the letter was written about that time. We may safely assume that it was written some time in August, and if so, the letter of Quintus from Britain, which would occupy about a month in the transmission, must have been despatched some time in July. The sunrise at this time would be about 4 A.M., and we have seen that at dawn on the day when Cæsar reached Britain (*ortâ luce*), say at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  A.M., he followed the tide back again, i.e. from east to west, from the Dover cliffs to Hythe. The turn of the tide at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  A.M. would be on the day after full moon, or on the day after new moon, and in this instance it must have been after full moon, for the same night Cæsar made a long night march, which he could not have done at new moon, i.e. in the dark. Cæsar, therefore, must have set sail the very day of the full moon, i.e. on July 18, and have disembarked in Britain on the day after the full moon, or July 19. This agrees with the dates of the subsequent letters written by Quintus to his brother.

**165.** After Quintus's letter announcing his arrival in Britain, Quintus wrote three other letters all about the same time, which reached Cicero while in Arpinum. *Venio nunc ad tuas literas quas pluribus epistolis accepi, dum sum in Arpinati; nam mihi uno die tres sunt reddite, et quidem, ut videbantur, eodem abs te date tempore.* Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. And Cicero was in Arpinum from September 4 to September 10. *In Arpinati . . . me rejeci ludorum diebus* (the Ludi Romani, commencing September 4). . . *In Arpino, a. d. iv. Idus Septembris.* Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. The three letters therefore reached Cicero some time between September 4 and 10; and allowing a month for their transmission, they were written from Britain in the beginning of August. Quintus's

next letter from Britain was dated August 10, and was received September 13. *Quarta epistola mihi reddita est Id. Septemb., quam a. d. iv. Id. Sextil. ex Britannia dederas.* Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. This letter, therefore, was a little more than a month on the passage. Another letter from Quintus to his brother was without date. *Reddita est etiam mihi pervetus epistola,* etc. Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. Another letter of Quintus from Britain was dated September 1 and received September 21. *Quum hanc jam epistolam complicarem, tabularii a vobis venerunt, a. d. xi. Kal. Oct. vicesimo die.* Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. This letter, therefore, was only about three weeks on the passage. The last letter of Quintus from Britain was dated September 26, and was received October 24. *Ab Quinto Fratere et a Cæsare accepi a. d. ix. Kal. Novemb. litteras . . . datas a littoribus Britannia proximo a. d. vi. Kal. Octob.* Ep. Att. iv. 17.

**166.** Cæsar, leaving his vessels under the charge of Q. Atrius, *in littore molli atque aperto*, B. G. v. 9, marches at twelve o'clock at night twelve miles inland in quest of the enemy, and discovers them strongly posted in a wood on the other side of a river. *De tertiâ vigiliâ ad hostes contendit. . . Ipse noctu progressus millia passuum circiter xii. hostium copias conspicatus est.* B. G. v. 9.

**167.** The Britons send down their cavalry and war-cars, but Cæsar's cavalry drives them back, and they retire within the tope. *Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi, ex loco superiore nostros prohibere et prælium committere cæperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu se in sylvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregie et naturâ et opere munitum, quem, domestici belli, ut videbatur, causâ, jam ante præparaverant.* B. G. v. 9. The position of the Britons is thus described by Dion. Ἐς τὸ λασιώτατον καὶ ἐς τὸ λοχωδέστατον τῶν ἑγγυῶν χωρίων πάντα τὰ τιμώτατα συνεφόρησαν καὶ αὐτὰ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιησάμενοι (τά τε γὰρ ξύλα ἔκοψαν καὶ ἕτερα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς στοιχηδὸν ἐπισυνένησαν ὥστε ἐν χαρακώματι τρόπον τινα εἶναι), ἔπειτα τοὺς προγεμέοντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλύπουν. Dion, xl. 2. There would thus be no entrenchments of which any remains would be found.

**168.** Cæsar storms the outworks (*munitiones*), and drives them out of the woods (*ex sylvis*), and then fortifies a camp himself: *munitioni castrorum.* B. G. v. 9.



At Wye, distant twelve miles from Hythe, is the river Stour, flowing to the east, and the height occupied by the Britons must have been the height covered with dense wood from Challock to Godmersham. The Stour here intersects the chalk hills of Kent, which run from north to south and form a defile, on the north side of which is Challock wood overlooking the pass below.

**169.** The next day early (*postridie ejus diei mane*, v. 10) Cæsar prepares to pursue the enemy, when he receives intelligence that his ships had suffered from the violence of a storm. He returns to the seashore and causes his ships and camp (probably a new one) to be surrounded by the same rampart. *Omnes naves subduci, et cum castris unâ munitione conjungi.* B. G. v. 11.

**170.** After an interval of ten days he again marches northward to the place which he had left. *In his rebus circiter x. dies consumit*, etc. B. G. v. 11.

**171.** Cassivelaunus, whose capital was Verulamium (i.e. St. Alban's) or London, is now generalissimo of the Britons. *Cassivelauno cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit quod appellatur Tamesis a mari circiter millia passuum lxxx.* B. G. v. 11. Eighty miles Roman are about seventy-three miles English, and from Hythe to the Thames, in a northern direction, the distance is about that. Some suppose the eighty miles to indicate the distance of Cassivelaunus's dominions from the mouth of the Thames, but this meaning seems a forced one.

**172.** Cæsar, at Wye, has a sharp engagement with the Britons, when Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune, is slain. B. G. v. 15. The mound called Juliber's grave on the south of the Stour and opposite Chilham is thought to be so named from Julii Laberius, or Cæsar's tribune Laberius. Chilham also is said to be a corruption of Julham, or Julius's Town.

**173.** The next day (*postero die*) another and the last general engagement takes place, when Cæsar is victorious. B. G. v. 17.

**174.** Cæsar pursues his route forward, and crosses the Thames into the dominions of Cassivelaunus, at the only ford, and that a difficult one, and defended by stakes both in the river and on the bank: *ad flumen Tamesin in fines Cassivelauni exercitum duxit, quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc ægre, transiri potest.* B. G. v. 18. The spot is supposed to be

Coway stakes, about one hundred yards on the west of Walton Bridge; and on St. George's hill, a mile and a half to the south of the ford, is a Roman camp, containing about twelve acres, from the vallum of which Walton takes its name. All that can be inferred from Cæsar's narrative is, that as the Trinobantes are distinguished from the subjects proper of Cassivelaunus, and Cæsar crossed *in fines Cassivelauni*, the ford was to the west of the river Lee, which bounded the Trinobantes; and as the tide is not referred to by Cæsar, it was above Teddington, or Tide-end Town.

**175.** Cæsar marches to the Trinobantes and restores Imanuentius to that kingdom, whom Cassivelaunus, the year before, after having slain the father of Imanuentius, had driven into exile. B. G. v. 21.

**176.** Cæsar next takes the capital of Cassivelaunus, i.e. Verulamium or London, which is described as *oppidum Cassivelauni sylvis paludibusque munitum*. . . . *Oppidum autem Britanni vocant quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ muniverunt.* B. G. v. 21.

**177.** While Cæsar is on the north of the Thames, the four kings of Kent are ordered by Cassivelaunus to make an assault (but which fails) upon the naval camp of Cæsar. B. G. v. 22. The boundaries of Kent are thought to have been always the same, and if so, the camp of Cæsar must have been in Kent, which would be the case if at Hythe, but not if (as some conjecture) at Pevensey.

**178.** Cæsar accepts hostages from Cassivelaunus, and embarks from Britain, a little before the equinox, at 9 P.M., in calm weather (all the ships being *actuarie* or rowboats), and reaches Gaul at daybreak. *Cæsar quum statuisset hiemem in continenti propter repentinos Gallie motus agere, neque multum ætatis superesset . . . ne anni tempore navigatione excluderetur, quod æquinotium suberat . . . summam tranquillitatem consecutus, secundâ inîtâ quum solvisset vigiliâ, primâ luce terram attigit.* B. G. v. 22, 23. The *prima lux* at this time of year would be about 5 A.M., so that the passage occupied about eight hours; and as Boulogne is thirty statute miles English from Hythe, the speed was three and a half miles an hour. The distance of the Somme from Pevensey is more than sixty statute miles, which would be too much for an eight hours' passage.

**179.** Cæsar, after arriving in Gaul, lays up his ships in ordinary, and holds a Gallic council at Samarobriua or Amiens. *Subductis navibus, concilioque Gallorum Samarobriva* (Somme Bridge or Amiens) *peracto*, etc. B. G. v. 24.

**180.** The exact date of Cæsar's return from Britain is not stated; but it was just before the equinox (September 24), *quod æquinocinium suberat*, B. G. v. 23, and probably about September 21. The army was transported in two divisions; and during the interval both Cæsar and Quintus Cicero wrote letters to Mark Tully Cicero, dated, according to the erroneous almanack then in use, September 26. *Ab Quinto fratre et a Cæsare accepi*, a. d. ix. Kal. Novemb. (October 24), *litteras, confectâ Britannîâ, obsidibus acceptis, nullâ prædâ, imperatâ tamen pecuniâ, datas a littoribus Britannia proximo vi. Kalend. Octob.* (September 26). *Exercitum Britannia reportabant.* Ep. Att. iv. 17. In B.C. 52 the error in the calendar was about twenty-three days, but what it was in B.C. 54 is not known. The date of the letter, however, September 26, was no doubt more or less too late (see B.C. 46, no. 316). As the letter was sent on September 26, and reached Rome on October 24, the despatch from Britain to Rome occupied about a month (see *ante*, no. 164). The time spent by Cæsar in Britain in the second invasion was only about two months. Cæsar left no garrison in Britain, and his reason for abandoning the island appears, from the letters written by him and Quintus Cicero just before their departure, to have been the dangerous character of the coast and the poverty of the inhabitants. *Britannici belli exitus jam expectatur. Constat enim aditus insula esse munitos mirificis molibus*, etc. Cic. Ep. Att. iv. 16. M. T. Cicero wrote this account to Atticus on the same day that Gabinius was acquitted on the first count, as is evident from the remarks contained in the previous part of the letter. But Gabinius was acquitted on October 24. *Gabinius absolutus est. . . . Hæc scripsi a. d. ix. Kalend. Novemb.* Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 4. And the letters from Cæsar and Quintus Cicero, dated September 26, were also delivered to M. T. Cicero on October 24 (see *supra*, no. 165). Cicero's letter to Atticus, therefore (Ep. Att. iv. 16), above referred to, must have been written immediately on receipt of the letters from Cæsar and Q. Cicero, viz. on October 24.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.  
Passover, March 25.  
Pentecost, May 15.  
Tabernacles, September 10.

**B.C. 53. U.C. 701. Olymp. 181, 4.**

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.  
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

**181.** Crassus is about taking the field, when an embassy arrives from Orodes, king of Parthia, and Crassus replies that he would return an answer in Seleucia. *"Ἡδὴ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων συναθροίζοντος αὐτοῦ* (Crassus), *πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο παρ' Ἀρσάκου βραχύν τινα λόγον κομίζοντες.* Plut. Crass. 18 (see B.C. 53, no. 154–156).

**182.** Crassus again crosses the Euphrates at the Zeugma. *Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ χειμῶν ἐν ᾧ Γναῖός τε Καλοῦνιός τε καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσαλαῖς ὑπάτευσαν*, etc. *Τῷ δὲ δὴ Κράσσῳ τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ τὸ Ζεῦγμα* (οὐτῷ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας τὸ χωρίον ἐκείνο, ὅτι ταύτη ἐπεραιώθη, κέκληται) *διαβαίνοντι καὶ προφανῆ καὶ εὐσύμβολα συννήχθη.* Dion, xl. 17. Plut. Crass. 19.

**183.** Crassus the son advances in the direction of Seleucia, and is inveigled into a pursuit of the enemy, who pretend flight, and is slain. Dion, xl. 21.

**184.** Crassus the father is defeated and slain with the greater part of his army, at Carræ, near Ichnæ. *Οὕτως ὁ, τε Κράσσος καὶ ἄλλοι ὄσσοιγε ἠδυνήθησαν ἐς τὰς Κάρρας ἄρρησαν*, etc. Dion, xl. 25. Plut. Crass. 25. Jos. Ant. xiv. 7, 3; Bell. i. 8, 8. Liv. Epit. 106. This disaster was at midsummer. *Τὸ τε καῦμα καὶ τὸ εἶψος* (μεσοῦντός τε γὰρ τοῦ θέρος καὶ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο), καὶ ὁ κοινοτόπος . . . *δεινῶς τοὺς λοιποὺς συνῆρε.* Dion, xl. 23. *Ἐπιέξε δὲ τοὺς Γαλάτας μάλιστα τὸ τε θάλλπος καὶ τὸ εἶψος.* Plut. Crass. 25. And on June 9 :

*Tertia post Nonas remove Lycaona Phæbe Fertur*, etc. Ovid, Fast. vi. v. 235.

*Adspicit instantes mediis sex lucibus Idus, Illa dies quâ sunt vota soluta Deæ* (Menti). *Vesta fave—tibi nunc* (v. Id. Jun.) *operata resolvimus ora*, etc. v. 247.

*Scilicet interdum miscentur tristia lætis, Ne populum toto pectore festa juvent.*

*Crassus ad Euphraten aquilas natumque suosque Perdidit, et leto est ultimus ipse datus*, etc.



And it is said to have happened when the moon was at the full. Προδοθείς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης, πανσελήνου οὔσης, οὐκ ἔλαθε. Dion, xl. 25. The moon was at the full on June 8, B.C. 53 (see De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacks'). Assuming the defeat to have occurred at the actual full moon, which was on June 8, the Roman calendar at the time, which fixed it on June 9, was only one day in error.

**185.** Cassius, the quæstor of Crassus, makes his escape, and saves Syria. Eutrop. vi. 18. Vell. Pat. ii. 46. Dion, xl. 25-28. Oros. vi. 13.

**186.** Cassius remained in command of Syria till the month of August, B.C. 51, when he was superseded by Bibulus. Τότε δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκη τῆς Συρίας ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (Cassius) προέστη. Dion, xl. 25 (see B.C. 54, no. 154; B.C. 51, no. 190).

**186 a.** Coin of Pharnaces, king of Pontus.

Crowned head + ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΝ ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΝ. Ε Μ Σ. with the monogram Δ.

Eckhel makes the date answer to U.C. 701.

Eckhel, ii. 366.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

**B.C. 52. U.C. 702. Olymp. 182, 1.**

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, iii., solus.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS SCIPIO, ex Kal. Sext.

**187.** Pompey is sole consul except for the last five months, when Quint. Cæcilius Metellus was his colleague (see Fasti Helenici).

**187 a.** Coin of Pharnaces, king of Pontus.

Crowned head + ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΝ ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΝ. Ξ Μ Σ. with the monogram Δ.

Eckhel refers the date to U.C. 702.

Eckhel, ii. 366.

Inscription.

D. M. S. Mercurio magno D. S. Tri. Sub Cl. Præside Pro. Trans. P. C. T. F. Trib. Mil. Triumvir Tur. III. Pr. Q. C. et Cn. Pomp. Cos.: i.e. Deo magno or Dīs magnis Sacrum. Mercurio magno de suo tribuit sub Claudio, præside Provinciae Transpadane, Publius Cæcilius Titi Filius, Tribunus Militum, Triumvir Turmæ Tertie Prætorie, Quinto Cæcilio et Cnæo Pompeio Consulibus. Muratori, i. 202.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 23.

Tabernacles, Sept. 27.

**B.C. 51. U.C. 703. Olymp. 182, 2.**

SERVIVS SULPICIVS RUFUS.

M. CLAUDIVS MARCELLVS.

**188.** Death of Ptolemy Auletes, soon after midsummer, for the news reached Cicero, in Italy, on August 1. *Præterea nuntiatum nobis, et pro certo habetur, regem Alexandrinum mortuum . . . Kal. Sextil.* Cic. Ep. Fam. viii. 4 (see B.C. 55, no. 130). For the error in the calendar see B.C. 46, no. 316. Ptolemy Auletes left two sons, both named Ptolemy, and two daughters, the famous Cleopatra and Arsinoe. Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the two elder children, reigned jointly till the fourth year current (see B.C. 48, no. 268). Τελευτῶν ὁ νεὸς Διόνυσος ἐπὶ παισὶ τέτρασι Προλεμαίοις δυοὶ καὶ Κλεοπάτρῃ καὶ Ἀρσινόῃ, διάταξε τοῖς προγενεστέροις αὐτοῦ παισὶ Προλεμαίῳ καὶ Κλεοπάτρῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὧν συμβασιλευόντων τετραετῆς διεγένετο χρόνος. Porphyry Tyr., Müller's Frag. Græc. Hist. iii. 723. Strabo, xvii. 1.

**189.** Cicero, in this consulship, is proconsul of Cilicia. *Venimus enim in provinciam Laodiceam, Sulpicio et Marcello consulibus, pridie Kal. Sextil.* Cic. Ep. Att. v. 21. The provinces were usually allotted about March. *Sed est totum quod Kal. Mart. futurum est. Vereor enim, ne, quum de provinciis agetur, si Cæsar resistet, nos retineamur.* Ep. Att. v. 20. *Tu velim . . . quum Athenas veneris (jam enim sciemus de rebus urbanis, de provinciis, quæ omnia in mensem Martium sunt collata), utique ad me tabellarios mittas.* Ep. Att. vi. 1.

**190.** Bibulus is appointed to the province of Syria. Cicero and Bibulus left Rome about the same time. *Censebant enim omnes fore ut in Italiâ supplementum meis et Bibuli legionibus scriberetur. Tantus consensus senatûs fuit, ut mature proficisceremur, parendum ut fuerit. Itaque fecimus.* Ep. Fam. iii. 3 (see B.C. 53, no. 186; B.C. 49, no. 241).

**191.** The administration of the affairs of Cilicia throws great light upon the government of the subject provinces by the Romans, and will therefore be traced chronologically. The province of Cilicia at this time comprised, besides Cilicia Proper, all Phrygia to

the east of Laodicea, being three counties of Asia (Ep. Fam. iii. 5, 6, 7), Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Cyprus (see Ep. Att. v. 21; vi. 1, 2). Cicero had also the supervision of Cappadocia and Galatia, which were the kingdoms of Ariobarzanes and Dejotarus. See Ep. Fam. xv. 4, xv. 2. Subsequently Cilicia was dismembered, for Antony gave Pisidia to Amyntas, see B.C. 39, no. 480; Cilicia Aspera, with Cyprus, to Polemo, see B.C. 39, no. 480; and Phrygia to the east of Laodicea was annexed to the province of Asia. Plin. N. H. v. 25, 29; and Lycia was made free (see B.C. 42, no. 420). Pamphylia, being thus isolated, was governed by its own proprætor (see B.C. 11, no. 799); and Cilicia Campestris, which alone remained, was attached to the province of Syria (see B.C. 4, no. 955), but was governed like Judæa by a subordinate proprætor of its own (see A.D. 15, no. 1071; A.D. 57, no. 1832). Besides the proprætors of Cilicia noticed in the Tables, one Haterianus is mentioned in an ancient inscription as legate of Cilicia in the time of Augustus. *Leg. Aug. Pr. Pr. Provinc. Cilic.* See Noris, *Cenot. Pis.* vol. i. p. 310.

**192.** Cicero is at Tarentum, on his way to Cilicia, on May 18. *Tarentum veni, a. d. xv. Kalend. Jun.* Ep. Att. v. 6; and quits it on May 20. *Proficiscebar Brundisium a. d. xiii. Kal. Junias.* Ep. Att. v. 7; and is at Brundisium on May 22. *A. d. xi. Kalendas Junias Brundisium quum venissem,* etc. Ep. Fam. iii. 3.

**193.** Thence to Corcyra. Ep. Fam. iii. 6; and arrives at Actium on June 15. *Actium venimus a. d. xvii. Kalendas Quintil.* Ep. Att. v. 9. Having had a rough passage from Brundisium, he had no wish to double Cape Leucata, and so travelled from Actium by land. *Actio maluinus iter facere pedibus, qui incommodissime navigassemus, et Leucatam flectere molestum videbatur.* Ep. Att. v. 9.

**194.** He reaches Athens on June 25. *Ut Athenas a. d. vii. Kal. Quint. veneram.* Ep. Att. v. 10. Where he passes ten days, and leaves it on July 6. *Ego has pridie Nonas Quint. proficiscens Athenis dedi, quum ibi decem ipsos fuisset dies.* Ep. Att. v. 11; Ep. Fam. ii. 8.

**195.** On July 6 at Zoster, where the vessel is windbound, July 7; and on July 8 to Ceos; thence to Gyarus and Scyrus, and so to Delos, which he reaches the sixth day from the

departure from Athens. *Sexto die Delum Athenis venimus. Pridie Nonas Quint. a Piræo ad Zostera vento molesto qui nos ibidem Nonis tenuit. A. d. viii. Idus ad Ceo jucunde. Inde Gyarum, sævo vento non adverso; hinc Scyrum, inde Delum: utroque citius quam vellemus cursum confecimus.* Ep. Att. v. 12. Thence to Samos. Ep. Att. v. 13.

**196.** At Ephesus on July 22. *Ephesum venimus a. d. xi. Kal. Sext.* Ep. Att. v. 13; where he remains three days. *Eum (Scævolum) ego Ephesi vidi, fuitque mecum familiariter triduum illud, quod ego Ephesi commoratus sum.* Ep. Fam. iii. 5.

**197.** At Tralles on July 27. *Tralles veni a. d. sextum Kal. Sext.* Ep. Fam. iii. 5. His plans at this time were, on arriving in his province, to devote the summer months to military matters, and the winter months to his judicial and civil functions. *Erat mihi in animo rectè proficisci ad exercitum, æstivos menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos jurisdictioni.* Ep. Att. v. 14.

**198.** At Laodicea on July 31. This was his entrance into his province, and from this day his year of office commenced. *Laodiceam veni pridie Kal. Sext. Ex hoc die clavum anni movebis.* Ep. Att. v. 15. *Venimus enim in provinciam Laodiceam, Sulpicio et Marcello consulibus, pridie Kal. Sext. Inde nos oportet decedere a. d. iv. Kal. Sext.* Ep. Att. v. 21. Ep. Fam. xv. 2.

**199.** He leaves Laodicea Aug. 3. *Iter Laodiceâ faciebam a. d. iii. Nonas Sextil.* Ep. Att. v. 15.

**200.** Cicero now promulgates his code of laws for the government of the province, and bases it upon the code of his predecessor, and allows the Greeks to live under their own laws. *Multaque sum secutus Scævola; in iis illud, in quo sibi libertatem censent Græci datam, ut Græci inter se disceptent suis legibus. Breve autem edictum est propter hanc meam διαίρεσιν, quod duobus generibus edicendum putavi: quorum unum est Provinciale, in quo est de rationibus civitatum, de ære alieno, de usurâ, de syngraphis; in eodem omnia de publicanis. Alterum quod sine edicto satis commode transigi non potest, de hereditatum possessionibus, de bonis possidendis (magistris faciendis) vendendis, quæ ex edicto et postulari et fieri solent. Tertium de reliquo jure dicendo ἄγραγον reliqui.* Ep. Att. vi. 1.



**201.** From Laodicea Cicero proceeds to Apamea and Synnada. *Moratus triduum Laodiceæ, triduum Apameæ, totidem Synnade.* Ep. Att. v. 16. Bibulus was at this time at Ephesus, and had not yet set out for his province of Syria, though the Parthians were said to have invaded it. Ep. Att. v. 16; Ep. Fam. xv. 3.

**202.** From Synnada Cicero passes on to Philomelum. *Biduum Laodiceæ fui, deinde Apameæ quadriduum; triduum Synnadis, totidem dies Philomeli.* Ep. Fam. xv. 4. And thence to Iconium. *Ibi (Laodicea) morati triduum. Apameæ quinque dies morati, et Synnadis triduum; Philomeli quinque dies; Iconii decem fuimus.* Ep. Att. v. 20. (It will be observed that the length of his stay in each place is stated to be more or less as the days of arrival and departure were included or excluded.)

**203.** He joins the army on August 26, and reviews it at Iconium on August 30. *In castra veni a. d. vii. Kal. Sept.: a. d. iiii. exercitum lustravi apud Iconium.* Ep. Att. v. 20. The same day he receives intelligence through Antiochus, king of Commagene, that the Parthians had crossed into Syria. *III. Kal. Sept. legati a rege Commageno ad me pertumultuose (neque tamen non vere) Parthos in Syriam transisse nuntiaverunt.* Ep. Fam. xv. 4; xv. 3.

**204.** Bibulus had sailed from Ephesus on August 13, and was expected to have arrived by this time in Syria. *Existimabam M. Bibulum proconsulem, qui circiter Idus Sextil. ab Epheso in Syriam navibus profectus erat, jam in Provinciam suam pervenisse.* Ep. Fam. xv. 3. But he did not actually arrive till some time after (see *infra*, no. 210; and see Dion, xl. 30. Appian, Syr. 51).

**205.** Cicero leaves Iconium on August 31. *Castra movi ab Iconio pridie Kal. Sept.* Ep. Fam. iii. 6; and, expecting the Parthians to invade Cappadocia, marches to Cybistra, where he remains five days waiting for further intelligence. *Quum autem ad Cybistra propter rationem belli quinque dies essem moratus.* Ep. Fam. xv. 4; Ep. Att. v. 20.

**206.** Cicero, on September 19, receives despatches from Tarcondimitus, king of Cilicia Amaniensis, or the parts about Mount Amanus (see B.C. 50, no. 239), and Jamblichus, king of Emesa and Arethusa in Coele-Syria (see B.C. 50, no. 239), that Pacorus, the son of Orodes (see B.C. 55, no. 125), had crossed the Euphrates,

and was encamped at Tyba, upon which he marches through the Cilician gates towards the eastern frontier of Cilicia. *A. d. xiii. Kal. Octob. quum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem, in finibus Lycaoniae et Cappadociae mihi literæ reddite sunt a Tarcondimito,* etc. Ep. Fam. xv. 1.

**207.** On September 21, he receives a letter from Rome which had been forty-seven days on the road, from which we may collect the usual speed with which a despatch was transmitted. *Subito Appii tabellarius, a. d. xi. Kal. Octob. septimo quadragesimo die, Romæ celeriter (hui tam longe) mihi tuas literas reddidit.* Ep. Att. v. 19.

**208.** He hears that the Parthians had advanced to Antioch, when he hastens by forced marches through Cilicia towards Mount Amanus, the ridge that separated Cilicia from Syria towards the coast. Ep. Fam. xv. 4.

**209.** He reaches Tarsus on October 5, and leaves it on the 7th, and on the 8th is at Mopsuestia. *Tarsum veni a. d. iiii. Nonas Octob.* Ep. Att. v. 20. *Tarsus Nonis Octob. Amanum versus profecti sumus. Hæc scripsi postridie ejus diei, quum castra haberem in agro Mopsuestiæ.* Ep. Fam. iii. 8.

**210.** At Amanus he receives intelligence that the Parthians had abandoned the siege of Antioch, and were on their retreat, and that Bibulus had now arrived at Antioch. *Quo (Amanus) ut veni, hostem ab Antiochiâ recessisse, Bibulum Antiochiæ esse cognovi.* Ep. Fam. xv. 4. The first rumour of this appears to have reached him at Mopsuestia. See Ep. Fam. iii. 8.

**211.** We learn from Dion that the Parthians made an attempt this year not only on Antioch, but also on Antigonía, and that, not having succeeded, they retired towards the Euphrates, and that Cassius laid an ambush for them by the way, and inflicted on them a heavy loss, and that Osaces, the general under Pacorus, was slain. Dion, xl. 28. Cicero makes no allusion to Antigonía, but refers to the exploit of Cassius. Ep. Att. v. 20; Ep. Fam. ii. 10. We collect from Cicero that this retreat of the Parthians was at the beginning of October, B.C. 51, and before the arrival of Bibulus in the province. *Recesserant illi (Parthi) quidem ab Antiochiâ ante Bibuli adventum.* Ep. Att. v. 21. And with this agrees Dion, for he writes: *Ἄμα δὲ οὗτος (Pacorus) ἀνακεχωρήκει, καὶ ὁ Βίβουλος ἄρξων τῆς Συρίας ἀφίκετο.* Dion, xl. 30.

**212.** This retreat of the Parthians is considered by Dion as the close of the Parthian war, for he places it in this consulship, in the fourth year current from the commencement. Τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο, ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρκου Μαρκέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Σουλπικίου Ρούφου ὑπάτων, ἐπαύσατο. Dion, xl. 30. But peace with the Parthians was not actually concluded until the year following (see B.C. 50, no. 240). The news of the retreat of the Parthians had not reached Rome until after the commencement of the next year, for ἐλογοποίησεν (Pompey) ὡς τοῦ Βιβούλου στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους δεομένου. Dion, xl. 65. Ταῦτα οὖν τὰ στρατόπεδα παρεσκευάσθη μὲν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους πεμφθησόμενα· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἰδέησεν (οὐ δὲ γὰρ χρεία σφῶν ἦν), etc. Dion, xl. 66.

**213.** Cassius, having expelled the Parthians from Syria, passes through Tyre to Judæa, and takes Taricheæ, which had favoured the Parthians, and enslaves thirty thousand Jews, the partisans of Aristobulus and his family. Περιποησάμενος δ' αὐτὴν (Syria) ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν ἤπειγετο, καὶ Ταριχαίας μὲν ἔλθων εἰς τρισμυρίους Ἰουδαίων ἀνδραποδίζειται. Jos. Bell. i. 8, 9; Ant. xiv. 7, 3.

**214.** Cicero, on the retreat of the Parthians, proceeds to clear Mount Amanus of the freebooters, and, pretending to withdraw from Amanus, retires a day's march to Epiphania, and on October 12, at night, he returns with his troops, and the next day (October 13) takes six castles, and is saluted as Emperor. He then pitches his camp at Aræ Alexandri at Issus, where he remains four or five days and then marches against Pindenissus, to which he lays siege on November 1, and takes it, after forty-seven days' resistance, on December 17. The army is then dismissed to its winter quarters. *Quum . . . abessem ab Amano iter unius diei, et castra apud Epiphaniam fecissem, a. d. iv. Idus Octob., quum advesperasceret, expedito exercitu, ita noctu iter feci, ut a. d. iii. Idus Octobres, quum lucesceret, in Amanum adscenderem, etc. His rebus ita gestis, castra in radicibus Amanii habuimus apud Aras Alexandri quatrimum, etc. Ab his (the Tibarani), Pindenisso capto, obsides accepi; exercitum in hiberna dimisi.* Ep. Fam. xv. 4. *Hic (at Amanus), a. d. iii. Idus Octob. magnum numerum hostium occidimus. . . Imperatores appellati sumus. Castra paucos dies habuimus ea ipsa quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Issum*

*Alexander, imperator haud paullo melior quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, direpto et vastato Amano, inde discessimus. . . Saturnalibus (Dec. 17) mane se mihi Pindenissæ dediderunt septimo et quadragesimo die postquam oppugnare eos cepimus. . . Hinc exercitum in hiberna agri male pacati deducendum Quinto fratri dabam.* Ep. Att. v. 20, v. 21. *Victoriâ justâ imperator appellatus apud Issum (quo in loco sæpe, ut ex te audivi, Clitarchus tibi narravit Darium ab Alexandro esse superatum).* Ep. Fam. ii. 10.

**215.** Bibulus attempts to clear the Syrian side of Amanus from freebooters, but suffers a loss. Ep. Att. v. 20.

**216.** Cicero retires from Amanus to Tarsus, where he remains for the rest of the year. Ep. Att. v. 21.

**217.** At this time it was the law at Rome that no consul or prætor should be governor of a province until the fifth year (i.e. after an interval of four years) from the expiration of his consulship or prætorship. Ἐψηφισμένον μηδένα, μήτε στρατηγὸν, μήθ' ὑπάτον, μήτε εὐθὺς μήτε πρὸ πέμπτου ἔτους εἰς τὰς ἔξω ἡγεμονίας ἐξίναί. Dion, xl. 30 (see B.C. 27, no. 666).

**217 a.** Coin of Pharnaces, king of Pontus.

Crowned head + ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ. Ζ Μ Σ. with the monogram Δ. Eckhel refers the date to u.c. 703. Eckhel, ii. 366.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

**B.C. 50. U.C. 704. Olymp. 182, 3.**

L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

**218.** Cicero, on January 5, sets out from Tarsus to Laodicea. *Ipse in Asiam profectus sum Tarso Nonis Januarii.* Ep. Att. v. 21. The proconsuls had power to billet soldiers and public servants upon any cities they chose, and were in the habit of receiving bribes from the wealthy to refrain from the exercise of this privilege. Cicero tells us that during the six months he had been in office he had never once demeaned himself to this practice. *Mirifica expectatio Asiae nostrarum diocesium, quæ sex mensibus imperii mei nullas meas acceperat*



*litteras, nunquam hospitem viderat. Illud autem tempus* (from August to February) *quotannis ante me fuerat in hoc quæstu. Civitates locupletes, ne in hiberna milites acciperent, magnas pecunias dabant.* Ep. Att. v. 21.

**219.** Cicero is at Laodicea on February 11. *Eas Laodiceæ denique, quum eo venissem iii. Id. Sextil., Lænius mihi reddidit datas a. d. x. Kal. Octob.* Ep. Att. v. 21; and begins to hold the assizes for Cibyra and Apamea at Laodicea, on February 13; and, on March 15, he holds at the same place the assizes for Synnada, Pamphylia, and Isaurica. *Idibus Februariis forum institueram agere Laodiceæ Cibyriticum et Apameënse; ex Idibus Martiis ibidem Synnadense, Pamphylicum, Isauricum; ex Idibus Maiis in Ciliciam, ut ibi Junius consumatur.* Ep. Att. v. 21.

**220.** He had held the assizes for all the province, except Cilicia, by May 1. *Lætari te nostrâ moderatione et continentia video. Tum id magis faceres, si adesses atque hoc foro quod egi ex Idibus Februariis Laodiceæ ad Kalendas Maias omnium diocesum præter Ciliciam.* Ep. Att. vi. 2. He had intended to be in Cilicia about May 1. *Ego in Ciliciam proficisci cogito circiter Kal. Mai.* Ep. Fam. xiii. 57. He then deferred it till May 7, and proposed to spend the whole month of June in holding the assizes for Cilicia, and to quit the province in July. *Nonis Maiis in Ciliciam cogitabam: ibi quum Junium mensem consumpsissem . . . Quintilem in reditu ponere.* Ep. Att. vi. 2. *Mihi erat in animo . . . proficisci in Ciliciam Nonis Maiis.* Ep. Fam. ii. 13. But he did not arrive at Tarsus till June 5. *Tarsum venimus Nonis Junius.* Ep. Att. vi. 4.

**221.** He appears to have concluded the assizes at Tarsus by June 22, for he was then with the army. *Accepi autem a te missas litteras in Ciliciâ quum essem in castris, a. d. x. Kal. Quintiles.* Ep. Fam. ii. 19. And this was according to his previously expressed intention. *Mihi erat in animo . . . quum prima æstiva attingissem militaremque rem collocassem, decedere* (from his province) *ex Senatûs consulto.* Ep. Fam. ii. 13. But he was again at Tarsus on July 17. *Binas litteras a te mihi stator tuus reddidit Tarsi a. d. xvi. Kal. Sextiles.* Ep. Fam. ii. 17. At this time peace had been concluded with the Parthians, for he writes: *Quin ad diem* (July 30) *decedam, nulla causa est, præsertim sublato metu Par-*

*thico. . . Parthi transierint necne, præter te, video dubitare neminem. Itaque omnia præsidia quæ magna et firma paraveram, commotus hominum non dubio sermone, dimisi.* Ep. Fam. ii. 17.

**222.** On August 3 Cicero set out for Sida to embark for Rome. *Decedenti mihi, jam imperio annuo terminato, ante diem iii. Nonas Sextiles, quum ad Sidam navi accederem, et mecum Q. Servilius esset, litteræ a meis sunt redditæ.* Ep. Fam. iii. 12. No successor having arrived, he appoints Cælius, his quæstor, to command in his absence. *Ego de provinciâ decedens quæstorem Cælium præposui provinciæ.* Ep. Fam. ii. 15; Ep. Att. vi. 6.

**223.** The Etesian winds being adverse, he has a tardy voyage to Ephesus. *Nos Etesia vehementissime tardarunt.* Ep. Att. vi. 8.

**224.** He sets sail from Ephesus on October 1. *Kal. Octob. Epheso conscendentes hanc epistolam dedimus.* Ep. Att. vi. 8.

**225.** He arrives at the Piræus on October 14. *In Piræea quum exissem prid. Idus Octob.* Ep. Att. vi. 9; vii. 1; Ep. Fam. xiv. 5; and was still at Athens on October 18. *Athenis a. d. xv. Kal. Novemb.* Ep. Fam. xiv. 5.

**226.** He sails from Patræ on November 2. *Nos a te* (at Patræ: see Ep. Fam. xvi. 5), *ut scis, discessimus a. d. iv. Nonas Novemb.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 9; and reaches Alyzia on November 4. *Tertio die abs te ad Alyziam accesseramus. . . Nonis Novemb. Alyzia.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 2.

**227.** He sails from Alyzia on the morning of November 6. *Nos apud Alyziam . . . unum diem commorati sumus. . . Is dies fuit Nonæ Novemb. Inde ante lucem proficiscentes ante diem viii. Idus Novemb. has litteras dedimus.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 3.

**228.** He arrives at Leucas the same November 6. *Leucadem venimus a. d. viii. Idus Novemb.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 9.

**229.** He sails again on November 7. *Leucade proficiscens vii. Idus Novemb.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 5; and reaches Actium the same evening. *VII. Idus Novemb. Actio vesperi.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 6.

**230.** At Actium they are detained by bad weather all the next day, and sail on November 9 to Coreyra. *A. d. vii. Actium. Ibi propter tempestatem a. d. vi. Idus morati sumus. Inde a. d. v. Idus Corcyram bellissime navigavimus.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 9.

**231.** At Corcyra they are detained by contrary winds till November 16 (inclusive). *Septimum jam diem Corcyrae tenebamur . . . xv. Kal. Decemb. Corcyra.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 7. *Corcyrae fuimus usque a. d. xvi. Kal. Decemb. tempestatibus retenti.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 9. They sail from Corcyra on November 17 to Cassiope, fifteen miles further. *A. d. xv. Kal. Decemb. in portum Corcyraeorum ad Cassiopen stadia cæ. processimus. Ibi retenti ventis sumus usque a. d. ix. Kal.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 9.

**232.** In the evening of November 23 they sail from Cassiope, and the next day reach Hydrus in Italy. *Nos eo die (ix. Kal.) cænati solvimus. Inde Austro lenissimo, cælo sereno, nocte illâ et die postero in Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 9.

**233.** The next day, November 25, they arrive at Brundisium. *Eodemque vento postridie (id erat a. d. vii. Kal. Decemb.) horâ quartâ Brundisium venimus.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 9. Ep. Att. vii. 2.

**234.** On December 6 he reaches Herculaneum. *A. d. viii. Idus Decemb. Herculaneum veni.* Ep. Att. vii. 3.

**235.** On December 9 he is in Trebulanum. *Dat. v. Id. Decemb. a Pontio ex Trebulano.* Ep. Att. vii. 3. And has an interview with Pompey on December 10, and expects to be at Rome by January 3. *Pompeium vidi iv. Id. Decembres. . . Ut nunc est, a. d. iii. Nonas Januar. ad urbem cogito.* Ep. Att. vii. 4.

**236.** He is at Formiæ on December 23. *Vidi Lentulum consulem Formiis x. Kal.* Ep. Att. vii. 12.

**237.** He arrives at Rome on January 4, B.C. 49. *Ego ad urbem accessi pridie Nonas Januar. Obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil potuerit fieri ornatus.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 11.

**238.** Cicero had thus spent three months and three weeks, viz. from August 3 to November 25, in passing from Tarsus to Brundisium; and five months, viz. from August 3 to January 4, in travelling from Tarsus to Rome.

**239.** During Cicero's year of office in Cilicia Ariobarzanes II. was king of Cappadocia. Ep. Fam. xv. 2 (see B.C. 65, no. 57; B.C. 42, no. 425). Dejotarus of Galatia and Pontus. Ep. Fam. xv. 2 (see B.C. 65, no. 53; B.C. 48, no. 269). Tarcondimitus of Cilicia Amaniensis, or the parts about Mount Amanus. Ep. Fam. xv. 1 (see B.C. 51, no. 206; B.C. 48, no. 269).

Orodes of Parthia. Ep. Att. v. 21, vi. 51; Fam. xv. 1 (see B.C. 55, no. 125; B.C. 37, no. 516). Artavasdes of Armenia. Ep. Fam. xv. 2; Ep. Att. v. 20 (see B.C. 66, no. 34; B.C. 34, no. 568). Antiochus of Commagene. Ep. Fam. xv. 1, 3, 4 (see B.C. 65, no. 54; B.C. 38, no. 500). And Jamblichus of Emesa and Arthusa. Ep. Fam. xv. 1 (see B.C. 51, no. 206; B.C. 47, no. 286).

**240.** As to the war with Parthia, the enemy, so late as February 13, B.C. 50, were still encamped in Syria. *Hodie vero hiemant (Parthi) in Cælosyriâ, maximumque bellum impendet; nam et Orodi regis Parthorum filius in nostrâ provinciâ est, nec dubitat Dejotarus . . . quin cum omnibus copiis ipse primâ æstate Euphratem transiturus sit. . . Idibus Februariis, quo die has litteras dedi,* etc. Ep. Att. v. 21. And in another letter, written some time between February 19 and March 15, B.C. 50, the war is spoken of as still not concluded. *Accepi tuas litteras a. d. v. Terminalia* (which were on February 23). . . *Hiemant in nostrâ provinciâ Parthi. Expectatur ipse Orodes. . . Tu velim, dum ero Laodiceæ, id est, ad Idus Mai., quam sæpissime mecum per litteras colloquare.* Ep. Att. vi. 1. Indeed, the war was not over on June 28; for *Etsi annum tempus prope jam emeritum habebamus (dies enim xxxiii. erant reliquæ), sollicitudine provinciæ tamen vel maxime urgebamur. Quum enim arderet Syria bello, et Bibulus,* etc. Ep. Att. vi. 5. The year of office ended on July 30. This letter, therefore, was written about June 28. But the Parthians had retired beyond the Euphrates, and the war was considered as over before the end of July. *Nos provinciæ præfecimus Cælium,* etc. *Dum impendere Parthi videbantur, staturam fratrem relinquere, aut etiam, Reipublicæ causâ, contra Senatûs consultum, ipse remanere: qui posteaquam incredibili felicitate discesserunt, sublata dubitatio est.* Ep. Att. vi. 6. It may appear singular that Cicero should have dismissed his army into winter quarters so late as after December 17, B.C. 51 (see that year, no. 214), and that the Parthians should be described by him as still in their winter quarters in May or June, B.C. 50; but it will be remembered that these dates were written before the reformation of the calendar in B.C. 46 (see no. 316), so that the actual times were much earlier than the nominal dates.



First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

**B.C. 49. U.C. 705. Olymp. 182, 4.**

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

C. J. CÆSAR Dictator, i.

**241.** The province of Syria is assigned to Scipio. *Scipioni obvenit Syria.* Cæs. B. C. i. 6 (see B.C. 51, no. 190; B.C. 47, no. 302).

**242.** Cæsar is at Ravenna on January 7 (Roman old style: see B.C. 46, no. 316). *Hæc S. C. perscribuntur a. d. vii. Id. Jan.* Cæs. B. C. i. 5.

**243.** Cæsar passes the Rubicon, and marches to Ariminum while it is yet winter. *Ariminum cum eâ legione proficiscitur. . . . Legiones ex hibernis evocat.* Cæs. B. C. i. 8. Pompey flies from the city about the same time. *Cn. Pompeius, pridie ejus diei* (the arrival of the news at Rome that Cæsar was at Ariminum) *ex urbe profectus, iter ad legiones habebat quas in Apuliâ hibernorum causâ disposuerat.* Cæs. B. C. i. 14.

**244.** Cæsar pursues Pompey to Brundisium. Dion, xli. 11. Cæs. B. C. i. 25–27.

**245.** Pompey had left Rome, according to Plutarch, at the Dionysia (March 17). *Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐνίκησε* (Cæsar) *τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, καθ' ἣν λέγεται καὶ Πομπήϊος Μάγνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξελεῖν.* Plut. Cæs. 56. But it must have been much earlier; for Cæsar arrived at Brundisium on March 9, when Pompey was already there. *A. d. vii. Mart. Brundisium veni* (Cæsar). *Ad murum castra posui. Pompeius est Brundisii.* Cic. Ep. Att. ix. 13. And on March 15 Pompey embarked from Brundisium for Macedonia. *Litteræ mihi ante lucem a Leptâ Capuâ redditæ sunt Idibus Martiis Pompeium a Brundisio conscendisse, et Cæsarem a. d. vii. Kal. April. Capuæ fore.* Cic. Ep. Att. ix. 14.

**246.** On the flight of Pompey, Cæsar returns to Rome, after a campaign in Italy of sixty days. *Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεψε, γεγωνὼς ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα πάσης ἀναιμωτὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας κύριος.* Plut. Cæs. 35. Diod. xli. 15.

**247.** He liberates Aristobulus (see B.C. 55, no. 127), and gives him two legions for Syria,

to counteract Pompey's party there. *Τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον οἰκαδὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην, ὅπως τῷ Πομπήϊῳ τι ἀντιπράξῃ, ἔστειλε.* Dion, xli. 18. But before he sets sail he is poisoned by the partisans of Pompey, and his body is embalmed and sent to Judæa to be interred in the royal sepulchres. Jos. Bell. i. 9, 1; Ant. xiv. 7, 4; and see Appian, Mith. 19.

**248.** Cæsar hastens to Spain, and reduces to submission Pompey's generals, Afranius and Petreius. Cæs. B. C. i. 41. Dion, xli. 20–23. Plut. Pomp. 65; Cæs. 36. The army of Afranius surrenders on August 2 (Roman old style: see B.C. 46, no. 317), *iv. Non. Aug. Fer., quod eò die C. Cæsar, C. f. in Hispan. citer. vicit.* Old calendar, cited Fasti Hellen. *IIII. N.* (Augusti) *Divus Julius Hisp. vic.* Old calendar, Muratori, i. 304. *IIII. N.* (Augusti) *Feria, quod hoc die Imp. Cæsar Hispaniam citeriorem vicit.* Old calendar, Gruter, p. 134.

**249.** Cæsar returns from Spain, and hears by the way, at Marseilles, that he had been created dictator. *Massiliam pervenit. Ibi legem de dictatore latam, sequè dictatorem dictum, a M. Lepido prætore cognoscit.* Cæs. B. C. ii. 21. Dion, xlii. 21, xli. 38. Appian, B. C. ii. 48. Plut. Cæs. 37 (see B.C. 44, no. 350).

**250.** Cæsar, on arriving at Rome, holds the comitia eleven days, and then hastens to Brundisium. *His rebus et feriis Latinis comitiisque omnibus perficiendis undecim dies tribuit, dictaturaque se abdicat, et ab urbe proficiscitur, Brundisiumque pervenit.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 2.

**251.** Cæsar arrives at Brundisium in December (Roman old style). *Περὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς περιέπεμπε τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὸ Βρεντέσιον· αὐτὸς τε ἐξῆκει Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος.* Appian, B. C. ii. 48. *Εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἦκεν ἐν τροπαῖς ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ὄντος.* Plut. Pomp. 65. December (old style) answered, in B.C. 49, to October actually, and accordingly Cæsar tells us that he arrived in the autumn. *Gravis autumnus in Apuliâ circumque Brundisium . . . omnem exercitum valetudine tentaverat.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 2. By the winter solstice referred to by Appian and Plutarch, must be meant, not the solstice astronomically, but Dec. 25, according to the erroneous calendar.

**252.** Cæsar embarks for Illyricum on Jan. 4, B.C. 48 (old style), which would be early in November, B.C. 49 (see B.C. 46, no. 317).

*Cæsar . . . pridie Nonas Januariás naves solvit.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 6. *Χειμῶνος ἐν τροπαίς ὄντος, ἰσταμένον Ἰανουαρίον μηνός (οὗτος δ' ἂν εἴη Ποσειδεῶν Ἀθηναίος), ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος.* Plut. Cæs. 37. *Ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου Πομπήϊον δῶκων ἀπήχθη πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας νοννῶν Ἰανουαρίων χειμῶνος ἐν τροπαίς ὄντος.* Plut. Fortun. Rom. p. 319 B. And after he had crossed, winter set in. *Longo interposito spatio . . . hiems appropinquabat.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 9. *Pompeius . . . iterque ex Macedoniâ in hiberna, Apolloniam Dyrrachiumque, habebat.* Ib. iii. 11. *Sub pellibus (Cæsar) hiemare constituit.* Ib. iii. 13. *Multi jam menses transierant, et hiems jam præcipitaverat.* Ib. iii. 25.

**253.** The freedom of Rome is conferred on Cisalpine Gaul. Dion, xli. 36.

**254.** Pompey winters at Thessalonica. *Πομπήϊος μὲν δὴ ἐν τε τῇ Θεσσαλονίκη ἐχειμάζε.* Dion, xli. 44.

**255.** Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, is put to death at Antioch by Scipio, at the instance of Pompey. Jos. Ant. xiv. 7, 4, and xiv. 8, 4; Bell. i. 9, 2. The rest of Aristobulus's family, viz. Antigonus and his sisters, are protected by Ptolemy Mennæi, king of Chalcis, who marries Alexandra, the daughter of Aristobulus. Ant. xiv. 7, 4; Bell. i. 9, 2 (see B.C. 55, nos. 127, 131).

**256.** In July of this year (*Κυντιλίφ, Quintili, Λευκίφ Λέντλφ Γαίφ Μαρκέλλφ ὑπάτοις*) Lentulus, the consul, issues an edict in favour of the Jews at Ephesus. *Ὁ Λέντλος δόγμα ἐξήνεγκεν, πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, οἵτινες ἱερὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ εἰώθασιν ἐν Ἐφέσφ, πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δεισιδαιμονίας ἔνεκα ἀπέλυσα (viz. στρατείας, from serving in the army).* Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 19. And again on Sept. 19, *τοῦτο ἐγένετο πρὸ δεκατριῶν Ὀκτωβρίων,* Ant. xiv. 10, 16; and Sept. 20, *πρὸ δεκαδύο Καλανδῶν Ὀκτωβρίων.* Ant. xiv. 10, 13.

**257.** The same indulgence is granted by Flavius at Cos. Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 17; see xiv. 10, 15.

**258.** And a similar decree is made by the Delians in May of the following year. *Θαργηλιῶνος εἰκοστῇ.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 14.

**259.** It has been seen that Pompey had embarked at Brundisium for Dyrrhachium before the Ides of March, and the two consuls, Lentulus and Marcellus, who were now his partisans, had sailed for Macedonia before him. Appian, B. C. ii. 40. And it appears from the

above decrees that in the months of July and September Lentulus was at Ephesus, and conciliating the Jews by grants in their favour. This coincidence confirms the accuracy of the Jewish historian.

**260.** An eclipse of the sun is said to have occurred not long before this year. *Τούτφ τε τῷ ἔτει (B.C. 49), καὶ ὀλίγου ἔμπροσθεν ἕτερα . . . ὃ τε ἥλιος σύμπας ἐξέλιπε.* Dion, xli. 14. The eclipse referred to as occurring a little before this year, must therefore have been that on August 21, B.C. 50. See Pingré's Tables.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

#### B.C. 48. U.C. 706. Olymp. 183, 1.

C. J. CÆSAR, ii.

P. SERVIL. VATA ISAUERICUS.

**261.** Cæsar wins Oricum and Apollonia. (His *coſs.*) Dion, xli. 45. Plut. Cæs. 37. And as M. Antony did not follow him as expected from Brundisium, Cæsar attempts to cross over to Italy in an open boat, when the well-known exclamation, 'You carry Cæsar and his fortunes;' but he is obliged to put back. Dion, xli. 46. Flor. iv. 2, 37. Plut. Cæs. 38.

**262.** Pompey preoccupies Dyrrhachium, and retakes Oricum. Appian, B. C. ii. 56.

**263.** Cæsar marches to the banks of the Assus, the river between him and Pompey. Dion, xli. 47. And afterwards, being joined by the forces of Antony from Brundisium, shuts up Pompey in Dyrrhachium. Dion, xli. 50. Appian, B. C. ii. 61. Dyrrhachium was at this time included in Macedonia. *Τὸ δὲ Δυρράχιον ἐν τῇ γῆ τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ἰαλλυριῶν τῶν Παρθινῶν, νῦν δὲ, καὶ τότε γε, ἤδη Μακεδονίας νερομισμένη κείται.* Dion, xli. 49.

**264.** Cæsar being straitened for provisions (as Pompey commanded the sea) retires into Thessaly in the hope that he should thus draw away Pompey or overpower Scipio, if left unsupported. Appian, B. C. ii. 64. Dion, xli. 50. Plut. Cæs. 39; Pomp. 66.

**265.** Cæsar arrives in Thessaly before the corn is cut, i. e. about May. *Ille segetis idoneum locum in agris nactus, quæ prope jam matura erat.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 81.

**266.** Cæsar is at Gomphi, and then at



Metropolis. Cæs. B. C. iii. 80. Appian, B. C. ii. 64.

**267.** Pompey follows Cæsar into Thessaly. *Pompeius paucis post diebus in Thessaliam pervenit.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 82. Dion, xli. 52. It would appear from Suetonius that Cæsar had shut up Pompey in Dyrrhachium for nearly four months. *In Macedoniam transgressus, Pompeium per quatuor pæne menses maximis obsessum operibus, ad extremum Pharsalico prælio fudit.* Suet. Jul. 35.

**268.** Ptolemy, after having reigned in Egypt with his sister Cleopatra jointly till the fourth year current (see B.C. 51, no. 188), ejects her from the throne, when Cleopatra, having collected an army in Syria, threatens an invasion of Egypt, and Ptolemy marches his forces to Casium to meet her. Porphy. Tyr., Müller's Frag. Græc. Hist. iii. 723. Strabo, xvii. 1. Appian, B. C. ii. 84. This was a few months after the expulsion of Cleopatra. *Quam (Cleopatram) paucis ante mensibus per suos propinquos atque amicos regno expulerat.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 103.

**269. BATTLE OF PHARSALIA.** Dion, xli. 55. Cæs. B. C. iii. 88. Plut. Cæs. 44; Pomp. 71. Vell. Pat. ii. 52. Appian, B. C. ii. 76. Oros. vi. 15. This was at the height of summer. Ἦν μὲν ἀκμῇ θέρουσ καὶ καῦμα πολύ. Plut. Brut. 4. His coss., Cassiodor.; and on August 9, according to Roman old style, but really at the beginning of June. *V. Eid. Aug. Soli Indigiti in colle Quirinali fer. q. eo d. C. Cæs. C. f. Pharsali devicit.* Old calendar, cited Muratori, i. 151. (August) *E. V. N. P. Divus Jul. Phars. vicit.* Old calendar, Muratori, i. 304. (For the error in the calendar see B.C. 46, no. 316). Dejotarus (see B.C. 65, no. 53; B.C. 41, no. 435) and Tarcondimitus (see B.C. 50, no. 239; B.C. 31, no. 600) are present at the battle, on the side of Pompey; Appian, B. C. 71. Flor. iv. 2; and are spared by Cæsar, and even continued in possession of their dominions, except that a small part of Dejotarus's dominions is given to Ariobarzanes II. in exchange for part of Armenia, which had been occupied by Pharnaces (see B.C. 65, no. 55), and is now given to Dejotarus. Dion, xli. 63, and see Dion, xlii. 48. This Ariobarzanes II. (called by Appian, by mistake, Ariarathes, Appian, B. C. ii. 71) had also been amongst the allies of Pompey, but was pardoned by Cæsar.

**270.** Pompey makes his way to the seaside, and embarks on board a merchant-vessel at the mouth of the Peneus. *In ostio Penei amnis onerariam navem nactus.* Oros. vi. 15; and sails first to Amphipolis, and thence to Lesbos. *Ipse ad anchoram unâ nocte constitit, et vocatis ad se Amphipoli hospitibus, et pecuniâ ad necessarios sumptus corrogatâ, cognito Cæsaris adventu, ex eo loco discessit, et Mitylenas paucis diebus venit.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 102. At Lesbos he joins his wife and his son Sextus. Dion, xlii. 2.

**271.** Pompey sails along the coast of Cilicia and lands at Attalia. *Εἰς δὲ πόλιν εἰσῆλθε πρῶτην Ἀττάλειαν τῆς Παμφυλίας . . . οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κινεῖν τι καὶ πράττειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις περιέπεμπε, τὰς δ' αὐτὸς περιπλέων ἤπει χρήματα καὶ ναῦς ἐπλήρει.* Plut. Pomp. 76.

**272.** But at Syedra he is driven on board again. *Superstes dignitatis suæ vixit, ut . . . pulsus Syedris in deserto Ciliciæ scopulo fugam in Parthos, African, vel Ægypton agigaret.* Flor. iv. 2, 51. He had sailed thus far with the intention of throwing himself upon the Parthians, but disclosing his designs when on the coast of Cilicia, he is dissuaded, and then sails to Cyprus. *Biduum tempestate retentus, (at Mitylene) navibusque aliis additis actuariis, in Ciliciam atque inde Cyprum pervenit.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 102. Oros. vi. 15. And thence to Pelusium in Egypt. *Καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἠπειρον μέχρι Κιλικίας κομισθεὶς, ἐκείθεν πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐπεραιώθη.* Dion, xlii. 3. Appian, B. C. ii. 83. Flor. iv. 2, 52. Vell. Pat. ii. 53. His arrival in Egypt was, according to Lucan, about the time of the autumnal equinox (September 24):—

*Tempus erat cum Libra pares examinat horas,  
Non uno plus æqua die, noctique rependit  
Lux minor hibernæ verni solatia damni.*

Lucan, Phars. 467.

Allowing for the error in the calendar, the arrival was in July of this year (see B.C. 46, no. 316).

**273.** Pompey, on reaching Casium in Egypt, asks safety from Ptolemy, the young king, who happened to be then encamped there with his army to encounter the invasion of his sister Cleopatra (see *ante*, no. 268). Pompey is induced to land and transfers himself on board an Egyptian vessel, in which was Septimius,

an old soldier of Pompey, and before reaching the shore Pompey, by the order of Ptolemy, for the purpose of conciliating Cæsar, is murdered in sight of his wife and friends. Dion, xlii. 4. Appian, B. C. ii. 84. His coss., Cassiodor.

**274.** This was the day before Pompey's birthday, when he would have been fifty-nine years old, and therefore on September 29. *Duodeseagesimum annum agentis, pridie natalem ipsius, vitæ fuit exitus.* Vell. Pat. ii. 53. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν οὐ διέλειπεν ἐς ὀκτῶ καὶ πεντήκοντα, τῇ μὲν ἰσχυῖ μοναρχικῶς δυναστείῳ, etc. Appian, B. C. ii. 86. Ἡττήθη παραλόγως ὀκτῶ τε καὶ πεντηκοντόντης ὧν . . . ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ πότε (September 29, B. C. 61) τά τε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἐπινίκια ἦγεν, ἐσφάγη. Dion, xlii. 5 (see B. C. 61, no. 99). Plutarch states the death of Pompey to have occurred on the day after his birthday, and therefore makes his age fifty-nine years complete. Ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἐνὸς δέοντος βεβαιωκῶς ἔτη, μιᾷ δ' ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γενεθλίου τελευτήσας τὸν βίον. Plut. Pomp. 79. In another place Plutarch refers the death of Pompey to the very day of his birth. Ἀτταλος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Πομπήϊος Μάγνος ἐν τοῖς ἐαυτῶν γενεθλίοις ἀπέθανον. Plut. Camill. 19. Allowing for the error in the calendar (see B. C. 46, no. 316), the death occurred really about July of this year.

**275.** Cæsar, after remaining two days on the field of Pharsalia (αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν Φαρσάλῃ διέτριψε, Appian, B. C. ii. 88), proceeds to the Hellespont and crosses into Asia. Suet. Jul. 63. Appian, B. C. ii. 89. Dion, xlii. 6. And frees the Cnidians, and remits one-third of their usual tribute to the Greeks of Asia. Plut. Cæs. 48. Appian, B. C. ii. 89.

**276.** Cæsar passes a few days in Asia, and in part at Ephesus, *paucos dies in Asiâ moratus*, Cæs. B. C. iii. 106, and see 105; and then sails to Rhodes. Πυθόμενος δὲ Πομπήϊον ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου φέρεσθαι διέπλευσεν ἐς Ῥόδον, Appian, B. C. ii. 89; and thence to Alexandria, where he lands, after having stood off for three days at sea. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τρισὶν ἡμέραις πελάγιος ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦν. Appian, B. C. ii. 89. Lucan assigns seven days to the voyage of Cæsar from Rhodes to Alexandria—

*Asiamque potentem  
Prævehitur, pelagoque Rhodon spumante relinquit.*

*Septimana nox, Zephyro nunquam laxante rudentes,  
Ostendit Phariis Ægyptia littora flammis.*

Phars. ix. 1002-1005.

Cæsar's arrival at Alexandria was before the return of Ptolemy from Casium. Κἂν τούτῳ πυθόμενος τὸν Πομπήϊον πρὸς τὴν Αἰγύπτου πλέοντα . . . ἀφωρμήθη κατὰ τάχος . . . τῇ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρειᾳ . . . πρὶν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πηλουσίου ἐλθεῖν προσπλεύσας, etc. Dion, xlii. 7. Ἐσδέχονται δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτροπεύοντες, ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄντος. Appian, B. C. ii. 89. The arrival in Egypt was probably in July, for he was nine months current in Egypt, and he left it about the middle of March, B. C. 47 (see that year, no. 295). He had come to Egypt during the Etesian winds, which blow in July and August. *Ipse enim necessario Etesius tenebatur, qui Alexandriâ navigantibus sunt adversissimi venti.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 107.

**277.** Cleopatra sails to Alexandria and lands in a small boat, and introduces herself by a stratagem to Cæsar. Plut. Cæs. 49.

**278.** Cæsar remains for some time at Alexandria in quiet. Ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐνεχρόνισεν ἀργυρολογῶν. Dion, xlii. 9.

**279.** The Egyptians at length begin disturbances, and Cæsar entrenches himself in the palace. This was before January 1 of the following year, according to the Roman old style, for Cæsar was still consul. It was probably in Oct. B. C. 48, according to the true calendar (see B. C. 46, no. 316). *Interim controversias regum ad populum Romanum et ad se, quod esset consul, pertinere existimans.* Cæs. B. C. iii. 107. It would seem from Dion that the disturbances continued after January 1, B. C. 47 (old style), i. e. after October, B. C. 48 (true time); for Cæsar is made to speak of himself as dictator, which would not be the case till January 1, B. C. 47. Πράξας δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπειπὼν ὅτι ἐαυτῷ Δικτάτωρι ὄντι καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ δήμου κράτος ἔχοντι, τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παιδῶν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν προσήκει. Dion, xlii. 35.

**280.** Cæsar commits to Mithridates Pergamenus the charge of bringing succours from Syria with all dispatch. Dion, xlii. 37. Cæs. B. C. iii. 107. Hirt. Bell. Al. 1 and 26 (see B. C. 47, no. 286). Cæsar is obliged to swim to his ships with his Commentaries in his hand. Appian, B. C. ii. 90. Dion, xlii. 40. Oros. vi. 15.



**281.** Death of Gabinius. (His *cons.*) Dion, xlii. 11. Hirt. Bell. Al. 43.

**282.** Calenus, the general of Cæsar, takes Athens, and Cæsar spares the living for the sake of the dead. Dion, xlii. 14.

**283.** The *consular* provinces are distributed by lot, but Cæsar is decreed to appoint to the *prætorian* provinces. *Τὰς τε ἡγεμονίας τὰς ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ κῶφ τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις αὐτοὶ δῆθεν ἐκλήρωσαν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀνακληρωσὶ, δοῦναι ἐψήφισαντο.* Dion, xlii. 20. Suet. Jul. 41 (see B.C. 51, no. 217; B.C. 47, no. 308).

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 17.

Pentecost, June 7.

Tabernacles, October 12.

**B.C. 47. U.C. 707. Olymp. 183, 2.**

Q. FUFIVS CALENUS.

P. VATINIUS.

C. J. CÆSAR Dictator, ii.

**284.** Cæsar is dictator ii., with Antony for master of the horse. *Εἰς ὃν (ἐνιαυτὸν) ἤρητο Δικτᾶτωρ τὸ δεύτερον, οὐδεπότε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἐνιαυσίου γενομένης.* Plut. Cæs. 51. This dictatorship is called by some the first, as it was the first for the whole year, the dictatorship of B.C. 49 having been for a part of the year only (see B.C. 49, no. 249).

**285.** Tiberius Claudius, the father of Tiberius the emperor, brings succours by sea to Cæsar in Egypt, and defeats the Egyptian fleet on the Nile. Dion, xlii. 40. Suet. Tib. 4.

**286.** Mithridates Pergamenus, who had been employed to collect succours in Syria (see B.C. 48, no. 280), assembles his forces at Ascalon, and is there joined by Antipater, the father of Herod (described as *ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμηλητής*, Jos. Ant. xiv. 8, 1), with 3,000 Jews; and, through the influence of Antipater, auxiliaries arrive also from Malchus, king of Petra, Hirt. Bell. Al. 1 (see B.C. 63, no. 84; B.C. 40, no. 452). Jamblichus, king of Emesa and Arethusa, and Ptolemy his son (see B.C. 50, no. 239; B.C. 31, no. 606), and Tholomæus, son of Soemus, king of Ituræa Libani (see A.D. 38, no. 1533), are also present. *Περὶ δὲ Ἀσκάλωνα διατρίβοντι (Mithridati) ἦκεν Ἀντίπατρος ἄγων Ἰουδαίων ὀπλίτας τρισχιλίους, ἐξ Ἀραβίας τε συμμάχους ἐλθεῖν ἐπραγματεύσατο τοὺς ἐν τέλει· καὶ δι' αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπαντες ἐπεκούρουν, . . . Ἰαμβλιχός τε ὁ δυνά-*

*στης καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ Θολομαῖος ὁ Σοέμου Λίβανον ὄρος οἰκῶν, αἶτε πόλεις σχεδὸν ἅπασαι.* Ant. xiv. 8, 1.

**287.** Mithridates attacks Pelusium by sea and land, and carries it by assault, Antipater being the first to enter the breach. Dion, xlii. 41. Jos. Ant. xiv. 8, 1; Bell. i. 9, 3.

**288.** Antipater prevails upon the Jews of Egypt (*οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου λεγομένην χώραν κατοικοῦντες*, Jos. Ant. xiv. 8, 1) to take part with Mithridates; and Mithridates, marching round the apex of the Delta, defeats the enemy at a place called the Jews' Camp, where Antipater again distinguishes himself. *Περὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον.* Ant. xiv. 8, 1; Bell. i. 9, 4.

**289.** Cæsar meanwhile releases king Ptolemy, the eldest of the four royal children (see B.C. 51, no. 188) to the Egyptians, which gives them the more courage, but Cæsar defeats them between Lake Mæris and the Nile, when Ptolemy is slain in the tumult. *Καὶ τινες καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μετὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐφθάρσαν.* Dion, xlii. 43.

**290.** Ptolemy the elder being dead, and Arsinoe having joined the Egyptian faction, Cæsar confers the kingdom on Cleopatra, with the younger Ptolemy as a nominal colleague. Dion, xlii. 44.

**291.** Cæsar recovers possession of Alexandria on March 27 B.C. 47, Roman old style, but really in January B.C. 47 (see B.C. 46, no. 316). *VI. Kal. Apr. Hoc die Cæsar Alexandriam recepit.* Old calendar, cited Fasti Hellen.

**292.** Cæsar sails about Egypt upon the Nile with Cleopatra. *Τὸν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίων νεῶν τὴν χώραν θεώμενος περιέπλει μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας.* Appian, B. C. ii. 90. He would have gone up as far as Ethiopia, but his soldiers would not suffer it. *Πᾶνε Ἄθιοπίαν tenuis Ægyptum penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset.* Suet. Jul. 52.

**293.** Cæsar was nine months (current) in Egypt. *Καὶ ἐς ταῦτα διετρίφθησαν αὐτῷ μῆνες ἐννέα.* Appian, B.C. ii. 90. And with this agrees Plutarch, who relates that Cleopatra gave birth to a child by him soon after his departure. *Καταλιπὼν δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν βασιλεύουσαν Αἰγύπτου, καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκοῦσαν υἱὸν ὃν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς Καισαρίωνα προσσηγόρευσαν, ὠρμησεν ἐπὶ Συρίας.* Plut. Cæs. 49.

**294.** Cæsar, leaving three legions in Alexandria under the command of Rusion (Suet.

Jul. 76), proceeds from Egypt to Syria by land. *Sic rebus omnibus confectis et collocatis, ipse itinere terrestri profectus est in Syriam.* Hirt. Bell. Alex. 33: and see Plut. Cæs. 49: Appian, B.C. ii. 91; Suet. Jul. 35. Josephus speaks incidentally of Cæsar's sailing from Egypt. *Εἰς Συρίαν ἀποπλεύσας.* Ant. xiv. 8, 3.

**295.** Cicero, at Brundisium, had not heard of Cæsar's departure from Alexandria on June 14 (old style). *Illum ab Alexandria discessisse nemo nuntiat . . . xix. Kalend. Quint.* Cic. Ep. Att. xi. 17. Nor on June 20 (old style). *De illius Alexandria discessu nihil adhuc rumoris . . . xii. Kal. Quint.* Ep. Att. xi. 18. But Cicero had heard of Cæsar's departure on July 3 (old style). *Illum discessisse Alexandria rumor est non firmus . . . iii. Non. Quint.* Ep. Att. xi. 25. As a voyage from Seleucia to Brundisium occupied at this time, with fair weather, little more than a month (*Septimo decimo Kal. Sept. venerat die xxix. Seleuciâ Pieriâ C. Trebonius.* Ep. Att. xi. 20), a voyage from Alexandria to Brundisium by this route would not require more than five or six weeks. Cæsar, therefore, may have quitted Alexandria about the end of May (old style) or middle of March (true time). Quintus Cicero, the son, having heard of Cæsar's departure from Alexandria, sets out from Rhodes to meet him at Antioch on May 29 (old style, i.e. the middle of March). *Acusius quidam Rhodo venerat iix. Id. Quint. Is nuntiabat Quintum filium ad Cæsarem profectum iv. Kal. Jun.* Ep. Att. xi. 23. And, allowing a week for the news to travel direct from Alexandria to Rhodes, Cæsar must have quitted Alexandria the beginning of March, and Egypt itself in the course of the month.

**296.** Cæsar enters Antioch on the 23rd of the Syromacedonian month Artemisius, and therefore some time in April. *Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὁ Δεκάτωρ, ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ κγ' τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός.* Malalas, lib. 9.

**297.** Quintus Cicero had an interview with him some time before the beginning of May, for Trebonius arrived at Brundisium on Aug. 16, and had been a month on his road from Seleucia, which he had therefore quitted about July 16 (old style, i.e. at the beginning of May), and brought intelligence of the interview. *Septimo decimo Kal. Sept. venerat die xxix. Seleuciâ Pieriâ C. Trebonius, is qui*

*se Antiochiæ diceret apud Cæsarem vidisse Quintum filium cum Hirtio. Eos de Quinto quæ voluisset impetrâsse nullo quidem negotio.* Cic. Ep. Att. xi. 20.

**298.** Cæsar, at Antioch, hears an accusation of Antigonus (see B.C. 55, no. 127) against Hyrcanus and Antipater, and dismisses it, and confirms Hyrcanus as highpriest, and appoints Antipater procurator of Judæa. *Καῖσαρ Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀποδείκνυσιν Ἀρχιερίᾳ, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ δίδωσι δυναστείαν. . . Ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυς τῆς Ἰουδαίας.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 8, 5; Bell. i. 10, 3. Cæsar had before conferred upon Antipater the freedom of Rome and immunity from taxes. *Ἀντιπάτρῳ πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δούς καὶ ἀτέλειαν πανταχοῦ.* Ant. xiv. 8, 3.

**299.** The edict appointing Hyrcanus highpriest is given by Josephus, and bears date in this dictatorship, and refers to the Alexandrian war as just over. *Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ Ἀρχιερεὺς, μετὰ Συμβουλίου γνώμην ἐπέκρινα. Ἐπεὶ Ὑρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἰουδαῖος . . . ἐν τῷ ἔγγιστα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πολέμῳ μετὰ χιλίων πεντακοσίων* (according to Josephus 3,000: see *infra*) *στρατιωτῶν ἦκε σύμμαχος καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντας ἀνδρείᾳ τοῦς ἐν τάξει ὑπερέβαλε, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐθνάρχας Ἰουδαίων εἶναι βούλομαι, Ἀρχιερωσύνην τε Ἰουδαίων διὰ παντὸς ἔχειν κατὰ πάτρια ἔθη, etc.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 2. What is here ascribed to Hyrcanus was probably the work of Antipater, his representative, as it does not appear that Hyrcanus himself accompanied the expedition to Egypt. See Ant. xiv. 8, 3.

**300.** There is also a decree in Josephus of the same date, by which the Jews are exempted from tribute in the Sabbatic year, etc. *Γάιος Καῖσαρ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον, ἔστησε κατ' ἐναντιὸν ὅπως τελῶσιν, etc. χωρὶς τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους ὃν Σαββατικὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν αὐτῷ μήτε ἀπὸ δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσι, μήτε σπείρουσιν.* Ant. xiv. 10, 6. An indisputable proof that the Sabbatic year was still observed. It is also said of the Sabbatic year that during it the Jews did not 'sow,' that is, did not cultivate the ground; but there was no prohibition against the gathering of the crops from the seed sown in the previous year (see B.C. 37, no. 525; B.C. 23, no. 707).

**301.** We read also in Josephus of another decree, erroneously attributed by him to this period (Ant. xiv. 8, 5), but which really



belongs to John Hyrcanus, and not to Hyrcanus Alexandri. That there is some mistake is manifest from the inconsistency in the decree itself; for it is said by Josephus to have been issued in the ninth year of Hyrcanus. Ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ Ἀρχιερέως καὶ Ἐθνάρχου ἔτους ἐνάτου. Whereas B.C. 47 was in the sixteenth year of Hyrcanus Alexandri (see B.C. 63, no. 81). And, again, the decree is dated, on the face of it, in the Ides of December. Εἰδοὺς Δεκεμβρίας. But Josephus adds that it was issued in the month of Panemus, *i. e.* July. Ant. xiv. 9, 5. Josephus may have directed his scribe to insert the decree appointing Hyrcanus high-priest, stated Ant. xiv. 10, 2; and the scribe, misled by seeing the name of Hyrcanus, may have inserted by mistake a decree respecting the elder high-priest of that name.

**302.** Cæsar, on quitting Syria, leaves there one legion, under the command of Cæcilius Bassus; and appoints, as governor of the province, a young relative of his own, his quæstor Julius Sextus Cæsar (see B.C. 49, no. 241; B.C. 46, no. 326). Ἦρχε δὲ τῶν Σύρων Σέξτος, τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ ταμίᾳ καὶ συγγενεῖ αὐτοῦ ὄντι ὁ Καῖσαρ πάντα τὰ τῆδε κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἔλασιν ἐπέτρεψε. Dion, xlvii. 26. Appian, B. C. iii. 77; iv. 58. Jos. Ant. xiv. 9, 2; Bell. i. 10, 5.

**303.** Cæsar, escorted by Antipater (Jos. Ant. xiv. 9, 1; Bell. i. 10, 4), hastens from Antioch to Pontus against Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, and king of Bosphorus (see B.C. 65, no. 55), who, taking advantage of Cæsar's absence in Egypt, had attempted to recover the rest of his father's dominions. Cæsar defeats him at the battle of Zelea on the fifth day after his arrival, and in four hours after coming in sight of the enemy, and writes the celebrated despatch: *Veni, vidi, vici. Intra quintum quam affuerat diem, quatuor quibus in conspectum venit horis, unda profligavit acie.* Suet. Jul. 35. Dion, xlii. 47, 48. Flor. iv. 2. Plin. N. H. vi. 4. Plut. Cæs. 50. The battle of Zelea was fought on August 2 Roman old style, but really in May (see B.C. 46, no. 316). *IV. Non. Aug. Fer. quod eo die C. Cæs. C. f. in Ponto regem Pharnacem devicit.* Old calendar, cited Fasti Hell. (see *infra*, no. 304).

**304.** Cæsar confers on Mithridates Pergamenus the title of king, with a tetrarchy in Galatia; and as Asander had slain Pharnaces (see B.C. 65, no. 55), and taken possession of

the kingdom of Bosphorus, Cæsar gives leave to Mithridates Pergamenus, if he could, to eject Asander and appropriate the kingdom of Bosphorus to himself. Τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, τῷ Περγαμηνῷ, Τετραρχίαν τε ἐν Γαλατία καὶ Βασιλείας ὄνομα ἔδωκε, πρὸς τε Ἀσανδρον πολεμήσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον κρατήσας αὐτοῦ λάβῃ. Dion, xlii. 48. Appian, Mith. 121. Pharnaces had reigned fifteen years from the death of his father Mithridates in B.C. 63 (see that year, no. 74). Ἀπέθανε (Pharnaces) πεντηκοντούτης ὢν καὶ βασιλεὺς Βοσπόρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν. Appian, Mith. 120. However, Mithridates Pergamenus did not succeed in getting possession of Bosphorus; for κατελύθη δ' (Mithridates) ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Φαρνάκην ἀνελόντος τὸν βασιλεῖα, καὶ κατασχόντος τὸν Βόσπορον. Strabo, xiii. 4. And Asander remained king until B.C. 16 (see that year, no. 755). There are several coins extant of this Asander, some of them with the inscription Ἀρχοντος Ἀσανδρου Βοσπορου; and others with the inscription Βασιλεως Ἀσανδρου, and with various years of his reign, as Δ. - Ζ. Η. ΙΑ. Ι. - ΙΖ. ΚΓ. (see Eckhel, ii. 367). Pharnaces left a son, Darius, who was appointed king of Pontus by Antony in B.C. 39. Appian, B. C. v. 75 (see B.C. 50, no. 239; B.C. 39, no. 480).

**305.** Cæsar deprives Archelaus II. of the priesthood of Comana, and confers it on Lycomedes. Πλὴν τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις Ἱερωσύνης ἦν ἐς Λυκομήδην μετήνεγκεν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελαίου. Appian, Mith. 121. Hirtius, Bell. Alex. c. 66. The bounds of the hierarchy were on this occasion extended thirty miles further all round. Εἰθ' ὕστερον Λυκομήδης, ᾧ καὶ τετράσχοινος ἄλλη προσετέθη. Strabo, xii. 3 (see B.C. 65, no. 56; B.C. 31, no. 618).

**306.** Cæsar leaves Domitius in command of Asia, and proceeds by way of Bithynia and Greece to Italy. Τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ Δομίτιῳ καταστήσασθαι κελεύσας, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἦλθε, κἀντεύθεν ἔξ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπλευσε. Dion, xlii. 49.

**307.** Cæsar had not arrived at Brundisium on August 12 (old style); for Cicero then received a letter from him. *Reddite mihi tandem sunt a Cæsare literæ satis liberales. . . D. pridie Idus Sext.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xiv. 23. Nor on September 1 (old style). *Qui (tabellarii) si venerint, fortasse erimus certiores. . . Kalendis Septembrib.* Ep. Fam. xiv. 22. But he had arrived before the end of September (old style);

for Cicero did not leave Brundisium before Cæsar landed, and on October 1 (old style) Cicero writes: *In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis, aut postridie. . . . Kal. Octob. De Venusino. Ep. Fam. xiv. 20.* (For the error in the calendar, see B.C. 46, no. 316).

**308.** Cæsar appoints ten prætors for the ensuing year. *Στρατηγούς τε δέκα ἐς τὸ ἐπὶν ἔτος ἀπέδειξε.* Dion, xlii. 51 (see B.C. 48, no. 283; B.C. 45, no. 333).

**309.** Cæsar crosses into Africa in midwinter. *Ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν, καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος μεσοῦντος, ἐπεραιώθη.* Dion, xlii. 56. *Περὶ τροπᾶς χειμερινᾶς διαβάς ἐς Συκελίαν.* Plut. Cæs. 52. This was so according to the old Roman style, but really two or three months earlier. *Quid ipse Cæsar? quum a summo haruspice moneretur, ne ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit?* Cicero, Div. ii. 24.

**310.** Antipater, on his return to Judæa from escorting Cæsar, appoints his son Phasaelus captain of Judæa, and his son Herod captain of Galilee. *Φασάηλον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν παιδῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν περίξ στρατηγὸν ἀποδείκνυσι, τῷ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπέτρεψε νέφ παντάσασιν ὄντι, πεντεκαίδεκα γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει μόνα ἔτη.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 2; Bell. i. 10, 4. For *πεντεκαίδεκα* should clearly be read *πεντεκαεῖκοσι*; for in B.C. 4 Herod was about his seventieth year (see B.C. 4, no. 925); so that at this time his age must have been, not fifteen, but twenty-five years.

**310 a.** Coin.

*C. Cæsar Imp. Cos. iter. + A. Allienus Pro Cos.*  
Eckhel, vi. 6.

#### Inscriptions.

*Πόλις αἰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ὁ . . . καὶ τὰ ἔθνη Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Γάϊον Καίσαρα τὸν Ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἀυτοκράτορα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὕπατον τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀφροδείτης Θεὸν Ἐπιφανῆ καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ Ἀνθρωπίνου βίου Σωτήρα.* Cæsar was consul ii. in B.C. 48, but the title would continue until he was consul again (B.C. 46); and Muratori (vol. i. p. 219) refers the inscription to B.C. 47.

*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar ii. Dict.*

*M. Antonius M. F. M. N. Mag. Eq.*

*Q. Fufus Q. F. C. N. Calenus.* Fasti Capitol.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 6.

Pentecost, May 27.

Tabernacles, October 1.

#### B.C. 46. U.C. 708. Olymp. 183, 3.

C. J. CÆSAR, iii.

M. ÆMIL. LEPIDUS, i.

C. J. CÆSAR Dictator, iii.

**311.** Cæsar is dictator iii., with Lepidus as master of the horse. *Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει καὶ ἐδικτατῶρευσεν ἅμα καὶ ὑπάτευσεν, τρίτον ἐκάτερον, τοῦ Λεπίδου οἱ ἀμφοτέροις συνάρξαντος.* Dion, xliii. 1. Cæsar, in this and the following year, held the consulship for the first nine months only. *Tertium et quartum consulatum titulo tenuis gessit . . . atque utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos novissimos menses.* Suet. Jul. 76.

**312.** Cæsar gains the battle of Thapsus, in Africa, on April 6 old style, but really in January: see post. VIII. *Eid. Ludi e. q. e. d. Cæsar C. f. in Africâ regem* (Jubam), etc. Fasti Verriani in mense Aprili, cited Fasti Hellen. *Tertia lux, memini, ludis erat* (viz. the third from the Megalesia on Prid. Non., April 4). . . *Hæc ait, illa dies Libycis quâ Cæsar in oris Perfida magnanimi contudit arma Jubæ.*

Ovid, Fasti, iv. 377.

Plut. Cato Min. 58; Cæs. 53. Liv. Epit. 114.

**313.** Cæsar embarks at Utica for Sardinia on June 13 (old style: see B.C. 46, no. 316). *His rebus gestis Idibus Junius Uticâ classem conscendit, et post diem tertium Carales in Sardiniam pervenit.* Hirt. Bell. Afric. 98. He sets sail from Sardinia on June 29 (old style), and arrives in Rome just a month after. *A. d. iii. Kal. Quintiles naves conscendit, et a Caralibus secundum terram provectus duodetrigesimo die, eo quod tempestatibus in portibus cohibebatur, ad urbem Romam venit.* Hirt. Bell. Afric. 98. Dion, xliii. 14.

**314.** Cæsar is appointed dictator for ten years. *Δικτάτωρα ἐς δέκα ἐφεξῆς εἵλοντο.* Dion, xliii. 14.

**315.** An edict that ex-prætors should hold their provinces for one year only, and ex-consuls for two years only. *Κατέκλεισε νόμῳ τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν, τοὺς δὲ ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἀρχειν, καὶ μηδενὶ τοπαράπαν ἐπὶ πλείον ἡγεμονείαν τινὰ ἔχειν ἐξεῖναι.* Dion, xliii. 25 (see B.C. 47, no. 308; B.C. 45, no. 333).

**316.** Cæsar reforms the calendar, whence this year is called the year of confusion. The error to be rectified was this. The year of Numa, which had continued up to this time, consisted



of 12 lunar months, making together 354 days, being 11 days 6 hours short of the reality. In order to keep pace with the solar year of 365 d. 6 h., it was the practice to intercalate every other year an additional month, first of 22 days, and then of 23 days, alternately. The duty of intercalation was committed to the priests, who, in the course of time, abused their office, and intercalated sometimes too much and sometimes too little, as it suited their private ends. In B.C. 52, there had already fallen out of the calendar, for want of the necessary intercalation, 23 days, and from B.C. 52 (exclusive) to B.C. 46, there had been no intercalation at all, so that at the close of B.C. 46 there would be an arrear of 11 days and 6 hours for each of six consecutive years, i. e. 66 days and 36 hours, or, in round numbers, 67 days, which, added to the previous arrear of 23 days, made a total of 90 days. Cæsar, in this year, compensated for the previous loss of time by intercalating 23 days between February 23 and 24, and by inserting two additional months containing together 67 days (making in all 90 days) between the months of November and December, and he guarded against the recurrence of the like irregularity by ordering that the civil year for the future should consist of 365 days, and that in every fourth year one day should be intercalated so as to bring up the loss of six hours in each intervening year. This is the system still in use amongst most civilised nations, with such further variation, however, as was found to be necessary from the fact of the year consisting not of 365 d. 6 h., but 365 d. 5 h 48 m. 57 s.

**317.** It results from the foregoing statement that, for the few years preceding the reformation of the calendar, the dates mentioned in Roman writers are erroneous. Thus, in B.C. 47, a given day in a given month would be postdated or too late by from 79 to 68 days. In B.C. 48, from 68 to 57 days. In B.C. 49 (being leap year), from 57 to 45 days. In B.C. 50, from 45 to 34 days. In B.C. 51, from 34 to 23 days. Thus, in B.C. 47, the battle of Zelea was, according to the Roman calendar, on August 2 (see no. 303), but was really in May. In B.C. 48, the battle of Pharsalia was, according to the Roman calendar, on August 9 (see no. 269), but was really at the beginning of June. In B.C. 49, the surrender of the army of Afranius in Spain was, according to the Roman calendar,

on August 2 (see no. 248), but was really about the middle of June. In B.C. 50, the dates of Cicero's letters must be placed from 34 to 45 days earlier, and in B.C. 51 from 23 to 34 days earlier.

**318.** The reformations introduced by Cæsar are thus described by the principal historians. *Annumque ad cursum solis accommodavit, ut cccclv. dierum esset, et, intercalario mense sublato, unus dies quarto quoque anno intercalaretur. Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Januariis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem ac Decembrem mensem interjecit duos alios; fuitque is annus, quo hæc constituebantur, xv mensium cum intercalario qui ex consuetudine in illum annum inciderat.* Suet. Jul. 40. *Τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἐτῶν . . . κατεστήσατο ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἐμβαλῶν. . . . Τὴν μέντοι μίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν τεταρτημορίων πεπληρουμένην (the six hours or fourth part of a day lost in each year) διὰ πέντε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτῶν ἐσήγαγεν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι τὰς ὥρας αὐτῶν πλὴν ἐλαχίστου παραλλάττειν.* Dion, xliii. 26. *Ut C. Cæsar Pontifex Maximus suo iii. et M. Æmil. Lepidi consulatu, quo retro delictum corrigeret, duos menses intercalarios dierum sexaginta septem in mensem Novembrem et Decembrem interponeret, cum jam mense Februario dies tres et viginti intercalasset, faceretque eum annum dierum CDXLV.* Censorinus, De Die Nat. c. 20. And see Plut. Cæs. 59.

**319.** Cleopatra is at Rome, and resides in Cæsar's palace. (His coss.) Dion, xliiii. 27. Suet. Jul. 52.

**320.** Cæsar is still at Rome on November 23. *Ego idem tamen quum a. d. v. Kal. intercalares priores (the first of the two intercalated months between November and December), rogatu fratrum tuorum, venissem mane ad Cæsarem.* Ep. Fam. vi. 14.

**321.** Cæsar, with a small retinue, *μετ' ὀλίγων*, Dion, xliiii. 32 (but see Appian, B. C. ii. 103), passes into Spain against Cn. Pompey. (His coss.) Dion, xliiii. 32. He was less than a month upon the road. *Ab urbe in Hispaniam ulteriorem iv. et xx. die pervenit.* Suet. Jul. 56. *Ἦκε μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις.* Appian, B. C. ii. 103. *Septimo decimo, quam egressus ab urbe fuerat, die, Saguntum pervenit.* Oros. vi. 16 (see B.C. 45, no. 329). And carries on the campaign during the winter, *ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι*, Dion, xliiii. 33. Octavius, afterwards Augustus, is with him. *Συνεστρατεύετό τε (Octavius) γὰρ*

αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόγων τῶν τε κινδύνων αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμψειν ἔμελλεν. Dion, xliii. 41.

**322.** Herod, early in the year, is summoned by Hyrcanus before the Sanhedrim, when he appears before them with a strong bodyguard, and the trial is adjourned, and Herod retires to Julius Sextus Cæsar at Damascus, then an appanage of Syria. Jos. Ant. xiv. 9, 3-5; Bell. i. 10, 6-8 (see B.C. 64, no. 60).

**323.** Julius Sextus Cæsar receives a largess from Herod, and appoints him captain of Cœle-Syria and Samaria. Σέξτου δὲ ποιήσαντος Ἡρώδην στρατηγὸν τῆς Συρίας, χρημάτων γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀπέδοτο, etc. Jos. Ant. xiv. 9, 5. Στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Κείλης Συρίας καὶ Σαμαρείας. Bell. i. 10, 8.

**324.** Herod, with the forces now under his command, marches against Hyrcanus to revenge the affront of the trial, but is prevailed upon by Antipater and Phasaelus to retire. Jos. Ant. xiv. 9, 5; Bell. i. 9, 5.

**325.** Cæcilius Bassus, who had been left in Syria by Cæsar with one legion (see B.C. 47, no. 302), enters upon the design of possessing himself of Syria. This was in the course of the present year; for it was while Cæsar was in Africa, and the discouraging reports from that quarter stimulated Bassus to the attempt. Περὶ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἠγγέλλετο . . . καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα γράμματά τινα συνέπλασεν . . . τὸν τε Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἠτῆσθαι, καὶ ἀπολωλέναι διήγγελλε, καὶ ἐαυτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Συρίας προστετάχθαι ἔλεγε. Dion, xlvii. 26. The battle of Thapsus was on April 8 (old style, i. e. in January, true time); and the insurrection of Bassus must therefore have been before the news of Cæsar's victory had reached Syria.

**326.** Bassus possesses himself of Tyre, and then engages in battle with Julius Sextus Cæsar, and is defeated. He then plots the death of Sextus, who is assassinated, and Bassus is declared prefect of Syria. Dion, xlvii. 26. Jos. Ant. xiv. 11, 1 (see B.C. 47, no. 302; B.C. 45, no. 337). The death of Sextus was towards the winter of B.C. 46-45; for ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου (Sextus) τό τε στράτευμα πᾶν πλὴν ὀλίγων προσηταιρίσατο (τοὺς γὰρ ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ χειμαζόντας ἐπεδίωξε μὲν ἐς Κιλικίαν προαποχωρήσαντας, οὐ μὴν καὶ προσεποιήσατο), καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπανελθὼν στρατηγὸς τε ὠνομάσθη καὶ τὴν Ἀπαμειαν ἐκρατύνατο. Dion, xlvii. 27. Strabo, xvi. 2.

**326 a.** Coins.

*C. Cæsar Cos. Ter. + A. Hirtilius Pr. Cos. Tert. Dict. iter. + Augur. Pont. Max. C. Cæsar Dic. Ter. + L. Planc. Præf. Urb. Cæsar Dic. Ter. + C. Clovi. Præ.*

Eckhel, vi. 7.

Inscriptions.

*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar iii. M. Ai(milius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus).*

Fasti Capitol.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 26.

Pentecost, May 16.

Tabernacles, September 20.

**B.C. 45. U.C. 709. Olymp. 183, 4.**

C. J. CÆSAR, iv., solus and resigned.

Ex Kal. Oct.:

*Qu. Fabius Maximus.* In mag. mort. est. In ejus loc. fact. est *C. Caninius Rebilus.*

C. TREBONIUS.

C. J. CÆSAR Dictator iv.

**327.** Cæsar dictator iv., with M. Æmil. Lepidus as master of the horse. Ἐδικτατῶρεν δὲ δὴ τότε, καὶ ὑπατος ὀψέ ποτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους ἀπεδείχθη, τοῦ Λεπίδου ἐν τῇ Ἰππάρχίᾳ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τοῦτο συναγαγόντος. Dion, xliiii. 33.

**328.** Cæsar, in Spain, takes the town of Ategua on February 19. *A. d. xi. Kal. Martii oppido potitus.* Hirt. Bell. Hisp. 19.

**329.** The battle of Munda on March 17, being the day of the Dionysia or Liberalia. *Ipsis Liberalibus.* Hirt. Bell. Hisp. 31. Τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ. Plut. Cæs. 56. The news had reached Rome on April 20. Τά τε γὰρ Παρίλια (April 21) . . . διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος νίκην ὅτι ἠ ἀγγελία τῇ προτεραίᾳ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀφίκετο ἐτιμήθη. Dion, xliiii. 42. The despatch, therefore, from Munda to Rome occupied about five weeks.

**330.** Cæsar returns to Rome in the month of October. *Neve illi . . . plus quinque mensium principalis quies contigit; quippe quum mense Octobri urbem revertisset, Idibus Martiis . . . interemptus est.* Vell. Pat. ii. 56. Cic. Ep. Att. xiii. 45.

**331.** Triumph of Cæsar at Rome. *C. Cæsar ex Hispaniâ quintum triumphum egit.* Liv. Epit. 116. And of his lieutenant Q. Fabius on October 13; and of his lieutenant Q. Pedius on December 13. *Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus cos. ex Hispaniâ an. DCCVIII.* (U.C. 709,



Varro) iii. *Idus Oct. Q. Pedius M. F. procos. ex Hispaniâ an. dccviii.* (U.C. 709, Varro) *Idib. Decemb. Fasti Capitol.* Dion, xliii. 62.

**332.** Cæsar is elected dictator for life, and consul for ten years. Ἀνερόρηθη δὲ καὶ Πατήρ πατριδὲς, καὶ Δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἤρεθη, καὶ ὕπατος ἐς δέκα ἔτη. Appian, B. C. iii. 106. Dion, xlv. 8.

**333.** There are now fourteen prætors and forty quæstors, all of whom are elected by the people on the nomination of Cæsar. Τὴν γὰρ ἀποδείξιν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἔργω δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἔς γε τὰ ἔθνη ἀκκληρωτῶ ἐξεπέμφθησαν. Ἀριθμὸν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ὄσοιπερ καὶ πρότερον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ταμίαι τε τεσσαράκοντα ἀπεδείχθησαν. Dion, xliii. 47 (see B.C. 47, no. 308; B.C. 44, no. 341).

**334.** Cæsar resigns the sole consulship in favour of Q. Fabius and C. Trebonius. This resignation was about the end of September, for he held the consulship for nine months (see *ante*). Suet. Jul. 76. Fabius died on the last day of the year, when Cæsar appointed C. Caninius Rebilus in his place for the rest of the day. This resignation of Cæsar and substitution of another was an infraction of the rule that, once a consul, he must remain consul for the whole year. Dion, xliii. 46. Plut. Cæs. 58 (see B.C. 39, no. 474).

**335.** As C. Caninius Rebilus was consul for only one day, the consulship of Caius Rabillius, alluded to in the despatch of the Laodiceans, cannot refer to this year. Λαοδικέων ἄρχοντες Γαίῳ Ῥαβιλλίῳ Γαίου νιῶ ὑπάτῳ χαιρεῖν. Σώπατρος Ὑρκάνου τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέδωκεν ἡμῖν τὴν παρά σου ἐπιστολήν, etc. Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 20.

**336.** Cicero alludes to the disturbances in Syria, under Bassus, early in B.C. 45. *Ex Syria nobis tumultuosiora quædam nuntiata sunt, quæ, quum tibi sunt propiora quam nobis, tuâ me causâ magis movent quam meâ.* Ep. Fam. xii. 17. This was written in the spring of B.C. 45; for he alludes to the recent publication of the *Orator*, which was at this time. *Proxime scripsi de optimo genere dicendî.* Ibid. For the date of this work, see Fasti Hellen.

**337.** Quintus Cornificius, who was near at hand (perhaps as præfect of Cilicia), is intrusted, *pro tempore*, with the charge of the province of Syria and the conduct of the war. *Bellum quod est in Syria Syriamque provinciam tibi*

(Cornificio) *tributam esse a Cæsare ex tuis literis cognovi. . . De Parthici belli suspicione quod scribis, sane me commovit.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 19 (see B.C. 46, no. 326; B.C. 44, nos. 356, 359, 362, 365). There is a rumour at this time at Rome that some legions would be sent to Syria. *Opto ne se illa gens (Parthi) moveat hoc tempore, dum ad te legiones eæ perducantur quas audio duci.* Ep. Fam. xii. 19. These were probably the three legions sent out either at the close of this year, or in the spring of the following year, under L. Staius Murcus, who was appointed to succeed Julius Sextus Cæsar as præfect of Syria. Στάτιον Μούρκον οἶδε (the troops of Bassus) μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἐκπεμφθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγκρατῶς ἀπεμάχοντο. Appian, B. C. iii. 77.

**338.** Cæcilius Bassus is besieged in Apamea by C. Antistius, the imperial general. They fight a battle without any decisive result, and then both sides collect further forces. Dion, xlvii. 27. The partisans of Cæsar rally round Antistius. Dion, xlvii. 27. And Antipater, the father of Herod, sends auxiliaries with his sons. This was late in the year B.C. 45. It was certainly before the arrival in Syria, in the following year, of the intelligence of Cæsar's death on the Ides of March, B.C. 44, and before the presence of L. Staius Murcus as governor of Syria; for οἷς (the generals of Cæsar) καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀνηρημένον (Julius Sextus Cæsar) καὶ διὰ τὸν περιτόντα Καίσαρα (i. e. C. Julius Cæsar) φίλους ὄντας ἀμφοτέρους ὁ Ἀντίπατρος διὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἐπεμφε συμμαχίαν. Μηκρομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Μάρκος μὲν (lege Μούρκος) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Σέξστου παραγίνεται διάδοχος. Jos. Bell. i. 10, 10; Ant. xiv. 11, 1.

**339.** Alchaudonius, or Alchedamus, an Arabian chieftain, brings aid to Cæcilius Bassus. Τῶν δὲ συμμαχούντων τῷ Βάσσῳ ἦν καὶ Ἀλχαΐδαμος, ὁ τῶν Ῥαββαίων βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου Νομάδων. Strabo, xvi. 2. Dion, xlvii. 27; xxxv. 2. And subsequently Pacorus, at the head of a Parthian force, arrives. The latter event was just before winter; for the Parthians could not remain long with Bassus on that account. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Πάρθοι ἦλθον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ ἐπικλητοί, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα συνεγένοντο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἔπραζάν τι ἀξιόλογον. Dion, xlvii. 27. And with this agrees the date given by Cicero, who mentions that Antistius wrote a letter from Syria, dated December 31, B.C. 45,

in which he speaks of the eruption of the Parthians as a recent event. *Balbus hic est multumque mecum . . . ad quem a Vetere litteræ datæ prid. Kal. Jan. quum a se Cæcilius circum sederetur, et jam teneretur, venisse cum maximis copiis Pacorum Parthum; ita sibi esse eum ereptum, multis suis amissis, in quâ re accusat Volcatium.* Ep. Att. xiv. 9.

339 a.

Coins.

*Caput Cæsaris laureatum + L. Flaminius iii.-vir.*

*Cæsar Imp. vel Imper. + M. Mettius.*

*Cæsar Dict. Quart. + M. Mettius.*

*Cæsar Dic. Quar. + L. Planc. Præf. Urb.*

Eckhel, vi. 7.

Inscriptions.

*Longinus Prisco Calvo + Lavinio Pr. F. C. + Cæcilio Metello + Cons. ii. victori + Exercitus victor + Hostibus fuis + L. Porcio ob Prov. opt. administratam + Batestani populi F. C. + Bellum Cæsaris et Patriæ ex magnâ parte confectum Sex. et Cn. Magni Pompei Filiis hic in agro Batestanorum profligatis.* (In agro Batestano: hodie Madrigal).

Gruter, 225, 2.

*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar iii. Dict.*

*M. Aimilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus Mag. Eq. Eodem anno.*

*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar iv. sine collegâ. Eodem anno.*

*Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus. In mag. (mortuus est. In ejus locum factus est) C. Cæcilius C. F. C. N. Rebilus.*

*Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus Cos. ex Hispaniâ an. DCCVIII. (Varro, 709) iii. Idus Oct.*

*Q. Pedius M. F. Pro Cos. ex Hispaniâ an. DCCVIII. (Varro, 709) Idib. Dec.*

Fasti Capitol.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 14.

Pentecost, June 14.

Tabernacles, October 9.

**B.C. 44. U.C. 710. Olymp. 184, 1.**

C. J. CÆSAR, v. In ejus loc. fact. est

P. Cornelius Dolabella.

M. ANTONIUS, i.

C. J. CÆSAR Dictator, v.

**340.** Cæsar dictator v., with M. Æmilius Lepidus as master of the horse. Ἐδικτατώρευσε τὸ πέμπτον ἵππαρχον τὸν Δέπιδον προσλαβὼν, καὶ ὑπάτευσε τὸ πέμπτον συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντωνίων προσελόμενος. Dion, xliii. 49.

**341.** There were sixteen prætors this year, and for many years subsequently. Στρατηγοὶ τε

ἑκαίδεκα ἦσαν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη. Dion, xliii. 49 (see B.C. 45, no. 333; B.C. 38, no. 489).

**342.** The month Quintilis is called Julius, in honour of C. Julius Cæsar. *Quintilis Julius cognominatus est, C. Cæsare v. et M. Antonio coss., anno Juliano secundo.* Censorinus, De Die Nat. c. 22. Appian, B.C. ii. 106.

**343.** It may have been about this time that Cæsar ordered a general survey of the Roman empire. The survey is said to have been completed—that of the east by Zenodoxus, in 21 years, 5 months, and 9 days; that of the north by Theodotus, in 29 years, 8 months, and 10 days; and that of the south by Polycletus, in 32 years, 1 month, and 10 days. *Itaque Julius Cæsar, bissextilis rationis inventor, divinis humanisque rebus singulariter instructus, cum consulatus sui fasces erigeret, ex Senatus consulto censuit omnem orbem jam Romani nominis admetiri per prudentissimos viros ex omni philosophiæ munere decoratos. Ergo a Julio Cæsare et M. Antonio coss. orbis terrarum metiri cæpit. Id est, a consulatu superscripto usque ad consulatum Augusti iii. (B.C. 31) et Crassi, annis xxi. mensibus v. diebus ix., a Zenodoxo omnis Oriens dimensus est, sicut inferius demonstratur. A consulatu item Julii Cæsaris et M. Antonii usque in consulatum Augusti x. (B.C. 24), annis xxix. mensibus viii. diebus x., a Theodoto Septentrionalis pars dimensa, ut evidenter ostenditur. A consulatu similiter Julii Cæsaris usque in consulatum Saturnini et Cinnæ, a Polycleto Meridiana pars dimensa est annis xxvii. mense i. diebus x., sicut definita monstratur. Ac sic omnis orbis terræ intra annos xxxii. a dimensoribus peragratus est, et de omni ejus continentia perlatum est ad Senatum.* Æthicus Ister, Cosmograph. ed. Gronov. p. 26, cited Wieseler's Chronol. Synop. 81. The references to the consulships in which the different surveys were completed are involved in inextricable confusion (see B.C. 4, no. 871).

**344.** Cæsar restores Carthage and Corinth in the hundred and second year from their destruction. Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ συνέκισαν αὐθις μετὰ ἔτη τῆς σκαφῆς ἑκατον καὶ δύο. Appian, Punic. 136. Dion, xliii. 50. Pausan. ii. 1, 3. Plut. Cæs. 57. Most of those sent to Corinth were freedmen. Πολὺν τε χρόνον ἐρήμη μείνασα ἡ Κόρινθος ἀνελήθη πάλιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐὶν τὴν εὐφύϊαν ἐποίκουσ



πέμφαντος τοῦ ἀπελευθερικοῦ γένους πλείστους. Strabo, viii. 6.

**345.** Cæsar issues an edict allowing Hyrcanus to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπάτος τὸ πέμπτον, ἔκρινε τούτους (the Jews) ἔχειν καὶ τοιχεύσαι τὴν Ἱεροσολυμίτων πόλιν, etc. Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 5. Also another edict of alliance with the Jews. Γάιος Καῖσαρ Ἀυτοκράτωρ Δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον (viz. the fourth annual dictatorship, exclusive of that in B.C. 40, which was *pro tempore*), ὑπάτος τε τὸ πέμπτον, Δικτάτωρ ἀποδεδειγμένος διὰ βίου, etc. Ant. xiv. 10, 7.

**346.** Cæsar proposes to drain the Pontine marshes and cut through the Isthmus of Corinth. Dion, xlv. 5.

**347.** Preparations are made for the Parthian war, the conduct of which is decreed to Cæsar, and it is expected that it would last for at least three years, and it is therefore proposed to appoint prætors and quæstors for the next three years by anticipation. Διεννοῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐς τρία ἔτη αὐτοῦς (ἄρχοντας) προκαταστήσαι τοιούτου γὰρ χρόνου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν χρήζειν ἐδόκουν . . . καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ταμίαι τεσσαράκοντα προχειρίσθησαν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον . . . στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἀπεδείχθησαν μὲν ἑκαδέκα . . . Ἐς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, οἱ τε ὑπάτοι καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι μόνου. Τοσοῦτον ἐδέησε καὶ ἐς τὸ τρίτον τινὰ ἀποδειχθῆναι. Dion, xliii. 51.

**348.** Cæsar resigns the consulship in favour of Dolabella. Ὑπατόν τε ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἀντικατέστησε. Dion, xliiii. 51.

**349.** Cæsar is deified as a hero and as the Julian Jupiter, and the people swear by his name. Dion, xlv. 6.

**350.** Cæsar is assassinated on the Ides of March (March 15). Dion, xlv. 19. Appian, B. C. ii. 117, 149. Plut. Cæs. 66, 63; Brut. 17, 14, 35; Cic. 42. Suet. Jul. 81, 82. Val. Max. viii. 11, 2. Vell. Pat. ii. 56. Cassiodor. In the fifty-sixth year of his age. Θνήσκει δὲ Καῖσαρ τὰ μὲν πάντα γεγωνὸς ἔτη πενήκοντα καὶ ἕξ. Plut. Cæs. 69. Ἔτος ἄγων ἕκτον ἐπὶ πενήκοντα. Appian, B. C. ii. 149. *Periit sexto et quinquagesimo ætatis anno.* Suet. Jul. 88. He had held the supreme power, according to Cassiodorus, for four years and six months. *Imperavit autem (C. J. Cæsar) annis quatuor mensibus sex,* Cassiod. sub Coss. L. Lentulo et M. Marcello. Cassiodorus, therefore, apparently dates the supremacy of Cæsar from

his dictatorship in B.C. 49 (see that year, no. 249).

**351.** A comet is seen for seven nights after the death of Cæsar, rising about 5 P.M. "Ο, τε μέγας κομήτης, ἐφάνη γὰρ ἐπὶ νύκτας ἑπτὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σφαγὴν διαπρεπῆς, εἰρ' ἠφανίσθη. Plut. Cæs. 69. *Stella crinita per septem dies continuos fulsit, exoriens circa undecimam horam.* Suet. Jul. 88; and see Plin. N. H. ii. 23. Dion, xlv. 7.

**352.** On April 11 of this consulship, Antony and Dolabella, the consuls, move the senate that the edicts of Cæsar in favour of the Jews be confirmed, which is carried, and the resolution is ordered to be enrolled in the Quæstorium. Τῇ πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν Ἀπριλλίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὀμονοίας γραφομένη, παρήσαν Λούκιος Καλπούργιος, etc. Πόπλιος Δολοβέλλας, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὑπάτοι λόγους ἐποίησαντο. Περὶ ᾧ δόγματι συγκλήτου Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔκρινε, καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταμειῶν οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀνενεχθῆναι, περὶ τούτων ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν γεῖεσθαι, etc. ἀνενεγκεῖν τε ταῦτα εἰς δέλτους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ταμίαις ὅπως φροντίσωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν δέλτοις ἀναθεῖναι διπτύχοις. Ἐγένετο πρὸ εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὀμονοίας. The latter words, Ἐγένετο, etc., refer apparently to the date of the decree of the senate, which had been made on February 11, in the lifetime of Cæsar, but had not been enrolled up to the time of his death. Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 10.

**353.** Lepidus is chosen Pontifex Maximus in the place of Cæsar. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῦτον τεχνάζοντα (Lepidum) οἱ μισθωτοὶ, φιλότιμον εἰδότες, ἐπῆρουν, καὶ ἤρουντο ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος Ἱερωσύνην. Appian, B. C. ii. 132 (see B.C. 63, no. 89). Lepidus was succeeded by Augustus (see B.C. 12, no. 775).

**354.** Octavius, at the death of Cæsar, was at Apollonia for his education, and had been there for six months preceding. Ἐκτον δ' ἔχοντι μῆνα ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἀγγέλλεται περὶ ἐσπέραν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνηρημένος. Appian, B. C. iii. 9. Suet. Aug. 8. Dion, xlv. 3. His private tutor at Apollonia was Apollodorus of Pergamus. *Præcipue tamen in se converterunt studia Apollodorus Pergamenus, qui præceptor Apolloniæ Cæsaris Augusti fuit,* etc. Quintil. Instit. iii. 1. He was now eighteen years of age. Τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων ἄγων (ὀκτωδέκῆτος γὰρ ἦν). Dion, xlv. 4. *Octavianus adolescens annos x. et viii. natus.* Eutrop. vii. 1. He would complete his nineteenth

year on September 23, B.C. 44 (see B.C. 63, no. 88).

**355.** He crosses to Brundisium and proceeds towards Rome. Dion, xlv. 3. He arrives at Naples on April 18: *Octavius Neapolim venit xiv. Kal. (Maii)*. Cic. Ep. Att. xiv. 10. And is at Rome before May 18, for Cicero at that date alludes to his proceedings there. *Quinto decimo Kalend. (Jun.) a Suessano proficiscens. . . De Octavii concione idem sentio quod tu; ludorumque ejus apparatus* (see Suet. Aug. 10), *et Matius ac Postumius mihi procuratores non placent*. Ep. Att. xv. 2.

**356.** Cæsar, just before his assassination, had appointed Brutus to the province of Macedonia, and Cassius to that of Syria, for the following year, B.C. 43; and until that time they would naturally, as they were now prætors, remain at Rome, but the populace would not suffer their presence, and they are obliged to leave the city, and the senate, to give them a pretext of absence, confides to them the corn supplies in Campania. *Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος ἐστρατήγουν μὲν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ἤρηντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἶδε ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγησθαι Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βρούτος*. Οὔτε δὲ ἄρχειν πω τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι, οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἄστει φόβον ὑπομένοντες, ἐξήεσαι ἔτι στρατηγοῦντες, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἢ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν. Appian, B. C. iv. 57.

**357.** Brutus and Cassius leave Rome before the Ludi Apollinares (July 6). *Τά τε Ἀπολλωνεῖα οὐδέπω (Cassius) διεώρακεν*. Dion, xlvii. 20. And it would seem that they were in Campania as early as May, for they write apparently from Campania to Antony, then at Rome, before June 1. *Scribitur nobis magnam veterinorum multitudinem convenisse jam, et ad Kal. Junias futuram multo majorem*. Letter of Brutus and Cass., Cic. Ep. Fam. xi. 2. They remained some time in Campania, watching the course of events. *Αὐτὸς δὲ (Cassius) οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπέπλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ μετὰ τοῦ Βρούτου χρονίσας ἐπετήρει τὰ γιγνόμενα*. Dion, xlvii. 20. And they write from Campania as late as August 4, for their letter is dated *Pridie Nonas Sext.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xi. 3.

**358.** They pass over to Greece, and are received with honours at Athens. Dion, xlvii. 20. Plut. Ant. 23; Brut. 24.

**359.** On the departure of Brutus and Cassius

from Rome for Campania, Macedonia is decreed for the year B.C. 43 to M. Antony, one of the consuls, and Syria is decreed for the year B.C. 43 to Dolabella, the other consul. *Οἰχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους Ἀντωνίων τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μετεψηφίζετο*. Appian, B. C. iv. 57.

**360.** M. Antony procures the province of Macedonia, which had been decreed to himself, to be assigned to his brother, C. Antonius, and Cisalpine Gaul, which had been assigned to Decimus Brutus, to be decreed to himself with the Macedonian forces. *Τὴν μὲν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου δεδομένην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάιος σφετερίσασθαι· τὴν δὲ Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἀλπεων, ἣ ὁ Βρούτος ὁ Δέκιμος προσετέτακτο αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος (M. Antony) μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν προπεμφθέντων ἀντιλαβεῖν. . . Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐψηφίσθη*. Dion, xlv. 9.

**361.** Antony and Octavius prepare for war against each other, and Antony, on October 9, proceeds to Brundisium to conciliate the four legions lately arrived from Macedonia. *A. d. vii. Idus Octob. Brundisium (Antonius) erat profectus obviam legionibus Macedonicis quatuor*. Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 23. Dion, xlv. 12. And Octavius levies forces in Campania. Dion, xlv. 12.

**362.** Towards the close of the year, and before the expiration of his consulship, Dolabella, the colleague of Antony in the consulship and his partisan, proceeds to Syria to take possession of his province. *Ἦδη γὰρ ὁ, τε ἑνιαυτὸς ἐξῆι καὶ ὑπατὸς οὐδέεις παρῆν (at Rome). Ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προεξέπεμπετο*. Dion, xlv. 15. Appian, B. C. iii. 24.

Dolabella wends his way slowly through Macedonia and Thrace to Asia. *Οὔτος (Dolabella) γὰρ ἐτέτακτο μὲν τῆς Συρίας ἄρχειν, καὶ τὴν ἐξοδὸν ὑπατεύων ἐποιεῖτο, χρόνιος δὲ διὰ τε τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸ ἔθνος κομίσθεις καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνδιέτριψεν*. Dion, xlvii. 29.

**363.** Dolabella sends A. Allienus to Egypt to bring up the legions left with Cleopatra by Cæsar, and to meet him in Syria. Appian, B. C. iii. 78 (see B.C. 47, no. 294).

**364.** Antony returns from Brundisium to Rome, but at the end of November leaves Rome in haste, and passes to Cisalpine Gaul. *Edixit (Antony) ut adesset senatus frequens*



a. d. viii. Kal. Decemb. (Nov. 24). *Eo die ipse non adfuit. . . In ante diem iv. Kal. Dec. (Nov. 28) distulit. . . Cum de republicâ relaturus fuisset, allato nuntio de legione quartâ, mente concidit, effugere festinans, etc.* Cic. Phil. iii. 8 and 9. Appian, B. C. iii. 49. Dion, xlv. 13.

**365.** L. Staius Murcus, who, at the beginning of this year or at the close of the year before, had gone out to Syria as successor to J. Sextus Cæsar (see B.C. 46, no. 326; B.C. 41, no. 434), and had carried with him three legions from Rome, finding himself unable to cope with Cæcilius Bassus, calls in the aid of Q. Crispus Marcius, the prefect of Bithynia (see B.C. 43, no. 396). 'Ο Μούρκος ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον Κρίσπον, ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας, καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ βοηθῶν ὁ Κρίσπος τέλεσιν ἄλλοις τρισίν. Appian, B. C. iii. 77. In Dion, xlvii. 27, the name of the prefect of Bithynia is Μάρκος Κρίσπος, and in Vell. Paterc. (ii. 69) Crispus Marcius, and in the letter of Cassius to Cicero (Ep. Fam. xii. 11) Q. Crispus, and in the letter of D. Brutus (Cic. Ep. Brut. ii. 5) it is Marcius. The real name was Q. Crispus Marcius.

**366.** The united forces of Murcus and Marcius shut up Cæcilus Bassus in Apamea, and the siege continued until the arrival of Cassius at the beginning of the following year, B.C. 43. 'Αφικνεῖται Κάσσιος· καὶ λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν, etc. Jos. Ant. xiv. 11, 2; Bell. i. 11, 1. Dion, xlvii. 27. Strabo, xvi. 2. The Marcus mentioned by Josephus as successor of J. Sextus Cæsar in the province of Syria (Μάρκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Σέξσου παραγίνεται διάδοχος. Bell. i. 10, 10; Ant. xiv. 11, 1) was not Q. Crispus Marcius, who came from Bithynia and not from Rome, but L. Staius Murcus, who had been sent out by Cæsar, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκπεμφθέντα. Appian, B. C. iv. 58. The historian wrote Μούρκος, and the transcriber substituted the more familiar name of Μάρκος (see B.C. 45, no. 338).

**367.** Death of Servilius Isauricus (his coss.), at a great age, ὑπεργήρως. Dion, xlv. 16.

**367 a.** Coins of C. J. Cæsar.

*Cæsar Dic. Quar. + Cos. Quinq.*  
*Cæsar Dict. Perpetuo + L. Buca.*  
*Cæsar + L. Æmilius Buca iii. vir.*  
*Cæsar Imp. P. M. + L. Æmilius Buca.*  
*Cæsar Dict. Perpetuo, vel Dict. in perpetuum*  
*+ C. Maridianus.*

*Cæsar Parens Patriæ + C. Cossutius Maridianus.*  
*A. A. A. F. F.*

*Cæsar Imp. vel Imper. vel Dict. Perpetuo + P. Sepullius Macer.*

*Clementiæ Cæsaris + P. Sepullius Macer.*

Coins after death of Cæsar in his honour.

*C. Cæsar Dict. Perp. Pont. Max. + C. Cæsar Cos. Pont. Aug. (viz. Augur).*

*Cæsar Dic. + M. Anton. Imp. vel M. Anton. Imp. R. P. C.*

*Caput Cæsaris + L. Lavineius Regulus.*

*Cæsar Imp. + P. Clodius M. F.*

*Caput Cæsaris + T. Sempronius Gracchus Q. Desig. S. C.*

*Cæsar Dic. Per. vel C. Cæsar Dict. Perpet. ex S. C.* Eckhel, vi. 8.

Coins of M. J. Brutus.

*Brutus + Ahala.*

*M. Brutus Imp. Costa Leg. + L. Brutus Prim. Cos.*

*Libertas + Brutus.*

*Eagle holding laurel + Κορων.*

*Brut. Imp. L. Plact. Cest. + Eid. Mar.*

*Libertas + P. R. Restitu. vel Rest.*

*Q. Cæpio Brutus Imp. + Procos.*

Eckhel, vi. 20.

Coins of C. Cassius.

*C. Cassei Imp. + M. Servilius Leg.*

*C. Cassi Imp. Libertas + Lentulus Spint.*

*M. Aquinus Leg. Liber + C. Cassi Imp.*

Eckhel, vi. 24.

Inscriptions.

*Sex. Julius Sex. L. Melofius Of. ad xvix. K. Sex. Nat. P. Dol. Cos. Memor Q. fuit Deorum et*

*Filei et Libertæ suæ. Monimes vale.*

Muratori, i. 293.

*C. Julius C. F. C. N. (Cæsar iii. Dict.)*

*M. Aimilius (M. F. Q. N. Lepidus Mag. Eq.) ut quom (M. Aimilius) paludatus (exisset iniret)*

*Cn. Domitius M. F. M. N. Calvinus in insequentem annum designatus erat, non inuit.*

*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar v. (P. Cornelius P. F. Dolabella. M. Antonius M. F. M. N.)*

*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar vi. Dict. iii. Ovans ex Monte Albano. An. DCCIX. (Varro, 710)*

*vii. Kal. Feb.*

Fasti Capitol.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 3.

Pentecost, May 24.

Tabernacles, September 28.

**B. C. 43. U. C. 711. Olymp. 184, 2.**

C. VIBIUS PANSA. (Quo in mag. occiso eum excepit C. Octav. Cæsar, et hoc abdic. suffectus est C. Carrinas.)

A. HIRTIUS. (Quo in mag. occiso eum excepit Q. Pedius, quo in mag. mortuo eum excepit P. Ventidius.)

N. B.—C. OCTAV. CÆSAR was consul in August of this year (see *infra*, no. 373).

**368.** The senate oppose the ambitious views of M. Antony, and he is ordered to quit Cisalpine Gaul and proceed to Macedonia, the province which had been originally assigned to him. Dion, xlvi. 29 (see B. C. 44, no. 359).

**369.** M. Antony persists in retaining Gaul, and besieges Decimus Brutus, the brother of M. Brutus, in Mutina. This was during the winter, B. C. 44–43. Τῆ τοῦ χειμῶνος προφάσει. Dion, xlvi. 35.

**370.** Octavius is ordered by the senate to march with Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls, against Antony, and they defeat Antony in two battles at Mutina; but Hirtius and Pansa are slain. Dion, xlvi. 37, 38. The first battle was fought on April 15. *XVII. Kalend. Maii* . . . *Antonius legiones eduxit duas*, etc. Cic. Ep. Fam. x. 30; and see Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 625. The second battle was fought before April 29, for on that day a letter from D. Brutus to Cicero refers to the final defeat of M. Antony. *Pulso Antonio*, etc. *III. Kalend. Maii. Ex castris Regii*. Ep. Fam. xi. 9. The campaign of Octavius was concluded in three months. *Jussusque* (Octavius) *comparato exercitu pro prætore præesse, et cum Hirtio et Pansâ qui consulatum acceperant D. Bruto opem ferre, demandatum bellum tertio mense confecit duobus præliis*. Suet. Aug. 10. Octavius, for these battles, is saluted *Imperator*, being his first acquisition of this title. Dion, xlvi. 38. Cicero, Epist. ad Brut. i. 15; Philipp. xiv. 14 (see B. C. 31, no. 609 a).

**371.** Antony effects a junction with Lepidus at the head of a considerable force in Gaul on May 29. *Lepidus . . . se cum Antonio conjunxit a. d. iv. Kal. Jun.* Cic. Ep. Fam. x. 23.

**372.** The senate, jealous of the rising power of Octavius, decree the command of the seas to Sextus Pompey, and the province of Macedonia (decreed before to Antony) to M. Brutus, and of Syria (decreed before to Dolabella, the partisan of Antony) to Cassius, with the conduct of the war against Dolabella. Τῷ τε γάρ

Πομπήῳ τῷ Σέξτῳ τὸ ναυτικόν, καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ τῷ Μάρκῳ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, τῷ τε Κασσίῳ τὴν τε Συρίαν, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐνεχειρίσαν. Dion, xlvi. 40.

**373.** Octavius prevails in the struggle against the senate, and is declared consul both by the senate and the people. Liv. Epit. 119. Appian, B. C. iii. 94. Dion, xlvi. 43–46. This was in the month of August. Ὑπατος ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἀποδέδεικτο. Dion, lv. 6. *Quia hoc* (mense, viz. August) *sibi et primus consulatus et insignes victoria obtigissent*. Suet. Aug. 31. And, according to Dion, on August 19. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ἐν ἧ ἴσπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπάτευσε, μετήλλαξε. Dion, lvi. 30. But, according to Velleius Paterculus, it was on Sept. 22, the day before Octavius's birthday. *Consulatumque inivit Cæsar pridie quam viginti annos impleret, x. Kal. Octob., cum collegâ Qu. Pedio, post urbem conditam DCCXI.* Vell. Pat. ii. 65.

**374.** A comet is seen in this consulship. Plin. N. H. ii. 23.

**375.** Octavius marches against Antony and Lepidus, Dion, xlvi. 50, who were advancing from Gaul to Italy. Dion, xlvi. 54.

**376.** Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, agree upon the Triumvirate for five years, Octavius taking Libya, Sardinia, and Sicily, Lepidus Spain and Gallia Narbonensis, and Antony the rest of Gaul, including Gallia Togata. *C. Cæsar pacem cum Antonio et Lepido fecit, ita ut Tresviri Reipublicæ constituendæ per quinquennium essent, ipse et Lepidus et Antonius, et ut suos quisque inimicos proscriberent*. Liv. Epit. 120. Dion, xlvi. 55. Appian, B. C. iv. 2–12. Plut. Cic. 46; Anton. 19, 20. The five years commenced on Nov. 27 of this year, and were to end on Dec. 31, B. C. 38. *Æmilius M. Antonius Imp. Cæsar iii. vir. r. p. c. ex a. d. v. K. Dec. ad pr. K. Jan. sex.* Lapis Colotianus, cited Eckhel, vi. 70 (see B. C. 37, no. 513).

**377.** Death of Cicero by the orders of the Triumvirate at the instance of Antony. Dion, xlvii. 11; on Dec. 7. *VII. Idus Decembris occisus est, quo anno Divus Augustus in locum Pansæ et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit*. Auctor Dialogi de Orator. 17. *Occisus est annorum lvi.* (or lxiii.). His coss., Cassiodor.

**378.** Octavius resigns the consulship. Ἦς γὰρ (ὑπατείας) οὕτως ἐπεθύμησεν ὥστε καὶ πολεμήσαι διὰ ταύτην, ταύτης ἐκὼν ἐξέστη. Dion, xlvii. 15.



**379.** Early in the year Brutus and Cassius quit Athens, the former for Macedonia, and the latter for Syria. Dion, xlvii. 21.

**380.** Brutus visits Carystus in Eubœa, Plut. Brut. 24; and Demetrius in Thessaly, Plut. Brut. 25; and thence proceeds to Epidamnus, *ib.* Thence to Asia, where he conciliates Dejotarus. *Κάντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὕστερον ἔπλευσεν.* Dion, xlvii. 24; and then returns to Europe, and afterwards passes again into Asia. *Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπειχθεῖς, etc., καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ κρατυνόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐθις ἀνεκομίσθη.* Dion, xlvii. 25.

**381.** Cassius having got the start of Dolabella, who was progressing slowly to the east (see B.C. 44, no. 362), joins Trebonius, his adherent, in Asia. Dion, xlvii. 26. And wins over Tarcondimitus, king of the highlands of Cilicia (see B.C. 50, no. 239; B.C. 31, no. 600); and compels the Tarsians, against their will, to join him. Dion, xlvii. 26.

**382.** From Cilicia, Cassius proceeds to Syria. *Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος πράξας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἦλθε.* Dion, xlvii. 26. And wins over to himself the six legions of L. Statius Murcus and Crispus Marcius, and the one legion of Cæcilius Bassus. Appian, B. C. iii. 78. Dion, xlvii. 28. Vell. Patere. ii. 69. Murcus and Marcius are willing to serve under Cassius, and Murcus takes the command of the fleet; but Bassus refuses to act with Cassius. Dion, xlvii. 28. Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 11, 12.

**383.** Cassius enters Judæa, and meets A. Allienus, who was bringing up the legions from Egypt in aid of Dolabella (see B.C. 44, no. 363); and as Cassius had the superior force, Allienus and his legions are obliged to join his standard. *Παραλαβὼν οὖν τὴν Συρίαν, ἐς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὤρμησε, etc.* Dion, xlvii. 28. *Ἐς αὐτὸν (Allienus) ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, τῶν ὄντων οὐ προπευσμένον, ἄφνω περιελάβε τε, etc.* Appian, B.C. iv. 59. All this was before March 7 of this year, for, on that day, Cassius was at Taricheæ, from which he wrote to Cicero: *In Syriam me profectum esse scito ad L. Murcum et Q. Crispum Imperatores. Viri (Murcus and Crispus) . . . exercitus mihi tradiderunt, ipsique mecum unâ fortissimo animo rempublicam administrant. Item legionem quam Q. Cæcilius Bassus habuit, ad me venisse scito, quatuorque legiones quas A. Allienus ex Ægypto eduxit traditas ab eo mihi esse scito. . . Data Nonis Martiis ex castris Taricheis.* Ep. Fam.

xii. 11. Cassius also confirms the account that Bassus himself would not join him. *Bassus miserè noluit mihi legionem tradere. Quod nisi milites, invito eo, legatos ad me misissent, clausam Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata.* Ep. Fam. xii. 12.

**384.** Cassius, while in Judæa, imposes on it a tribute of 700 talents, the collection of which is distributed by Antipater amongst his sons and friends, and Malachus, an influential commander. Jos. Ant. xiv. 11, 2; Bell. i. 11, 2. These 700 talents are perhaps alluded to in Cassius's letter of May 7. *Habui paululum moræ, dum promissa militibus persolvo. Nunc jam sum expeditus.* Ep. Fam. xii. 12.

**385.** Herod is the first to raise his quota—100 talents from Galilee—and thus gains the favour of Cassius, and is made captain of Cœle-Syria. *Στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 11, 4. *Συρίας ἀπάσης ἐπιμελητήν.* Bell. i. 11, 4. Four cities which were backward in their contribution, viz. Lydda, Thamna, Gophne, and Emmaus, are sold into slavery. Ant. xiv. 11, 2; Bell. i. 11, 2.

**386.** Malachus does not raise his share, and would have been put to death, but Antipater generously saves him, though a political antagonist, by advancing 100 talents on his account. Ant. xiv. 11, 3; Bell. i. 11, 3.

**387.** Dolabella is at Ephesus in the month of January, and issues an edict in favour of the Jews on the first of the month Lenæon. *Ἐπὶ Πρυτανέως Ἀρτέμιονος, Διναίωνος πρώτῃ, Δολοβέλλας Ἀυτοκράτωρ, Ἐφεσίων βουλή καὶ ἄρχονσι καὶ δήμῳ, χαίρειν, etc.* Ant. xiv. 10, 12.

**388.** The month Lenæon was an Ephesian month, and began about January 24. The calendar of Proconsular Asia was, according to Ideler (i. 414), as follows:—

Cæsarius . . . . .	24 September
Tiberius . . . . .	24 October
Apaturius . . . . .	24 November
Poseidaon . . . . .	25 December
Lenæus . . . . .	24 January
Hierosebastus . . . . .	22 February
Artemisius . . . . .	24 March
Euangelius . . . . .	24 April
Stratonicus . . . . .	24 May
Hecatombæus . . . . .	24 June
Anteus . . . . .	25 July
Laodikius . . . . .	25 August

**389.** Dolabella, following in the steps of Cassius in Asia, puts Trebonius, the adherent of Cassius, to death by treachery, and possesses

himself of all Asia. This was before May 7; for Cassius, in his letter of that date to Cicero, alludes to the event. *Quod si litteræ perlatae non sunt, non dubito quin Dolabella, qui, nefarie Trebonio occiso, Asiam occupavit, tabellarios meos deprehenderit, litterasque interceperit.* Ep. Fam. xii. 12. And it was when intelligence of the defeat of Antony by Octavius at Mutina, on April 15, had not reached Rome. Οὐδέπω γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐνεκικήκει, οὔτε τὰ ἐν τῇ ἄστει διὰ χειρὸς ἐπεποίητο. Dion, xlvii. 29. See Vell. Pat. ii. 69.

**390.** While Cassius is in Judæa, and therefore about April, Dolabella enters Cilicia, and is joined by the Tarsians. Ὁ δ' οὖν Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἦλθε, τοῦ Κασσίου ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ὄντος. Dion, xlvii. 30.

**391.** Cassius hears of the invasion of Dolabella before May 7; for he writes: *Literis scriptis, audio Dolabellam in Ciliciam venisse cum suis copiis. Proficiscar in Ciliciam. . . Nonis Maii ex castris.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 12.

**392.** Malachus causes Antipater, his benefactor, to be poisoned. This was after Cassius had quitted Judæa and returned to Syria. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιος ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπήρε, etc. Ant. xiv. 11, 3. Ἀναχωρήσαντος Κασσίου. Bell. i. 11, 3.

**393.** Herod, hearing of the murder of Antipater, his father, marches to Jerusalem; but, not wishing to kindle a civil war, dissembles his revenge against Malachus for the present. This visit to Jerusalem was at the time of a feast. Ἐνστάσης τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἑορτῆς. Ant. xiv. 11, 5. Ἐπειτα καθ' ἑορτὴν ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Bell. i. 11, 6. It was probably the feast of Pentecost (May 13); for Cassius had not returned to Syria, but was at Tarichææ so late as March 7, and there was not time for the intervening events between that and March 23, the day of the Passover: nor could it have been the Feast of Tabernacles, on September 27; for it was just after the capture of Laodicea, which was much earlier (see *infra*, no. 397).

**394.** Dolabella enters Syria, and, being rejected from Antioch, retires to Laodicea. This was some time in May; for on May 29 Lentulus had heard of it at Perga. *Dolabella enim in Syriâ est. . . . Exclusus enim ab Antiochiâ Dolabella, et in oppugnando male acceptus, nullâ aliâ confisus urbe, Laodiceam, quæ est in Syriâ ad mare, se contulit. . . .*

*D. iiii. Kalend. Jun. Pergæ.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 14; and see xii. 15.

**395.** Cassius blockades Dolabella in Laodicea by land and sea. Dion, xlvii. 30. Appian, B. C. iv. 60. During the siege Cassius crosses over to Cyprus, and is there on June 13. *Nam jam ternis tetradrachmis triticum apud Dolobellam est. Nisi quid navibus Laodiceorum supportarit, cito fame pereat necesse est. . . . Data Idibus Jun. Cypro a Crommyu-acride.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 13.

**396.** Tillius Cimber, proconsul of Bithynia (see v.c. 44, no. 365), hastens to join Cassius in Syria, when the Tarsians occupy the Cilician gates to stop his progress, but retire without fighting. Cimber leaves a detachment to keep Tarsus in check, and enters Syria. The Tarsians overpower the detachment and march against Adana, which favoured Cassius, and Lucius Rufus is sent by Cassius against them. This was before the death of Dolabella. Ἐπι ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἔζη. Dion, xlvii. 31. Lucius Rufus compels the Tarsians to capitulate. Dion, xlvii. 31. And they are mulcted in 1,500 talents, and multitudes are sold into slavery to raise the fine. Appian, B. C. iv. 64.

**397.** The siege of Laodicea is so closely pressed that Dolabella, despairing of escape, kills himself, and Laodicea is taken. This event probably occurred soon after midsummer. Dion, xlvii. 30. Appian, B. C. iv. 62.

**398.** On this triumph of Cassius, Herod hastens to Cassius to offer his congratulations, and then, with the leave of Cassius, puts Malachus to death by an ambush at Tyre. Ὡς δὲ Λαοδίκειαν [Ἰ]ρήκωτος Κασσίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπήεσαν κοινῇ, στεφάνους τε αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα κομίζοντες, Ἡρώδης μὲν, etc. Jos. Ant. xiv. 11, 6; Bell. i. 11, 7.

**399.** On the fall of Laodicea, Cassius had intended to march against Egypt. Μετὰ δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὄρμα. Appian, B. C. iv. 63. Plut. Brut. 28. But is recalled by a message from Brutus, that Octavius and Antony were transporting their forces into Macedonia. Ὁ Βρούτος ἐκάλεε κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὡς ἤδη Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τὸν Ἰόνιον περὼντων. Appian, B. C. iv. 63. Plut. Brut. 28.

**400.** Cassius leaves his nephew with one cohort, μεθ' ἐνὸς τέλους, Appian, B. C. iv. 63, in Syria; and proceeds to Tarsus, Appian, B. C. iv. 64; and thence to Smyrna to have an interview with Brutus. Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπειδὴ τάτε ἐν τῇ



Συρία καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ κατεστήσατο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὸν Βρούτον ἀφίκετο. Dion, xlvii. 32. Περὶ Σμύρναν ἀλλήλοις ἐνετύγχανον. Plut. Brut. 28.

**401.** On the departure of Cassius from Syria, Elix, a partisan of Malachus, rises in arms against Phasaelus, the son of Antipater and brother of Herod, but is overpowered by him. *Κασσίου δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, πάλιν στάσις ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γίνεται, etc.* Jos. Bell. i. 12, 1; Ant. xiv. 11, 7. Herod was at this time with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and very ill; but on his recovery he marches to Judæa and takes Masada, which had been seized by a brother of Malachus. *Ἡρώδης δὲ ἔτυχε μὲν ὦν παρὰ Φαβίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ κατὰ Δαμασκόν, etc.* Bell. i. 12, 1; Ant. xiv. 11, 7.

**401 a.** Coins of M. Antony.

*M. Anton. Imp. vel M. Anton. Imp. R. P. C. + Cæsar Dic.*

*M. Antonius iii. vir R. P. C.* (with the addition in some of *Aug.*) + *C. Cæsar iii. vir R. P. C.*

*M. Anton. Imp. vel M. Anton. Cos. Imp. + M. Lepid. Imp. vel M. Lepid. Cos. Imp.*

*Head of Antony + P. Sepullius Macer.*

*M. Antonius iii. vir R. P. C. + L. Massidii Longi vel P. Clodii vel Vibii Vari.*

*M. Antoni. Imp. + iii. vir R. P. C.*

*Head of Antony + M. Antonius iii. vir R. P. C.*

*Figure of Victory + Luguduni A. XL.*

*III. vir R. P. C. + Antoni. Imp. A. XLII.*

Eckhel, vi. 36.

Inscriptions.

*L. Munatius L. F. L. N. Plancus Pro Cos. ex Galliâ an. DCCX. (Varro, 711) K. Jan.*

*M. Æmilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus ii. iii. vir R. P. C. Pro Cos. ex Hispaniâ Pridie K. Jan.*

Fasti Capitol.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 23.

Pentecost, May 13.

Tabernacles, Sept. 17.

**B.C. 42. U.C. 712. Olymp. 184, 3.**

*M. ÆMIL. LEPIDUS, ii. Vice A. Postumii Albini Bruti, qui antequam iniret damn. est.*

*L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.*

**402.** On new-year's day the triumvirs and people swear to observe all the ordinances of Julius Cæsar. *Ἐν τε γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοὶ τε ὤμωσαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὄρκω-*

*σαν βέβαια νομεῖν πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου (Cæsar) γενόμενα.* Dion, xlvii. 18.

**403.** Ptolemy Mennæi, who had married Alexandra, the daughter of Aristobulus and sister of Antigonus (see B.C. 49, no. 255; B.C. 40, no. 439), and Marion, whom Cassius had left tyrant of Tyre, and who was an ally of Ptolemy Mennæi, endeavour to procure the restoration of Antigonus to the kingdom of Judæa. *Ἀντίγονον δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, στρατιαν ἀθροίσαντα . . . κατάγει Προλεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου διὰ τὸ κήδευμα, συνεμάχει δὲ αὐτῷ Μαρίων, ὃν Τυρίων κατελελοίπει Κάσσιος τύραννον.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 1; Bell. i. 12, 2.

**404.** Antigonus also, by a large bribe, induces Fabius, the governor of Damascus, to countenance the movement. *Ὁ δὲ Μαρίων . . . συνέλαβεν Ἀντιγόνῳ . . . τὸ πλεόν διὰ Φάβιον, ὃν Ἀντίγονος χρήμασι προποισάμενος βοηθὸν εἶχε τῆς καθόδου.* Jos. Bell. i. 12, 2; Ant. xiv. 12, 1.

**405.** Marion invades Galilee and possesses himself of three forts; but Herod retakes them and defeats Marion at the borders of Judæa, and drives him and Antigonus out of the country. Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 1; Bell. i. 12, 3. Josephus relates this after the departure of Cassius from Syria. Ant. xiv. 11, 7; Bell. i. 12, 1 (see B.C. 43, no. 400). And before the battle of Philippi. Ant. xiv. 12, 2; Bell. i. 12, 4 (see *post*, no. 414). It was probably, therefore, in the first half of this year, as, at the close of the preceding year, Herod was occupied against the brother of Malachus at Masada (see B.C. 43, no. 401).

**406.** Herod enters Jerusalem in triumph, and is betrothed, but not at this time married, to Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus. *Ἐγεγάμερευτο δὲ ἤδη καθ' ὁμολογίαν τῷ Ὑρκανοῦ γένει . . . μέλλων ἄγεσθαι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα, Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ θυγατρίδην.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 1; Bell. i. 12, 3. The marriage had not yet taken place in B.C. 40. *Παραινούσης δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρὸς, ἧς ἐνεγγήγτο τὴν θυγατέρα.* Ant. xiv. 13, 6. *Ἦν ἔμελλεν ἄγεσθαι πρὸς γάμον Ἀλεξάνδρου θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδός.* Ant. xiv. 13, 7. The marriage was celebrated, in fact, in B.C. 37. Ant. xiv. 16, 1; Bell. i. 17, 9 (see B.C. 37, no. 518).

**407.** Brutus and Cassius, in pursuance of arrangements made at Smyrna (see B.C. 43, no. 400), proceed, the former to Lycia and the

latter to Rhodes. Plut. Brut. 28. Appian, B. C. iv. 65. Dion, xlvii. 32.

**408.** Cassius, by his admiral L. Staius Murcus, defeats the Rhodians. Dion, xlvii. 33. Plut. Brut. 30. Vell. Pat. ii. 69. Appian, B. C. iv. 63.

**409.** Cassius puts Ariobarzanes II., king of Cappadocia, to death. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀριοβαρζάνην συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε. Dion, xlvii. 33. Τοῦς δὲ ἰππέας προὔπεμψεν (Cassius) ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, οὗ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε ἄφνω κατέκανον ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντα Κασσίω, etc. Appian, B. C. iv. 63 (see B.C. 65, no. 57).

**410.** Brutus takes Xanthus, Patara, and Myra, and subdues all Lycia. Dion, xlvii. 34. Plut. Brut. 30. Vell. Pat. ii. 69.

**411.** Brutus and Cassius have another meeting in Asia and hasten to Macedonia. Ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐθις ἦλθον, καὶ . . . ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπέειγοντο. Dion, xlvii. 35.

**412.** Meanwhile C. Norbanus and Decidius Saxas, partisans of the Triumvirate, cross from Italy to Greece, and take possession of Macedonia as far as Philippi. Dion, xlvii. 35. Appian, B. C. iv. 87.

**413.** Brutus and Cassius advance with their forces to Philippi, when Norbanus and Saxas decline battle and wait for Octavius and Antony, who were advancing from Italy. Dion, xlvii. 36. Appian, B. C. iv. 105.

**414.** BATTLE OF PHILIPPI in the autumn. Ἐδεδοίκεσαν . . . τὸν χειμῶνα προσιόντα. Appian, B. C. iv. 122. Ἀτέλλιος ἠναντιοῦτο τὸν γε χειμῶνα περιμείναι κελύων. Plut. Brut. 39. Dion, xlvii. 43. Liv. Epit. 124. Plut. Ant. 22. Vell. Pat. ii. 70. Val. Max. ix. 9, 2. The battle was short of two years complete from the departure of Brutus and Cassius from Italy for Macedonia and Syria, to collect forces, at the close of B.C. 44. Δυσὶν οὐδὲ ὄλοιον ἔτοιον στρατίαν τε συνέλεξαν (Brutus and Cassius) ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ὀπλιῶν τέλη, etc. Appian, B. C. iv. 133. Brutus and Cassius were certainly in Campania as late as August 4, B.C. 44, and probably two or three months longer (see B.C. 44, no. 357). And the battle was before the birth of Tiberius (November 16), and was probably about the autumnal equinox. It is singular that the exact date of so important a battle should not have been preserved.

**415.** Amyntas, who had been the scribe or secretary and was now the general of Dejotarus, deserts from Brutus to Octavius and

Antony. Dion, xlvii. 48; xlix. 32 (see B.C. 39, no. 480).

**416.** Death of Brutus. Dion, xlvii. 49. Plut. Brut. 52; Anton. 22.

**417.** Antony proceeds to Asia, and Octavian to Italy. Μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρμήθη. Dion, xlviii. 2; ib. 24. Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 2; Bell. i. 12, 4. Appian, B. C. v. 1.

**418.** Antony is in Bithynia, where he gives a reception to various embassies. Amongst them was one from the Jews against Phasaelus and Herod; but Herod, by means of a bribe, secures the favour of Antony, and the Jews cannot obtain a hearing. Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 2; Bell. i. 12, 4.

**419.** Antony is at Ephesus, where he settles the affairs of the East. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενος, etc. Appian, B. C. v. 4; and receives an embassy there from Hyrcanus: ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον ἦκεν Ἀντώνιος, ἐπεμψεν Ὑρκανὸς ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμέτερον πρεσβείαν πρὸς αὐτόν, Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 2; when Antony orders all Jews who had been sold into slavery to be set free, Ant. xiv. 12, 3, and decrees the Tyrians to restore to the Jews the lands which they had taken from them. Ant. xiv. 12, 4.

**420.** Lycia is made free (see A.D. 43, no. 1656), and the Rhodians have their possessions extended. Appian, B. C. v. 7 (see A.D. 44 no. 1683).

**421.** Laodicea in Syria, and Tarsus, for their sufferings in the cause of the victors, are made free cities with immunity from taxes, and the Tarsians sold into slavery are set at liberty. Λαοδικίας δὲ καὶ Ταρσέας ἐλευθέρους ἠφείε καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων· καὶ Ταρσέων τοὺς πεπραμένους ἀπέλυε τῆς δουλείας. Appian, B. C. v. 7 (see B.C. 43, nos. 396, 397). There are coins of Tarsus extant with the inscription of their freedom. Κοινοβουλιον Ελευθ. Ταρσ. The city appears to have been governed by a κοινοβούλιον, or house of parliament, consisting of three orders, viz. Δῆμος, Βουλὴ, Γερουσία. See Eckhel, iii. 73.

**422.** The Athenians have Ægina, Icos, Ceos, Sciathus, and Peparethus given to them. Appian, B. C. v. 7 (see B.C. 21, no. 720).

**423.** Imposts are laid upon the countries in Asia, including Palestine. Ἐπιταρίων δὲ Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Συρίαν τὴν Κόλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην, καὶ τὴν Ἰουραίαν, καὶ



ὄσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων, ἅπασιν ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλε βαρείας. Appian, B. C. v. 7 (see B.C. 63, no. 81).

**424.** The tyrannies which Cassius had established in Syria (τυραννίσι γὰρ διαλαβὼν τὴν Συρίαν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ (Cassius) ἐφρούρησεν, Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 1) are put down by Antony. Ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐξήρει τύραννους. Appian, B. C. v. 7.

**425.** Ariarathes and Sisenna contend before Antony for the kingdom of Cappadocia, and Antony favours Sisenna. Καὶ εἰήτα πόλεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐν μὲν Καππαδοκίᾳ Ἀριαράθῃ τε καὶ Σισίνῃ, ὧν τῷ Σισίνῃ συνέπραξεν εἰς βασιλείαν, καλῆς οἱ φανείσης τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σισίνῃ Γλαφύρας. Appian, B. C. v. 7. Ariarathes was the brother of Ariobarzanes II. *Postero autem die (Ariobarzanes II.) cum Ariarathe fratre suo, et cum paternis amicis, majoribus natu, ad me in castra venit.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xv. 2. As, according to Strabo, the family of Ariobarzanes I. sat on the throne for three generations, εἰς τριγωνίαν δὲ προελθόντος τοῦ γένους ἐξέλιπε, Strabo, xii. 3; and as Ariarathes was the brother, Sisenna must have been the son of Ariobarzanes II., and the grandson of Ariobarzanes I. It would appear that, subsequently, war was carried on between Sisenna and Ariarathes: Καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Σισίνου (Neroassus) ὑπῆρξε χρηματοφυλάκιον, τοῦ ἐπιθεμένου τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἀρχῇ. Τούτου δ' ἦν καὶ τὰ Κάδην βασιλείου καὶ πόλεως κατασκευὴν ἔχον, Strabo, xii. 2; and that Ariarathes ultimately, by the death or expulsion of Sisenna, possessed himself of the kingdom; for we find Ariarathes still king in B.C. 36 (see B.C. 65, no. 57; B.C. 36, no. 551).

**426.** Birth of Tiberius on November 16. *Natus est Romæ in Palatio xvi. Kal. Decemb. M. Emilio Lepido, L. Munatio Planco Coss. post bellum Philippense. . . . Nec tamen desunt qui partim antecedente anno Hirtilii et Pansa, partim insequente Servilii Isaurici Antonii que consulatu genitum eum scribant.* Suet. Tib. 5. Τῷ δὲ γε Τιβερίῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἐγκειμένης, καὶ τὸν γοῦν μῆνα τὸν Νοέμβριον, ἐν ᾧ τῇ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγεγένητο Τιβέριον καλεῖσθαι ἀξιούσης, etc. Dion, lvii. 18.

**426 a.** Inscription.

*P. Vatinius P. F. Pro Cos. de Illurico pridie. . .*  
Fasti Capitol.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 11.

Pentecost, June 1.

Tabernacles, October 6.

**B.C. 41. U.C. 713. Olymp. 184, 4.**

L. ANTONIUS.

P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, II.

**427.** Triumph of Luc. Antonius, the brother of M. Antony, on new year's day. "Ἠχθη δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα. Dion, xlvi. 4. *L. Antonius cos. ex Alpiibus.* Fasti Capitol.

**428.** Octavius is repulsed from Nursia and Sentinum, and returns to Rome. Sentinum is taken, and Nursia capitulates. Dion, xlvi. 13.

**429.** A famine in Italy from the blockade of Sextus Pompey. Dion, xlvi. 7.

**430.** Antony is in Greece, and bestows favours on Athens. Plut. Ant. 23. He leaves Censorinus to command in Greece, and crosses to Asia and makes a triumphal entry into Ephesus. "Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λεύκιον Κηρσοῦνον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταλιπὼν εἰς Ἀσίαν διέβη, etc. εἰς γοῦν "Ἐφεσον εἰσίοντος αὐτοῦ, etc. Plut. Ant. 24.

**431.** Antony passes into Cilicia, and Cleopatra, whom he had summoned from Egypt, sails up the Cydnus and meets him at Tarsus, when he is captivated by her. "Ἀπτόμενος τοῦ Παρθικοῦ πολέμου, ἔπεμψε (Antony) πρὸς αὐτὴν κελεύων εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀπαντῆσαι, etc. Plut. Anton. 25. Καὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεοπάτρας, etc. Appian, B. C. v. 8. Jos. Ant. xiv. 13, 1. Antony at this time was forty years of age. "Ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς. Appian, B. C. v. 8 (but see B.C. 30, no. 636).

**432.** Antony, to gratify Cleopatra, drags her sister to death from the temple of Diana at Ephesus. "Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ἀρτεμισίου. Dion, xlvi. 24. Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 1. But, according to Appian, it occurred at Miletus. "Ἰκετιν οὖσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφύνης Ἀρτέμιδος. Appian, B. C. v. 9. But Appian himself speaks of Arsinoe as a suppliant of Diana at Ephesus. Καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέα, ὃν Μεγάβυζον ἠγοῦνται, ὑποδεξάμενόν ποτε τὴν Ἀρσινόην ὡς βασιλίδα, ἀχθῆναι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν (Antony). Appian, B. C. v. 9.

**433.** Antony proceeds to Antioch, and at Daphne one hundred chief men of the Jews again accuse Phasaelus and Herod when Hyrcan-

nus is present, and Antony puts fifteen of the ringleaders in bonds, and appoints Phasaelus and Herod tetrarchs of Judæa. *Τούτους μὲν ἀμφοτέρους* (Phasaelus and Herod) *Τετράρχας καθίστησι, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει πράγματα.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 13, 1. *Τετράρχας ἀποδείκνυσι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, πᾶσαν διοικεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτρέπων.* Bell. i. 12, 5.

**434.** Antony appoints Plancus proconsul of Asia (see coins of this year), and Saxas in Syria (see v.c. 44, no. 365; v.c. 40, no. 441), and joins Cleopatra in Egypt. Dion, xlvi. 24. On his way thither he passes through Tyre, when one thousand envoys of the Jews again accuse Phasaelus and Herod, and are driven away by force. Jos. Ant. xiv. 13, 2; Bell. i. 12, 6.

**435.** Attalus, king of Paphlagonia (see v.c. 65, no. 55), and Dejotarus, king of Galatia and Pontus (see v.c. 65, no. 53), die, and parts of their dominions are given to Castor. *Ταῦτα τε οὖν οὕτως ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ* (v.c. 40) *ἐπράχθη . . . ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου ἔτει* (and, therefore, v.c. 41) . . . *Κάστορι τε τιμὴ ἦτε τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δηϊοτάρου ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ Γαλατικῇ τελευτησάντων ἐδόθη . . . Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς δύο ἔτεσιν ἐγένετο.* Dion, xlvi. 33. But Norisius conjectures, with reason, that Dion here, as on some other occasions, mistakes the father for the son, and that the dominions of Attalus and Dejotarus I. were now given to Dejotarus Philadelphus, who was the son of Castor, who was the grandson, by a daughter, of Dejotarus I. Noris. Cenot. Pis. vol. i. p. 292. Dejotarus Philadelphus, as king of Paphlagonia, was amongst the allies of Antony at the battle of Actium (see v.c. 31, no. 600), but deserted from him to Octavius: *ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βασιλέων ἀποστάσεις, Ἀμύντα καὶ Δηϊοτάρου, πρὸς Καίσαρα,* Plut. Anton. 63; and was confirmed by Octavius in the kingdom of Paphlagonia. But he never, apparently, possessed Pontus, which, in v.c. 39, was given by Antony to Darius (see v.c. 39, no. 480), nor Galatia, which was given by Antony to Amyntas, who is said by Strabo to have been the immediate successor of Dejotarus I. (see v.c. 36, no. 551). Dejotarus Philadelphus was the last king of Paphlagonia. *Ἰσάτατος δὲ τῆς Παφλαγονίας ἤρξε Δηϊοτάρου, Κάστορος υἱός, ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς Φιλάδελφος, τὸ Μορζέως βασιλεῖον ἔχων τὴν Γάγγρα, πολισμάτιον ἄμα καὶ φρούριον.* Strabo, xii. 3. (Strabo wrote this about A.D. 20.) And

on the death of Dejotarus Philadelphus it was annexed to the Province of Bithynia.

**435 a.** Polemo I., according to the coins, was this year made priest of Olba. See Eckhel, iii. 64. Polemo I. took the name of M. Antony, and styles himself on his coins M. Antonius Polemo (see v.c. 39, no. 480).

**435 b.** Coins of M. Antony.

*M. Ant. Imp. Aug. iii.vir R. P. C. M. Nerva Proq. P. or M. Barbat. Q. P. + L. Antonius Cos.*

*Ant. Aug. Imp. iii.vir R. P. C. + Pietas* (i.e. *L. Antonius*, see Dion, xlvi. 5) *Cos.*

*M. Ant. Imp. Aug. iii.vir R. P. C. M. Barbat. Q. P. + Cæsar Imp. Pont. Cos. iii.vir R. P. C.*  
Eckhel, vi. 42.

*M. Anton. Imp. Aug. iii.vir + L. Plancus Pro Cos.* (see ante, no. 434).

Eckhel, vi. 43, but who refers the coin to v.c. 40.

Coins of Polemo.

*Μαρκ. Αντωνίου Πολεμωνος Αρχιερωσ + Δην... της Ιερας Κεννατω και Λα . . . σίων* (see ante, no. 435 a).  
Eckhel, iii. 62.

Inscription.

*L. Antonius M. F. M. N. Cos ex Alpibus.*  
Fasti Capitol.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 31.

Pentecost, May 21.

Tabernacles, September 25.

**B.C. 40. U.C. 714. Olymp. 185, 1.**

CN. DOMITIVS CALVENVS, ii. Qui abd. et eum excepit L. Cornel. Balbus.

C. ASINIVS POLLIO. Qui abd. et eum excepit P. Canidius Crassus.

**436.** Perusia, into which Lucius Antonius, the brother of M. Antony, had thrown himself, is taken, and all Italy submits to Octavius (his *cos.*). Dion, xlvi. 15. The capture of Perusia was very early in the year, for the besieged were already in great straits the last day of the preceding year. *Νουμηνίας δε ἔτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν οὐσης . . . ὁ Λεύκιος . . . ἐξέθορε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν.* Appian, B. C. v. 34.

**437.** Fulvia, the wife of M. Antony, as Octavius was now predominant in Italy, flies from Rome to join her husband in the East. Dion, xlvi. 15. Appian, B. C. v. 50.

**438.** Octavius commits the war against Antony to Agrippa, and proceeds to Gaul,



which he tranquillises. Dion, *xlvi*. 20. Appian, B. C. v. 51.

**439.** Ptolemy Mennæi, king of Chalcis, dies, and is succeeded by Lysanias his son. Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο (after the hearing of the Jewish envoys by Antony at Tyre, see B.C. 41, no. 434) Λυσανίας διαδεγμένος ἤδη τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος (Πτολεμαῖος δ' ἦν οὗτος ὁ Μενναῖος) πείθει τὸν σατράπην (Barzaphernes) . . . καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, καταλύσαι δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν. Jos. Bell. i. 13, 1. Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει (the next year after the hearing of the Jewish envoys by Antony at Tyre) Συρίαν (Πάρθοι) κατέσχον. . . . Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Προλεμαῖος ὁ Μενναῖος, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ὁ παῖς Λυσανίας παραλαβὼν, etc. Ant. *xiv*. 13, 3 (see B.C. 63, no. 68; B.C. 36, no. 537).

**440.** Labienus, a partisan of Brutus and Cassius, and who had been sent into Parthia to obtain their cooperation, induces the Parthians this year to invade Syria with an army, under the command of Labienus and Pacorus (son of Orodes) and Barzaphernes. They take Apamea and Antioch, Saxas, the governor of Syria, escaping into Cilicia (his *co*ss.). Dion, *xlvi*. 24. Jos. Ant. *xiv*. 13, 3; Bell. i. 13, 1. Florus, *iv*. 9. Vell. Pat. *ii*. 78.

**441.** Labienus, with part of the army, follows Saxas into Cilicia, and takes him prisoner, and puts him to death. Dion, *xlvi*. 25 (see B.C. 41, no. 434; *infra*, no. 458; B.C. 38, no. 506). He reduces Alabanda and Mylasa, and other cities on the continent, but not Stratonicea. Τῆς Ἀσίας τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλεις (ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος φοβηθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς νήσους ἐπεραιώθη) παρεστήσατο πλὴν Στρατονικείας. Dion, *xlvi*. 26.

**442.** Meanwhile Pacorus and Barzaphernes proceed southward, and are bribed by Antigonos and Lysanias to undertake the expulsion of Hyrcanus and the restoration of Antigonos to the kingdom of Judæa. Pacorus advances along the coast, and Barzaphernes through Galilee. Pacorus subdues Sidon and Ptolemais, and all the coast except Tyre. Jos. Ant. *xiv*. 13, 3; Bell. i. 13, 1; Dion, *xlvi*. 26.

**443.** Antony was in Egypt when the news of the Parthian invasion reached him, Plut. Ant. 30; and, while it is still spring, he marches to Tyre to meet the Parthians. Ἦρι δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐς Τύρον ᾤδενεν. Appian, B.C. v. 52. But, according to Dion, which is more probable, he sails to Tyre, ἐπλευσε μὲν πρὸς τὴν

Τύρον ὡς καὶ βοηθήσων σφίσιν, Dion, *xlvi*. 27; and finding the Parthians already in possession of Syria, ἰδὼν δὲ δὴ τὰ ἄλλα (except Tyre) προκατελημμένα ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτοῦς, πρόφασιν τὸν τοῦ Σέξτου πύλεμον ποιησάμενος, Dion, *xlvi*. 27; and receiving letters from Fulvia imploring his presence in Italy, Φουλβίας δὲ γράμμασιν αὐτὸν τῆς γυναικὸς καλοῦσης, Appian, Parthica, he sails from Tyre by way of Cyprus and Rhodes to Asia, where he hears of the fall of Perusia. Ἐκ δὲ Τύρου διαπλέων ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Ρόδον καὶ Ἀσίας ἤσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Περούσιᾳ γενομένων. Appian, B.C. v. 52. Plut. Ant. 30.

**444.** Antony sails to Athens, where he meets with Fulvia, Φουλβίαν μὲν οὖν εὗρεν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκ Βρεντεσίου φυγοῦσαν, Appian, B.C. v. 52; and makes an alliance with Sextus Pompey. Dion, *xlvi*. 27. Appian, B. C. v. 52.

**445.** Sextus Pompey, in pursuance of the compact with Antony, ravages the coast of Italy while Octavius is in Gaul, and when Agrippa is engaged in the celebration of the Ludi Apollinares. Αὐτὸς δὲ (Octavius) ἐς Γαλατίαν ἀπῆρε· μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Σέξτος ἐτήρησε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνεια ἔχοντα, ἐστρατήγει γὰρ . . . καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐποίησε, etc. Dion, *xlvi*. 20. The Ludi Apollinares commenced on July 6, and this, therefore, furnishes an important date.

**446.** Antony leaves Fulvia ill at Sicyon and sails to Corcyra, and thence to Brundisium. Ἀντωνίος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικυῶνι νοσηλευομένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορκύρας ἐς τὸν Ἴονιον ἔπλει, στρατῷ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ, ναυσὶ δὲ διακοσίαις, ἃς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο. Appian, B.C. v. 55. Ὅδὲ Ἀντωνίος ἐς Παλοῖντα κατέπλευσεν . . ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίῳ διέπλεον. Appian, B.C. 55, 56.

**447.** Antony, after the compact with Pompey, takes Siphus, and besieges Brundisium. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθεὶς, Σιφοῦντα μὲν ἔσχε, Βρεντέσιον δὲ μὴ ἐθελήσαν οἱ προσχωρῆσαι ἐπολιόρκει. Dion, *xlvi*. 27.

**448.** Octavius returns from Gaul, while Antony is at Athens. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπανίων ἤσθετο μὲν τῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας διαπεπλευκότων. Appian, B. C. v. 53. Dion, *xlvi*. 28. As Octavius was in Gaul during the Ludi Apollinares, July 6 (see *supra*), his return to Italy must have been still later in the year.

**449.** Octavius sends Servilius Rullus to Brundisium, and Agrippa to Siphus, and

Agrippa succeeds in retaking Siphus, but Rullus is defeated. Dion, *xlvi*. 28.

**450.** A body of Jews, partisans of Antigonus, march against Jerusalem, but are defeated by Herod and Phasaelus, and are shut up in the Temple. This was about the time of the Pentecost (May 10). *Ἀνέμενον οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πεντηκοστὴν ἑορτῇ δ' ἔστιν αὕτη μέλλοντα ἤξειν.* Jos. Ant. *xiv*. 13, 4. *Ἐνασάσης δὲ ἑορτῆς ἢ Πεντηκοστῇ καλεῖται.* Bell. *i*. 13, 3.

**451.** Pacorus comes to Jerusalem and persuades Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, against the remonstrances of Herod, to go on an embassy to Barzaphernes, then in Galilee, when they are treacherously made prisoners there. Jos. Ant. *xiv*. 13, 4; Bell. *i*. 13, 3.

**452.** Herod flies to Masada, where he leaves his kinsfolk, and sets out on his way to Malchus, king of Petra, to solicit aid. Jos. Ant. *xiv*. 3, 7; Bell. *i*. 13, 7 (see B.C. 47, no. 286; B.C. 33, no. 582). Masada has been lately identified by Robinson with a ruin called Sebbeh, upon the top of a pyramidal cliff rising precipitately from the Dead Sea, on the south-western shore. *Biblic. Research.* vol. *i*. p. 525, 2nd Ed.

**453.** The Parthians make Antigonus king of Judæa. This was three years and three months before the Fast (*ἡ νηστεία*), on October 5, B.C. 37, and therefore about July, B.C. 40; for at the Fast, B.C. 37, when Jerusalem was taken, Antigonus had reigned three years and three months. *Τρία δὲ ἔτη καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ἤρξαντα τοῦτον Σόσιος τε καὶ Ἡρώδης ἐξέπολιόρκησαν.* Jos. Ant. *xx*. 10, 4.

**454.** The Parthians deliver up Hyrcanus and Phasaelus to Antigonus, who cuts off the ears of Hyrcanus to prevent his being again high-priest. Jos. Ant. *xiv*. 13, 10; Bell. *i*. 13, 9. Dion, *xlvi*. 26. But Dion calls Antigonus by mistake Aristobulus. Hyrcanus at this time had reigned twenty-four years from his restoration by Pompey in B.C. 63. *Ἡρῶς δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἐννεία τοῖς πρώτοις ὁ Ἰρκανὸς τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι.* Ant. *xx*. 10. *Κατάγεται δ' αὐθις ὑπὸ Πομπηίου, καὶ πάσας τὰς τιμὰς ἀπολαβὼν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα διετέλεσεν ἐν αὐτοῖς.* Ant. *xv*. 6, 4. For *τεσσαράκοντα* should be read *τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι*, as *supra*, in another part of the same work. In assigning twenty-four years to Hyrcanus, Josephus counts by Roman consular years, from 1 January, or Jewish years from 1 Nisan, i. e.

B.C. 63 and B.C. 40 are reckoned as complete years.

**455.** Phasaelus kills himself. Jos. Ant. *xiv*. 13, 10; Bell. *i*. 13, 9. And Hyrcanus is carried a prisoner to Parthia. Bell. *i*. 13, 11.

**456.** Herod being met on his way by envoys from Malchus prohibiting his approach, proceeds to Egypt, and hears on his road at Rhinocolura of the death of his brother Phasaelus. He reached Rhinocolura the day after the repulse from Malchus. *Καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἐσπέραν κατὰ τιτῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱερῶν αὐλίζεται. Τῇ δ' ἔξῃς εἰς Ῥινοκολούραν προελθόντι τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀδελφοῦ τελευτὴν ἀπαγγέλλεται.* Jos. Bell. *i*. 14, 2; Ant. *xiv*. 14, 2. He passes on to Pelusium, and thence to Alexandria, where Cleopatra, desiring his assistance in military matters, tries to detain him. Ant. *xiv*. 14, 2; Bell. *i*. 14, 2.

**457.** Fulvia, the wife of Antony, dies at Sicyon, and Antony and Octavius soon after come to terms, Antony taking all the provinces east of the Adriatic, except Dalmatia; and Octavius taking Spain, Gaul, Dalmatia, and Sardinia; and Lepidus taking Africa. *Κἄν τούτῳ Καῖσαρ μὲν Σαρδῶν τε καὶ Δαλματίαν, τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴόνιον τάτε ἐν Ἐυρώπῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα ἀνέλαχε. Τάτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ἔθνη ὁ Λέπιδος, καὶ τὴν Συκελίαν ὁ Σέξστος εἶχε.* Dion, *xlvi*. 28. Appian, B. C. v. 65. Plut. Anton. 30. Appian states that Scodra in Illyria was the boundary between the dominions assigned to Octavius and those to Antony, from which it would appear that at this time the parts to the north of Scodra were included in Dalmatia, and Scodra itself, and the parts to the south of Scodra, in Illyria. Appian, B. C. v. 65. The above terms were arranged at Brundisium. Dion, *xlvi*. 30. In *Fasti Capitolini* is the inscription:

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. iiii. vir R. P. C. Ovans quod pacem cum M. Antonio fecit.*

*M. Antonius M. F. M. N. iiii. vir R. P. C. Ovans quod pacem cum Imp. Cæsare fecit.*

And this is followed by the inscription:

*L. Marcus L. F. L. N. Censorinus cos. A. . . . ex Macedonia K. Jan.* And as the triumph of Censorinus was on January 1, B.C. 39, the preceding ovation for the peace between Antony and Octavius must have been in B.C. 40.

**458.** The pacification of Octavius and Antony was brought about by the instrumentality of Lucius Cocceius and Mæcenas. Appian.



B. C. v. 60. And Horace, on his journey from Rome to Brundisium, was to meet them and Fonteius Capito at Anxur.

*Huc venturus erat Mæcenas optimus atque  
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque  
Legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.  
. . . Interea Mæcenas advenit atque  
Cocceius, Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem  
Factus homo, Antonî, non ut magis alter, amicus.*  
Horat. Sat. i. 5, 25.

And this journey was in the autumn; for  
. . . *mali culices ranæque palustres  
Avertunt somnos*, v. 14.

After the conclusion of the pacification, Octavius and Antony entertain each other at Brundisium. Dion, *xlvi. 30*. They then give their attention to pressing matters; and, according to Appian, Antony now sends Ventidius to Asia against Labienus and the Parthians. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ ἐπίγοντα τοὺς φίλους ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέπεμπεν, Οὐεντίδιον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντώνιος, etc. App. B. C. v. 65. But according to Plutarch, Ventidius was not sent until after the league with Sextus Pompey in B.C. 39. Ἀντώνιος δὲ μετὰ τὰς διαλύσεις (with S. Pompey) Οὐεντίδιον εἰς Ἀσίαν προὔπεμπε. Plut. Ant. 33. And so the author of the Parthica. Καὶ φίλος γενόμενος Καίσαρι, καὶ Πομπηίῳ, τῷ Σικελίας ἄρχοντι, προὔπεμπε εἰς Ἀσίαν Οὐεντίδιον. Appian. Parthica. And, according to Dion, Ventidius was sent from Greece after Antony had arrived there in B.C. 39. Ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν ἐναυθὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐνεχρόνισε. . . Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὐεντίδιον τὸν Πούπλιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν προὔπεμψε. Dion, *xlvi. 39*.

**459.** Antony and Octavius proceed from Brundisium to Rome, and there celebrate the nuptials of Octavia, the sister of Octavius, with Antony. Dion, *xlvi. 31*. Plut. Ant. 31.

**460.** Octavius and Antony are obliged to lay on some taxes, and the corn ships being prevented from arriving as usual by S. Pompey, who was master of the seas, a scarcity follows, and they become unpopular. Dion, *xlvi. 31*. Appian, B. C. v. 67.

**461.** The Ludi Circenses are celebrated, and the people, during the games (*ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις*), clamour for peace with S. Pompey. Dion, *xlvi. 31*. It does not appear whether these games were the Ludi Circenses proper or

the Ludi Circenses Plebei. If the former, they were from September 15 to 19, both inclusive. But if the Ludi Circenses Plebei be meant, as is most probable, they were from November 15 to 17, both inclusive.

**462.** Antony favours peace with S. Pompey, but Octavius resists it. Octavius is attacked in the forum by the populace, but is rescued by Antony. Dion, *xlvi. 31*. Appian, B. C. v. 68.

**463.** Herod sails from Egypt at a season when he would have to encounter the depth of winter. Μῆτε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑποδείσας. Jos. Bell. i. 14, 2. Χειμῶνός τε ὄντος. Ant. xiv. 14, 2. Φράζει ὡς πλεύσειε διὰ χειμῶνος. Ant. xiv. 14, 3. He makes for Pamphylia and touches at Rhodes, where he embellishes the city and fits out a trireme. Ant. xiv. 14, 3; Bell. i. 14, 3.

**464.** He sails to Brundisium, Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 3; Bell. i. 14, 3; and passes on to Rome, where he gains the favour of Antony and Octavius, who are both there (see *ante*, no. 459).

**465.** The senate is convened, when Messala and Atratinus speak in favour of Herod, and Antony urges that, having regard to the Parthian war, Herod ought to be appointed king, and a decree is made declaring Herod king of Judæa. Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 4; Bell. i. 14, 4.

**466.** Herod is conducted from the senate to the Capitol, where the decree is enrolled, Herod walking between Octavius and Antony, and the consuls and other magnates preceding them. Herod, on this the first day of his reign, is feasted by Antony. Λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην Ἀντώνιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐξέσαν, προαγόντων ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων, θύοντες καὶ τὰ δόγματα καταθησόμενοι εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. Εἰσιτῶ δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν Ἡρώδην τῆς βασιλείας Ἀντώνιος. Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 5; Bell. i. 14, 4.

**467.** The causes that led to Herod's exaltation were partly the distress of Antony for money, of which Herod made large presents, Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 4; and partly the pressure of the Parthian war, in which Herod would be a useful ally; and partly the goodwill that both Antony and Octavius entertained towards Herod himself. Ant. xiv. 14, 4; Bell. i. 14, 4.

**468.** This event occurred in the present consulship, and in the 184th Olympiad. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ὑπατεύοντος Δομντίου Καλοῦνιου τὸ

δευτερον και Γαιου Ἀσινου Πωλιωνος. Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 5. In strictness, the first six months only of the year belonged to the 184th Olympiad; but Josephus, reckoning by consular or Jewish years, usually designates the whole year by the Olympiad in which the consulship or Jewish year commenced (see B.C. 69, no. 10, where Josephus adopts a similar mode of computation).

**469.** As Herod had sailed from Egypt just before the winter, he could not have been declared king much before the close of the year, i.e. not before November at the earliest, and more probably in December.

**470.** Herod remains at Rome only seven days, ἐπτὰ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις, when he returns to Judæa. Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 5.

**471.** The appointment of Herod as king by Antony, after the pacification between him and Octavius, is confirmed by Appian. Ἰσθη δέ πη (Antonius) και βασιλέας οὗς δοκιμάσειεν ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τετραγμῆνοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρείου τὸν Φαρνάκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰλουμαίων δὲ και Σαμαρέων Ἡρώδην. App. B. C. v. 75.

**472.** A few days before the close of the year, Octavius and Antony change the consuls and prætors. Κἂν τούτῳ τούς τε στρατηγούς και τοὺς ὑπάτους, καίπερ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἤδη τοῦ ἔτους ὄντος, παύσαντες, ἄλλους ἀντικατέστησαν, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες εἰ και ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἄρξουσι. Dion, xlviii. 32. They appoint a new ædile on the very last day of the year. Ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ, ἀγορανόμου τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, ἕτερον ἐς τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας ἀνθειλοντο. Dion, xlviii. 32. These transactions were in the year B.C. 40. Ταῦτα τε οὖν οὕτως ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐπράχθη (his coss.). Dion, xlviii. 33.

**472 a.** Coin of M. Antony.

Ant. Imp. iii. vñ R. P. D. + Cn. Cnobarbus Imp.  
Eckhel, vi. 43.

Coin of Polemo.

M. Αντωνιου + Αρχιερεως. Τοπαρχον. Κεινατων.  
Λαλασ. E. B. (i. e. in his second year, see  
B.C. 41, no. 435). Eckhel, iii. 62.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 20.

Pentecost, May 10.

Tabernacles, September 14.

**B.C. 39. U.C. 715. Olymp. 185, 2.**

L. MARCIUS CENSORIENUS.

C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.

**473.** Octavius is captivated by Livia, and divorces his wife Scribonia, after the birth of her daughter Julia. Τῷδ' ἐπιγιγιομένη, ἐν ᾗ Λούκιος τε Μάρκιος και Γάιος Σαβίνος ὑπάτευσαν . . . ἤδη και τῆς Λιουίας ἐρᾶν ἤρχετο, και διὰ τοῦτο και τὴν Σκριβωνίαν τεκοῦσαν οἱ θυγάτριον ἀπεπέμψατο αὐθημερόν. Dion. xlviii. 34 (see B.C. 38, no. 491).

**474.** Under pretext of the Parthian war, which would require Antony's presence, Octavius and Antony appoint consuls for the next eight years; and now, for the first time, consuls at the original nomination are appointed, not for the whole year, but for fragments of years. The year, however, was always designated by the names of the consuls with whom the year commenced. Dion, xlviii. 35 (see B.C. 45, no. 334). According to Appian, the consulships for the next four years only were now determined. Ἀπέφηνάν δε τῆς ἐπιούσης ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετίε. App. B. C. v. 73.

**475.** The famine continues at Rome, from the blockade of Sextus Pompey, from whom Antony had now separated himself (see B.C. 40, no. 444), and Antony and Octavius proceed to Baiæ, to open negotiations for peace. Ἐξήεσαν ἐς Βαίας ὁ Καῖσαρ και ὁ Ἀντώνιος. App. B. C. v. 69.

Sextus Pompey sails to Inaria. Ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τὴν Αἰναρίαν διέπλει. App. B. C. v. 71.

**476.** Octavius, and Antony, and S. Pompey have a conference at Misenum. Ἐπειτα δὲ και αὐτοὶ (Octavius and Antony) πρὸς Μισηνῶ ἐς λόγους ἤλθον· εἰσήκεισαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ὁ δὲ (Pompey) ἐν χώματι τινι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ (his coss.). Dion, xlviii. 36. App. B. C. v. 71.

**477.** They have a second meeting at the mole of Puteoli, when it is arranged that Pompey shall have Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Peloponnesus. Σικελίας και Σαρδοῦς τῆς τε Ἀχαΐας ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἄρξαι. Dion, xlviii. 36. App. B. C. v. 72.

**478.** Octavius and Antony return to Rome by land (ὄδευον), and enter the city by night, to avoid public rejoicings. App. B. C. v. 74.

**479.** Antony proceeds from Italy to Greece, and Octavius to Gaul. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν



πόλεμον τὸν Παρθυαίων. App. B. C. v. 75. 'Ο Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐνεχρόνισε. Dion, xlvi. 39. It might be thought that this was more than nine months after the marriage of Antony to Octavia, inasmuch as a daughter had been born to him. 'Ο Ἀντώνιος . . . ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐγχειρίσας Καίσαρι τὰ οἰκεία, τὴν δ' Ὀκταβίαν ἄχρι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπήγετο, θυγατρίου γεγοιότος αὐτοῖς. Plut. Ant. 33. Τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ὀκταουίας οἱ γέννηθεῖσαν (Antonia) ἐνεργύησε. Dion, xlvi. 51. But it appears that Octavia, when betrothed to Antony, was pregnant by Marcellus, her former husband, who had recently died. Καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφὴν, γυναικα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐ-έλευτήκει, καὶ κύουσαν προμνηστεύαμενοι. Dion, xlvi. 31.

**480.** Antony, about this time, appoints Darius, son of Pharnaces, king of Pontus (see B.C. 47, no. 304; B.C. 36, no. 537); and Amyntas king of Pisidia (see B.C. 42, no. 415; B.C. 36, no. 551); and Polemo king of part of Cilicia (see B.C. 41, no. 435 a; B.C. 36, no. 545). 'Επὶ δὲ τούτοις (the pacification with Sextus Pompey) . . . ἐξώρμα . . . ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθυαίων, καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης εἶναι κύρια ὅσα τε ἐπραξέ τε καὶ πράξειεν . . . ἴσθη δὲ πη καὶ βασιλείας οὐς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρεῖον, τὸν Φαρνάκου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρώδη, Ἀμόνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν, καὶ Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας, καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη. App. B. C. v. 75. The part of Cilicia given to Polemo appears to have been Cilicia Aspera, viz. from Cape Coracesium on the west to the river Lamus on the east, and his dominions extended a good way inland, for we learn from the coins of Polemo that he was high-priest and potentate of Olbe, Lalassis, and Cennata (see Eckhel, iii. 62). Iconium, also, the metropolis of Lycaonia, was included in his dominions and was, perhaps, his capital. Τοῦτο δὲ (Iconium) εἶχε Πολεμῶν. Strabo, xii. 6. These several appointments, though grouped together by Appian, were not all contemporaneous. That of Herod, for instance, was, as we know from Josephus, at the close of the preceding year.

**481.** Ventidius (see B.C. 40, no. 458) drives Labienus before him as far as the Taurus. Καὶ ὅς (Ventidius) ἤλθέ τε ἐπὶ τὸν Λαβιῆνον . . .

ἐκεῖθεν τε μηδὲ ἐς χεῖρας οἱ ὑπομείναντα, εὐθὺς ἐξέωσε, καὶ φεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπεδιώξε . . . καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καταλαβῶν, etc. See Dion, xlvi. 39.

**482.** Labienus is joined by the Parthian forces, when Ventidius defeats them, and Labienus escapes, but is taken some time afterwards and slain. Dion, xlvi. 40.

**483.** Ventidius recovers Cilicia and then all Syria and Palestine. Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο (the defeat of Labienus) ὁ Οὐεντίδιος τὴν τε Κιλικίαν ἐκομίσατο . . . καὶ οὕτω τὴν τε Συρίαν ἐκλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων ἄμαχει, πλὴν τῶν Ἀραδίων, παρέλαβε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστίνην, Ἀντιγόνον τὸν βασιλεύοντα αὐτῆς ἐκφοβήσας, κατέσχεν ἀπόνως, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρήματα πολλὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκάστων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ τε Ἀντιόχου καὶ Μάλχου τοῦ Ναβαταίου, ὅτι τῷ Πακόρῳ συνήρατο, εἰσέπραξε. Dion, xlvi. 41. These events were in this consulship, for ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ (B.C. 39) ἐγένετο. 'Επὶ δ' Ἀππίου τε Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ὑπάτων (B.C. 38), etc. Dion, xlvi. 42, 43; and they were late in the year, for Antony first heard of the successes against the Parthians when he was at Athens for the winter of B.C. 39-38: Διαχειμάζοντι δ' αὐτῷ (Antony) περὶ Ἀθήνας ἐπαγγέλλεται τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Οὐεντιδίου κατορθωμάτων, ὅτι μάχῃ τοὺς Πάρθους κρατήσας Λαβιῆνον ἀπεκτόνοι. Plut. Ant. 33. Ἐχειμάζεν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις. App. B. C. v. 76. It could not be the winter of B.C. 40-39, for Antony spent that winter in Italy, and did not leave for Greece till the spring or summer of B.C. 39.

**484.** Ventidius, while in Palestine, is bribed by Antigonus to leave him in possession of the throne, and Ventidius, leaving Silo as a blind in Palestine as if against Antigonus, returns to Syria: αὐτὸς μὲν (Ventidius) ἀνεχώρησεν σὺν τῇ πλείονι δυνάμει, ἵνα δὲ μὴ κατάφωρον γένηται τὸ τόλμημα, Σίλωνα μετὰ μέρους τινὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατέλειπεν. Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 6; Bell. i. 15, 2.

**485.** Herod arrives in Syria from Rome, and lands at Acre. After having collected a force, he wins over nearly all Galilee: καὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων πᾶσα Γαλιλαία προσέθετο, Jos. Bell. i. 15, 3; and marches against Antigonus. The voyage from Rome to Judæa, being in winter, would be a tedious one, and the collection of an army on his arrival would also occupy a considerable time; and, accordingly, it was late in

the year when Herod took the field, and Ventidius had already retired from Judæa to Syria, having left Silo in Judæa. *Ὀυεντίδιος μὲν οὖν ἐτόγγαυε τὰς ταραχὰς τὰς διὰ Πάρθους ἐν ταῖς πόλευσιν οὖσας καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δ' ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χρήμασιν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος, etc.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 1; Bell. i. 15, 3.

**486.** Herod takes Joppa and raises the siege of Masada, and then marches with Silo against Jerusalem, which he besieges. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 4; Bell. i. 15, 3. But he is counteracted by the treachery of Silo, who had been bribed by Antigonus, and is obliged to allow the Romans to go into winter quarters in Idumæa, Samaria, and Galilee. *Χειμεριούσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατίαν . . . διαφῆκεν (Herod) . . . καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις διήγον ἀγειμένοι τῶν ὕπλων.* Bell. i. 15, 6; i. 16, 1; Ant. xiv. 15, 3.

**487.** Herod, during the approach of winter, marches through the snow (*ἐν νιφέτῳ σφοδροτάτῳ*, Jos. Bell. i. 16, 2; *νίφοντος τοῦ θεοῦ*, Ant. xiv. 15, 4) to Sepphoris, which he takes, and then sends three cohorts and a troop of horse against the bandits about Arbela to prevent their ravages, and forty days after follows with his whole army and disperses them, except those who hid in the caverns, and is now in possession of the whole of Galilee. *Εἰς δὲ τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν, etc.* Ant. xiv. 15, 4. *Μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, etc.* Bell. i. 16, 2. He then disperses his own troops to their winter quarters. *Εἰς τὰ χειμάδια διέπεμψε.* Ant. xiv. 15, 4. *Διέπεμψεν εἰς οὓς ἐχειμάζον σταθμούς.* Bell. i. 16, 3. During the winter Herod finds supplies also for the Roman troops, whom Antigonus had undertaken to support, but had broken his engagement after a month. *Ἐν τούτῳ Σίλων ἦκε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν τοῖς χειμάδιος, Ἀντιγόνου τροφὰς παρέχειν οὐ θέλοντος· μῆνα γὰρ οὐ πλέον ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτοῦς ἔθρεψε.* Ant. xiv. 15, 4.

**488.** Antony, at this time, is lingering at Athens. *Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον (the winter campaign of Herod) Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἔτριβεν ἐν Αθήναις.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 5; Bell. i. 16, 4.

**488 a.** Coin of M. Antony.

*M. Antonius M. F. M. N. Aug. Imp. Itē. + iii. vir R. P. D. Cos. Desig. Iter. et Tert.*

Eckhel, vi. 44.

*M. Ant. . . . R. P. C. + P. Ventidii. Pont. Imp.* Eckhel, vi. 45 (but who refers the coin to B.C. 38).

N.B. M. Antony probably assumed the title of Imp. Iterum this year from the victories of Ventidius.

#### Inscriptions.

*L. Marcius L. F. C. N. Censorinus cos. ex Macedonia An. DCCXIII* (Varro, 715) *K. Jan.*

*C. Asinius Cn. F. Pollio Pro Cos. ex Parthineis An. DCCXIII* (Varro, 715) *K. Novem.*

Fasti Capitol.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 8.

Pentecost, May 29.

Tabernacles, October 3.

#### B.C. 38. U.C. 716. Olymp. 185, 3.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

**489.** Sixty-seven prætors are in office at one time or other in the course of the year. *Ἐπὶ δ' Ἀππίου τε Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαίου Νωρβάνου . . . στρατηγοὶ ἐπέτ' καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἀποδεχθέντες ἤρξαντο.* Dion, xlviii. 43 (see B.C. 44, no. 341; B.C. 23, no. 703).

**490.** A law is passed at Rome against burying the dead within fifteen furlongs of the city. *Μήτε τὰς καύσεις τῶν νεκρῶν ἐν τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους γίγνεσθαι.* Dion, xlviii. 43.

**491.** Octavius (his coss.) marries Livia, Dion, xlviii. 43; and Livia, three months after, gives birth to Claudius Drusus Nero. Dion, xlviii. 44 (see B.C. 39, no. 473).

**492.** Octavius and Sextus Pompey are again at war, Dion, xlviii. 45; and Octavius summons Antony and Lepidus to Rome to his assistance. Dion, xlviii. 46.

**493.** Antony, who had never left Greece, crosses to Brundisium, but is alarmed by an ill omen, and returns without having met Octavius. *Ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὦν ἐτόγγαυεν ἔτι (Antony). Πρὶν δὲ ἢ συμμίξαι τῷ Καίσαρι . . . ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα . . . ἀνέπλευσε.* Dion, xlviii. 46.

**494.** Octavius is at Rhegium, and his fleet suffers from a storm. Dion, xlviii. 48.

**495.** Octavius sends for Agrippa from Gaul to command the fleet, and applies himself this year and the next to the construction of ships. *Τὸν τε ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτόν τε καὶ ὕστερον.* Dion, xlviii. 49.

**496.** Ventidius, very early in the spring (*τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐν τοῖς χειμάδιος ἔτι διέσπαρτο*),



prepares to meet the Parthians, Dion, xlix. 19 ; and summons Silo and Herod to assist him. Κατὰ δὲ Συρίαν Οὐεντίδιος Σίλωνα μεταπεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπέστειλε πρῶτα μὲν Ἡρώδῃ συλλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σφέτερον καλεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 5 ; Bell. 1, 16, 1. .

**497.** Herod, at the time of Silo's departure to join Ventidius, was on his march against the banditti hid in the caverns of Galilee, who had escaped him the year before. 'Ο δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν σπηλαίοις ληστὰς ἐπειγόμενος Σίλωνα μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν Οὐεντιδίῳ. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 5 ; Bell. i. 16, 4. He then leaves Ptolemy in command of Galilee, and marches himself to Samaria ; but Ptolemy is slain, and Herod returns and avenges his death. Ant. xiv. 15, 6 ; Bell. i. 16, 5.

**498.** Ventidius defeats the Parthians in Cyrrhestica, when Pacorus, the son of Orodes, is slain. Dion, xlix. 20. The battle is said to have been fought on the same day with the defeat of Crassus. 'Εν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἔτους ἀμώφερα συνηρέχθη. Dion, xlix. 21. *L. Ventidius Bassus . . . Pacorus regis Orodis filium interfecit eo ipso die quo olim Orodes Persarum rex per ducem Surenam Crassum occiderat.* Eutrop. vii. 5. Oros. vi. 18. This would place the battle on June 9 (see v.c. 53, no. 184). But, after the defeat of the Parthians, Herod left his brother Joseph in command of Judæa, while he himself marched to join Antony, and after this it was still harvest. "Ἡεὶ δὲ (Joseph) τὸν σίτον ἀρπάσων ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρους. Jos. Bell. 1, 17, 1. Βουλόμενος ἐκθερίσαι τὸν σίτον αὐτῶν. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 10 (see *infra*, no. 504). As the usual harvest month in Judæa is May, though the time varies in different parts according to the elevation, it seems very unlikely that, if the battle was fought on June 9, the harvest should be still in progress when Herod marched to join Antony. The victory of the Romans over the Parthians, when Pacorus was slain, was probably placed on the very day of the victory of the Parthians over the Romans for no other reason than to make the Roman retribution the more striking.

**499.** Ventidius, after the defeat of the Parthians, Πακόρου πεσόντος ἐν μάχῃ καὶ τῶν Πάρθων πταισάντων, Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 7 ; Bell. i. 16, 6 ; sends Macheras with two legions to assist Herod. Ant. xiv. 15, 7 ; Bell. i. 16, 6.

**500.** Ventidius himself marches against An-

tiochus I. king of Commagene. Αὐτὸς δὲ (Ventidius) ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντιόχον . . . ἐπεστράτευσεν. Dion. xlix. 20 (see v.c. 65, no. 54). This Antiochus was succeeded by Mithridates I., who was amongst the allies of Antony at the battle of Actium (see v.c. 31, no. 600 ; v.c. 29, no. 653).

**501.** Antony comes to the camp of Ventidius and besieges Samosata, the capital of Commagene. 'Ενταῦθα δὲ (in Commagene) ἦδη αὐτῷ ὄντι (Ventidio) Ἀντώνιος ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς . . . προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ κατακλείσας αὐτὸν εἰς Σαμόσατα ἐπολιόρκει. Dion, xlix. 21, 22.

**502.** Ventidius, on being superseded by Antony, returns to Rome, and has a triumph on Nov. 27 of this year. *P. Ventidius pro cos. ex Tauro monte et Partheis an. dcccxxv (716, Varro) . . . v. K. Decem.* Fasti Capitol.

**503.** Macheras seeks an interview with Antigonus at Jerusalem for the purpose of betraying him, but is repulsed, and returns to Herod at Emmaus. Herod and Macheras quarrel, and Herod, leaving his brother Joseph in command, marches through Samaria by way of Antioch to join Antony, who at this time was besieging Samosata. 'Ερύγχανε (Antony) πολιόρκων Σαμόσατα. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 8. Προσπολεμοῦντα Σαμοσάτοις. Bell. i. 16, 7. App. Parth.

**504.** Joseph, the brother of Herod, after Herod's departure to join Antony, is slain by Antigonus at Jericho. This was during the time of harvest. "Ἡεὶ δὲ τὸν σίτον ἀρπάσων ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρους. Jos. Bell. i. 17, 1 ; Ant. xiv. 15, 10. And it was soon after Herod had left, for ὡς ἤκουσεν ὄντα πορρόστω τὸν ἀδελφόν. Bell. i. 17, 1. But Herod knew nothing of it till after the termination of the siege of Samosata. Τούτων δὲ οὐδέπω πέπυστο Ἡρώδης, μετὰ γὰρ Σαμοσάτων ἄλωσιν Ἀντώνιος μὲν καταστήσας ἐπὶ τῆς Συρίας Σόσιον, καὶ προστάξας Ἡρώδῃ βοηθεῖν ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνον αὐτὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησε. Bell. i. 17, 2.

**505.** Antony, after Herod's arrival, quits Samosata upon a compromise. Dion, xlix. 22. App. Parthic. But Josephus, to magnify Herod, speaks of the surrender of Samosata through Herod's exertions. Ant. xiv. 15, 9 ; Bell. i. 16, 7.

**506.** Antony sets out for Italy, leaving Sosius in command of Syria and Cilicia (see v.c. 40, no. 458 ; v.c. 35, no. 555 ; v.c. 40, no.

441). Καὶ ὁ μὲν (Antony) ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρμήθη, Γάιος δὲ δὴ Σόσιος τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆσ τε Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν, etc. Dion. xlix. 22. According to Josephus, Antony left Samosata for Egypt. Αὐτὸς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐχώρει. Ant. xiv. 15, 9. Αὐτὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησε. Bell. i. 17, 2. And Appian says that he went to Athens, after having adjusted some small matters by the way in Syria. Καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ καταστησάμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπανῆλθε. App. Parthic. Probably, therefore, Antony first visited Cleopatra in Egypt, and then went to Italy by way of Greece. He did not arrive in Italy till the following year (see B.C. 37, no. 512).

507. Herod, on his return from Samosata, hears at Daphne of the death of his brother Joseph. Ὅντι δὲ Ἡρώδῃ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιοχείαν Δαφίην, etc. Jos. Bell. 1, 17, 3. Ἐν Δαφνῇ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ, etc. Ant. xiv. 15, 11.

508. Sosius sends two legions to assist Herod in Judæa, and follows himself with his whole army. Σόσιος μὲν δύο τάγματα ἐπικουρήσοντα Ἡρώδῃ προὔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἠκολούθει. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 9; Bell. i. 17, 3.

509. Herod, with one of the two legions and 800 auxiliaries, marches to Acre. Ἐπειχθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν, ὡς κατὰ Δίβανον τὸ ὄρος γίνεται, ὡς ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν αὐτόθι προσλαμβάνων, ἔχων δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τάγμα εἰς Προλεμάδα παραγίγεται. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 11; Bell. i. 17, 3. And thence, when the other legion had come up (ἐλθόντος δὲ αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ δευτέρου τάγματος, Ant. xiv. 15, 11; Bell. i. 17, 3), through Galilee to Jericho, where he defeats the opposing army; and then, marching to Samaria, defeats Pappus, the general who had been sent thither by Antigonus. Ant. xiv. 15, 11-13; Bell. i. 17, 3-8.

510. Herod would now have advanced against Jerusalem, but is prevented by the winter which sets in with great severity. Εἰ μὴ χειμῶν ἐπέσχε βαθύς. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 12. Εἰ μὴ χειμῶνι διεκλώθη σφοδρότατῳ. Bell. i. 17, 6.

510 a. Inscription.

P. Ventidius P. F. Pro Cos. ex Tauro monte et Partheis, an. DCCXV (Varro, 716) v. Kal. Decem.

Fasti Capitol.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 28.

Pentecost, May 18.

Tabernacles, September 22.

**B.C. 37. U.C. 717. Olymp. 185, 4.**

M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA.

L. CANINIUS GALLUS. Qui abdic. et eum excepit T. Statilius Taurus.

511. First year of the reign of Herod as reckoned by Josephus, who invariably dates it either by the consular year from 1 January, or by the Jewish year from 1 Nisan of this year. Herod's actual reign did not begin till the death of Antigonus, toward the close of the year, but Josephus dates it retrospectively from 1 January or 1 Nisan of this year. Herod had been king *nominally* in B.C. 40 (see that year, no 465).

512. Antony, who had reached Athens on his way to Italy the preceding year, arrives in Italy in the spring to aid Octavius against Sextus Pompey. Ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις τῷ Καίσαρι συμμαχήσων, ὡς ὑπέσχετο. App. B. C. v. 93. Κἄν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἦλθε μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐθις ἐκ τῆς Συρίας. Dion, xlviii. 54. Ἐκ τινῶν διαβολῶν παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς Καίσαρα ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις ἔπλει πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Βρεντεσηνῶν, τὸν στόλον εἰς Τάραντα περιώρμισεν. Plut. Ant. 35.

513. The first Triumvirate of five years having expired December 31, B.C. 38, it is now renewed for five years more. Ἐαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐξεληλύθει, ἐπέτρεψαν. Dion, xlviii. 54 (see B.C. 43, no. 376).

514. Antony consumes all this year in Italy, or in passing to and fro. Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νωρβάνου, τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο (B.C. 38). Τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ ἔτει (B.C. 37). . . . Ἀντώνιος μὲν γὰρ ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφικνούμενος, καὶ ἐκέισε αὐθις ἐπανίων πάντα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέτριψε. Dion, xlix. 23.

515. Antony returns from Italy by way of Corcyra, whence he sends Octavia to Italy under pretext of her being unequal to a Parthian campaign, and hastens himself to Syria. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἀπῆρε . . . Ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Κερκύρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ συγκινδυνεύσῃ οἱ τοὺς Πάρθους πολεμοῦντι ἀπέπεμψεν . . . καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα



ὁ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἠπείγετο. Dion, xlvi. 54. According to Plutarch, Antony had sent Octavia back from Tarentum at her own request. Ἐνταῦθα (Tarentum) τὴν Ὀκταβίαν (συνέπλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῆ) δεηθεῖσαν ἀποπέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ἔγκνον μὲν οὖσαν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ θυγάτριον ἔχουσαν. Plut. Ant. 35. It will appear, from the circumstances attending the death of Antigonus at the close of the year, that Antony was then in Syria, viz., at Antioch (see *infra*, no. 528).

**516.** Orodes resigns the kingdom of Parthia in favour of his son, Phraates IV. (see B.C. 70, no. 8; A.D. 14, no. 1062). Phraates puts his father and brothers to death, and Moneses and other nobles take refuge with Antony. Ὁ Ὀρώδης . . . Φραάτη τῷ πρῶτον τῶν λοιπῶν παίδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ζῶν ἐτι ἐνεχείρισε . . . ὥστε συγχνοῦς τῶν πρῶτων ἐγκαταλιπόντας αὐτὸν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοσε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποχωρῆσαι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Μοναίσις ἦν. Τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γάλλου ὑπατευόντων (B.C. 37) ἐγένετο. Dion, xlix. 23. But, according to Plutarch, Φραόρτον κτείναντος Ὀρώδη τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντος, ἄλλοι τε Πάρθων ἀπεδίδρασκον οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ Μοναίσις, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανῆς καὶ δυνατὸς, ἦκε φεύγων πρὸς Ἀντωνίον. Plut. Ant. 37. For the coins of Phraates IV., see Eckhel, iii. 529.

**517.** Herod, in the spring (λωφῆσαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, Jos. Bell. i. 17, 8; λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, Ant. xiv. 15, 14), marches to Jerusalem, and lays siege to it. This was three years after the nomination of Herod to the kingdom by the Romans, at the close of B.C. 40. Συνήγετο δὲ αὐτῷ τρίτον ἔτος ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο. Bell. i. 17, 8. Τρίτον δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔτος ἦν, ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο. Ant. xiv. 15, 14 (see B.C. 40, no. 465). Josephus may here mean only that this was the third year *current* from the appointment of Herod as king by the Romans, as it would be if we reckon the years from the actual appointment, toward the close of B.C. 40. But *συνήγετο* may also be rendered was *completed*; and, if so, it would furnish a clue to Josephus's mode of computation; that is, the first year was dated from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 40, and then the third year would end and the fourth year begin 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37.

**518.** Herod leaves his army at Jerusalem to throw up the earthworks, and goes to Samaria to celebrate his marriage with Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander (see B.C. 42, no. 406). Jos. Bell. i. 17, 8; Ant. xiv. 15, 14.

**519.** He returns to Jerusalem, and Sosius arrives by way of Phœnicia; and the whole force now assembled consists of 11 cohorts and 6,000 horse. Jos. Ant. xiv. 16, 1; Bell. i. 17, 9.

**520.** Three mounds over against the Temple and on the north side of it are completed in the course of the summer. Θέρους τε γὰρ ἦν. Jos. Ant. xiv. 16, 2.

**521.** The precincts of the temple are the parts first taken. Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἠλίσκετο. Jos. Bell. i. 18, 2. Ἐάλωσαν μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμνόμενοι, Dion, xlix. 22; that is, on the fortieth day from the completion of the mounds the outer wall on the north of the Temple is captured, and on the fifteenth day after that the second wall of the Temple, when some of the cloisters of the Temple are burnt. Ἡρέθη γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ τινες τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνεπρήσθησαν στοῶν. Ant. xiv. 16, 2.

**522.** The fall of the city, which follows immediately upon the capture of the Temple, occurs after five months complete from the commencement of the siege by Herod, πέντε μηνὶ διήνεγκαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, Jos. Bell. i. 18, 2; and in the sixth month current *περισχεθέντες* δ' ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ ἐπολιορκοῦντο, Bell. v. 9, 4; and in the third month from the effective siege by Herod and Sosius jointly, after Herod's return from his nuptials at Samaria, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, Ant. xiv. 16, 4; and on the day of the Fast, Tisri 10, or October 5, the very day on which it had been taken before by Pompey, in B.C. 63 (see no. 78), and in the consulship of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus (B.C. 37). Ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανινίου Γάλλου (B.C. 37), ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας (October 5), ὥσπερ ἐν περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου (B.C. 63) τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾶς, καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἐάλωσαν ἡμέρα μετὰ ἕτη εἰκοσιεπτά. Ant. xiv. 16, 4.

**523.** The expression, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, in the above passage, has been thought by some to



mean the third Jewish month, i. e. Sivan (June). But this hypothesis cannot be maintained, for: 1. The capture was on the day of the Fast, τῆ ἑορτῆ τῆς Νηστείας, and ἡ Νηστεία, without qualification, denotes invariably (as in Acts, xxviii. 9) the great fast on Tisri 10. 2. In the third Jewish month, Sivan, there was no fast, though there were fasts in several of the other months, as in the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth. 3. Josephus is positive that Herod did not march from his winter quarters until the winter was over; and allowing time for the collection of his forces from their different quarters, and the march to Jerusalem, he could not well have opened the siege before March; and as the capture was after five months complete, and in the sixth month current, this would carry us into August; but Sivan, the third month, ended in B.C. 37 on June 28. See Greswell's Prolegomena. Supposing the capture to have been in June, Herod must have commenced the siege five months before, that is, in January, when certainly the winter could not be said to be over. 4. Antigonus, at the time of the capture, had reigned three years and three months (see *infra*, no. 528), viz. from his appointment by the Parthians in B.C. 40; and this appointment was unquestionably after the Pentecost, or May 10, B.C. 40 (see that year, no. 450), and the capture of Jerusalem by Herod must therefore have been after August 10, B.C. 37, and therefore not in the third Jewish month, Sivan, or June. If there be no mistake or corruption of the text, we can only construe τρίτῳ μηνί to mean the third month from the siege, dated from the junction of the forces of Herod and Sosius, after the arrival of the latter. Possibly the historian may at the moment have confounded the duration of the siege by Herod with the duration of the siege by Pompey, which latter was for three months (see B.C. 63, no. 78); or Josephus may have written ἑ' μηνί (in the sixth month), and the translator may have copied γ' μηνί (in the third month); or, again, the words ἐπὶ τῆς πεμπτῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί may have been written by mistake for ἐπὶ τῆς, etc., τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει, viz. in the third year of the 185th Olympiad; and, in favour of the latter conjecture, we may remark that Josephus's usage is to designate the whole year by the Olympic year to which the first six months belong (see B.C. 69, no. 10);

and if so, as the capture is referred by Josephus to B.C. 37, it would be assigned by him to the third year of the 185th Olympiad. Unless the year of the Olympiad be given, it would be uncertain whether the event occurred in B.C. 40, B.C. 39, B.C. 38, or B.C. 37, as all these years would fall within the same Olympiad.

**524.** Josephus places the capture of Jerusalem by Herod twenty-seven years after the capture by Pompey in B.C. 63, i. e. the historian, as usual, reckons by consular or Jewish years from every 1 January or 1 Nisan, and B.C. 63, B.C. 37, are both counted as whole years.

**525.** The siege of Jerusalem by Herod was during a Sabbatic year, for Josephus alludes to the want of provisions on that account. Τὸν γὰρ ἐβδοματικὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συνέβη κατὰ ταῦτὸν εἶναι. Ant. xiv. 16, 2. And Josephus speaks of the Sabbatic year as continuing after the siege was over, i. e. after 5 October. Τὴν δὲ χώραν μένειν ἀγέωργητον τὸ ἐβδοματικὸν ἡνάγκαζε ἔτος, ἐνείσθηκε γὰρ, τό τε καὶ σπεῖρειν, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὴν γῆν ἀπηγορευμένον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν. Ant. xv. 1, 2. It follows, therefore, that the Sabbatic year was not observed, as some suppose, from autumn to autumn, i. e. from the commencement of the civil year, but from 1 Nisan to 1 Nisan, the commencement of the sacred year. The particular years observed as Sabbatic years may thus be proved from the Books of the Maccabees. The authors (for there were two) of these Books adopt the Seleucian era, with the qualification that the Greeks, who began their year from the autumnal equinox, dated the Seleucian era from 1 October, B.C. 312; while the authors of the Maccabees, reckoning by Jewish years, date the Seleucian era from 1 Nisan, B.C. 312. In 1 Maccab. vi. 20 (compare vii. 1, Jos. Ant. xii. 9, 3), Judas lays siege to the garrison of Jerusalem, in the 150th year of the Seleucian era, i. e. in the year current from 1 Nisan, B.C. 163, to 1 Nisan, B.C. 162. If B.C. 37 from 1 Nisan was a Sabbatic year, then B.C. 163 from 1 Nisan would be equally a Sabbatic year; and so it was, for when Antiochus Eupator, in order to release Jerusalem, besieged the city of Bethsura, on the borders of Idumæa, it was straitened for provisions on account of the Sabbatic year. Ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ διατροφή τοῦ συγκεκλειῆσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅτι σάββατον ἦν τῇ γῆ. 1 Macc. vi. 49; . . . Βρώματα δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις διὰ τὸ ἐβδομον ἔτος εἶναι,



vi. 53. Again, if B.C. 37 was a Sabbatic year, then B.C. 135, from 1 Nisan, would also be such, and so we find it. Thus the high-priest Simon was put to death in Shebat of the 177th year of the Seleucian era, 1 Maccab. xvi. 14, and the 177th year was current from 1 Nisan, B.C. 136, to 1 Nisan, B.C. 135, and 1 Shebat fell on 6 January, B.C. 135; and Josephus records the transactions of this the first year of Hyrcanus as follows:—On the death of Simon, in Shebat or January, B.C. 135, Hyrcanus threw himself into Jerusalem, and shut the gates upon Ptolemy, who then retired to Dagon, near Jericho. Ant. xiii. 7, 4; xiii. 8, 1. Hyrcanus followed him to Dagon, and wanted courage to carry it by assault, from Ptolemy's putting Hyrcanus's mother to the rack whenever an attempt was made. This caused some delay; and before Hyrcanus could take the place by siege, the Sabbatic year began. *Ἐλκομένης δὲ οὕτως εἰς χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας, ἐνίσταται τὸ ἔτος ἐκείνο καθ' ὃ συμβαίνει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀργεῖν· κατὰ δὲ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τοῦτο παρατηροῦσιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἑβδομάσιν ἡμέραις.* Ant. xiii. 8, 1. Hyrcanus, being thus overtaken by the Sabbatic year, relinquished the siege, and returned to Jerusalem. After this, but still in the first year of Hyrcanus, Antiochus Sidetes, after ravaging Judæa, besieged Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. *Τετάρτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ (Antiochi) πρώτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἰρκανοῦ ἀρχῆς, Ὀλυμπιάδος ἑκατοστῶ καὶ ἐξηκοστῶ καὶ δευτέρῳ (lege ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς ἔτει δευτέρῳ).* Ant. xiii. 8, 2. During this siege occurred the setting of the Pleiades in the autumn, *ἑνομένης Πλειάδος*; and the Feast of Tabernacles, *ἐπιστάσης γε μὴν τῆς Σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς, ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐντὸς πάλιν εἰσεδέξαντο.* Ant. xiii. 8, 2. It is evident from the above that the first year of Hyrcanus was current from January, B.C. 135, to January, B.C. 134, and that the Sabbatic year commenced from 1 Nisan, B.C. 135. It may be further remarked that, according to an ancient Jewish tradition, Jerusalem was taken by Titus in the year next after the Sabbatic year; and if B.C. 163, B.C. 135, and B.C. 37 were Sabbatic years, then, of course, A.D. 69 (the year before the capture of Jerusalem) would also be a Sabbatic year. See Anger, p. 38, note (1).

**526.** Dion refers the capture to the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus, i. e. B.C. 38. *Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νορβάνου*

*τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο.* Dion, xlix. 23. But he is clearly mistaken, as B.C. 38 was not a Sabbatic year; and, besides, two distinct winters succeeding the spring of B.C. 39, when Herod returned to Syria, are recorded by Josephus before the capture of the city, so that the latter event could not have occurred earlier than in B.C. 37. The events also themselves which belong to B.C. 38 (see that year) would not allow time for a tedious siege of five or even three months, not to mention that at the close of the year of the siege Antigonus was taken by Herod to Antony, then at Antioch; but Antony, after the siege of Samosata, in B.C. 38, made all haste to Egypt, and then passed through Greece on his way to Italy, so that he could scarcely have been at Antioch in the latter part of B.C. 38 (see that year, no. 506). In B.C. 37, on the other hand, it is expressly stated that he returned from Italy to Syria, and, no doubt, to Antioch, the capital, where was the palace of the Seleucidæ. Josephus gives the full particulars of the siege, and, in treating of a matter which so nearly concerned his own nation, is much more trustworthy than a late Roman historian who merely bestows a passing notice on the affairs of Judæa in the course of a general history. The words of Dion, *ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νορβάνου τοῦ θ' οὕτως ἐγένετο*, are at the close of a chapter which had opened with the siege of Samosata by Antony, which was in B.C. 38; and if the passage stood by itself it might be thought that Dion, in his allusion to the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus, was referring to the siege of Samosata by Antony himself, and not to the capture of Jerusalem by Sosius, his lieutenant. But Dion afterwards observes, *τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένῳ δ' ἔτει (B.C. 37) οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λόγου ἄξιον ἔπραξαν, etc.*, Dion, xlix. 23; from which it would appear that Dion really supposed the fall of Jerusalem to have occurred in B.C. 38. However, the date assigned by Dion is obviously erroneous.

**527.** Dion appears to be right in referring the day of the capture of Jerusalem to a Sabbath or Saturday, *ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ὀνομασμένην*, Dion, xlix. 22; for, according to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, October 5, B.C. 37, was a Saturday. Dion had stated the same thing of the capture by Pompey; but in this he was mistaken, and the cause of



the error was that the capture was on the great Fast, which was observed as a *Sabbath*, but was not an ordinary Sabbath. With the same predilection for a Sabbath, Dion also erroneously places the final capture of Jerusalem, in A. D. 70, on a Sabbath (see that year, no. 2154). As it was well known that the Jews kept the seventh day holy, every great success against them was naturally referred to a Sabbath.

**528.** On the capture of the city (by Herod and Sosius), Antigonus, who had remained in the castle afterwards called Antonia, surrenders himself, *κάτεισι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρεως*, Jos. Ant. xiv. 16, 2; having reigned three years and three months, *τρία δὲ ἔτη καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ἄρξαντα*, Ant. xx. 10; viz. from the time of his appointment by the Parthians in B.C. 40 (see that year, no. 453).

Antigonus is carried by Sosius to Antony, then at Antioch, and, at the instigation of Herod, Antigonus, according to Josephus, Plutarch, and Strabo, is beheaded. *Τούτον οὖν φιλοψοχήσαντα μέχρις ἐσχάτου διὰ ψυχρᾶς ἐλπίδος ἄξιος τῆς ἀγεννεΐας πελεκῆς ἐκδέχεται*. Jos. Bell. i. 18, 3. *Ἀντώνιος δὲ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Ἀντιγόνον δέσμιον . . . ἔγνω τούτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πελεκίσαι*. Ant. xiv. 15, 2. *Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον . . . προαγαγὼν ἐπελέκισεν, οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἑτέρου βασιλέως οὕτω κολασθέντος*. Plut. Ant. 36. *Ἀντώνιος μὲν Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἀχθέντα εἰς Ἀντιοχείαν πελεκίξει*. Strabo cited Ant. xiv. 16, 4. But, according to Dion, Antigonus was scourged and crucified. *Ἐμαστίγωσε σταυρῷ προσδήσας*. Dion, xlix. 22. From these summary statements of the execution it may be inferred that the interval between the capture of Jerusalem and the execution was very short.

Here ended the line of the Asmonean princes, after a dynasty of 126 years, *παύεται δὲ οὕτως ἢ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου ἀρχῇ μετὰ ἔτη ἕκατον καὶ εἴκοσι ἕξ*, Jos. Ant. xiv. 16, 4; or, as in another place, after a dynasty of 125 years, *ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιπέντε τῶν Ἀσαμωναίων ἐν οἷς ἐβασίλευον*. Ant. xvii. 6, 3. The Asmonean dynasty dated from the peace concluded between Judas Maccabeus and Antiochus Eupator in the 150th year of the Seleucian era, *ἔτος δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου ἑκατοστὸν καὶ πεντακοστὸν*, Ant. xii. 9, 3; i. e. some time between 1 October, B.C. 163, and 1 October, B.C. 162; and, reckoning from B.C. 162, the

duration would be 125 years complete and 126 years current.

From the death of Antigonus the actual reign of Herod, according to Josephus, commences; but he computes it retrospectively, either by consular years from 1 January, or by Jewish years from 1 Nisan, of this year. To reconcile Josephus with himself, one or other of these modes of reckoning must be adopted, but to which of the two the preference should be given it is hard to say. On the one hand, as Josephus, both on the appointment of Herod as king by the Romans, in B.C. 40, and on the capture of Jerusalem by Herod, in B.C. 37, is particular in mentioning the *consulship* in which these events occurred, one might be led to infer that the consulship was the leading idea in the historian's mind. On the other hand, Josephus, a Jew and of a Levitical family, must have been taught from his earliest infancy to date the year from 1 Nisan; and, accordingly, in his history he makes use of the Jewish months of the sacred year as beginning from 1 Nisan, though under their Syro-Macedonian names (see A.D. 70, no. 2093). And this would lead us to the conclusion that, in reckoning the reign of Herod, Josephus computes in this way. The Jewish custom, according to the Talmud, was this: at whatever time of year was the actual accession, the first year was reckoned retrospectively from the 1 Nisan preceding, so that the second year commenced from 1 Nisan next following the accession. *Non numerant in regibus nisi a Nisano. Nisanus initium anni regibus, ac dies quidem unus in anno (viz. post Kal. Nisani) instar anni computatur. Unus dies in anni fine pro anno computatur*. Anger, p. 9, note (x). The Egyptians reckoned the reigns of princes in a similar way, making the second year of the reign to commence on new year's day, or 1 Thoth, next after the accession, and the Jews may have borrowed the custom from the Egyptians. See Eckhel, iv. 42. It will make no essential or practical difference whether Josephus be assumed to have dated the reign of Herod by the Roman year, from 1 January, or by the Jewish year, from 1 Nisan.

**529.** Herod appoints Ananelus, a priest from Babylon, to the high-priesthood. Jos. Ant. xv. 2, 4. This follows immediately after Herod's accession to the throne. *Τούτον (Ananelum) αὐτὸς μὲν (Herod) ἐτίμησεν ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέ-*



λαβεν. Ant. xv. 3, 1. Ananelus was removed from the pontificate towards the close of the following year and is then said to have held the office for some time. *Νῦν ἔφη* (Herod) *διδόναι τῷ παιδὶ* (Aristobulo) *τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καὶ πάλαι προκαταστήσασθαι τὸν Ἀνάηλον, παιδίων παντάπασιν ὄντος Ἀριστοβούλου.* Ant. xv. 2, 7 (see B.C. 36, no. 542).

**530.** Herod appoints Costobarus governor of Idumæa and Gaza. *Ἡρώδης τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ἄρχοντα τῆς Ἰεουμαίας καὶ Γάζης ἀποδείκνυσσι τὸν Κοστόβαρον.* Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 9 (see B.C. 34, no. 567).

**530 a.** Coin of M. Antony.

*Head of Antony + C. Sosius Imp.*

Eckhel, vi. 45 (but who erroneously refers the coin to B.C. 38).

Inscriptions.

<p><i>M. Aemilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus.</i>  <i>M. Antonius M. F. M. N. Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N.</i>  <i>M. Agrippa L. F.</i></p>	}	<p><i>iii.viri R.P.C. . . .</i>  <i>ad pridie K.</i>  <i>Quinct.</i></p>
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Fasti Capitol.

The Sabbatic year.  
 Passover, April 16.  
 Pentecost, June 6.  
 Tabernacles, October 11.

**B.C. 36. U.C. 718. Olymp. 186, 1.**

L. GELLIUS POPPLICOLA. Qui abdic. et eum excepit  
 L. Munatius Plancus.  
 M. COCCÆIUS NERVA. Qui abdic. et eum excepit  
 P. Sulpicius Quirinus.

Second year of the reign of Herod, from  
 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**531.** Octavius, in the spring, prosecutes the naval war against Sextus Pompey. *Καῖσαρ δὲ, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἠτοίμαστο καὶ τὸ ἔαρ ἐνέστη, ἤρε τε ἐκ τῶν Βαίων, etc.* Dion, xlix. 1. Liv. Epit. 129. According to Appian, Octavius set sail about midsummer. *Τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ ἡμέρα προεῖρητο πᾶσι, καὶ ἦν δεκάτη τροπῶν θερινῶν ἦντινα Ῥωμαῖοι νομηνιαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὃν ἐπὶ τμητῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου Ἰούλιον ἀντι Κυϊντιλίου καλοῦσι.* App. B.C. v. 97.

**532.** Mæcenæ, a knight and the great patron of letters, has the chief administration of affairs in Italy under Octavius. Dion, xlix. 16.

**533.** Sextus Pompey is defeated in a naval

battle by Octavius, and flies from Messene to Coreyra, and thence to Cephalonia, and thence to Lesbos, where he seeks to repair his broken fortunes. Dion, xlix. 17. App. B. C. v. 133.

**534.** Lepidus is ejected from the triumvirate. *M. Lepidus qui ex Africa velut ad societatem belli contra Sextum Pompeium a Cæsare gerendi trajecerat, quam bellum Cæsari quoque inferret, relictus ab exercitu, absoluto triumviratus honore, vitam impetravit.* Liv. Epit. 129.

**535.** Early in the year Canidius Crassus marches against and conquers Pharnabazes, king of Iberia, and Zoher, king of Albania. *Ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ λοιπῷ χειμῶνι τοῦτῳ Γελλίων καὶ τοῦ Νερούα ἀρχόντων* (B.C. 36), *Πούπλιος Κανίδιος Κράσσοσ ἐπὶ Ἰβήρας τοὺς ταύτη στρατεύσας, etc.* Dion, xlix. 24 (see B.C. 65, no. 46).

**536.** As Antony approaches Syria (see B.C. 37, no. 515), his passion for Cleopatra revives, and on landing he sends for Cleopatra from Egypt. *Ὁ Κλεοπάτρασ ἔρωσ . . . αὐθις ἀνέλαμπε καὶ ἀνεθάρρει Συρία πησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τέλος . . . Καπίωνα Φοιτήιον ἐπεμφεν ἄζοντα Κλεοπάτραν εἰς Συρίαν.* Plut. Ant. 36.

**537.** Antony invests her with the coasts of Phœnicia from the river Eleutherius to Egypt, with parts of the dominions of Lysanias, king of Chalcis (see B.C. 40, no. 439), whom Antony puts to death; and with parts of the dominions of Malchus, king of Petra (whom Antony also puts to death); and parts of the dominions of Herod; and with Cyprus, Cyrene, and also Cilicia Aspera (*i. e.* from Cape Coracesium to the river Lamus) and Crete. This investiture was on the arrival of Cleopatra in Syria. *Ἐλθούση δὲ χαρίζεται καὶ προστίθησι μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὀλίγον, ἀλλὰ Φοινίκην, Κοίλην Συρίαν, Κύπρον, Κιλικίας πολλήν* (*viz.* Cilicia Aspera), *ἔτι δὲ τῆσ τ' Ἰουδαίας τὴν τὸ βάλαμον φέρουσαν καὶ τῆσ Ναθαταίων Ἀραβίας ὅση πρὸς τὴν ἐκτός ἀποκλίνει θάλασσαν.* Plut. Ant. 36. Dion (who also places the investiture in this consularship) adds other particulars. *Ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρα μεγαλῶσ διεβλήθη* (Antony) . . . *ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν τῆσ Ἀραβίας τῆσ τε Μάλχου καὶ τῆσ τῶν Ἰτουραίων* (τὸν γὰρ Λυσανίαν ὃν αὐτὸς βασιλέα σφῶν ἐπεποιήκει, ἀπέκτεινε, ὡς τὰ τοῦ Πακόρου πράξαντα), *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆσ Φοινίκης, τῆσ τε Παλαιστίνης, Κρήτης τέ τινα καὶ Κυρήνην, τὴν τε Κύπρον αὐτοῖσ* (the sons of Cleopatra by Antony) *ἐχαρίσατο. Τότε μὲν* (B.C. 36) *ταῦτα ἔπραξεν. Τῷ δ' ἐχομένῳ*

ἔτει, ὅτε Πομπήϊος καὶ ὁ Κορνούφικιος ὑπά-  
 τευσαν, etc. (B.C. 35). Dion, xlix. 32. And  
 Porphyry expressly places the death of Lys-  
 anias and the grant of part of his dominions  
 to Cleopatra in this year, for the reign of  
 Cleopatra commenced in B.C. 51 (see no. 188);  
 and he assigns the grant of these provinces to  
 the sixteenth year of her reign, *i. e.* in B.C. 36.  
 Τὸ δ' ἑκκαίδεκατον (of Cleopatra) ὀνομάσθη τὸ  
 καὶ πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τελευτήσαντος Λυσισμάχου  
 (*lege* Λυσανίου) τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ Χαλκίδος  
 Βασιλέως Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἀυτοκράτωρ  
 τὴν τε Χαλκίδα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν τόπους παρί-  
 δωκε τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ. Porphyry. apud Euseb.  
 Müller's Fragm. Græc. Hist. iii. 724. Jose-  
 phus, in speaking of the presence of Cleopatra  
 in Syria at this time, gives the following ac-  
 count of the grant to her: Καὶ διαβάσα (Cleopatra)  
 σὺν ἐκεῖνῳ (Antony) τὴν Συρίαν ἐπενόου  
 κτῆμα ποιήσασθαι. Λυσανίαν μὲν οὖν τὸν  
 Πτολεμαίων Πάρθους αἰτιασαμένη τοῖς πράγ-  
 μασιν ἐπάγειν, ἀποκτίνυσιν. Ἦτει δὲ παρ' Ἀν-  
 τωνίου τὴν τε Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων,  
 ἀξιοῦσα τοὺς βασιλεύοντας αὐτῶν ἀφελῆσθαι . . .  
 μέρη τῆς χώρας ἐκατέρου παρελόμενος,  
 τούτοις αὐτὴν ἐδωρήσατο, διδῶσι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ  
 Ἐλευθέρου ποταμοῦ πόλεις ἄχρις Αἰγύπτου,  
 χωρὶς Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, ἐκ προγόνων εἰδὼς  
 ἐλευθέρως, πολλὰ λιπαροῦσης αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.  
 Ant. xv. 4, 1; Bell. i. 18, 5. It appears from  
 these citations that the kingdom of *Chalcis* (see  
 B.C. 63, no. 68) fell, on the death of Lysanias,  
 into the possession of Cleopatra. *Auranitis*,  
*Trachonitis*, *Batanæa*, and *Paneas* seem also  
 to have been ceded to Cleopatra, and were  
 meant, perhaps, to be included by Porphyry  
 under the general description of τὴν Χαλκίδα  
 καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν τόπους. After the death of  
 Cleopatra they were farmed out to Zenodorus,  
 or Zenon, and were known as the Heritage of  
 Lysanias. Οἶκος Λυσανίου. Ant. xv. 10, 1;  
 Bell. i. 20, 4. And from this denomination of  
 them it would appear that these tracts had  
 formerly belonged to Ptolemy Mennæi, and  
 had descended from him to his son Lysanias.  
*Abylene*, the district to the north of Paneas,  
 and other part of the dominions of Lysanias  
 (see B.C. 63, no. 68), was probably conferred  
 by Antony on some member of the Lysanian  
 family, for it was not included, on the death of  
 Cleopatra, in the grant to Zenon (see B.C. 24,  
 no. 696); and in the fifteenth year of Tiberius  
 it was held as a Tetrarchy by Lysanias, who

was no doubt a descendant of the Lysanias  
 whom Antony had put to death. Luke iii. 1.  
 In A.D. 41, it was conferred, together with  
 Philip's Tetrarchy, on Herod Agrippa the elder  
 (see A.D. 41, no. 1619), and in A.D. 53, on  
 Herod Agrippa the younger (see A.D. 53, no.  
 1788). How Chalcis itself was disposed of  
 after the death of Cleopatra is not stated, but in  
 A.D. 41 it became again a kingdom, and was  
 conferred upon Herod the brother of Agrippa I.  
 (see A.D. 41, no. 1621). *Cilicia Aspera* had  
 been conferred by Antony, in B.C. 39, upon  
 Polemo (see that year, no. 480), and he was,  
 no doubt, now appointed king of Pontus in  
 lieu of Cilicia Aspera, given to Cleopatra. He  
 was certainly king of Pontus during this year  
 (see *infra*, no. 545). Darius, who had been  
 made king of Pontus in B.C. 39, must either  
 have died or been ejected. Strabo refers to  
 the grant of Cilicia Aspera by Antony to Cleopatra,  
 and makes Cape Coracesium the bound-  
 ary to the west, and the river Lamus to the  
 east. Ἀντώνιος τὰ χωρία ταῦτα (the parts  
 eastward of Coracesium) τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ προσέ-  
 νεμειν . . . Δαβῶν (Archelaus) τὴν Τραχώτιν  
 Κιλικίαν ὄλην, πλὴν Σελευκίας, καθ' ὃν τρόπον  
 καὶ Ἀμύντας εἶχε, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Κλεοπάτρα.  
 Strabo xii. 5 (see B.C. 31, no. 618).

**538.** Hyrcanus, early in the year, arrives  
 from Babylon at Jerusalem, partly from his  
 own wish, and partly on the invitation of  
 Herod. This was after Herod's accession to  
 the throne, as reckoned from the death of  
 Antigonus, and after receipt of the intelligence  
 of it by Hyrcanus. Κατασχόντος δὲ τὴν βασι-  
 λείαν Ἡρώδου, πυθόμενος Ἰρκανὸς ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς,  
 etc.; πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην παρεληφέναι  
 τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀντιμεταχώρει ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, etc.  
 Jos. Ant. xv. 2, 1 and 2.

**539.** Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus,  
 writes to Cleopatra to ask that the high-priest-  
 hood may be conferred on her son Aristobulus.  
 This letter followed close upon the appointment  
 of Ananelus as high-priest (see B.C. 37, no. 529),  
 and arose from Alexandra's resentment on that  
 account. Εὐθύς οὖν οὐκ ἠνεγκεν Ἀλεξάνδρα  
 τὴν ἐπιήρειαν (the appointment of Ananelus)  
 . . . καὶ γράφει Κλεοπάτρᾳ . . . αἰτεῖσθαι παρ'  
 Ἀντωνίου τῷ παιδί τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην. Ant.  
 xv. 2, 5.

**540.** Q. Dellius (παιδικὰ πότε ἑαυτοῦ (An-  
 tonii) γενόμενον, Dion, xlix. 39) persuades  
 Alexandra to write to Antony (not said to be



in Egypt), and at the same time to send the portraits of Aristobulus and Mariamne." Ant. xv. 2, 6.

**541.** Antony desires Herod to send Aristobulus to him, but Herod evades the injunction. Aristobulus at this time was sixteen; and as he was seventeen at the Feast of Tabernacles, B.C. 35, and entered his eighteenth year shortly afterwards (see B.C. 35, no. 560), the events here referred to must have occurred in B.C. 36, and probably before the Feast of Tabernacles of this year, and before Antony set out for Media. *Ἐπέστειλλε δὲ πέμπειν τὸν παῖδα σὺν εὐτρεπείᾳ, προστιθείς εἰ μὴ βαρὺ δοκοίη. Τούτων ἀπενεχθέντων πρὸς Ἡρώδη, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔκρινεν ὥρα τε κάλλιστον ὄντα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον (ἔκκαυδεκαέτης γὰρ ὦν ἐτύγγανεν) καὶ γένει προὔχοντα πέμπειν παρὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον.* Jos. Ant. xv. 2, 6.

**542.** Herod shortly afterwards, in order that Aristobulus might be prevented by his office from leaving the country, removes Ananelus, and appoints Aristobulus. *"Ἴνα μὴδ' ἀποδημήσαι δυνατὸν ἦ τετιμημένῳ (Aristobulo) . . . ἔφη (Herod) διδοῖναι τῷ παιδί τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην.* Jos. Ant. xv. 2, 7; Bell. i. 22, 2. This was after the Feast of Tabernacles, for Aristobulus held office for one year only, and was put to death soon after the Feast of Tabernacles, B.C. 35 (see that year, no. 560).

**543.** Antony marches with 60,000 foot and 10,000 horse to the Euphrates, against the Parthians; but finding the passage guarded, he proceeds by way of Armenia against Media, Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, professing to be his ally, and to be at war with Artavasdes (same name), king of Media (see B.C. 50, no. 239; B.C. 33, no. 574). Plut. Ant. 37. Dion, xlix. 25.

**544.** Cleopatra having accompanied Antony as far as the Euphrates, returns by way of Apamea and Damascus. She passes through Judæa, when Herod rents of her the palm-groves of Jericho, which Antony had given to her for two hundred talents, and becomes surety for 200 talents more to be paid by Malchus, as the rent for the parts of Arabia which had been given to her by Antony, and then escorts her to Pelusium. *Τούτων ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τυχοῦσα, καὶ παραπέμφασα μέχρις Εὐφράτων τὸν Ἀντώνιον, etc.* Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 2; xv. 5, 3; Bell. i. 18, 5.

This expedition of Antony was after the

successes of Canidius Crassus against Pharnabazes (see *ante*, no. 535), for it was partly in consequence of them. *Τούτοις τε οὖν ἐπαρθείς ὁ Ἀντώνιος . . . τὸν τε πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς (Parthians) ἐς χεῖρας ἤγετο, etc.* Dion, xlix. 24. And Antony arrived in Armenia so late in the year that, instead of opening the campaign against the Medes, he ought to have put his troops into winter quarters. *Πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ δέον ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διαχειμάσαι, καὶ διαναπαύσαι τὸν στράτον ὀκτακισχιλίων σταδίων ἀποτρυχωμένον πορείᾳ . . . εὐθὺς ἤγεν, etc.* Plut. Ant. 38.

**545.** Polemo accompanied Antony in this expedition, and was at this time king of Pontus (including probably Colchis). *Τοῦ Πολέμωνος τοῦ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύοντος.* Dion xlix. 25 (see *supra*, 537; B.C. 39, no. 480; B.C. 2, no. 966 a).

**546.** Antony besieges Praaspa, the capital of Media, in vain. Dion, xlix. 25. Plut. Ant. 38. A detachment of the army under Statanus is cut off, when Polemo is taken prisoner, but is ransomed. Dion, xlix. 25. Plut. Ant. 38.

**547.** Operations were carried on after the autumnal equinox. *"Ἦδη τοῦ ἀέρος συνισταμένου μετὰ φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν.* Plut. Ant. 40.

**548.** Antony makes a disastrous retreat during the winter, losing 10,000 foot and 4,000 horse before reaching Armenia, and afterwards 8,000 men more. *Ἵπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ψύχους δεινῶς ἐταλαιπώρησε, χειμῶν τε γὰρ ἦδη ἦν.* Dion, xlix. 31. *Τότε δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος ἦδη καὶ νιφετῶν ἀπαύστων ἐπιεγόμενος ὀκτακισχιλίους ἀπέβαλε καθ' ὁδόν.* Plut. Ant. 51.

**549.** Antony reaches *Λευκὴ Κώμη* (between Berytus and Sidon), where Cleopatra joins him from Egypt, with supplies of clothing and money. *Ἐν χωρίῳ τινὶ μεταξὺ Βηρυτοῦ κειμένῳ καὶ Σιδῶνος Ἰουδαίας Λευκὴ Κώμη καλεῖται.* Plut. Ant. 51.

**550.** Antony retires to Egypt. *Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρε.* Dion, xlix. 31.

**551.** Antony (his coss.) appoints Amyntas (see B.C. 39, no. 480; B.C. 31, no. 618), who had been scribe and then general of Dejotarus (see B.C. 42, no. 415), and then king of Pisidia (see B.C. 39, no. 480), to be king of Galatia (see B.C. 41, no. 435), with Lycaonia and part of Pamphylia; and at the same time deposes

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia (see B.C. 42, no. 425); and appoints Archelaus in his place (see B.C. 65, no. 56; A.D. 17, no. 1087). 'Ο δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ταῦτα τε (the expedition to Media) οὕτως ἔπραξε, καὶ δυναστείας Ἀμύντα μὲν Γαλατίας, καίπερ γραμματεῖ τοῦ Δηϊοτάρου γενομένην (called before ὁ τοῦ Δηϊοτάρου στρατηγός, Dion, xlvii. 48) ἔδωκε, καὶ Λυκαονίας Παμφυλίας τε τινὰ αὐτῷ προσθεῖς, Ἀρχελάφω δὲ Καππαδοκίας ἐκβαλὼν τὸν Ἀριαράθην . . . Τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραξε (B.C. 36). Τῷ δ' ἐχομένῳ ἔτει ὅτε Πομπήϊος καὶ Κορνονφικίος ὑπάτευσαν, etc. Dion, xlix. 32, 33. Amyntas was the immediate successor of Dejotarus in Galatia. Εἶτα ἐκείνον (Dejotarus) διεδέξατο Ἀμύντας. Strabo, xii. 5 (see B.C. 25, no. 675). By the part of Pamphylia given to Amyntas, Dion may mean Isauria, as, according to Strabo, Isauria was in the possession of Amyntas. Ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἰσαυρα καὶ τὴν Δέρβην Ἀμύντας εἶχεν. Strabo, xii. 6. Isauria, according to Pliny, was reckoned into, and deemed part of, Pamphylia. *Ciliciæ PAMPHYLIAM omnes junxere, neglectâ gente ISAURICÂ.* Plin. N. H. v. 23. The dominions of Amyntas, comprising Galatia, Lycaonia, Isauria, and Pisidia, reached, on the west, as far as Antioch ad Pisidiam and Apollonias. Τὴν γὰρ Ἀντιόχειαν ἔχων τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι Ἀπολλωνιάδος τῆς πρὸς Ἀπαμείᾳ τῇ Κιβωτῷ, καὶ τῆς παρωρείου τινὰ καὶ τὴν Λυκαονίαν, etc. Strabo, xii. 6 (see B.C. 25, no. 675).

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, was not only deposed, but also put to death, by Antony. *Quem (Ariarathem) a M. Antonio interemptum luce clarius erat.* Valer. Maxim. ix. 15, 2.

Armenia Minor had been annexed to the kingdom of Cappadocia (see B.C. 65, no. 57), but appears not to have been included in the grant to Archelaus, as we afterwards find Armenia Minor given to Polemo (see B.C. 33, no. 579).

**552.** While Antony is engaged against the Medes, Sextus Pompey is at Lesbos, and had proposed to winter there. *Γενόμενος δὲ (Pompey) ἐν Λέσβῳ καὶ ἐκείνόν τε (Antony) ἐπὶ Μήδους ἐστρατεύκεναι . . . μαθὼν διανοεῖτο μὲν κατὰ χώραν χειμάσαι.* Dion, xlix. 17. App. B. C. v. 133. But hearing of Antony's disasters, he abandons the design of joining Antony, and resolves to take an independent part. Dion, xlix. 17.

**553.** On Antony's escape from Media, S. Pompey writes to him; but hearing of his

return to Egypt, he despairs of him, and opens a communication with the Parthians. Dion, xlix. 18. App. B. C. v. 133.

**553 a.** Coins of M. Antony.

*M. Antonius M. F. M. N. Augur Imp. Ter. + iii.vir R. P. C. Cos. Desig. Iter. et Tert.*

*Antonius Augur Cos. Des. Iter. et Tert. + iii.vir R. P. C. Imp. Tertio.*

*Ant. Augur (or Augu.) iii.vir R. P. C. + Imp. Ter.*

*M. Antonius M. F. M. N. Augur Imp. Tert + Cos. Dpsig. Iter. pt. Tert. iii.vir. R. P. C.*

N.B. The barbarous letter π is used for ε. Antony probably assumed the title of Imp. Tert. on the news of the victories of Canidius Crassus this year (see *ante*, no. 335). Eckhel, vi. 45.

#### Inscriptions.

*Cn. Domitius M. F. M. N. Calvinus Pro Cos. ex Hispaniâ, an. DCCXVII. (Varro, 718) xvii. K. Sext.*

*Imp. Cæsar. Divi F. C. N. ii. iii.vir R. P. C. ii. Ovans ex Siciliâ, an. DCCXVII. (Varro, 718) Idib. Novemb. Fasti Capitol.*

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, September 30.

#### B.C. 35. U.C. 719. Olymp. 186, 2.

L. CORNIFICIUS.

SEXT. POMPEIUS.

Third year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**554.** S. Pompey, finding the forces brought against him irresistible, takes the road to Bithynia. App. B. C. v. 140. But is overtaken by Antony's officers at Mediæum, in Phrygia, when he surrenders himself to Amyntas. Dion, xlix. 18. App. B. C. v. 142. Titius, Antony's general, takes S. Pompey to Miletus, and there dispatches him at the age of forty. *Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Πομπήϊον τессαρακοστὸν ἔτος βιοῦντα ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκτανε.* App. B. C. v. 144. The death of S. Pompey was his coss. *Οὕτως ὁ τε Πομπήϊος Σέξστος ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Κορνονφικίου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ ἐπὶ Σέξστου τινὸς Πομπηίου ἀπέθανε.* Dion, xlix. 18.

**555.** L. Munatius Plancus is at this time governor of Syria. *Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον, λέγοντες ἐπιστεῖλαι (the death of*



Sext. Pompey), καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄρχοντα Συρίας καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιτετραμμένον ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ἐπιγράφειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῇ σφραγίδι χρῆσθαι. App. B. C. v. 144. Plancus succeeded Sosius (see v.c. 38, no. 506); and as the latter was at Rome and celebrated his triumph in v.c. 34 (see that year, no. 572), Plancus was probably appointed to Syria in v.c. 35. Plancus was succeeded by Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus (see v.c. 33, no. 581).

**556.** Antony sends Polemo to negotiate with the king of Armenia, and for his success in this mission Antony, in v.c. 33, made him a grant of Lesser Armenia. "Ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνφ σπέισασθαι, καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι μισθὸν τῆς κηρυκείας τὴν μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν μετὰ τοῦτο δοῦναι. Dion, xlix. 33 (see v.c. 39, no. 480; v.c. 33, no. 579).

**557.** Octavius crosses to Sicily with the intention of passing to Africa, but returns and makes a campaign in Illyria and Pannonia. Dion, xlix. 34-37. He leaves Fufius Geminus in command there, and returns to Rome. Dion, xlix. 38.

**558.** Alexandra meditates a flight with her son Aristobulus to Cleopatra in Egypt, but the plot is detected. The discovery was just before the Feast of Tabernacles (19 September). Ἡ δὲ (Cleopatra) λαθοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου σὺν τῷ παιδί πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποδιδράσκειν . . . ὁ δὲ (Herod) τὴν μὲν ἕως τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἕασας προελθεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τοῦ δρασμοῦ συνέλαβε . . . προῦκειτο μέντοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὸ μεράκιον ἐκποδῶν ποιῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταχῶ, μηδ' ἅμα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἐδόκει πιθανώτερον εἰς τὸ λανθάνειν, καὶ τῆς Σκηνοπηγίας ἐνστάσης· ἑορτῇ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τηρουμένη· ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ὑπερεβάλλετο, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 2 and 3.

**559.** At the Feast of Tabernacles Aristobulus as high-priest wins the favour of the people, and Herod proceeds to take measures for his death. Aristobulus at the time of the Feast was seventeen. Τὸ γὰρ μεράκιον Ἀριστόβουλος ἔβδομον ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα γεγονῶς ἔτος, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 3. Ἑπτακαίδεκάτεται. Bell. i. 22, 2.

**560.** Shortly after the Feast, but when Aristobulus was in his eighteenth year, and after having held the high-priesthood for one year (see v.c. 36, no. 542), he is drowned at Jericho by the orders of Herod, and Ananelus is appointed high-priest in his place. Ὀκτω-

καίδεκα μὲν ἅπαντα βίους ἔτη, τὴν δ' Ἀρχιερωσύνην κατασχὼν ἐνιαυτὸν, ἦν Ἀνάνηλος ἐκομίσαστο πάλιν. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 3; Bell. i. 22, 2. Ananelus was succeeded by Jesus, son of Fabi (see v.c. 36, no. 542; v.c. 22, no. 715).

**561.** Alexandra writes an account of the murder of her son to Cleopatra, who appeals to Antony. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 5 (see v.c. 34, no. 564). As Herod was called to account for this early in v.c. 34 (see that year, no. 564), the Feast of Tabernacles above mentioned must have been that of v.c. 35.

**562.** A coin of M. Antony.

*Antonius Augur Cos. Des. Iter et Ter. + M. Sillanus Aug. Q. pro Cos.* Eckhel, vi. 47.

A coin of Herod.

On the obverse *Galea*, and on the reverse Βασιλέως Ἡρώδου Λ. Γ. (i. e. in the third year of his reign).

And if Herod computed his reign from the death of Antigonos at the close of v.c. 37 (see no. 528), the coin belongs to this year. Possibly, however, Herod may have reckoned his reign from the time of his appointment by the Romans at the close of v.c. 40 (see no. 465), and then the third year would commence at the close of v.c. 38. Eckhel, iii. 485.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 25.

Pentecost, May 15.

Tabernacles, September 19.

### B.C. 34. U.C. 720. Olymp. 186, 3.

L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

M. ANTONIUS, ii. Qui Kal. Jan. abdic. et suffectus est L. Sempronius Atratinus.

Ex Kal. Jul. P. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Memmius.

Ex Kal. Nov. M. Herennius.

Fourth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**563.** Octavius proceeds to Gaul on his way to Britain, but is recalled by disturbances in Dalmatia. Ὀρμημένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ζῆλον, στρατεύσαι, καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε Ἀντώνιος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Λούκιος Λίβων ὑπάτερον, προκεχωρηκότος, etc. Dion, xlix. 38. Liv. Epit. 132. Suet. Octav. 20. App. Illyr. 25-27.

**564.** Antony early in the spring proceeds by way of Laodicea of Syria and Nicopolis

Pompeii to Armenia. Ἀντώνιος δὲ . . . ἐς τὴν Νικόπολιν τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου αἰφνίδιον ἄμα τῷ ἦρι ἦλθε. Dion, xlix. 39. While halting at Laodicea, he summons Herod before him on the charge of having put Aristobulus to death. Τούτοις ἀναπειθόμενος Ἀντώνιος, ὡς ἐπὶ Λαοδικείας ἐστάλη, πέμπει κελεύων Ἡρώδην ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς Ἀριστόβουλον ἀπολογήσασθαι. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 5 (see B.C. 35, no. 561).

**565.** Herod, leaving his uncle Joseph and the husband of Salome, Herod's sister, in charge of Judæa, repairs to Antony at Laodicea, and makes his peace with him by means of largesses. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 5-7. And Antony consoles Cleopatra, who had coveted the dominions of Herod, by the gift of Coesylria. Δόντος Ἀντωνίου ἀνθ' ὧν ἤξιον τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν, καὶ διὰ τούτου παρηγορήσαντος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποσκευασμένου τὰς ἐντεύξεις, ἅς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐποιεῖτο. Ant. xv. 3, 8. Coesylria was probably given to Cleopatra at this time, as stated by Josephus, and not in B.C. 36, as mentioned incidentally by Plutarch; Ant. 36, (see B.C. 36, no. 537).

**566.** Herod escorts Antony on his expedition to Armenia, and then returns to Judæa. Παραπέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ Πάρθους εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 9.

**567.** Herod puts his uncle Joseph to death on suspicion of improper familiarities between him and Mariamne during Herod's absence. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 9; Bell. 1, 22, 5. Salome, who had been the wife of Joseph, is now given in marriage to Costobarus. Ant. xv. 7, 9 (see B.C. 37, no. 530; B.C. 26, no. 671).

**568.** Antony enters Armenia, and takes Artavasdes prisoner by stratagem, and puts him in chains. Dion. xlix. 39. Strabo, xi. 14 (see B.C. 66, no. 34). And defeats Artaxas, the son of Artavasdes, who had been elected to the throne in the room of Artavasdes, and reduces all Armenia. Dion. xlix. 40. This was in the third summer (both inclusive) from Antony's former visit to Armenia (see B.C. 36, no. 543). *Tertiâ astate reversus in Armeniam regem ejus Artavasdem fraude deceptum, catenis, sed, ne quid honori deesset, aureis vinxit.* Vell. Paterc. ii. 82. Tac. Ann. ii. 3 (see B.C. 33, no. 580).

**569.** Antony returns to Egypt, and presents Artavasdes and all the booty to Cleopatra. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆν ἐκ Πάρθων Ἀντώνιος

ἄγων αἰχμάλωτον Ἀρταβάζην τὸν Τιγράνον παῖδα δῶρον Κλεοπάτρῃ, μετὰ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τῆς λείας ἀπάσης ὁ Πάρθος εὐθὺς αὐτῇ ἐχαρίσθη. Jos. Bell. i. 18, 5; Ant. xv. 4, 3. Dion, xlix. 40. Artavasdes was put to death by Antony during the Actian war. Ἀνθρήθη συνάπτοντος τοῦ Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου. Strabo, xi. 14.

**570.** Cleopatra had a son by C. Julius Cæsar, called Cæsarion, and three children by M. Antony, viz. Alexander and Cleopatra, twins, and Ptolemy. And Antony, now on his return from Armenia, assigns Egypt and Cyprus to Cleopatra the elder and Cæsarion jointly, and Syria and Asia, from the Hellespont to the Euphrates, to Ptolemy, and Libya and Cyrene to Cleopatra the younger, and guarantees Armenia, with the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus to Alexander! Καὶ αὐτοῖς (Cleopatra the elder and Cæsarion) καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τὴν τε Κύπρον, ἄλλην διανομήν τινα ποιησάμενος, ἔδωκε . . . Τοῖς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ παισὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας οἱ γεγονόσι, Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλλεσπόντου πάντα, Κλεοπάτρῃ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην τὴν περὶ Κυρήνην, τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρι Ἰνδῶν δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ὡς ἔχων ἤδη ἐχαρίζετο. Dion, xlix. 41. Plutarch appears to confound the two Cleopatras, for Πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτραν βασιλίссαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Κοίλης Συρίας, συμβασιλεύοντος αὐτῇ Καισαρίωνος . . . Δεύτερον δὲ . . . Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπένειμε καὶ Μηδίαν καὶ τὰ Πάρθων, ὅταν ὑπαγάγηται, Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν. Plut. Ant. 54 (see B.C. 36, no. 537).

**571.** Astrologers and sorcerers are expelled from Rome. Καὶ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους καὶ τοὺς γόητας ἐκ τῆς πολέως (Agrippa) ἐξήλασεν (his *cos.*). Dion, xlix. 43 (A.D. 16, no. 1080).

**572.** The triumph of Sosius at Rome on 3 September for the capture of Jerusalem. *C. Sosius, C. F. C. N., pro cos. ex Judæa an. DCCXIX.* (Varro, 720) *iii. Nonas Septemb.* Fasti Capitol. Pompey's return from the East was in B.C. 62, and his triumph in B.C. 61; and by analogy, as the triumph of Sosius was in B.C. 34, his return would be in B.C. 35. About the midsummer therefore of B.C. 35 he was probably succeeded in Syria by L. Munatius Plancus (see B.C. 35, no. 555).



**572 a.** Coins of M. Antony.

*Anton. Aug. Imp. iii. Cos. Des. iii. iii. vir. R. P. C.*  
or *Antonius Aug. Imp. iii. + M. Silanus Aug.*  
*Q. Pro Cos.*

*Antoni. Armenia devicta* (see ante, no. 568.) +  
*Cleopatrac Reginae Regum. Filiorum Regum.*

Eckhel, vi. 42.

*Head of Antony + Ρωμης L. A.* (struck at Alex-  
andria). Eckhel, iv. 44.

## Inscriptions.

*T. Statilius T. F. Taurus Pro Cos. ex Africa*  
*A. DCCXIX.* (Varro, 720) *Pridie K. Jul.*

*C. Sosius C. F. T. N. Pro Cos. ex Judæa an.*  
*DCCXIX.* (Varro, 720) *iii. Nonas Sept.*

*C. Norbanus C. F. Flaccus Pro Cos. ex His-*  
*paniâ an. DCCXIX.* (Varro, 720) *Id. Octob.*

Fasti Capitol.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

**B. C. 33. U. C. 721. Olymp. 186, 4.**

L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS. Vice Sex. Pompeii Magni  
qui antequam iniret occis. est.

C. OCTAV. CÆSAR, ii. Qui abdic. Kal. Jan. et eum  
exceptit Publius Antronius Crassus.

Ex Kal. Maii, L. Flavius.

Ex Kal. Jul. C. Fonteius Capito. M. Atilius Viola.

Ex Kal. Sept. L. Vinucius.

Ex Kal. Octob. L. Laronius.

Fifth year of the reign of Herod, from  
1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**573.** Octavius is consul for a few hours only.  
*Secundum vero (consulatum gessit) paucissimis*  
*horis, nam die Kalendarum Januarii, quum mane*  
*pro æde Capitolini Jovis paullulum curuli sellâ*  
*prædisset, honore abiit, successo alio in locum*  
*suum.* Suet. Octav. 26. 'Ο δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τήν  
τε ὑπατειαν (ἤρξε γάρ μετὰ Λευκίου τοῦ Τούλλου  
δευτέρου) τῇ πρώτῃ εὐθύς ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ  
'Αντωνίου τρόπον ἀπέιπε. Dion, xlix. 43.

**574.** Antony is invited by the king of Me-  
dia to join him in a war against Phraates, king  
of Parthia, with whom the king of Media had  
quarrelled. 'Ο Ἀντώνιος . . . παρεσκευάζετο  
δι' Ἀρμενίας αὐθις ἀναβαίνειν, καὶ συγγεγόμενος  
τῷ Μῆδῳ περὶ ποταμῶν Ἀράξην οὕτω κινεῖν τὸν  
πόλεμον. Plut. Ant. 52.

**575.** Antony, in Syria, on his way to Media,  
hears of the arrival of his wife Octavia at  
Athens from Rome for the purpose of joining  
him, when he writes to her to remain there

during his expedition to Media. *Γενομένη*  
*δ' (Octavia) ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐδέξατο γράμματα παρ'*  
*Ἀντωνίου κεύοντος αὐτῷ προσμένειν, καὶ τὰ*  
*περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν δηλοῦντος.* Plut. Ant. 53;  
and see Dion, xlix. 33.

**576.** Cleopatra, alarmed at the approach of  
Octavia, induces Antony to postpone his ex-  
pedition to Media and return from Syria to  
Egypt. *Τέλος δ' οὖν οὕτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξέτη-*  
*ξαν καὶ ἀπεθῆλυναν, ὥστε, δέισαντα μὴ Κλεο-*  
*πάτρα πρόηται τὸν βίον, εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπ-*  
*ανελεθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Μῆδον εἰς ὦραν ἔτους ἀναβα-*  
*λέσθαι, καίπερ ἐν στάσει τῶν Παρθικῶν εἶναι*  
*λεγόμενων.* Plut. Ant. 53; and see Dion, xlix.  
33.

**577.** Octavia returns, by command of Octa-  
vius, from Athens to Rome. *Ὀκταβίαν δὲ Καῖ-*  
*σαρ ὑβρίσθαι δοκοῦσαν, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀθη-*  
*ρῶν, ἐκέλευσε καθ' ἑαυτὴν οἰκεῖν.* Plut. Ant. 54.

**578.** Antony marches to Media, but contents  
himself with an offensive and defensive alliance  
with the king of Media against the Parthians.  
'Αντώνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἤλασε μὲν μέχρι τοῦ  
'Αράξου ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων,  
ἠρκέσθη δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον ὁμολογίᾳ, etc.  
Dion, xlix. 44.

**579.** Antony invests Polemo (see B. C. 36,  
no. 545; B. C. 26, no. 670) with the Lesser  
Armenia (see B. C. 65, no. 53; B. C. 20, no. 727),  
and then proceeds to Ionia and thence to Greece,  
to prepare for war against Octavius. *Κακ τού-*  
*του ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος τῷ Πολέμῳ τὴν μικροτέραν*  
*Ἀρμενίαν χαρισάμενος . . . ἔς τε τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ*  
*ἔς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρος πολέμῳ ὄρμη-*  
*σεν.* Dion, xlix. 44.

**580.** The king of Media is vanquished by  
the Parthians, and Armenia (see B. C. 34,  
no. 568; B. C. 20, no. 734) and Media are  
lost for a time to the Romans. *Ὅ, τε Μῆδος . . .*  
*ἀνηττήθη τε καὶ ἔαλω, καὶ οὕτως ἡ Ἀρμενία*  
*μετὰ τῆς Μηδίας ἀπόλετο.* Dion, xlix. 44.  
Artaxias, the son of Artavasdes (see B. C. 34,  
no. 568), was now established on the throne  
of Armenia. *Ejus (Artavasdis) filius Artaxias,*  
*memoriâ patris nobis infensus, Arsacidarum vi*  
*sequæ regnumque tutatus est.* Tac. Ann. ii. 3.  
Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 3 (see B. C. 20, no. 734).

**581.** Probably about this period Lucius  
Calpurnius Bibulus succeeds L. Munatius  
Plancus as governor of Syria (see B. C. 35, no.  
555). *Βίβουλος δὲ . . . στρατηγὸς ἀπέδειχθη*  
*Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου, καὶ στρατηγῶν ἔτι αὐτῆς*  
*ἀπέθανεν.* App. B. C. iv. 38. It thus appears

that he died in office; but he was living in B.C. 32, as is evidenced by one of his coins. See Eckhel, vi. 57. In B.C. 31, Q. Didius was governor of Syria (see that year, no. 611).

**582.** Malchus, for some time, pays the 200 talents for which Herod had been his surety to Cleopatra (see B.C. 36, no. 544), but afterwards is backward, and at last repudiates the engagement altogether. Ὁ δ' Ἀραψ, Ἡρώδου τὴν φορὰν ἐπίδειξαμένου, χρόνον μὲν τινα παρέϊχεν ἐκείνῳ τὰ διακόσια τάλαντα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ κακοήθης ἦν, καὶ βραδὺς εἰς τὰς ἀποδόσεις, καὶ μόλις εἰ καὶ μέρη τινα διαλύσειεν, οὐδὲ ταῦτα δίδόναι δοκῶν ἀζημίως. Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 4. Some time, therefore, had elapsed since the grant to Cleopatra, so that the grant could not have been made when Antony was in Syria in B.C. 34, but must have been in B.C. 36.

**583.** Herod would now have made war against Malchus at once, but is diverted by the breaking out of war between Antony and Octavius. Ἡρώδης δὲ . . . εἶχε μὲν ὡς ἐπελευσόμενος, προθεσμίᾳ δὲ ἐχρήσατο Ῥωμαϊκῷ πολέμῳ. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.  
Passover, April 2.  
Pentecost, May 23.  
Tabernacles, September 27.

**B.C. 32. U.C. 722. Olymp. 187, 1.**

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
C. SOSIUS.  
Ex Kal. Jul. L. Cornelius.  
Ex Kal. Nov. M. Valerius Messalla.

Sixth year of the reign of Herod, from  
1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**584.** Sosius, at the beginning of the year, inveighs against Octavius, who is then absent from Rome, but Octavius shortly after returns, when Sosius and Domitius, the consuls, join Antony. Οἱ οὖν ὕπατοι . . . λάθρα προεξεχώρησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπήλθον. Dion, l. 2. Suet. Octav. 17.

**585.** Titius and Plancus, on the contrary, desert from Antony to Octavius. Dion, l. 3.

**586.** A remarkable eruption of Mount Etna occurs this year. Dion, l. 8.

**587.** No decisive movement is made by Antony or Octavius during this year. Μετεώρων δ' οὖν πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντων, ἐν μὲν

τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ πλέον οὐδὲν ἐγένετο. Dion, l. 9. But they are engaged on both sides in preparation for war. Dion, l. 6.

**588.** Antony proceeds with Cleopatra to Ephesus, where the fleet (not including any contribution from Herod) is assembled. Αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς Ἐφεσον ἦκε, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκεῖ συνήει πανταχόθεν. Plut. Ant. 56. The fleet then proceeds to Samos. Συνιουσῶν τῶν δυνάμεων, πλεύσαντες εἰς Σάμον ἐν ἐνθαθείαις ἦσαν. Plut. Ant. 56.

**589.** Antony proceeds to Athens. Αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ἀθήνας πάλιν ἐν παιδείαις ἦν καὶ θεάτροις. Plut. Ant. 57.

**590.** Antony advances to Corcyra, but returns again to Peloponnesus and winters at Patræ. Καὶ ἐκεῖνος (Antony) . . . ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον (ἥδη γὰρ ἐκ μετοπίου ἦν) ἀναπλεύσας, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Πάτραις παρεχέμασε. Dion, l. 9. Plut. Ant. 60.

**591.** Herod levies troops on the side of Antony. Τῆς γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης προσδοκωμένης, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου συνεβρωγότες, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν Ἡρώδης Ἀντωνίῳ συνεξορμᾶν. Bell. i. 19, 1. And is ready to take the field, when Cleopatra, hoping to destroy either Herod or Malchus and to receive the dominions of the vanquished, prevails on Antony to send Herod against Malchus, who had failed to pay his tribute of 200 talents for the rent of part of Arabia granted by Antony to Cleopatra (see B.C. 33, no. 582). Ἡξίον γὰρ ἢ Κλεοπάτρα ταῦτα (the war of Herod against Malchus) λυσitelεῖν αὐτῇ, τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ θατέρου κακῶς πάσχειν ἠγουμένη. Τούτων αὐτῷ (Herod) παρ' Ἀντωνίου λεχθέντων, ὑποστρέψας Ἡρώδης συνέειχε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὡς εὐθύς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλῶν. Ant. xv. 5, 1.

**592.** Herod marches against Malchus and defeats him at Diospolis. Ἐς Διόσπολιν ἀφικνεῖται (Herod) . . . καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐκράτησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1; Bell. i. 19, 2.

**593.** Herod engages a second time with the Arabians at Canatha, in Coele Syria, when Athenion, the general of Cleopatra in that part and the private enemy of Herod, treacherously attacks Herod, who now suffers a total defeat. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1; Bell. i. 19, 2. This was before the earthquake in the spring of B.C. 31, for the latter calamity overtook Herod as he was making reprisals for the defeat by ravaging the Arabian borders. Ἀμυναμένῳ δὲ τοὺς ἔχθρους



ἐπιπίπτει συμφορὰ δαιμόνιος ἄλλη κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἔβδομον. Bell. i. 19, 2.

593 a. Inscription.

Imp. Cæsar, Cos. Des. Tert. iii. vir R. P. C. Iterum Murum turresque F. (at Tergeste) Ad Calcem Suetonii.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

**B.C. 31. U.C. 723. Olymp. 187, 2.**

Actian Era I., from 2 Sept. of this year.

C. OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, iii.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS. Vice M. Antonii iii. qui antequam iniret hostis judic. est.

Ex Kal. Maii, M. Titius.

Ex Kal. Oct. Cn. Pompeius.

Seventh year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

594. Octavius is consul for part of the year only. *Quinque medios consulatus a sexto ad undecimum annuos gessit, cæteros aut novem aut sex aut quatuor aut tribus mensibus.* Suet. Octav. 26.

595. This was the last of the eight years for which consuls had been appointed in B.C. 39 (see that year, no. 474). Μετὰ δὲ δὴ ταῦτα ἦσαν μὲν ἕτατοι εἰς τὸ ἐχόμενον ἔτος ὄγτε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος προαποδεξιγμένοι τότε, ὅτε ἐς τὰ ὄκτω ἔτη τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰσάπιεζ προκατεστήσαντο, καὶ τό γε τελευταῖον ἐκεῖνο ἦν. Dion, l. 10.

596. Octavius, while it is still winter, attempts to surprise Antony, and sails from Brundisium to Coreyra, but encounters a storm and returns. Ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἐξανήχθη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἔπλευσε μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας . . . χειμῶνι δὲ περιπεσὼν καὶ πονηθείς ἀνεχώρησε (his coss.). Dion, l. 11.

597. Antony, as the spring advances, remains for some time at Patræ. Τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος οὐδαμοῦ ἐκινήθη (his coss.). Dion, l. 11.

598. Octavius moves forward with his fleet and army to the mouth of the Ambracian Bay. Ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ Ἄκτιον. Dion, l. 12. Upon which Antony also advances to Actium. Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφιξιν ἐπύθετο, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Ἄκτιον μετὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἠπειχθη. Dion, l. 13. According to Plutarch, φθάνει δὲ Καῖσαρ, Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον ὀρμῶντος

ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ νῦν ἡ Νικόπολις ἴδρυται, διαβαλὼν τὸν Ἴόνιον καὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου χωρίον, ὃ Τορόνη καλεῖται, κατασχών. Plut. Ant. 62.

599. Antony still stands aloof from a battle until he had collected all his forces. Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα μὲν εὐθύς κατέστη. Dion, l. 13.

600. The allies of Antony are thus enumerated by Plutarch: Βασιλεῖς δ' ὑπήκοοι συνέμαχον Βόκχος ὁ Λιβύων, καὶ Ταρκόνδημος ὁ τῆς ἄνω Κιλικίας (see B.C. 48, no. 269; *infra*, no. 608), καὶ Καππαδοκίας μὲν Ἀρχέλαος (see B.C. 36, no. 551), Παφλαγονίας δὲ Φιλάδελφος (Dejotarus Philadelphus, see B.C. 41, no. 435), Κομμαγηνῆς δὲ Μιθριδάτης (see B.C. 38, no. 500), Ἀδάλλος δὲ Θράκης. Οὔτοι μὲν αὐτῷ παρησαν. Ἐκ δὲ Πόντου Πολέμων στρατόν ἔπεμπε (see B.C. 33, no. 579), καὶ Μάλχος ἐξ Ἀραβίας, καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ἔτι δ' Ἀμόντας ὁ Λυκαωνῶν καὶ ὁ Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς (see B.C. 36, no. 551). Ἦν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως ἀπεσταλμένη βοήθεια. Plut. Ant. 61. Thus, Plutarch agrees with Josephus in the statement that Herod and Malchus personally were not present with Antony, though they aided him with their forces. Josephus makes Herod thus explain himself: πάντως ἂν με (Herod) μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπέiraσας, εἰ μὴ διεκώλυσαν Ἀραβες, καὶ συμμαχίαν μέντοι γε αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καὶ σίτου πολλὰς ἐπέμψα μυριάδας. Bell. i. 20, 1.

601. In the spring, and when the seventh year of Herod is said to be current, and when the war at Actium was at its height, and therefore before the defeat of Antony at Actium, a dreadful earthquake occurs in Judæa. Ἀρμονίην δὲ (Herod) τοὺς ἔχθρους (the Arabians, see B.C. 32) ἐμπίπτει συμφορὰ δαιμόνιος ἄλλη κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἔβδομον, ἀκμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ Ἄκτιον πολέμου· κατὰ γὰρ ἀρχομένου ἔαρος ἡ γῆ σεισθεῖσα βοσκοκμάτων μὲν πλήθος ἀπειρον, ἀνθρώπων δὲ τρεῖς διέφθιρε μυριάδας. Jos. Bell. i. 19, 3. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης συνεσταμένης (when the battle was now set in array at Actium) Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐβδόμου ὄντος Ἡρώδης τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους, σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοτ' ἐδόκει, τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κτηνῶν πολλὴν φθορὰν ἐποίησεν. Ant. xv. 5, 2. The spring above referred to could not be that of B.C. 30, for after the defeat and flight of Antony the war at Actium could not be said to be at its height. Also, as Herod threw himself upon the mercy of Octavius very early in B.C. 30,

there would not be time, during the interval between the earthquake in the spring of B.C. 30 and the interview with Octavius, for Herod to have sent an embassy to the Arabians, and then to have encouraged his countrymen under the calamity, and finally to have crossed the Jordan and defeated the Arabians in battle (see *infra*, no. 604). And what is still more decisive is that the battle of Actium is spoken of by Josephus as a subsequent event to the defeat of the Arabians. Μεταλαμβάνει δ' αὐτὸν (Herod) εὐθέως ἢ περὶ τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων φροντίς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον φιλίαν, Καίσαρος ἤδη περὶ Ἀκτίων νενικηκότος. Bell. i. 20, 1. And in the Antiquities Josephus speaks first of the battle being set in array at Actium, but not yet fought, Ant. xv. 5, 2; and then narrates Herod's proceedings against the Arabians, Ant. xv. 52; and then the perilous position of Herod from the victory just gained by Octavius over Antony. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα (the war with the Arabians) καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ, δυσπεριχειρητῷ κατὰ πάντα γεγενημένῳ, κίνδυνός δ' ἐμπίπτει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων κρίσιν ἐπάγων, Ἀντώνιον Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀκτίων μάχῃ νενικηκότος. Ant. xv. 6, 1.

**602.** Herod, under the calamity of the earthquake, sends ambassadors to the Arabians to treat for peace; but the Arabians are elated at the losses of Herod, and assassinate the envoys. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 2; Bell. i. 19, 3.

**603.** Herod calls his countrymen together, and encourages them under their calamities. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 3; Bell. i. 19, 4.

**604.** He crosses the Jordan and defeats the Arabians at Philadelphia, when they elect him their champion. Διέβαινε (Herod) τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Φιλαδελφίαν, etc. Τηλικαύτη δὲ πλήγη τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀμννόμενος . . . προῦκοψε ὥστε καὶ Προστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους αἰρεθῆναι. Jos. Bell. i. 19, 5 and 6; Ant. xv. 5, 5. The battle was probably fought in the summer, as the Arabian army despaired of maintaining their entrenchments chiefly from want of water. Εἶχε δ' οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ μᾶλλον ὕδατος. Ant. xv. 5, 4.

**605.** Agrippa defeats Q. Nasidius and takes Leucas and Patræ, and wins over Corinth. Dion, l. 13.

**606.** Cnæus Domitius deserts to Octavius, when Antony, growing suspicious, puts Iamblichus, king of Emesa and Arethusa (see B.C.

47, no. 286; and *infra*, no. 618; and B.C. 20, no. 727), and others to death. Καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκ τούτου ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον Ἀραβίων τινῶν βασιλέα. Dion, l. 13.

**607.** Amyntas, king of Galatia, and Q. Dellius are at this time engaged in levying forces for Antony in Macedonia and Thrace. Ἐτυχον δὲ ἐπὶ μισθοφόρους ἕς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἕς Θράκην πεπεμμένοι. Dion, l. 13.

**608.** Sosius, the admiral of Antony, defeats Lucius Tarsius, but is defeated by Agrippa, when Sosius and Tarcondimotus (see B.C. 43, no. 381) are slain. Ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιεφθάρη (Sosius) μετὰ τε τοῦ Ταρκονδιμότου καὶ μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν. Dion, l. 14. Tarcondimotus was king of Cilicia Amaniensis, or the Highlands of Cilicia, τῆς ἄνω Κιλικίας, Plut. Ant. 61, i. e. of the eastern parts about Mount Amanus. Strabo, xiv. 5. See Cic. Epist. Fam. xv. 1 (see *supra*, no. 600; and B.C. 20, no. 727).

**609.** THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM. Dion, l. 32–35. Vell. Pat. ii. 85, 86. Plut. Ant. 66–68. Liv. Epit. 133. On September 2, τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο. Dion, l. 1.

*D. K. Sept. N. Jovi Tonant. in Capitolio.*

*E. IV. (September 2) N. Fer. Ex S. C. Quod eo die Imp. Cæs. Divi F. Augustus apud Actium vicit. Se et Titio Cos. (old calendar). Muratori, i. 151.*

The battle began at 11 A.M., and the event was uncertain up to 1 P.M., when victory declared itself for Octavius. *Ab horâ quintâ usque in horam septimam, incertâ vincendi spe, gravissimæ utrinque cædes actæ: reliquum diei cum subsequente nocte in victoriam Cæsaris declinavit.* Oros. vi. 19. It was twelve years from the commencement of the Triumvirate. *Cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quatuor et quadraginta solus (Octavius) rempublicam tenuit.* Suet. Octav. 8 (see B.C. 43, no. 376). And in the second year of the 187th Olympiad. Ἦν (the battle) ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκαοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος γενέσθαι συνέβη. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1. In this passage Josephus, reckoning as usual, designates the year by the Olympiad with which the year began, so that, as the first six months of the year B.C. 31 fell in the first year of this Olympiad, Josephus attributes the last six months also (in which the battle was fought) to the same year of the Olympiad (see similar instances of this mode of reckoning under B.C. 69, no. 10).



**609 a.** Augustus is saluted Imperator VI. *Cæsar sextum Imperator appellatus.* Oros. vi. c. 19. It is uncertain on what occasions he had been the last four times previously saluted Imperator. See Eckhel, vi. 140. He was Imperator I. in B.C. 43 (see B.C. 43, no. 370).

**610.** Antony and Cleopatra fly together as far as to the Peloponnesus, and thence Cleopatra sails to Egypt, and Antony to Libya, and so to Alexandria. Dion, li. 5. Plut. Ant. 69.

**611.** Quintus Didius is now prefect of Syria (see B.C. 33, no. 581; B.C. 29, no. 654), and induces the Arabians to burn the Egyptian fleet in the Red Sea. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἀραβικῷ κόλπῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν πλοῦν ναυπηγηθείσας οἱ Ἀράβιοι πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Κύντων Διδίου τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοτος κατέπρησαν. Dion, li. 7. Plut. Ant. 69.

**612.** Octavius sends Agrippa back to Italy, to take charge of his interests there, Dion. li. 3; and sails himself to Athens, ἐκ τούτου Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε, Plut. Ant. 68; and regulates the affairs of Greece, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι διέφυσε, Dion, li. 4; and thence to Asia, where he waits for news of Antony, ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκαθίστατο, τὰ τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἅμα ἐκαραδοκεῖ, Dion, li. 4; and thence to Samos, where he passes the winter. *Ab Actio quum Samum insulam in hiberna se recepisset,* etc. Suet. Octav. 17.

**613.** On the news of the battle of Actium, Herod is thrown into consternation, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, opens a correspondence with Malchus, king of Petra, with the view of wresting the kingdom from Herod; but Herod discovers the plot, and puts Hyrcanus to death, when upwards of eighty years of age. Τότε γὰρ (at the news of the battle) ἀπέγνωστο αὐτῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχθροις τε καὶ φίλοις, etc., τότε δὲ πλείω μὲν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντά γεγωνὼς (Hyrcanus) ἐτύγχανεν ἔτη, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 1 and 3; Bell. i. 2, 1.

**614.** Antony and Cleopatra summon their allies to their aid in Egypt, but meet with no encouragement. Dion, li. 6.

**615.** Herod advises Antony to put Cleopatra to death, as the only means of safety, and, on his refusal, deserts his cause. Jos. Bell. i. 20, 1; Ant. xv. 6, 6.

**616.** Antony hears of Herod's desertion, and sends Alexas or Alexander to him, to dis-

suade him from joining Octavius. Ἀλεξᾶς ὁ Λαοδικεὺς . . . ἐπέμφθη μὲν Ἡρώδῃ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐφέξων, αὐτοῦ δὲ καταμείνας καὶ προδοῦς Ἀντώνιον, ἐτόλμησεν εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν Καίσαρος Ἡρώδῃ πεποιθώς. Plut. Ant. 72.

**617.** It would appear from another passage of Plutarch that this desertion by Herod of Antony's cause followed very soon after the battle of Actium, on 2 September, B.C. 31; for τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ Κανιδίδος τε τῆς ἀποβολῆς τῶν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ δυνάμεων ἀντάγγελος ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον Ἡρώδῃν ἔχοντα τινὰ τάγματα καὶ σείρας ἤκουσε Καίσαρι προσκεχωρηκέναι. Plut. Ant. 71.

**618.** Octavius confirms Amyntas as king of Galatia (see B.C. 36, no. 551; B.C. 25, no. 675); and Archelaus, the son of Archelaus the priest of Comana (see B.C. 36, no. 551; A.D. 17, no. 1087), as king of Cappadocia; but deprives Philopator, son of Tarcondimotus (see *supra*, no. 608, and B.C. 20, no. 727), of Cilicia Amaniensis, or the Highlands about Mount Amanus; and Lycomedes (see B.C. 47, no. 305) of his dominions in Pontus; and Alexander who had succeeded his brother Jamblichus (see *supra*, no. 606, and B.C. 20, no. 727), of Emesa and Arethusa, in Cælesyria. Τοὺς δὲ δυνάστας, τοὺς τε βασιλέας, τὰ μὲν χωρία, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εἰλήφθησαν, πάντας, πλὴν τοῦ τε Ἀμύντου καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου, ἀφείλετο, Φιλοπάτορα δὲ τὸν Ταρκονδημότου καὶ Λυκομήδην ἐν μέρει τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου βασιλεύοντα, τὸν τε Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸν τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου ἀδελφόν, καὶ τῶν δυναστειῶν ἔπαυσε, καὶ τούτον . . . ἀπέκτεινε. Dion, li. 2. This Lycomedes was the priest of Comana, App. Mith. 114, 121 (see B.C. 47, no. 305), and Medeus was now appointed in his place. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ Λυκομήδους Μηδείῳ τινὶ ἔδωκεν. Dion, li. 2. Cleon, at one time or other in the reign of Augustus, held this priesthood for a few weeks, λαβὼν δὲ (Cleon) ὕστατα καὶ τὴν ἐν Πόντῳ τῶν Κομῶνων Ἰερωσύνην, εἰς ἣν κατελθὼν ἐντός μηνιαίου χρόνου κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, Strabo, xii. 8; and when Strabo wrote, it was held by Dyteutus. Εἰθ' ὕστερον Λυκομήδης . . . καταλυθείτος δὲ καὶ τούτου, νῦν ἔχει Δύτευτος, υἱὸς Ἀδριαπόριτος, Strabo, xii. 3. To Amyntas was also given at this time (B.C. 31) Cilicia Aspera, which had before been granted by Antony to Cleopatra (see B.C. 36, no. 537). Λαβὼν (Archelaus) τὴν Τραχωτίην Κιλικίαν ὄλην, πλὴν Σελευκείας, καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ Ἀμύντας πρότερον

εἶχε, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Κλεοπάτρα Strabo, xiv. 5 (see B.C. 25, no. 675).

**619.** The dates comprised in this year are of some importance, as they enable us to fix the mode in which Josephus computed the years of Herod's reign. Herod became king on the fall of Jerusalem, in October, B.C. 37, or rather on the death of Antigonus, about November, B.C. 37; and if Josephus reckoned the years from October to October, or from November to November, the earthquake in Judæa, in the spring of B.C. 31, and the battle of Actium, in the autumn of B.C. 31, would both have fallen in the sixth year of the reign of Herod. Josephus, however, assigns both the earthquake and the battle of Actium to the seventh year of the reign of Herod, i.e. he computes the years of the reign either by the consulships from 1 January, or by Jewish years from 1 Nisan, making the first year of Herod to end with 31 December, B.C. 37, or 1 Nisan, B.C. 36, and the second year to commence on 1 January, B.C. 36, or 1 Nisan, B.C. 36. As to the victory of Actium on 2 September, B.C. 31, it may be thought possible that Herod began his reign so early in B.C. 37 that Josephus may have considered Herod as having on 2 September, B.C. 31, already commenced his seventh year, if reckoned from the assumption of the crown on the fall of Jerusalem or even on the death of Antigonus. The same answer, however, is certainly inapplicable as regards the earthquake, which is also attributed to the seventh year of Herod, and yet occurred in the spring which preceded the battle, i.e. in the spring of B.C. 31. If, therefore, the spring of B.C. 31 was in the seventh year of Herod, the first year must have commenced on 1 January, or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37. For other similar instances of reckoning the reign of Herod, see B.C. 25, no. 683; B.C. 20, no. 738; B.C. 10, no. 805; B.C. 4, no. 925. Josephus may probably have computed the reigns of Herod's sons in the same way (see A.D. 6, no. 1011; A.D. 33, no. 1454). But he did not so reckon the reign of Agrippa I. (see A.D. 44, no. 1678), or Agrippa II. (see A.D. 49, no. 1726); for their reigns were in his own time, and he had accurate information.

**619 a.** Coins of M. Antony.

*M. Anto. Cos. iii. Imp. iiiii. + Antonio Aug. Scarpus Imp. or Scarpus Imp. Leg. viii.*

*M. Antonius Aug. Imp. iiiii. Cos. Tert. iii.vir R. P. C. + D. Tur. (i. e. Turullius).*

Eckhel, vi. 48.

N.B. It does not appear on what occasion Antony assumed the title of Imp. iiiii. The coin may have been struck in anticipation of a victory over Octavius, whereas Antony was defeated.

Coins of Polemo.

*M. Αντωνιου Πολεμωνος Αρχιερωσ + Κεννατ. Δυναστου Ολβειων της Ιερας και Λαλασσεων Ε. ΙΑ. i. e. in his eleventh year (see B.C. 41, no. 435).*

*Μαρκ. Αντωνιου Πολεμωνος Αρχιερωσ Σαλ. + Δυναστου Ολβε . . . Κεννατω. και Λαλα . . . ων. Ε. ΙΑ. Eckhel, iii. 62.*

Inscription.

*Eodem Anno (B.C. 31) Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. ex a. d. iiiii. Non. Sept. victo ad Actium M. Antonio iii.viro R. P. C. ii. solus Remp. tenuit. Fasti Capitol.*

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

**B.C. 30. U.C. 724. Olymp. 187, 3.**

C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, iv.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Ex Kal. Jul. C. ANTISTIUS VETUS.

Ex Id. Sept. M. T. (M. FIL.) CICERO.

Ex Kal. Nov. L. SÆNIUS SÆVINUS.

Eighth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**620.** Octavius is consul for part of the year only, and enters on his consulship at Samos. *Quartum consulatum . . . in insulâ Samo, octavum et nonum Tarracone, iniii.* Suet. Octav. 26.

**621.** Octavius, while it is still midwinter, having no certain intelligence about Antony, and receiving unfavourable news from Italy, makes a hasty journey to Brundisium. *Ab Actio cum Samum insulam in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntio de seditione militum . . . repetit Italiam.* Suet. Octav. 17. *Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναζητῆσαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἠπειχθη μεσοῦντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ᾧ τὸ τέταρτον μετὰ Μάρκου Κράσσου ἦρχεν . . . ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Βρεντέσιον οὐκ ἔτι περαιτέρω προὐχώρησεν.* Dion, li. 4.

**622.** Octavius remains only thirty days at



Brundisium, and then returns to Asia. "Ἐς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὖθις τριακοστῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀφιξίν ἡμέρᾳ ἀπῆρε, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπερευεγκῶν, οὕτω ταχέως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὴν τε Κλεοπάτραν ἑκάτερον ἄμα, καὶ ὅτι ἀφορμήθη καὶ ὅτι ἐπανῆλθε, μαθεῖν. Dion, li. 5. According to Suetonius, Octavius was only twenty-seven days at Brundisium. *Nec amplius quam septem et viginti dies, donec desideria militum ordinarentur, Brundisii commoratus.* Suet. Octav. 17.

**623.** Antony and Cleopatra send an embassy under Euphronius to Octavius while in Asia. "Ἄμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον εἰς Ἀσίαν. Plut. Ant. 72. Dion, li. 6.

**624.** The first embassy having failed, they send a second, and deliver up Publius Turullius, one of the regicides, or assassins, of Julius Cæsar. Octavius, on receipt of this embassy, was apparently at Cos, for Turullius was put to death there. Καῖσαρ δὲ τὸν μὲν Τουρούλλιον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Κῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου ὕλης ξύλα ἐς ναυτικὸν κεκοπῶς) δίκην τινὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐδικαιώθη, δοῦναι ἔδοξε. Dion, li. 8.

**625.** Antony afterwards sends a third embassy with his own son Antyllus, but it does not appear at what time. Τρίτην τε οὖν πρεσβείαν (Antony) ἔστειλε, καὶ υἱὸν τὸν Ἀντυλλον, μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ, αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν. Dion, li. 8.

**626.** When winter is over, Octavius sails along the coast of Asia towards Syria, and his generals advance against Egypt from Libya. Ἔσχεν οὖν ἀναβολὴν ὁ πόλεμος τότε, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος παρελθόντος, αὖθις ἐπήει διὰ Συρίας, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ διὰ Λιβύης. Plut. Ant. 74. Suet. Octav. 17.

**627.** A band of gladiators, partisans of Antony from Cizycus (in spite of Amyntas in Galatia, who had deserted to Octavius, and of the sons of Tarcondimotus in Cilicia), having forced their way into Syria, with the view of joining Antony in Egypt (Dion, li. 47), Herod sends succours to Q. Didius, prefect of Syria, against the gladiators, and Didius writes word of it to Octavius. Διό μοι γράφει Κῦντος Δίδιος συμμαχίαν σε (Herod) πεπομφέναι πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ. Jos. Bell. i. 20, 2. Προσθεῖς, ὅτι Κῦντος Δίδιος γράφειεν ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ συλλαβέσθαι τὸν Ἡρώδη. Ant. xv. 6, 7 (see v.c. 29, no. 654). The name of Didius does

not appear in the consular Fasti, and, therefore, at this time the rule that Syria should be governed by men of consular dignity appears not to have been yet established.

**628.** Antony, who had been in doubt whether to join the gladiators in Syria, or meet Cornelius Gallus, the general of Octavius, at Peritonium, decides on the latter, and suffers losses both by sea and land. Ἐς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν, καίτοι βουληθεὶς κατὰ τὴν τῶν μονομάχων μετέπεμψιν ὀρμῆσαι, οὐκ ἐπορεύθη, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνον (Corn. Gallus) ἐχώρησεν. Dion, li. 9.

**629.** Octavius sails to Rhodes, where Herod has an interview with him, and, throwing himself upon his mercy, makes his peace with him, and is confirmed in his kingdom. Εἰς Ῥόδον ἠλείγετο (Herod) Καίσαρι συντυχεῖν. Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 6. Καὶ πλείστας (Herod) εἰς Ῥόδον ἔνθα διέτριβε Καῖσαρ, πρόσκειται αὐτῷ δίχα διαδήματος, τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ιδιώτης, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα βασιλέως. Bell. i. 20, 1. This interview was after the march of Antony from Alexandria to Peritonium, for the gladiators in Syria were then still unsubdued, whereas the interview was after the subjugation of the gladiators, as Octavius alluded to the dispatch of Q. Didius upon the subject. Bell. i. 20, 2; Ant. xv. 6, 7. The interview could not have been much before April v.c. 30, for since 1 January Octavius had gone to Italy and returned, which occupied a month (see *supra*, no. 621); nor, on the other hand, could it have been much later than April v.c. 30, for by 1 August, v.c. 30, Octavius had triumphed in Egypt, and the news of Antony's death had reached Rome by the Ides, i.e. 13 September, v.c. 30.

**630.** Herod returns to Judæa by sea, and prepares for the reception of Octavius. Ἐπανήει δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν . . . Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἐγεγόνει Καίσαρος ἀπὸ Συρίας, εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν μέλλοντος. Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 7.

**631.** Octavius proceeds through Syria on his way to Egypt, *Asiae Syriæque circuitu Ægyptum petit*, Suet. Octav. 17; and puts Alexas, the friend of Antony (see v.c. 31, no. 616), to death at Laodicea of Syria, notwithstanding the intercession of Herod in his favour. Plut. Ant. 72. In Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 7, and Bell. i. 20, 3, Alexas is called Alexander, the former being the abbreviation of the latter.



**632.** Herod escorts Octavius all the way from Acre to Egypt. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρῆν (Octavius), δέχεται μὲν (Herod) αὐτὸν ἐν Πτολεμαίδι πάσῃ τιμῇ βασιλικῇ. Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 7; Bell. i. 20, 3.

**633.** Octavius takes Pelusium by the treachery of Cleopatra. Plut. Ant. 74. Antony at this time was engaged at Peritonium. Dion, li. 9.

**634.** Antony, on hearing of the loss of Pelusium, advances from Peritonium to Alexandria, and at first gains a temporary success before the walls, but is afterwards defeated. Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Παραιτονίου πρὸς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πηλουσίου πίστιν ἐπανελθὼν προαπήντησε πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ Καίσαρι, etc. Dion, li. 10.

**635.** Octavius wins over Antony's fleet on 1 August. *Kal. Sextilibus primâ luce Antonius cum ad instruendam classem in portum descenderet, subito universæ naves ad Cæsarem transierunt.* Oros. vi. 19. An old calendar has under 1 August, Ex Aug. N. P. Ti. Claud. Spei. Aug. Alexand. Receipt. Muratori, i. 305. This 1 August was deemed the day of capture of Alexandria; and the Senate decreed that the Egyptian year should thenceforth commence with the day of capture. Προσεψηφίσαντο . . . τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐάλω, ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα ἔτη ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀριθμώσεως αὐτῶν νομίζεσθαι. Dion, li. 19. But for some reason or other the Alexandrian era from the conquest of Egypt by Augustus in B.C. 30 dates on the coins, according to Eckhel, from 29 August, B.C. 30. Eckhel, iv. 42.

**636.** Death of Antony and Cleopatra by their own hands. Dion, li. 13, 14. Plut. Ant. 76, 77. Antony was fifty-three or fifty-six, and Cleopatra thirty-nine. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κλεοπάτρα μὲν, ἐνὸς δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βιώσασα, καὶ τούτων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι βασιλεύσασα, συνάρξασα δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ πλείω τῶν δεκατεσσάρων, Ἀντώνιον δ' οἱ μὲν ἕξ, οἱ δὲ τρισὶ τὰ πενήκοντα ὑπερβαλεῖν φασίν. Plut. Ant. 86. The twenty-two years current of the reign of Cleopatra date from the death of Ptolemy Auletes, her father, in B.C. 51 (see no. 188). The fourteen years' reign jointly with Antony must date from the Triumvirate, though Antony first saw her in B.C. 41 (see no. 431). As to the age of Antony, see B.C. 41, no. 431, when he was said to be only 40.

**637.** The news of the death of Antony reaches Rome when Cicero, the son of the

orator, was consul suffectus for part of the year. Ἦγγέλθη δὲ τοῦτο Κικέρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παιδὸς ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατεύοντος. Dion, li. 19. This was in September. *Ipsum Augustum M. Cicerone filio consule Idibus Septembris Senatus obsidionali donavit.* Plin. N. H. xxii. 6. *Imp. Cæs. iiii. K. Jul. C. Antistio Id. Sept. M. Tullius M. Licinius.* Inscriptio apud Sigonium, p. 142, b. ad ann. Capit. 723, cited Fasti Hellen.

**638.** Antyllus, the son of Antony by Fulvia, and Cæsarian, the son of Cleopatra by Jul. Cæsar, are put to death, Dion, li. 15; Suet. Octav. 17; Plut. Ant. 81; but Cleopatra, Ptolemy, and Alexander, the children of Cleopatra by Antony, are spared. Dion, li. 15. Suet. Octav. 17. Cleopatra is given in marriage to Juba II.; and Octavius confers on him at the same time, as a reward for his services, the kingdom of Numidia, which had been held by his father. Ἡ, τε Κλεοπάτρα Ἰόβῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἰόβου παιδὶ συνῴκησε· τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συστρατευσαμένῳ οἱ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῴαν ἔδωκε. Dion, li. 15 (see B.C. 1, no. 968).

**639.** Herod, after the death of Antony and Cleopatra, comes to Egypt, when Octavius invests him with Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Straton's Tower (afterwards Cæsarea). Ὡς ἤκεν (Herod) εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἥδη Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Ἀντωνίου τεθνεώτων . . . τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσέθηκε (Octavius) τὴν τε ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας ἀποκτηθεῖσαν χώραν, καὶ ἔξωθεν Γάδαρ καὶ Ἴππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν παραλίω Γάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Πύργον Στράτωνος. Jos. Bell. i. 20, 3. Νῦν δὲ Καίσαρος ἀγγελθέντος κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τεθηκότων Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, ἔχειν Αἴγυπτον, ἐπειγόμενος εἰς τὸ Καίσαρι ἀπαντᾶν, etc. Ant. xv. 7, 3.

**640.** Egypt is reduced to a Roman province, and Cornelius Gallus, a knight of mean origin, is appointed prefect (see B.C. 26, no. 669); and from this time forward Egypt is governed by one of equestrian and not of senatorial rank, that the prefect might not be too powerful. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν τε Αἴγυπτον ὑποτελῆ ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Κορνηλίῳ Γάλλῳ ἐπέτρεψε. Dion, li. 17. Suet. Octav. 18. Jul. Africanus Reliq. Sacra, ii. 181. Eutrop. vii. 7.

**641.** Octavius founds Nicopolis in Egypt, Dion, li. 1; Suet. Octav. 18; and in honour of the victory of Actium founds Nicopolis near



Actium, and institutes, or rather extends, the Actia, or games in honour of the Actian Apollo. *Quoque Actiacæ victoriae memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit.* Suet. Octav. 18; and see Dion, liii. 1, and li. 1; Jos. Bell. i. 20, 4; Strabo, vii. 7. Dion mentions the Actia under the year B.C. 31; but he anticipates the time, for he adds, *ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.* Dion, li. 1. According to Cassiodorus, the games were celebrated in this consulship. *C. Cæsar iii.* (the consulship when he was suffectus being omitted) *et M. Crassus.* (*His coss.*), *Nicopolim Cæsar construit, ludos Actiacos instituit.* The passage in Dion, liii. 1, refers only to the anniversary of the battle at Rome. As the Actia were celebrated long before the battle of Actium (Strabo, vii. 7), the recurrence of them was not regulated by the date of the battle in B.C. 31. Besides, the battle was on 2 September, which was so late in the year that the games could scarcely have been observed on that day, but would probably be celebrated, as were the other games in Greece, about midsummer. They recurred, like the Olympia, every fourth year. The only reference to the Actiads as a measure of time is in Josephus (see *post*, B.C. 24, no. 696).

**642.** Octavius returns from Egypt through Syria by land, *καὶ τότε χαρίζομενος* (Corn. Dolabella) *αὐτῇ* (Cleopatra) *δηθείση κρύφα πέμψας ἐξήγγυλεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναζεύγνυσι πεζῇ διὰ Συρίας,* Plut. Ant. 84; and is again escorted by Herod from Egypt to Antioch in Syria, *Ἡρώδης δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Καῖσαρι τε μετὰ πλείονος συγνυγχάνει τῆς παρρησίας, ὡς ἦδη φίλος . . . καὶ τὸν μὲν Καῖσαρα παρέπεμψεν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας.* Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 3 and 4.

**643.** Herod returns to Judæa, *αὐτὸς δ' ἐπαυλῶν, etc.*, Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 4; and Octavius proceeds to Asia, where he winters, *ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸ ἔθνος, διὰ τῆς Συρίας ἦλθε, κἀνταῦθα παρεχίμασε,* Dion, li. 18.

**644.** Octavius makes terms with Phraates, king of Parthia, but offers an asylum to Tirdates, who had been defeated and expelled by Phraates. Dion, li. 18.

**645.** M. Crassus, who had been sent to Macedonia and Greece, makes war upon the Dacæ and Bastarnæ. Dion, li. 23. At the

close of the year, he suffers from the rigour of winter. *Χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν.* Dion, li. 25.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

**B.C. 29. U.C. 725. Olymp. 187, 4.**

C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, V.

SEXTUS APULEIUS.

EX KAL. JUL. POTIT. VALERIUS MESSALA.

EX KAL. NOV. C. FURNIUS, C. CLUVIUS.

Augustus assumes the title of Imperator vii., as evidenced by the inscription, *infra*, 655 a.

Ninth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**646.** The 725th year *Urbis Condite.* *Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τε τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ταῖς τε δυναστείαις πέντε τε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπριξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἔπαθον.* Dion, lii. 1.

**647.** In the summer, Octavius passes over to Italy. *Τοῦ δὲ δὴ θέρους ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεραιώθη.* Dion, li. 21. *Dehinc Cæsar pedestribus copiis in Syriam venit, deinde in Asiam ad hiberna concessit ac post per Græciam Brundisium pervectus est.* Oros. vi. 19.

**648.** Octavius celebrates three triumphs. *Curules triumphos tres egit, Dalmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum, continuo triduo omnes.* Suet. Octav. 22. Dion, li. 21. Liv. Epit. 133. These triumphs were, according to Orosius, on 6 January. *Anno ab urbe conditâ dcccxxv. ipso Imperatore Cæsare Augusto quinquies et L. Apuleio coss. Cæsar victor ab Oriente rediens octavo Idus Januariarum urbem triplici triumpho ingressus est.* Oros. vi. 20. But, according to Macrobius, in the month of August. *Cum Imperator Cæsar Augustus mense Sextili et primum consulatum inierit, et triumphos tres in urbem intulerit,* etc. Macrobi. Sat. i. 12. And, according to an old calendar, on 14 August, for under August we read B. xix. *F. August. Triumph.* Muratori, i. 305.

**649.** The temple of Janus is shut for the first time by Octavius his coss. *Πλεῖστον δ' ὅμως ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσθη, ὅτι τὰς τε πόδας τοῦ Ἰαννοῦ, ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων πεπαυμένων αὐτοῖς, ἐκλείσαν.* Dion, li. 20. Liv. i. 19. Suet. Octav. 22. Vell. ii. 38.

Oros. vi. 20. Plut. Oper. Fortun. Rom. iii. 322 (see B. C. 25, no. 678). The temple of Janus was shut three times in all by Augustus, *Janum Quirinum . . . ter clusit*, Suet. Octav. 22; viz. once in B. C. 29, and again in B. C. 25 (see no. 678); and for the third time, according to some, in B. C. 11 (see no. 797). But though a decree was then made for it, the order was never carried out. The temple of Janus may not improbably have been shut for the third time at the close of B. C. 14 or at the beginning of B. C. 13 (see B. C. 14, no. 769). The statement of Orosius that it was shut for the third time in B. C. 2, appears to rest on no authority, and was probably fixed upon by him in aid of his hypothesis that Our Lord was born in B. C. 2. *Itaque anno ab U. C. DCLII. Cæsar Augustus . . . Jani portas tertio ipse tunc clausit*. Oros. vi. 22.

**650.** M. Crassus wages war against the Getæ and Artacii. Dion, li. 26, 27.

**651.** Octavius settles the Roman constitution by the advice of Mæcenas and assumes the title of Imperator or Emperor. *Ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸ πέμπτον ὑπάτευσεν τὴν τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ἐπικλησιν ἐπέθετο*. Dion, lii. 41. (For an outline of the constitution, see Dion, lii. 20-40.)

**652.** All Romans of senatorian rank are forbidden to quit Italy (except for Sicily or Gallia Narbonensis) without the leave of the Emperor. Dion, lii. 42. Thus was introduced a system of passports.

**653.** Octavius puts to death Antiochus II., who had succeeded Mithridates I. in the kingdom of Commagene. *Τὸν τε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν μετεπέμψατο . . . καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ἀπέκτεινε*. Dion, lii. 43 (see B. C. 38, no. 500; B. C. 20, no. 728).

**654.** About this time, the gladiators quartered at Daphne (see B. C. 30, no. 627) are circumvented by Messala and are slain or dispersed. *Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσαλοῦ ὕστερον ἀπατηθέντες ἐπέμψθησαν ἄλλος ἄλλοσε*. Dion, li. 7. This Messala was probably governor of Syria and the successor of Quintus Didius (see B. C. 31, no. 611; B. C. 28, no. 660). M. Valerius Messala had been consul B. C. 31. He could not have remained long in Syria after this, for he was sent by Octavius into Gaul, App. B. C. iv. 38; and for his victories there had a triumph on vii. Kal. Octob., B. C. 27.

**655.** Herod puts his wife Mariamne to death,

at the end of this year, from jealousy, through the intrigues of Salome. This occurred a year after the return of Herod from Antioch, when he escorted Octavius thither, at the close of B. C. 30. *Ἡ τε ὑποψία τρεφομένη παρέτεινε ἐν αὐτοῦ μήκος, ἐξ οὗ παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἡρώδης ὑποστρέφει*. Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 4; Bell. i. 22, 5. Herod falls into a dangerous illness, in consequence, at Samaria. *Καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν (Herod) ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τῇ κληθείᾳ Σεβαστῇ, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐνοσηλεύετο*. Ant. xv. 7, 7.

**655 a.** Inscriptions.

*Senatus Populusque Romanus Imp. Cæsari Divi Julii. F. Cos. Quint. Cos. Desig. Sex. Imp. Sept. Republicâ conservatâ*. Eckhel, vi. 82; Gruter, 226, 5.  
*L. Antonius P. F. Crassus ex Africâ an. DC(CXXIII)*. (Varro, 725) xvii. (*K. Septemb.*)  
Fasti Capitol.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 17.

Pentecost, June 7.

Tabernacles, October 12.

**B. C. 28. U. C. 726. Olymp. 188, 1.**

C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, vi.

M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA, ii.

Tenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**656.** Octavius is consul for the whole year. *Quinque medios consulatus a sexto (inclusive) ad undecimum (exclusive, see B. C. 23, no. 704) annuos gessit*. Suet. Octav. 26.

**657.** Octavius dedicates the temple of Apollo and suffers from illness. *Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἔκτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤρξε . . . Νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, etc.* Dion, liii. 1.

**658.** A census of the Roman people is completed. *In consulatu sexto census populi, collegâ M. Agrippa, egi, lustrum post annum alterum et quadragesimum* (B. C. 70), *quo lustrum civium Romanorum censita sunt capita quadragena centum millia et sexaginta tria*. Lapis Ancyranus ad calcem Suetonii. Dion, liii. 1 (see B. C. 70, no. 79; B. C. 8, no. 828).

**659.** Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, plots against Herod at Jerusalem and is put to death. This was probably early in the year, as the plot arose from the illness of Herod consequent on the death of Mariamne at the close of the preceding year (see no. 655). *Διατρίβουσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀλεξάνδρα,*



καὶ πυθομένη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν (Herod), ἐσπουδάκει τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν φρουριῶν ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι . . . Ἀλεξάνδρα προσήνεγκε τοὺς λόγους ὡς δέον αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἠρώδου παραδοῦναι παιδίους, μὴ καὶ φθῆτις, ἐκείνου μεταλλάξαντος, ἕτερος ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 8.

**660.** We may assign to this year or the following the appointment of M. Tullius Cicero (the son of the orator) as governor of Syria in succession to Messala (see B.C. 29, no. 654); for Cicero was consul suffectus in B.C. 30, and he seems to have been made governor of Syria not long after. Ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν (Ciceronem) ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐς ἀπολογίαὶν τῆς Κικέρωνος (the orator) ἐκδόσεως, ἱερέατε εὐθὺς (after the battle of Actium) ἀπέφηνε, καὶ ὑπατὸν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον (B.C. 30), καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν. App. B. C. iv. 51. There is also an old inscription in which Cicero the son is described as prefect of Syria in the time of Augustus: *M. Tullio M. F. M. N. M. P. N. Cor. Cicero Cos. pro cos. Asiæ Leg. Imp. Cæs. Aug. in Syriâ Patrono.* Orellius, no. 572 (see B.C. 24, no. 697).

**660 a.** Inscription.

*M. Licinius M. F. M. N. Crassus Pro Cos. Ex Træcia (et Getheis) a. DCCXXV.* (Varro, 726) *Non. Jul.* Fasti Capitol.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 6.

Pentecost, May 27.

Tabernacles, October 1.

**B.C. 27. U.C. 727. Olymp. 188, 2.**

C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, vii.

M. V. AGRIPPA, iii.

AUGUSTUS COS. VII. COS. DESIG. VIII. PONT.

IMP. VII.

AUGUSTUS is consul for the whole year. Suet.

Octav. 26.

[It may here be remarked, once for all, that when the emperor assumed the consulship the number of that consulship continued on coins and inscriptions not only during the consulship itself, but through successive years, until he became consul again. Thus in B.C. 23 Augustus was consul for the eleventh time, and was thenceforth designated as Cos. xi. until B.C. 5, when he again became consul, and was thenceforth designated as Cos. xii. The same observation applies to the title of Emperor. Thus in B.C. 29 (see that

year) Augustus was saluted Imp. vii., and this title was continued until B.C. 21–22, when he was saluted Imp. viii. See B.C. 21.]

Eleventh year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**661.** Octavius assumes the name of Augustus. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἐπέθετο (his coss.). Dion, liii. 16. *His Coss.* . . . *Cæsar Augustus cognominatus est.* Cassiodorus. Liv. Epit. 134. Censorinus, c. 21. Vell. Pat. ii. 91. The name of Augustus was conferred, according to Ovid, Fasti, i. 587, on the Ides (13th) of January (see Fasti Hellen.).

**662.** Augustus is constrained by the senate and people to accept the supreme power for a period of ten years. Βουληθεις δὲ καὶ ὡς ὁ Καῖσαρ πόρρω σφὰς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ τι μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν δοκεῖν, ἐς δέκα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη. Dion, liii. 13 (see B.C. 18, no. 744). The first ten years are dated from 1 Jan. B.C. 27, and expired on 31 Dec. B.C. 18. Augustus retained the supreme power for the rest of his life by successive grants from the people for ten years or five years at a time, and the successive periods are thus given by Dion: τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξεληθούσης (31 Dec. B.C. 18), ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε (from 1 Jan. B.C. 17 to 31 Dec. B.C. 13), εἴτα πέντε (from 1 Jan. B.C. 12 to 31 Dec. B.C. 8), καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα (from 1 Jan. B.C. 7 to 31 Dec. A.D. 3), καὶ ἕτερα αὐθις δέκα (from 1 Jan. A.D. 4 to 31 Dec. A.D. 13), πεμπτάκις αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη. Dion, liii. 16.

**663.** Tiberius assumes the toga virilis on 24 April. *VIII. Kal.* (Maii) *Ti. Cæsar togam virilem sumpsit, Imp. Cæsare vii., M. Agripp. iii. Coss.* Fasti Verriani. Supposing Tiberius to have been born on 16 Nov. B.C. 42, he was now in his fifteenth year. But the usual time for taking the toga virilis was in the sixteenth year. See Noris. Cenot. Pis. vol. i. p. 160. And it is a question whether Tiberius was not born in B.C. 43 (see B.C. 42, no. 426).

**664.** Double pay is decreed to the Imperial Guard. Dion, liii. 11.

**665.** Octavius makes a partition of the Roman provinces between himself as Emperor and the Senate or People (his coss.). Dion, lix. 2, 12. *His coss.* . . . *Cæsar . . . provincias disposuit.* Cassiod.

**666.** The provinces were distributed, ac-

cording to Dion, liii. 12, as follows; but he adds the qualification, ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατέλεξα, ὅτι νῦν χωρὶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἡγεμονεύεται, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν, καὶ σύνδου, καὶ σύντρια τὰ ἔθνη ἅμα ἤρχετο. *Ib.*

<i>Senatorial.</i>	<i>Imperial.</i>
1. Ἡ Ἀφρική καὶ ἡ Νουμῖδια.	1. Ἡ Ἰβηρία περὶ Ταρράκωνα.
2. Ἡ Ἀσία.	2. Ἡ Λυστανία.
3. Ἡ Ἑλλάς μετὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου.	3. Γάλαται πάντες οἱ τε Ναρβωνήσιοι καὶ οἱ Λουγδουνήσιοι Ἀκκίτανοι τε καὶ Κελτικοί.
4. Τὸ Δαλματικόν.	4. Ἡ Συρία ἢ Κοίλη.
5. Τὸ Μακεδονικόν.	5. Ἡ Φοινίκη.
6. Ἡ Σικελία.	6. Ἡ Κιλικία.
7. Ἡ Κρήτη μετὰ Λιβύης περὶ τὴν Κυρήνην.	7. Ἡ Κυπρὸς.
8. Ἡ Βιθυνία μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου οἱ Πόντου.	8. Ἡ Αἴγυπτος.
9. Ἡ Σαρδῶ.	
10. Ἡ Βαιτική.	

According to Strabo, lib. xvii. c. 3, the provinces were distributed as follows:—

<i>Senatorial.</i>	<i>Imperial.</i>
1. Ἡ Λιβύη } ἀρχαὶ ὑπο- 2. Ἡ Ἀσία } τικαί, οἱ provinces govern- ed by ex-consuls.	
3. Ἡ Βαιτική.	
4. Ἡ Κελτική ἢ Ναρβωνίτις.	
5. Ἡ Σαρδῶ.	
6. Ἡ Σικελία.	
7. Ἡ Ἰλλυρίς ἢ πρὸς τῇ Ἠπείρῳ.	
8. Ἡ Μακεδονία.	
9. Ἡ Ἀχαΐα.	
10. Ἡ Κρήτη μετὰ τῆς Κυρηναίας.	
11. Ἡ Κύπρος.	
12. Ἡ Βιθυνία.	

All the provinces of the Roman Empire not expressly assigned to the Senate.

It will be observed that the Libya of Strabo comprises the Africa and Numidia of Dion. Also Strabo omits Dalmatia from the Senate's provinces, but allots to the Senate Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis, which Dion had assigned to the Emperor. The reason is, that Strabo adopts an exchange that was afterwards made between the Emperor and the Senate, and by

which the Emperor took into his own hands the upper parts of Dalmatia, and gave Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis to the Senate instead. The lower part of Dalmatia, called ἡ Ἰλλυρίς ἢ πρὸς τῇ Ἠπείρῳ, the Emperor left in the hands of the Senate; and this accounts for our finding ἡ Ἰλλυρίς ἢ πρὸς τῇ Ἠπείρῳ (being the remnant of Dalmatia) amongst the senatorial provinces. (For the exchange above referred to, see B.C. 22, no. 712.)

The *Senatorial* or *Popular* Prefects were called Ἀνθύπατοι, or Proconsuls, and were in general annual, and took their provinces by lot. They were not girt with the sword, nor wore a military dress, but were attended in the consular provinces—viz. Libya and Asia—by twelve lictors, and in the Prætorian provinces by six lictors. Καὶ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἑκατέρων (Imperial and Senatorial) τῶν ἐθνῶν, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων, ἄρχειν κατέδειξεν . . . ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν (the Senatorial) καὶ ἐπετησίους καὶ κληρωτοὺς εἶναι πλὴν εἴ τῳ πολυταΐδίας ἢ γάμου προνομία προσείη, καὶ ἕκ τε τοῦ κοινῷ τῆς γερουσίας συλλόγου πέμπεσθαι, μήτε ξίφος παραζωννυμένους μήτε στρατιωτικῇ ἐσθῆτι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι, μὴ ὅτι τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑπατευκότας (prefects of Libya and Asia) ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἢ δοκούντων γε ἐστρατηγηκέναι· βαβδούχοις τε σφᾶς ἑκατέρους (the prefects of the consular and prætorian provinces), ὕσους πᾶρ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὕσει νενόμισται, χρῆσθαι. Dion, liiii. 13.

The *Imperial* prefects were called Ἀντιστράτηγοι, Proprætors or Πρεσβευταί, Embassadors, and were nominated by the Emperor, and held office not for a year only, but during pleasure, and were girt with the sword, and wore a military dress, and were attended by six lictors. Τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ πρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὄσι, διέταξε . . . τὴν τε στρατιωτικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντας, καὶ ξίφος, οἷς γε καὶ στρατιώτας δικαῖῶσαι ἔξεστιν, ἔχοντας . . . Ῥαβδούχοις δὲ δὴ ἕξ πάντες ὁμοίως οἱ Ἀντιστράτηγοι χρωῖνται. Dion, liiii. 13.

Exconsuls and exprætors, who governed the senate's or people's provinces, were not allowed to take any province until five years (i.e. after an interval of four years) from the expiration of their consulship or prætorship, but there was no restriction as to the imperial provinces. Κοινη δὲ δὴ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς (nominees of senate) ἀπηγόρευσε, μηδένα πρὸ πέντε ἐτῶν,



μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄρξαι, κληροῦσθαι. Dion, liii. 14 (see B.C. 51, no. 217).

For further particulars on the subject of the provinces, see Dion liii. 12-15.

**667.** Augustus visits Gaul with the intention of crossing into Britain, but is called away from Gaul into Spain. Καὶ ἐξώρμησε μὲν (Augustus) ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν . . . κἀντεῦθεν, ἐς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκείνην. Dion, liii. 22. Augustus was at Tarraco in Spain on 1 January, B.C. 26, and also on 1 January, B.C. 25, and returned to Rome in B.C. 24. Suet. Octav. 26 (see B.C. 24, no. 684). But according to Orosius Augustus proceeded to Spain in B.C. 28. Anno ab u. c. dcccxxvi. Imp. Aug. Cæsares sexies et bis M. Agrippa coss. Cæsar . . . in Hispanias ipse cum exercitu profectus est. Oros. vi. 21. This, however, must be a mistake.

**667 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*Cæsar cos. vii. civibus servateis + Augustus S. C.*

[This coin confirms the statement of Dion under this year. Τό, τε τὰς δαφνὰς πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοῦ προτίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν στέφανον τὸν δρύϊνον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀρτᾶσθαι, τότε οἱ, ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ τοὺς τε πολεμίους νικῶντι, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας σώζοντι, ἐψηφίσθη. Dion, liii. 16.]

*Augustus Divi F. + Imp. Cæsari Scarpus Imp.*  
Eckhel, vi. 88.

Inscriptions.

M. Αἰγριππα Ουπατος τριτον.

Muratori, i. 296, 1.

*Cos. Sept. Designat. Octavom V. . . celeberrimeis Italiae vicis consilio . . . Senatus Pop. . . (at Ariminum).*  
Muratori, iv. 2006, 1.

*M. Valerius M. F. M. N. Messalla Corvinus Pro Cos. ex Gallia, a. dcccxxvii. (Varro, 728) vii. K. Oct.*  
Fasti Capitol.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 26.

Pentecost, May 16.

Tabernacles, September 20.

**B.C. 26. U.C. 728. Olymp. 188, 3.**

AUGUSTUS, viii.

T. STATILIUS TAURUS.

AUGUSTUS COS. VIII. COS. DESIG. IX. PONT. IMP. VII.

Twelfth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**668.** Augustus is consul for the whole year. Suet. Octav. 26. And enters upon the consulship at Tarraco, in Spain. *Octavum et nonum (consulatum) Tarracone iniiit.* Suet. Octav. 26.

**669.** Cornelius Gallus, Prefect of Egypt, is disgraced and kills himself. Αὐτός τε (Augustus) τὸ ὄγδοον σὺν τῷ Ταύρῳ τῷ Στατιλίῳ ὑπάτευσεν . . . ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορνήλιος . . . ἠτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου . . . καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλιγίσας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαντὸν προκατεχρήσατο. Dion, liii. 23. Ammian. xvii. 4, 5. Suet. Octav. 66 (see B.C. 30, no. 640). Corn. Gallus was succeeded by Ælius Gallus. Dion, liii. 29 (see B.C. 24, no. 686).

**670.** Polemo, King of Pontus, is enrolled the Friend of the Roman people. Κἀν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ὅτε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ βασιλεύων ἐς τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἐνεγράφη. Dion, liii. 25 (see B.C. 33, no. 579; B.C. 20, no. 727; B.C. 14, no. 761).

**671.** Salome divorces herself from Costobarus (see B.C. 34, no. 567), and betrays the fact that the sons of Babas, partisans and kinsmen of Antigonus, were still alive, and had been secreted by Costobarus for the last twelve years, viz. since the capture of Jerusalem by Herod in B.C. 37: and Herod now puts to death the sons of Babas, the last of the family of Hyrcanus. Πίστιν παρέιχε (Salome) τοῦ λόγου τοὺς Βάβα παῖδας, ὅτι διασώζονται (sons of Babas) παρ' αὐτῷ (Costobarus) χρόνον ἐνιαυτῶν ἤδη δώδεκα, τοῦτο δὲ εἶχεν οὕτως . . . Ὁ βασιλεὺς πέμψας . . . ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς συγκαταϊαθέντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστε εἶναι μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκ τῆς Ἰρκανοῦ συγγενείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῷ, μηδένοσ ὄντος ἐπ' ἀξιώματος ἐμποδὼν ἴστασθαι τοῖς παρανομομένοις. Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 10. These twelve years were no doubt current years, reckoned from 1 January or 1 Nisan, as in the reign of Herod (see B.C. 31, no. 619).

**672.** Herod, feeling himself secure by the extinction of the family of Hyrcanus, introduces innovations by building a theatre at Jerusalem and an amphitheatre in the plain of the Jordan

at Jericho, see Jos. Ant. xvii. 8, 2; and institutes quinquennial games in honour of Augustus. Διὰ τοῦτο (the security from the death of the sons of Babas) καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέβαινε τῶν πατρῶν ἔθων, etc.; πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀγόνα πενταετηρικὸν ἀθλημάτων κατεστήσατο Καίσαρι, καὶ θέατρον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑποδόμησεν, αὐθις τ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ (the plain of the Jordan at Jericho) μέγιστον ἀμφιθέατρον. Ant. xv. 8, 1.

**672 a.** Coin of Augustus.

Obverse uncertain + *Cos. Octavo Desig. ix.*  
Eckhel, vi. 89.

Inscription.

(*Imp. Caesar Divi F. C. N. Augustus viii.*)  
*T. Statilius (T. F. Taurus ii.).*  
*Sex. Appuleius Sex. F. Sex. N. Pro Cos. ex*  
*Hispaniâ a. DCCXXVII. (Varro, 728) vii. K.*  
*Febr. Fasti Capitol.*

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 14.

Pentecost, June 4.

Tabernacles, October 9.

**B.C. 25. U.C. 729. Olymp. 188, 4.**

AUGUSTUS, IX.  
M. JUN. SILANUS.

AUGUSTUS COS. IX. COS. DESIG. X. PONT. IMP. VIII.

Thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, from  
1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**673.** Augustus is consul for the whole year. Suet. Octav. 26. He is at Tarraco on 1 January of this year. *Octavum et nonum (consulatum) Tarracone inivit.* Suet. Octav. 26.

**674.** Augustus again meditates an expedition against Britain, but is obliged to abandon it from an outbreak of the Salassi and Cantabri and Astyres, and Augustus falls sick at Tarraco from the fatigues he had undergone. Δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγούστος (ἤδη δὲ ἔννατον μετὰ Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτευεν) ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σαλάσσοις Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ἔπεμψε, etc. (his coss.) Dion, liii. 25. Liv. Epit. 135. Cassiodor. See Orosius, vi. 25.

**675.** Death of Amyntas, king of Galatia and other provinces (see B. C. 31, no. 618). *Galatia*, part of his dominions (see B. C. 36, no. 551), becomes a Roman province; and the portion of *Pamphylia* which had been given him (see B. C. 36, no. 551) is restored to its proper jurisdiction. Τοῦ δ' Ἀμύντου τελευτήσαντος, οὐ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐς

τὴν ὑπήκοον ἐσήγαγε. Καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντα ἔσχε, τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντῳ προσεμνηθέντα τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη (his coss.). Dion, liii. 26. *Pisidia*, or the greater part of it, seems to have gone along with Galatia, for of Sagalassus in Pisidia Strabo writes about, A. D. 20. Σαγαλασσὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑφ' ᾧ καὶ ἡ Ἀμύντα βασιλεία πᾶσα. Strabo, xii. 6. And of the mountaineers of Pisidia it is said, νῦν δὲ ὑπήκοοι τελείως γεγόνασι· καὶ εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ Ἀμύντα τεταγμένη πρότερον. Strabo, xii. 7. *Cilicia Aspera*, other part of Amyntas' dominions, is given to Archelaus. Λαβῶν (Archelaus) τὴν Τραχωῖτιν Κιλικίαν ὅλην πλὴν Σελευκειᾶς, καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ Ἀμύντας πρότερον εἶχε καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Κλεοπάτρα. Strabo, xiv. 5. Τῷ δὲ Ἀρχελάφῳ καὶ ἡ Τραχεῖα περὶ Ἐλαιούσσαν Κιλικία, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τὰ πειρατήρια συστημαμένη. Strabo, xii. 1 (see A. D. 18, no. 1103; and B. C. 31, no. 618).

According to Dion (*ubi supra*), *Lycaonia* was included in the province of Galatia; but from the coins of Antiochus, king of Commagene, it would appear that in A. D. 37 great part of Lycaonia was held separately from Galatia, and included in the gift of Cilicia Aspera to Antiochus of Commagene. Eckhel, iii. 255 (see A. D. 37, no. 1505). This is the more likely as Polemo I., who had held Cilicia Aspera, was also sovereign of Iconium, the capital of Lycaonia, with its dependencies (see B. C. 39, no. 480). Pliny also speaks of Iconium and fourteen towns as forming a distinct tetrarchy. *Datur et Tetrarchia ex Lycaonia, quâ parte Galatiæ contermina est, civitatum xiv., urbe celeberrimâ Iconio.* Pliny, N. H. v. 25. The western part of Lycaonia was in the time of Pliny the Elder included under the jurisdiction of Asia. *Lycaonia in Asiaticam jurisdictionem versa, cum quâ conveniunt Philomelienses, Tymbriani, Leucothii, Petteni, Tyrienses.* Plin. N. H. v. 25. *Alter conventus a Synnada accipit nomen. Conveniunt Lycaones, etc.* ib. v. 29. *Non constat* at what time the annexation was made, but probably on the death of Amyntas; at least Philomelium and Tymbrium must have been comprised in his dominions, which extended as far westward as Apollonias (see B. C. 36, no. 551). If so, Strabo, in excluding the dominions of Amyntas from the province of Asia, must be understood as speak-



ing only generally. Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλως καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου, πλὴν Γαλατῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀμόντα γενομένων ἔθνων. Strabo, xvii. 3.

676. Amyntas was slain, in an ambush, by the Homonadenses. Διέφθειραν αὐτὸν οἱ Κίλικες ἐμβάλλοντα εἰς τοὺς Ὀμομαεῖς καὶ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ληφθέντα. Strabo, xii. 6.

677. Marcus Lollius (see v. c. 2, no. 963) was the first proprætor of Galatia on its becoming a Roman province. *Galatia quoque sub hoc (Augusto) provincia facta est, cum antea regnum fuisset, primusque eam M. Lollius pro Prætoře administravit.* Eutrop. vii. 10.

678. The temple of Janus is shut for the second time by Augustus. Αὐγουστος μὲν ταῦτα τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔπραξε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ τεμένισμα, ἀνοιχθὲν δι' αὐτοὺς ἔκλεισεν. Dion, liii. 26. *Ita tunc (after the war in Spain) secundo per Cæsarem—quarto post urbem conditam—clausus est Janus.* Oros. vi. 21 (see v. c. 29, no. 649; v. c. 11, no. 797; v. c. 14, no. 769).

679. Marriage of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, to Marcellus, the son of his sister Octavia. This was during the absence and illness of Augustus. Τούς τε γὰρ γάμους τῆς τε θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, μὴ δυνηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ποιῆσαι, δι' ἐκείνου (Agrippa) καὶ ἀπὼν ἔωρτασε (his coss.). Dion, liii. 27.

680. The Jews are indignant at the innovations of Herod (see v. c. 26, no. 672) and ten men band themselves together to take his life. Τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν τῇ δυσχερείᾳ τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ τὸ καταλύεσθαι τὰ πάτρια μεγάλων ἡγούμενοι ἀρχὴν κακῶν, ὅσιον ψήθησαν ἀποκιδνεῦσαι, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 8, 3. This illustrates the banding together of more than forty men to take the life of St. Paul. Acts, xxiii. 12.

681. Herod, to keep the people in check, fortifies Samaria. Ἡ δ' ἐπιμονὴ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων πίστεως ἀκατάπληκτον οὐ ῥάδιον ἐποίησεν τὸν Ἡρώδη, εἰ μὴ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας κρατῆς, καὶ διέγνω πάντοθεν περιειληφέναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς μὴ νεωτεριζόντων φανεράν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀπόστασιν. Ἐξωχρωμένης οὖν τῆς πόλεως μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Αὐλῆς ἐν ἧ διητάτῳ, τοῦ δὲ Ἱεροῦ τῇ περὶ τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρότησι, τὸ καλούμενον Ἀντωνίαν τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τρίτον παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τὴν Σαμαρείαν ἐπένοησεν ἐπιτείχισμα, καλέσας μὲν αὐτὴν Σεβαστήν. Jos. Ant. xv. 8, 4 and 5. With the same view, but at different times, he built Cæsarea and

Gaba, in Galilee, and Esebonitis, in Peræa. Ant. xv. 8, 5.

682. The indignation of the people, as keeping pace with Herod's innovations, was probably at its height in v. c. 25, for the theatre begun in v. c. 26 (see no. 672) was then so far finished as to have received its decorations, and the trophies or panoplies, which were mistaken for images, stirred up the people. Jos. Ant. xv. 8, 1.

683. This year a famine arises from the want of the spring rains, and then follows a plague. Κατὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τρισκαίδέκατον ὄντα τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας πάθη μέγιστα τὴν χώραν ἐπέλαβεν, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μηνίσαντος, ἢ καὶ κατὰ περιόδους ἀπανθήσαντος τοῦ κακοῦ. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀύχμοι διηνεκεῖς ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄκαρπος ἡ γῆ, μηθ' ὅσα κατ' αὐτὴν εἰώθεν ἀναβλαστέειν φέρουσα· ἔπειτα . . . νόσοι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ πάθος ἤδη λοιμικὸν ἐκράτει, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 1. It may be worth noticing that Josephus here apparently identifies the current year of his history with the thirteenth year of Herod, as if the reign of Herod was considered by Josephus as commencing with the new year, and if so, it is an argument that Josephus reckoned the reign of Herod from 1 Nisan; and this is rather confirmed by the series of events enumerated, as first the drought and then the failure of the crops, without any reference to winter during which the Roman year began. By the wrath of God, referred to in the above passage, must be meant the supposed divine wrath at Herod's innovations upon the law by the erection of a theatre, etc. And as these innovations were introduced by Herod upon the death of the sons of Babas, in v. c. 26 (see no. 672), the famine and plague may be assigned to the year v. c. 25. There were two years of famine, viz. v. c. 25 and v. c. 24 (see the latter year, no. 692), and as the first year, v. c. 25, is assigned to the thirteenth year of Herod, his reign must have commenced, according to Josephus, in v. c. 37.

683 a. Coins of Augustus.

*Cæsar Augustus + Jan. clu. i. e. Templum Jani clusum* (see ante, no. 678).

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. August. Cos. ix. + M. Acilius Glabrio Procos.* Eckhel vi. 90.

Inscription.

*(Imp.) Cæsar Divi F. C. N. (Augustus viiii.) M. Junius D. F. M. N. Fasti Capitol.*

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.  
Passover, April 3.  
Pentecost, May 24.  
Tabernacles, September 28.

**B.C. 24. U.C. 730. Olymp. 189, 1.**

AUGUSTUS, x.  
C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

AUGUSTUS COS. X. COS. DESIG. XI. PONT. IMP. VIII.

AUGUSTUS was consul during the whole year. Suet. Octav. 26.

Fourteenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**684.** Augustus, leaving Lucius Æmilius Lamia in Spain, returns to Rome, but is still in a very weak state. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου δέκατον ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ Γαῖον Νωρβακοῦ ἤρξε . . . καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἤδη τῇ πόλει ἠγγέλθη (ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀρρώστιας ἐχρόνισε) καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, etc. Dion, liii. 28. According to Orosius Augustus had been absent in Spain for five years, viz., since B.C. 28. *Cantabrico bello per quinque annos acto . . . Cæsar Romam rediit.* Oros. vi. 21. But see B.C. 27, no. 667.

**685.** On the departure of Augustus from Spain, the Cantabri and Astures make an insurrection, but are subdued by Lucius Æmilius Lamia (his coss.). Dion, liii. 29. Cassiodor. His coss.

**686.** The expedition of Ælius Gallus, prefect of Egypt, into Arabia, is in this consulship. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα (the campaign of Æmilius in Spain) ἐγίγνετο . . . ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν Ἀραβίαν, τὴν Εὐδαίμονα καλουμένην, ἧς Σαβῶς ἐβασίλευεν, Αἴλιος Γάλλος, ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχων, ἐπεστράτευσε. Dion, liii. 29. Strabo, xvi. 4; xvii. 1. Plin. N. H. vi. 32 (see B.C. 23, no. 706).

**687.** Herod sends to Ælius Gallus 500 auxiliaries. Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνῳ (the famine in Judæa) καὶ συμμαχικὸν ἔπεμψε Καίσαρι πεντακσίους ἐπιλέκτους τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, οὓς Γάλλος Αἴλιος περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἦγεν εἰς πολλὰ χρησίμους αὐτῷ γενομένους. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 3. Ἐναυπηγήσατο (Ælius) σκευαγωγὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα, οἷς ἔπλευσεν ἔχων περὶ μυρίους πεζοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν, ὧν ἦσαν Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν πεντακσίοι, Ναβαταῖοι δὲ χίλιοι μετὰ τοῦ Συλλαίου. Strabo, xvi. 4. Petronius appears to have been appointed prefect of Egypt dur-

ing the absence of Ælius on the expedition. Ἐπεμπε δ' ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου (Herod) χροήματα, Πετρωνίου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπὸ Καίσαρος εἰληφότος. Ant. xv. 9, 2 (see B.C. 26, no. 669; A.D. 32, no. 1368).

**688.** Obodas was at this time king of Petra, with Syllæus for his minister. Συνέβαινε δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως τοῦ Ὀβόδα μὴ πολὺ φροντίζοντος τῶν κοινῶν . . . ἅπαντα δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου ποιουμένων ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ Συλλαίου. Strabo, xvi. 4 (see B.C. 33, no. 582; B.C. 7, no. 840).

**689.** The expedition of Gallus proceeds first to Λευκὴ Κώμη, where they pass the rest of the summer and the following winter. Ἦναγκάσθη γοῦν τότε θέρος καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα διατελεσαι αὐτόθι τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀνακτώμενος. Strabo, xvi. 4.

**690.** The Ethiopians, under Candace their queen, take advantage of the absence of Ælius with the Roman forces in Arabia, and invade Egypt. Οἱ Αἰθίοπες καταφρονήσαντες τῷ μέροςτι τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δυνάμεως ἀπεσπᾶσθαι μετὰ Γάλλου Αἰλίου πολεμοῦντος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβας . . . ἐλόντες ἔφθασαν τὴν τε Συήνην καὶ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην καὶ Φιλᾶς. Strabo, xvii. 1.

**691.** Petronius defeats the Ethiopians, and takes Pselche and Premmis, and then Napate (called by Dion, liv. 5, Tanape), where was the royal palace, and fortifies Premmis and leaves a garrison in it with provisions for two years, and then returns. Τὴν δὲ Πρῆμινν τειχίσας βέλτιον, φρουρὰν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τροφὴν δυοῖν ἔνιαυτῶν τετρακοσίους ἀνδράσιν, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Strabo, xvii. 1. Petronius sends 1,000 captives to Augustus, who had then lately returned from Spain (see ante, no. 684). Καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς μὲν ἐλαφροπώλησε, χιλίους δὲ Καίσαρι ἔπεμψε νεωστὶ ἐκ Καντάβρων ἤκοντι, τοὺς δὲ νόσοι διεχρήσαντο. Strabo, xvii. 1. The victory of Petronius was therefore in this year, though Dion relates all the transactions at once under the year B.C. 22, when the war was concluded (see B.C. 22, no. 714).

**692.** The crops in Judæa fail for the second time. Οὐδὲν εἰς ἐλπίδα χρηστὸν ὑπελείπετο, μάλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν ἐπιτείνοντος τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ οὐδὲ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν ἔνιαυτὸν μόνον (B.C. 25), ὡς αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπολοιπὸν, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ κᾶκ τῶν περιόντων τὰ σπέρματα, μὴ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον (B.C. 24) ἀνείσης τῆς γῆς. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 1. The year B.C. 25, in which they had sown, was therefore not a sabbatic year. (The Sabbatic



year was B.C. 30.) This continuance of the famine was after the great outlay of Herod in fortifying Samaria, etc. (see B.C. 25, no. 681). Καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας οὐκ ἐλάττους εἶναι συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν τε φόρων, οὐδὲ ἐλάμβανεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἀφρημένῳ, καὶ τὰ χρήματα δεδαπανηκότι πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ὧν τὰς πόλεις ἐπεσκεύαζεν. Ant. xv. 9, 1 (see B.C. 25, no. 683).

**693.** Herod, from the continuance of the famine, becomes unpopular with his subjects, Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 1; and sends to Petronius, the prefect of Egypt and a personal friend, and procures permission to export corn from Egypt to Judæa; and Herod, when it arrives (τούτων ἀφικομένων), is enabled, not only to supply the wants of his own subjects, but even to furnish seed to the Syrians. Ant. xv. 9, 2.

**694.** Herod also provides clothing for the people against the approaching winter. Ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ μὴ διαχειμῶσαι μετὰ κινδύνων αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 2.

**695.** Herod, about this time, sends to Rome, for their education, his sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, and another son, who died at Rome. Jos. Bell. i. 22, 2. They were sent to Rome after the fortifying of Samaria (see B.C. 25, no. 681), ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δὲ ὧν καὶ τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἤδη πεπολισμένης, ἔγνω (Herod) τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην, Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, συντευξομένους Καίσαρι, Ant. xv. 10, 1; and apparently after Augustus had returned from Spain, for he is represented as receiving them very graciously. Ἐφεῖτο δὲ κἄν τοῖς Καίσαρος καταγέσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐδέξατο μετὰ πάσης φιλανθρωπίας τοὺς παῖδας. Ant. xv. 10, 1. Cæsar was in Spain during the years B.C. 26, and B.C. 25.

**696.** About the same time, Herod's dominions are enlarged by the annexation of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa (see B.C. 36, no. 537), which Zenodorus, who had farmed them, is deprived of for his connivance at the ravages of the banditti in Damascenê. This addition to Herod's kingdom follows immediately after the mission of Herod's sons to Rome in the Antiquities, and was probably in return for Herod's confidence in Augustus by sending his sons to Rome. Καὶ δίδωσιν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὅφρ βούλεται, βεβαιοῦν τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ χώραν ἔτι τὸν τε Τράχωνα καὶ Βαταναίαν καὶ Αὐρανίτιν. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 1. In the wars, the grant is placed after the end of the 1 Actiad, i.e. after midsummer, B.C. 26

(see B.C. 30, no. 641). Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρώτην Ἀκτιάδα προστίθησιν (Augustus) αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τὸν τε Τράχωνα καλούμενον καὶ τὴν προσεχῆ Βαταναίαν τε καὶ Αὐρανίτιν. Bell. i. 20, 4. This grant to Herod did not include Paneas, the district between Galilee of the Gentiles, on the west, and Auranitis, on the east; for Paneas was still left in the hands of Zenodorus or Zenon (see B.C. 20, no. 730). The ademption of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa from Zenon, and the transfer of them to Herod, must have been about a year before the mission of Agrippa to the East, in B.C. 23, for ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδωρος, ἀχθόμενος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἀφαιρέσει, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ φθόνῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἡρώδου μετεληφότος, ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην κατηγορήσων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἄπρακτος ἀναστρέφει, πέμπεται δὲ Ἀγρίππας, etc. Ant. xv. 10, 2.

**697.** At the time of the complaints which led to the deprivation of Zenon, Varro was prefect of Syria. Κακῶς δὲ πάσχοντες οἱ πλησιχώροι Οὐάβρωνος κατεβίων τοῦ τότε ἡγεμονεύοντος καὶ γράφειν ἤξιον Καίσαρι τὴν Ζηνοδῶρου τὴν ἀδικίαν. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 1 (see B.C. 28, no. 660; B.C. 23, no. 700). It does not appear what Varro this was. Terentius Varro was in B.C. 25 employed against the Salassi, Dion, liii. 25; and L. Licinius Varro Muræna was put to death for a conspiracy in B.C. 22. Dion, liv. 3. Suet. Octav. 19; Tib. 8. Vell. Pat. ii. 91. Tac. Ann. i. 10.

**697 a.** Inscription.

(Imp.) Cæsar Divi F. C. N. Augustus x.  
C. No(rbanus C. F. C. N.) Flaccus.

Fasti Capitol.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 23.

Pentecost, May 13.

Tabernacles, September 17.

#### B.C. 23. U.C. 731. Olymp. 189, 2.

AUGUSTUS, xi.

AULUS TERENTIUS VARRO MURÆNA. Qui in mag. mort. est. In cujus loc. fact. est Cn. Calpurnius Piso.

AUGUSTUS COS. XI. PONT. IMP. VIII. TRIB. POT. I.  
from 27 June of this year.

Fifteenth year of the reign of Herod, from  
1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**698.** Augustus has another severe illness, when Antonius Musa applies the cold-water

cure, and restores him. 'Ο δ' Αὔγουστος, ἐνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Πείσωνος ἄρξας, ἠρόωσθησεν αὐθις, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας σχεῖν . . . Ἀντώνιος τις Μούσας καὶ ψυχρολουσίας καὶ ψυχροποσίας ἀνέσωσε. Dion, liii. 30. This year and the next are very unhealthy generally. 'Υπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους (B.C. 24) καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔπειτα (B.C. 23), οὕτω νοσώδους γενομένου, ὥστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπολέσθαι. Dion, liii. 33.

**699.** The Tribunitian power is conferred upon Augustus for life. Ἡ γερουσία δῆμαρχόν τε αὐτὸν διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσαστο. Dion, liii. 32. The Tribunitian years of Augustus were dated from v. Kal. Jul. (27 June). See Fasti Hellen. At the same time, Augustus is appointed Proconsul for life, by virtue of which office he exercised authority over all the provinces. Τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀνθύπατον ἑσαεὶ καθάπαξ ἔχειν. Dion, liii. 32.

**700.** A feeling of jealousy existing between Marcellus and Agrippa, the latter is sent by Augustus to take the command of Syria and of the East. As this was in the lifetime of Marcellus, it must have been before the close of this year. Μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ διὰ τοῦτο ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθύς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν . . . ἔστειλε. Dion, liii. 32 (see B.C. 24, no. 697; B.C. 13, no. 773). Agrippa passes from Rome to Mitylene. *Ad Lesbos quum ille (Agrippa) ex levi frigoris suspicione, et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur, Mitylenas se, relictis omnibus, contulisset.* Suet. Octav. 66. *Exemplo M. Agrippæ, qui, M. Marcellum ad munera publica admoto, Mitylenas abiit.* Suet. Tib. 10. Πέμπεται δὲ Ἀγρίππας τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι καὶ τούτῳ περὶ Μιτυλήνην χειμιάζοντι, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 2. And, according to Dion, Agrippa never visited Syria, but administered the affairs of it from Lesbos by his subordinates. Οὐ μόντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' . . . ἐκείσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε. Dion, liii. 32. It thus appears that while Agrippa remained in the East, there was no other prefect of Syria.

**701.** Marcellus, on the occasion of his ædileship, gives a banquet in the forum, which is covered over with a screen from the heat. Dion, liii. 31. The banquet was on 31 July. *Marcellus, Octavia sorore Augusti genitus, in Ædilitate sua, avunculo xi. consule, a. d. Kal.*

*Augusti velis forum inumbravit, ut salubrius litigantes consisterent.* Plin. N. H. xix. 6.

**702.** Soon after the banquet occurs the death of Marcellus. *M. Marcellus . . . magnificentissimo munere Ædilitatis edito, decessit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 93. Dion, liii. 33.

*Quid genus aut virtus aut optima profuit illi Mater, et amplexum Cæsaris esse focos, Aut modo tam pleno fluitantia vela theatro?*

Propert. iii. 18, 11.

Ἀγορανομῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ἐτελεύτησε νυμφίος, Καίσαρος θυγατρὶ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν (viz. two years) συνοικήσας. Plut. Marcell. 30; and see Virg. Æn. vi. 861. Marcellus was in his 20th year.

*Occidit ut misero steterat vigesimus annus.*

Propert. iii. 18, 15.

**703.** Augustus appoints ten prætors, which number continued for some years afterwards. Στρατηγὸς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι πλείονων δέομενος, ἀπέδειξε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐγένετο. Dion, liii. 32 (see B.C. 38, no. 489; A.D. 11, no. 1040).

**704.** Augustus retires to Albanum, and resigns the consulship in favour of Lucius Sestius. Ἀπέειπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς Ἀλβανὸν ἐλθὼν . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ ἔπαινον ἔσχε καὶ ὅτι Λούκιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ Σήστιον ἀνθείλετο. Dion, liii. 32.

**705.** Tiridates on the one side, and a Parthian Embassy on the other, are heard (his *co.*) at Rome, and the standards taken from Crassus and Antony are agreed to be restored. Τὸν μὲν Τηριδάτην τῷ Φραάτῃ οὐκ ἐξέδωκε, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτῷ, ὃν πρότερον παρ' ἐκείνου λαβῶν εἶχεν, ἀπέπεμψεν, ἐπὶ τῷ τούτῳ τε αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα στρατιωτικὰ, τὰ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ ἄλόντα, κομίσασθαι. Dion, liii. 33 (see B.C. 20, no. 725).

**706.** Ælius Gallus, in the spring, sets out from Λευκὴ Κώμη, and enters the country of Aretas, the kinsman of Obodas, king of Petra. Πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Λευκῆς Κώμης ὁ Γάλλος ἀναζεύξας τὴν στρατιάν . . . πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ἦκεν ἐς τὴν Ἀρέτα γῆν, συγγενοῦς τῷ Ὀβόδῳ. Strabo, xvi. 4. Gallus spends six months in the advance. Ἡ δ' ἐξῆς, ἣν ἐπήει, Νομάδων ἦν, ἔρημος τὰ πολλὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀραρηνή βασιλεὺς δ' ἦν Σάβος, etc., ἐξ δὲ μηνῶν χρόνον ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κατέτριψε, φάυλως ἀγόμενος. Strabo, xvi. 4. Ἀναλώσας ἐξ μηνῶν ἐν τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁδῷ. Ib. And sixty days, or two months, are then spent on the retreat to Νερά Κώμη, on



the Red Sea. Τὴν δὲ πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐξήκοσταιος ἐξήνυσε κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον. *Ib.* He then crosses, in eleven days more, to Myus Hormus, and thence to Coptus, and so to Alexandria, at which he must have arrived in the last quarter of the year. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπεραίωσε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν δεκαταίῳ εἰς Μυὸς Ὀρμον, εἴθ' ὑπέρθεσις εἰς Κοπτὸν· μετὰ γοῦν τῶν ὠνηθῆναι δυναμένων, κατῆρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Strabo, xvi. 4 (see B.C. 24, 686).

**707.** This year there is an abundant harvest in Judæa, and Herod employs 50,000 men to gather it in. Καὶ τοῦτ' (the supplying seed to the Syrians) ὠνησεν οὐκ ἦττον αὐτὸν, εὐστοχηθείσης εἰς εὐφορίαν τῆς χάριτος, ὡς ἅπασιν ἴκανα τὰ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς γενέσθαι. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν, ἀμήτου περὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπιφανέντος, οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, οὓς αὐτὸς ἔθρεψεν, εἰς τὴν χώραν (see Ant. xiv. 13, 4) διέπεμψε, καὶ τοῦτ' τῷ τρόπῳ κακωθεῖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ πάσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἀναλαβὼν οὐκ ἤκιστα καὶ τοὺς πέριξ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς κακοπαθείαις ὄντας ἐπεκούφισεν. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 2. As this year was the Sabbatic year, from 1 Nisan, B.C. 23, to 1 Nisan, B.C. 22, it results from the above passage that the law of the Sabbatic year did not forbid the gathering of the harvest, but only the cultivation of the ground. The way in which Josephus usually refers to the Sabbatic year agrees with this view (see B.C. 37, no. 525). It may be said, however, that the harvest alluded to in the passage cited above was not that of the Jews but of the Syrians, to whom he had supplied seed. But this interpretation is very forced, as περὶ τὴν γῆν and εἰς τὴν χώραν, without qualification, refer almost necessarily to Herod's own dominions. The year of plenty was B.C. 23, and not any earlier or later year, for the two years of famine and the one of plenty were certainly consecutive; and if the year of plenty could not be a Sabbatic year because the harvest was gathered in, then neither of the two years of scarcity could be a Sabbatic year, for in each of them the land was cultivated, and a harvest expected, though the earth yielded none. If, then, these three years were previous to B.C. 23, the first of them must have been B.C. 26; but how could this be, as Josephus refers the year when the famine began to the thirteenth year of Herod, and according to our reckoning the year B.C. 26 was the twelfth of Herod? and though, by counting from the actual

commencement of his reign at the close of B.C. 37, it might be made the eleventh, it could by no computation be the thirteenth. Again, if the third year in question be placed later than B.C. 23, then, as no one of the three consecutive years could by the hypothesis be a Sabbatic year, the first of them would at the earliest be B.C. 22, and this year could not by any possibility be the thirteenth of Herod. The conclusion, therefore, seems inevitable, that if the harvest of the year of plenty applies to Judæa, the observance of the Sabbatic year did not prevent the Jews from gathering the harvest. We may add the remark, that if neither sowing nor reaping were allowed in the Sabbatic year, there would in fact, as the corn was sown in one year and reaped in another, have been two Sabbatic years out of every seven—a very improbable supposition.

**708.** Herod pays a visit to Agrippa at Mitylene during the winter. Καὶ τοῦτ' (Agrippa) περὶ Μιτυλήνην χειμάζοντι συντυχὼν Ἡρώδης, ἦν γὰρ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος καὶ συνήθης, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναστρέφει. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 2.

#### 709. Coins of Augustus.

*Augustus Cos. xi. + M. Agrippa Cos. Tert. Cossus Lentulus.*

*Augustus Cos. xi. + Paci perp.*

*Augustus Tr. Pot. + P. Stolo iii. vir.*

*Augustus + L. Caninius Gallus iii. vir Augustus Tr. Pot.* Eckhel, vi. 92.

Coin of Sinope.

*Ann. XXIII. Head of J. Cæsar + Head of Augustus, i. e. in the twenty-third year of the Sinopian era, dating from v. c. 709.*

Eckhel, ii. 392.

Coin of Herod.

On the obverse, *clypei quatuor in orbem dispositi*; and on the reverse, Βασιλεως Ἡρωδου Galea in areâ, *E I. i. e.* in the fifteenth year of his reign, and therefore in B.C. 23.

Eckhel, iii. 486.

Inscription.

*(Imp.) Cæsar Divi F. C. N. Augustus xi. abd. In ejus loc. fact. est (L. Sestius P.) F. Vibi N. A T(erentius Varro) Muræna. (In mag. mort. est) In. e. l. f. e. (Cn. Calpurnius) Cn. F. C. N. Piso (Imp. Cæsar Divi F. August. postq. Dictator appellatus) e. abdic. Tribun. Pot.* Fasti Capitol.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, June 1.

Tabernacles, October 6.

**B.C. 22. U.C. 732. Olymp. 189, 3.**

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS ÆSERINUS.  
L. ARRUNTIUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. II. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. XI.  
PONT. IMP. VIII.

Sixteenth year of the reign of Herod, from  
1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**710.** A plague and famine in Italy. Dion, liv. 1.

**711.** Conspiracy and death of L. Licinius Varro Murena. Dion, liv. 3. Suet. Octav. 19. Vell. Pat. ii. 91.

**712.** Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis, which had been Imperial, are now made Senatorial or Popular Provinces. Τότε δ' οὖν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ (his coss.). Dion, liv. 4 (see B.C. 27, no. 666). Cyprus and Cilicia had anciently gone together as one province; but as Cyprus only is here mentioned as delivered over to the senate, of course Cilicia remained with the emperor, and from this time Cilicia (though governed, perhaps, like Judæa, by a procurator) was comprised within the prefecture of Syria (see B.C. 51, no. 191; B.C. 4, no. 955; A.D. 15, no. 1071; A.D. 57, no. 1832).

**712 a.** Augustus dedicates the Temple of Jupiter Tonans. Τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βροντῶντος ἐπικαλουμένου καθιέρωσε. Dion, liv. 4. Suet. Octav. 29.

**713.** Augustus visits Sicily. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ὁ Αὐγούστος εἰς Συκελίαν ἦλθεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκείνην καὶ τᾶλλα, μέχρι τῆς Συρίας, καταστήσῃται (his coss.). Dion, liv. 6.

**714.** The Ethiopians attack the garrison at Premmis, which had been left there by Petronius two years before, when Petronius succours it and drives the enemy back, and strengthens the garrison with a greater force. Κἀν τούτῳ τῶν Αἰθίοπων τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπιθεμένων, αὐτῆς τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσε καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐρρύσατο, καὶ τὴν Κανδάκην συμβῆναι οἱ ἠνάγκασεν (his coss.). Dion, liv. 5. Πετρώνιος δ' ἐξεβοήθησε, καὶ φθάνει προεισελθὼν εἰς τὸ φρούριον, καὶ πλείοσι παρασκευαίαι ἐξασφαλισάμενος τὸν τόπον, etc. Strabo, xvii. 1. There were two Ethiopian invasions, and two victories of Petronius, but both are related by Dion under the year B.C. 22, though the first invasion and first victory were in B.C. 24 (see that year, no. 690, and B.C. 21, no. 722).

**715.** Herod rebuilds his palace in the upper city, and, intending to marry Mariamne, the

daughter of Simon, he removes Jesus the son of Phabes from the high-priesthood, and appoints Simon in his place, and then marries Mariamne. All this was after the recovery, which was in B.C. 23, from the famine and plague. Πάλιν οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς ἐπίδοσιν εὐθηνουμένων, βασιλεῖον ἐξφοκῶμαι περὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν . . . προσελάμβανε δὲ καὶ γάμον αὐτῷ . . . αὐτίκα γοῦν Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Φάβητος ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην, Σίμωνα δὲ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ τὸ κῆδος πρὸς αὐτὸν συνάπτεται. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 3 (see B.C. 35, no. 560; B.C. 5, no. 896).

**716.** After the marriage, he builds a fortress called Herodium, seven miles and a half from Jerusalem, in honour of his victory over Antigonus. Τελεσθέντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ γάμου, προσκατεσκευάσατο φρούριον ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ἐν οἷς ἐνίκα Ἰουδαίους, ὅτε, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσόντος, Ἀντίγονος ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φρούριον ἀπέχει μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων περὶ ἐξήκοντα σταδίου. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 4. Herodium is now known as the Frank mountain.

**717.** Next after this in the order of the narrative of Josephus, and therefore probably in B.C. 21 (see that year, no. 723), Herod founds Cæsarea. Πάντων δὲ αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκότων εἰς δεόν, ὧν ἠλπικε . . . περιεβάλλετο δὲ τὴν ἕξωθεν ἀσφάλειαν . . . Κατιδὼν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ χωρίον ἐπιτηδεύτατον δέξασθαι πόλιν, ἧ πάλαι Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, τῇ τε διαγραφῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπεβάλλετο, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 5 and 6.

**717 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*Cæsar Augustus* + *Jov. Ton.* or *Jovis Ton.* (see ante, no. 712 a.). Eckhel, vi. 92.

Inscriptions.

*L. Arruntius L. F. Cos. xv. vir Sacris faciundis Viam Semitas faciund. Lavacra M. reficiund. S.D. S.P. R.C.* (at Atina).

Muratori, i. 296, 2.

*L. Arruntius L. F. Cos. v. . . . vir Sacreis faciundis . . . Viam Semit. faciund. Cloacam faciundam D. S. C.* (at Atina).

Muratori, i. 296, 2.

*J. O. M. et Laribus Put. Civ. C. Ap. Flavianus (Ed. Cur. cum Basi et Hypobasi D. D. dedicatum L. Arruntio et C. Claudio Marcello Coss.* (at Puteoli). Muratori, i. 296, 3.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 31.

Pentecost, May 21.

Tabernacles, September 25.



**B.C. 21. U.C. 733. Olymp. 189, 4.**

M. LOLLIVS.

Q. ÆMILIUS LEPIDVS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. III. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. XI. PONT. IMP. VIII. (The title of Imp. viii. commenced some time between 27 June of this year, and 27 June of the following year, as appears from the inscription *infra*, 723 a.)

Seventeenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**718.** Augustus, while in Sicily, summons Agrippa from Asia, in order that Agrippa may marry Julia, the daughter of Augustus. Agrippa arrives, and proceeds to Rome, and the marriage is celebrated. *Μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν (Agrippam) καὶ καταναγκάσας τὴν γυναῖκα . . . ἀπαλλάξαντα, τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ συνοικῆσαι, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίζει ἔπεμψε.* Dion, liv. 6 (see B.C. 23, no. 700; B.C. 16, no. 754).

**719.** Agrippa at Rome prohibits the practice of Egyptian rites within a certain distance from the city. *Τὰ τε ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια ἐπεισιόντα αὐθις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνέστειλεν, ἀπειπὼν μηδένα μηδὲ ἐν τῷ προσασιεῖν αὐτὰ ἐντὸς ὀγδόου ἡμισαδίου, ποιεῖν (his coss.).* Dion, liv. 6 (see A.D. 19, no. 1123).

**720.** Augustus constitutes Syracuse a Roman colony, and passes over to Greece, where he honours Sparta, and deprives Athens of Egina and Eretria, for having favoured M. Antony. Dion, liv. 7 (see B.C. 42, no. 422).

**721.** Augustus crosses to Samos, where he winters. *Ἐς Σάμον ἔπλευσε ἐνταῦθα τε ἐχείμασε (his coss.).* Dion, liv. 7.

**722.** While he is there, the Ethiopians, in consequence of their defeat by Petronius (see B.C. 22, no. 714), send an embassy to Augustus. *Ἦκον εἰς Σάμον, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντος, καὶ, μέλλοντος εἰς Συρίαν ἐντεῦθεν προΐεναι, Τιβέριον εἰς Ἀρμενίαν στέλλοντος.* Strabo, xvii. 2, 1.

**723.** Herod commences the building of Cæsarea. The preceding course of events would place it in this year (see B.C. 22, no. 717), and it was certainly some time before the arrival of Augustus in Syria, B.C. 20, as it precedes it in the narrative of Josephus. Compare Ant. xv. 9, 6; xv. 10, 3. It occupied

twelve years, by which current years must be meant, *ἡ μὲν δὲ, πόλις οὕτως ἐξετελέσθη δωδεκάετη χρόνῳ*, Ant. xv. 9, 6; and it was finished in the twenty-eighth year of Herod, i.e. B.C. 10 (see that year, no. 805). In another passage in the *same work* it is stated to have been completed in ten years, *δεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει*, Ant. xvi. 5, 1; but *δεκάτῳ* is clearly a mistake for *δωδεκάτῳ*. The transcriber could easily have written *δεκάτῳ* for *δωδεκάτῳ* by omission, but not so easily *δωδεκάετη* for *δεκάετη*.

**723 a.** Coin of Augustus.

*Augustus Divi F. + Sicil. Imp. viii.* (see *ante*, no. 718). Eckhel, vi. 93.

Inscriptions.

*Imp. Cæsari Divi F. Augusto Cos. xi. Imp. viii. Tribunic. Potestat. iii. P. Rubrius M. F. Maelarba* (In monte Casino).

Muratori, i. 220, 8.

*L. Sempronius L. F. L. N. Atratinus Pro Cos. ex Africâ. A. DCCXXXII. (Varro, 733) iii. Idus Octob.* Fasti Capitol.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 20.

Pentecost, May 10.

Tabernacles, September 14.

**B.C. 20. U.C. 734. Olymp. 190, 1.**

M. APFULEIUS.

P. SILIVS NERVA.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. IV. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. IMP. IX.

Eighteenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**724.** Augustus in the spring traverses Asia and Bithynia. *Καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐν τῷ ἦρι ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε Ἀπούλιος καὶ Πούπλιος Σίλιος ὑπάτευσαν, πάντα τὰ τε ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ διάταξεν.* Dion, liv. 7. And is accompanied by Livia, or Julia, his wife. *Quotiens D. Augustum in occidentem atque orientem meavisse comite Livia!* Tac. Ann. iii. 34.

**725.** The Roman standards taken by the Parthians from Crassus and Antony, and which had been demanded in B.C. 23, are restored by Phraates his coss. *M. Appuleius et P. Silius. His coss. aquilas et signa Crassiana de Parthis Cæsar recepit.* Cassiodorus. *Κᾶν τούτῳ ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ ὄτι μηδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τὰ τε*

σημεῖα αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν δλίγων, οἱ ὑπ' αἰσχύνης σφᾶς ἔφθειραν, ἧ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν, ἀπέπεμψε. Dion, liv. 8; and see Liv. Epit. 139; Suet. Octav. 21; Tib. 9; Strabo, xvi. 1; vi. 1; Eckhel, vi. 94; and Monumentum Ancyranum (see B.C. 23, no. 705). N.B. The delivery of the hostages to Titius was a separate and later transaction (see B.C. 10, no. 810).

**726.** Augustus visits Syria, and deprives the Tyrians and Sidonians of their liberty on account of their factions. Καὶ τοῦτο (the deprivation of their freedom) καὶ τοὺς Τυρίους, τοὺς τε Σιδωνίους, διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐποίησεν, ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ γενόμενος. Dion, liv. 7 (see A.D. 33, no. 1424).

**727.** Augustus appoints Jamblichus II., son of Jamblichus I., to his Arabian patrimony, viz. Emesa and Arethusa in Cœlesyria (see B.C. 31, no. 616); and Tarcondimotus, son of Tarcondimotus, to his Cilician patrimony, viz. Cilicia Amaniensis (see B.C. 31, no. 608; A.D. 17, no. 1088); except some parts of the coast, which, with the Lesser Armenia, vacant by the death of its king Medus (see B.C. 33, no. 579), are bestowed on Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (see B.C. 31, no. 618; A.D. 17, no. 1087). Δυναστείας δὲ δὴ, Ἰαμβλίχῳ τε, τῷ Ἰαμβλίχου, τὴν Ἀραβίων τὴν πατρῴαν, καὶ Ταρκονδιμόφ, τῷ Ταρκονδιμότου, τὴν τῆς Κιλικίας, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, πλὴν τῶν παραθαλασσιῶν τινῶν, ἔδωκεν· ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τῷ Ἀρχελάφ μετὰ τῆς μικροτέρας Ἀρμενίας ἔχαριστατο, ὅτι ὁ Μῆδος, ὁ πρὶν αὐτῆς βασιλεύων, ἔτεθνήκει (his coss.). Dion, liv. 9. When Strabo wrote, about A.D. 20, Sampsigeramus I. was king of Emesa and Arethusa jointly with his son Jamblichus III. Ἀρέθουσα ἢ Σαμψικεράμου καὶ Ἰαμβλίχου τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδὸς, φυλάρχων τοῦ Ἐμεσηνῶν ἔθνους. Strabo, xvi. 2 (see A.D. 41, no. 1624). Medus is spoken of in the passage from Dion as having died king of the Lesser Armenia, but in B.C. 33 the Lesser Armenia had been given to Polemo (see B.C. 33, no. 579). However, the Lesser Armenia experienced frequent changes; and it cannot be doubted that the Lesser Armenia did at one time or other come into the possession of Archelaus, as Strabo, a native of Pontus, and who must have known the truth, testifies to the fact. Τὴν μὲν οὖν Μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν, ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἐχόντων, ὡς ἐβούλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸ τελευταῖον εἶχεν ὁ Ἀρχελάος. Strabo, xii. 3 (see A.D. 38, no. 1533).

Strabo refers also to the transmission of Tarcondimotus's dominions to some members of his family. Καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ κατέστη κύριος ἀπάντων (the parts about Mount Amanus) ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος, καὶ βασιλεὺς, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας Ταρκονδιμότος, καὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παρέδωκε. Strabo, xiv. 5.

**728.** Commagene is bestowed on Mithridates II., though still a minor. Μιθριδάτῃ τινὶ τὴν Κομμαγενήν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς ἀπεκτόνει, καίτοι παιδίσκῳ ἔτι ὄντι, ἐπέτρεψε (his coss.). Dion, liv. 9 (see B.C. 29, no. 653). He was succeeded by Antiochus III. (see A.D. 17, no. 1088).

**729.** Augustus is at Antioch, where Herod defends himself successfully against an accusation by the Gadarenes, when his enemies throw themselves into the Orontes. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3.

**730.** Zenodorus, or Zenon, who had before been deprived of all his provinces except Paneas, dies at Antioch, when Augustus bestows Paneas, as he had the rest, on Herod. Ὁ γὰρ Ζηνοδόωρος . . . ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἐκλείπει τὸν βίον· Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦτου μοῖραν, οὐκ ὀλίγην οὔσαν, Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν, ἢ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τράχωνος καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἦν, Οὐλάθαν καὶ Πανιάδα καὶ τὴν περίε χώραν. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3; Bell. i. 20, 4. Οὐλάθα was the district about the lake Οὔλη or Merom. Οὔλη is the Greek form of Hüleh, the name by which the lake has been called from that day to the present. Stanley's Palestine, 387, 2nd ed. This grant to Herod is placed by Dion also in the present year. Τῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ Ζηνοδόωρον τινὸς τετραρχίαν . . . ἐπέτρεψε (his coss.). Dion, liv. 9. The grant did not include the Tetrarchy of Abylene, which lay to the north of Paneas, and was still held by one of the Lysanias family (see B.C. 24, no. 696; B.C. 4, no. 950).

**731.** Herod obtains from Augustus the appointment of his brother Pheroras to the Tetrarchy of Peræa. Τοιαύτης δὲ ἐχόμενος παρρησίας, τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ Φερώρα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἠτήσατο τετραρχίαν, αὐτὸς ἀπονείμας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας πρόσσodon ἑκατὸν ταλάντων. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3.

**732.** Augustus appoints Herod perpetual joint Procurator of Syria. Ἐγκαταμίνυσσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτροπεύουσι τῆς Συρίας, ἐντελλόμενος μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3; Bell. i. 20, 4.



**733.** These proceedings were during the visit of Augustus to Syria, which is placed by Dion in B.C. 20. And Josephus agrees in this date, for he places it in the tenth year after the former visit of Augustus in B.C. 30. Κατέστησε δ' αὐτὸν (Herod) καὶ Συρίας ὅλης ἐπίτροπον, ἔτει δεκάτῳ πάλιν ἔλθων εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, etc. Bell. i. 20, 4. The arrival of Augustus in Syria was certainly therefore in B.C. 20; and it is important to observe that, according to Josephus the seventeenth year of Herod had then expired. Ἦδη δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἑπτακαίδεκάτου παρελθόντος ἔτους, Καῖσαρ εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο. Ant. 15, 10, 3. Josephus in respect of *place* usually employs *παρελθὼν* in the sense of having arrived; but, in respect of *time*, it denotes being past, as in the following chapter of the same book. Εἴτ' αὖθις τῆς ἑορτῆς παρελθούσης, etc. Ant. xv. 11, 4. Unless the word be read in this sense, Josephus would be at variance with himself, as he attributes the spring of B.C. 31 to the seventh year of Herod (see B.C. 31, nos. 601, 619); so that the spring of B.C. 20 would be the eighteenth year of Herod. If B.C. 20 was the eighteenth year, Josephus must have computed the reign either by consular years from 1 January, B.C. 37, or by Jewish years from 1 Nisan, B.C. 37; and as the *close* of the seventeenth year is made contemporaneous with the *arrival* of Augustus, which was in the spring, it may be argued that Josephus considered the eighteenth year as commencing on 1 Nisan rather than on 1 January. Had Josephus reckoned from the time of Herod's accession (which was certainly in the last quarter of B.C. 37), the arrival of Augustus in the spring of B.C. 20 would necessarily have fallen in the seventeenth year of Herod (see B.C. 37, no. 528; B.C. 31, no. 619; B.C. 25, no. 683; B.C. 10, no. 805; B.C. 4, no. 925).

**734.** While Augustus is in the East, the Armenians, dissatisfied with their king—called by Josephus and Tacitus, Artaxias, and by Dion, Artaxes, xlix. 39, and Artabazus, liv. 9, and by Vell. Pat., Artavasdes, ii. 94—invite Tigranes, his brother, who was at Rome, to ascend the throne, when Augustus sends for Tiberius from Italy to seat Tigranes on the throne. Tiberius proceeds to Armenia by way of Philippi; and Artaxias having been assassinated, Tigranes succeeds without opposition. Dion, liv. 9. *Occiso Artaxiâ per dolum propinquorum, datus a Cæsare Armeniis Tigranes,*

*deductusque in regnum a Tiberio Nerone.* Tac. Ann. ii. 3. (Tiberius) *ducto ad Armeniam exercitu regnum Armeniâ Tigrani restituit.* Suet. Tib. 9. Ἀρμενίας δ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρταξίας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἐκείνου (Artavasdis) παίδων διαδράς ἐν τῷ τότε· καὶ τοῦτον Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Νέρων Καῖσαρ (Tiberius) ἐκβαλόντες Τιγράνην τὸν νεώτερον ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καθήγαγον. Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 3. Ἀρμενίαν τὴν μείζονα, ἀνααιρεθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως, δυνάμενος ἐπαρχίαν ποιῆσαι, μᾶλλον ἐβουλήθη κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡμῶν ἔθῃ βασιλείαν Τιγράνην Ἀρταουάσδου νιφῶ, νιωνῶ δὲ Τιγράνον βασιλέως δ . . . διὰ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος ὅς τότε μου πρόγονος ἦν. Lapis Ancyr. Fasti Hellen. iii. 301. *Cum legionibus ingressus Armeniam (Tiberius), redactâ eâ in potestatem populi Romani, regnum ejus Artavasdi(s) filio Tigrani) dedit. Quin rex quoque Parthorum, tanti nominis famâ territis, liberos suos ad Cæsarem misit obsides.* Vell. Pat. ii. 94. (The latter event, the delivery of the hostages, was ten years later; see B.C. 10, no. 810.) Tigranes did not reign long, and his children could not maintain their power. *Nec Tigrani diuturnum imperium fuit, neque liberis ejus, quanquam sociatis more externo in matrimonium regnumque.* Tac. Ann. ii. 3 (see B.C. 33, no. 580; B.C. 6, no. 850).

**735.** Tiberius, on his way back from Armenia, passes some time at Rhodes. *Amanitate et salubritate insulæ (Rhodes) jam inde captus, quum ad eam ab Armeniâ rediens appulisset.* Suet. Tib. 11.

**736.** Herod escorts Augustus to the seaside (probably Seleucia) on his departure from Syria, and then returns to Judæa. Καῖσαρα δ' ἐπὶ θάλασσαν πρόπεμψας (Herod), ὡς ἐπανήκεν, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3.

**737.** Herod, on his return to Judæa, erects a temple to Augustus in Paneas, Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3; Bell. i. 21, 3; and remits to his subjects one third of their taxes, Ant. xv. 10, 4; in order ostensibly that they might recover themselves from the dearth. Πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἀφορίας, *ib.* The great famine had been in B.C. 25 and B.C. 24, and it would appear from this passage that the effects of it were felt for some years afterwards. This is the more likely as B.C. 23 was a Sabbatic year, when the land was allowed to rest, i.e. could not be cultivated, so that there would be no crops in B.C. 22.

**738.** Herod now conceives the design of re-

building the Temple of Jerusalem. This was certainly after Herod's return from Antioch, toward the close of B.C. 20, for Josephus connects the undertaking with Herod's aggrandisement, in consequence of the honours received from Augustus. "Ἐνθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν εὐδαιμονίας προῦκοψεν, εἰς μείζον δὲ ἐξήρθη φρόνημα, καὶ τὸ πλεόν τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἐπέτεινεν εἰς εὐσεβείαν. Jos. Bell. i. 20, 4. And Herod, in his address to the Jews on the subject of rebuilding the Temple, thus alludes to the favour of the Romans: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, φίλοι καὶ δι' εὐνοίας οἱ πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, κρατοῦντες. Ant. xv. 11, 1.

Herod, according to Josephus, opened his plans to the Jews either in the eighteenth or the nineteenth year of his reign, according to the interpretation to be put on the word *γεγονότος* in the following passage: τότε γοῦν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον τῆς βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ, μετὰ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις ἔργον οὐ τὸ τύχον ἐπεβάλετο τὸν νεῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ μετασκευάζεσθαι. Ant. xv. 11, 1. If *γεγονότος* mean 'being current,' then the design was in the eighteenth year; but if it mean 'being past,' then it was in the nineteenth year.

1. It may be thought that the more simple interpretation of the word is 'being current;' and if so, the public announcement of Herod's intentions must be placed at the close of B.C. 20, or the beginning of B.C. 19. As the first year of Herod's reign was reckoned either from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37, the eighteenth of Herod's reign would begin from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 20; but Herod did not return from his attendance on Augustus until the departure of the latter for Samos, in the autumn of B.C. 20, and the scheme of the Temple must therefore have been propounded at the very end of the year B.C. 20, or the beginning of B.C. 19. The actual commencement of the Temple was at the Passover, B.C. 18; and it is not inconsistent with this hypothesis that Herod should have first promulgated his intentions and begun the preparations so early as in the last quarter of B.C. 20, or the first quarter of B.C. 19, which would allow more time for the preparations.

2. The words *ὀκτωκαιδέκατον γεγονότος* appear to correspond with the preceding words *ἑπτακαιδέκατον παρελθόντος*, Ant. xv. 10, 3; and may therefore be very well rendered 'the eighteenth year having fallen or being past.'

As Josephus had already said that the seventeenth year was past, it would be an idle repetition to say afterwards that the eighteenth year was current, which of course was the case if the seventeenth year had expired. The intention also of rebuilding the Temple was certainly subsequent to the presence of Augustus at Antioch in the autumn of B.C. 20; and yet Josephus tells us that Herod, on his return to Judæa from Antioch, was first of all engaged in erecting a temple to Augustus, near Panium, in the district just added to his dominions by the liberality of the Emperor; and then, in order to appease the resentment of his countrymen at this and other infringements of their laws, Herod remitted one third of their taxes; and *after these proceedings*, μετὰ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις, Ant. xv. 11, 1, and scarcely, therefore, before 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 19 (the commencement of Herod's nineteenth year), he announced his plans for rebuilding the Temple.

In the *Wars*, the date of the undertaking is referred by the mistake of the transcriber to the fifteenth year of Herod's reign, *πεντεκαιδέκατῳ γοῦν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν τὸν νεῶν ἐπεσκευάσαε, καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίστατο χώραν, τῆς οὐσῆς διπλασίαν*, Bell. i. 21, 1; but the original word was probably *ἑννεακαιδέκατῳ*, the nineteenth year, which might glide by an easy mistake into *πεντεκαιδέκατῳ*. In the preceding paragraph in the *Wars*, Josephus had spoken of the visit of Augustus to Syria in B.C. 20, i.e. in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign, and then ascribes the plan of rebuilding the Temple to the confidence which the Emperor's favour had inspired; so that the narrative itself assumes that the year in question was, at all events, later than in the fifteenth year of Herod, and not earlier than in the eighteenth year of Herod (see further, B.C. 18, no. 745).

**739.** Augustus sails to Samos, where he winters. 'Ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος ἔς τε τὴν Σάμον ἐπαρῆλθε, κἀνταῦθα αἰθῆς ἐχείμασε. Dion, liv. 9. As Augustus left Syria by sea, the voyage was probably before the winter months, if not before the equinox.

**740.** Birth of Caius, son of Agrippa and Julia (his *goss.*). Dion, liv. 8. It is mentioned by Dion between the dedication of the temple of Mars, which, according to Ovid's *Fasti*, v. 545, *et seq.*, was on 12 May, and the



birth of Augustus, which was on 23 September. A yearly sacrifice for ever on the birthday of Caius was decreed by the Senate; and as Ovid's *Fasti*, written in the reign of Augustus, do not allude to the sacrifice, it may be fairly concluded that the birth of Caius was after 1 July, when the *Fasti* end, and before 23 September (see B.C. 5, no. 889).

**740 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*Augustus + Signis Receptis.*

*Cæsar Augustus + Signis Receptis* (see *ante*, no. 725). Eckhel, vi. 94.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 8.

Pentecost, May 29.

Tabernacles, October 3.

**B.C. 19. U.C. 735. Olymp. 190, 2.**

C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

QU. LUCRETIUS VESPILLO  
ex Kal. Jul.

M. VINUCIUS.

VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA IV.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. V. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. XI.

PONT. IMP. IX. (see coins *infra*).

Nineteenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**741.** Augustus proceeds on his way from Samos, where he had wintered, to Rome. *Καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη.* Dion, liv. 10 (see B.C. 20, no. 739).

**742.** Agrippa, having settled affairs at Rome, proceeds to Gaul and thence to Spain. *Ἀγρίππας δὲ, ὡς τότε, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πεμφθεὶς, διόκισε τὰ κατεπίγοντα, ταῖς Γαλατίας προσετάχθη . . . καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετέστη.* Dion, liv. 11.

**743.** Augustus reaches Rome this year. *C. Sentiis et Q. Lucretius.* (His coss.) *Cæsari ex provinciis redeunti currus cum coronâ aureâ decretus est,* etc. Cassiodorus. And the day of his arrival was decreed to be kept sacred and called the Augustalia. *Ἐψηφίσθη . . . τὴν ἡμέραν ἣν ἀφίξοιτο, ἔν τε ταῖς ἱερομνηταῖς ἀριθμεῖσθαι, καὶ Ἀγουστάλια ὀνομάζεσθαι.* Dion, liv. 10. The arrival was on 12 October, for *iv.* (Eid. Octob.) *August. Np. Lud. in circ. Fer. E. S. C. q. e. d. Imp. Cæs. Aug. ex transmar. Provinc. urbem intravit Araq. Fort. Reduci Consil. P.* Old calendar cited Muratori, i. 151; Eckhel, vi. 100. Augustus entered Rome with the honours of an ovation for having recovered

the standards from the Parthians, and to commemorate that event he erects the temple of Mars Ultor, and a triumphal arch is decreed to him, Dion, liv. 8; and an altar *Fortunæ Reduci.* Dion, liv. 10 (see B.C. 20, no. 725).

**743 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*Head of Augustus + Fort. Red. Cæs. Aug. S. P. Q. R.*

*Q. Rustius Fortunæ Antiat. + Cæsari Augusto Ex S. C. For. Re.*

*Augustus Cos. xi. or Imp. ix. Tr. Po. V. + S. P. Q. R. or S. P. R. Signis receptis.*

*Imp. ix. Tr. Po. V. + Mart. Ult.*

*Imp. ix. Tr. Po. V. + Com. Asiæ Rom. et August. i. e. Communitas Asiæ Romæ et Augusto* (see Dion, li. 20; Suet. Aug. 52; Tac. Ann. iv. 37).

*Augustus Divi F. + Sicil. Imp. ix.*

Eckhel, vi. 100.

Inscription.

*L. Cornelius P. F. Balbus ex Africâ An. DCCXXXIV. (Varro, 735) vi. K. April.*

*Fasti Capitol.*

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 28.

Pentecost, May 18.

Tabernacles, Sept. 22.

**B.C. 18. U.C. 736. Olymp. 190, 3.**

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

P. CORNEL. LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. VI. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. IMP. IX.

Twentieth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**744.** The supreme power is renewed to Augustus for five years. Augustus also procures the tribunitian power to be conferred on Agrippa for the like period. *Πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ δεκάτης χρόνος ἐξήκων ἦν, προσέθετο· ταῦτα γὰρ Πουπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλου ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο.* Ἐπειτα δὲ (his coss.) καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἴσου πη αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον (five years) ἔδωκε. *Τοσαῦτα γὰρ σφίσιν ἔτι τότε ἐπαρκέσειν ἔφη· ὕστερον γὰρ οὐ πολλῶ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἡγεμονίας ἔλαβεν, ὥστε αὐτὰ δέκα αἰθις γενέσθαι.* Dion, liv. 12. The first period of ten years of the supreme power, as it was dated from 1 January, B.C. 27, had not actually expired at this time, but was only running out.

Ἐξήκων ἦν. It would end on 31 December, B.C. 18 (see B.C. 27, no. 662; B.C. 8, no. 820).

745. The preparations for the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem having been completed (see B.C. 20, no. 738), Herod commences the work itself. The Temple comprised two things: 1. The Ἱερόν, or outer temple, which was open to Herod as to all Israelites, and the building of which was under the superintendence of Herod himself, and occupied eight years. Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ περὶ τὰς στοὰς, καὶ τοὺς ἕξω περιβόλους ἐπραγματεύετο (Herod), καὶ ταῦτα ᾠκοδομήσεν ἔτεσιν ὄκτω. Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 5. —2. The ναός, the inner temple or sanctuary, which Herod, not being a priest, might not enter, and the building of which was therefore committed to the priests, and which was opened for public service in a year and a half. Τούτων εἰς οὐδένα τῶν τριῶν (the inner temple, the sanctuary, and the altar) ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης παρήλθεν· ἐκεκώλυτο γὰρ οὐκ ὦν ἱερεὺς. . . . Τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων οἰκοδομηθέντος ἐν-αυτῷ καὶ μηνὶ ἕξ, ἅπας ὁ λαὸς ἐπληρώθη χαρῆς. Ant. xv. 11, 5 and 6.

The preparations spoken of by Josephus were the collection of one thousand waggons, ten thousand workmen, and one thousand priests instructed as carpenters and masons; and this would occupy some time, not less than a year or a year and a half. Supposing the preparations to have been commenced towards the close of B.C. 20, or in the spring of B.C. 19, the building of the temple itself (as not a stone of the old structure was to be removed until the preparations were perfected) may be placed about the Passover B.C. 18. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδης ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἐξέπληγτε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος παρὰ δόξαν ἐμπεισῶν, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄπιστον οὐκ ἐπήγειρεν αὐτοὺς, ἰδεμόνου δὲ μὴ φθάσας καταλύσαι τὸ πᾶν ἔργον οὐκ ἐξυρκέσει πρὸς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὴν προαίρεσιν· ὅτε κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς μείζων ἐφαίνετο, καὶ δυσεργήρητον ἐδόκει τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. Οὕτω δ' αὐτῶν διακειμένων, παρεθάρρυνεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐ πρότερον καθαρῆμενος φάμενος τὸν νεῶν, ἢ πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν εἰς τὴν συντέλειαν παρεσκευασμένων. Καὶ ταῦτα προειπὼν, οὐκ ἐψεύσατο· χιλίας γὰρ ἐντρεπίσας ἀμάξας, αἱ βαστάσουσι τοὺς λίθους, ἐργάτας δὲ μυρίους τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος, καὶ ἱερεῦσιν τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλίους ἱερατικὰς ὠνῆσάμενος στοὰς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν διδάξας οἰκοδόμους, ἑτέρους δὲ τέκτονας, ἠπτετο τῆς κατασκευῆς, ἁπάντων αὐτῷ προθύμως

προεντρεπισμένων· ἀνελὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους, καὶ καταβαλόμενος ἑτέρους ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸν ναὸν ἤγειρε . . . ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς, ἐκ λίθων μὲν λευκῶν τε καὶ κρατέρων, etc. Ant. xv. 11, 2. In the above passage it is distinctly stated by Josephus that between Herod's first publication of his plans and the actual commencement of the undertaking an interval elapsed, though the length of it does not appear. The language of the historian rather negatives the conjecture, which would otherwise be probable, that Herod immediately after the communication of his plans commenced the Ἱερόν, or outer temple, the building of which was under his own superintendence, and that the compact with the Jews, not to begin the new edifice until all the preparations were completed, applied only to the ναός, the inner temple or sanctuary, the building of which was committed to the priests.

Josephus remarks that the opening of the ναός, or sanctuary, for public worship coincided with the day kept as the anniversary of Herod's accession to the throne. Συνεκπεπτῶκει γὰρ τῇ προθεσμίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔργου καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν ἐξ ἔθους ἐώρταζεν, εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθεῖν. Ant. xv. 11, 6. Herod must have observed as this anniversary either the day of his appointment to the kingdom by the Romans, in the last quarter of B.C. 40 (see nos. 465, 469), or the day of his assumption of the crown, on the death of Antigonos, in the last quarter of B.C. 37 (see no. 528). It was most likely the day of his appointment to the kingdom by the Romans, for it is particularly mentioned by Josephus that this event was originally celebrated by a banquet at Rome, at the house of Antony. Ant. xiv. 14, 5; Bell. i. 14, 4. In either case, however, as the temple, or ναός, was finished in a year and a half, and the conclusion fell in the last quarter of the year, the commencement of it must have been about the time of a Passover; and if so, it was probably the Passover of B.C. 18, by which time the preparations may be presumed to have been completed.

The embellishment and further improvement of the Temple continued long after the completion of it substantially. The building of the Temple had been going on for forty-six years when Our Lord was present at Jerusalem at the Passover, A.D. 29, for the Jews exclaimed, Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναός,



John ii. 20 (see A.D. 29, no. 1205); i.e. "forty and six years has this temple been building." It will be observed that the expression of the Jews, *ῥηκοδομήθη ὁ ναός*, is exactly that of Josephus, *ῥηκοδομήθη ὁ ναός*, Ant. xv. 11, 3; where the historian opposes the actual commencement of the Temple to the previous preparations for it. The Jews, therefore, were speaking of the time which had elapsed from the laying of the first stone, and not from the preparations. From the Passover B.C. 18 to the Passover A.D. 29 would be just forty-six years. The expression, however, that the Temple had been building for forty-six years may mean forty-six years in round numbers, i.e. forty-six years plus or minus by a few months; and if so, the statement would be correct even if the period be dated, not as we have supposed from the actual commencement of the fabric, but from the preparations for it; for supposing Herod to have projected the reconstruction of the Temple in the nineteenth year of his reign (see B.C. 20, no. 738), then, as Josephus reckons the reign of Herod either by consular years from 1 January, or by Jewish years from 1 Nisan, the nineteenth year of Herod would be either the consular year from 1 January B.C. 19 or the Jewish year from 1 Nisan B.C. 19; and if Herod promulgated his intentions at any time in that year *after the Passover* (which the series of events renders probable), the interval from such communication of his plans to the *Passover* A.D. 29 would be forty-six years complete and some months over.

**746.** The Temple was not absolutely and finally perfected in all its parts until the year A.D. 65 (see that year, no. 1978), being five years only before its destruction by the Romans. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 7.

**747.** About this time—viz., after the commencement of the Temple—Herod sails to Rome and brings back with him his sons Aristobulus and Alexander. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλοῦν ἐποίησατο, Καίσαρι τε συντυχεῖν ὄρηθηεις, καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντας. Καίσαρ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ὡς ἤδη τελειωθέντας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀπέδωκεν ἄγειν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 1, 2; Bell. i. 23, 1. This voyage is related by Josephus after the undertaking of the temple and before the voyage of Herod to Agrippa in Asia, in B.C. 16 (see no. 754).

**748.** Herod, shortly after his return from Rome with his sons by Mariamne, which was either at the close of this year or at the beginning of the next, banishes Antipater, his son by Doris, his first wife, but permits him to attend the public festivals at Jerusalem. Δι' ἣν (Mariamne) αὐτῷ στασιασθῆναι συνέβη τὸν οἶκον, καὶ τάχιον μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀφιξίν· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δωριδος υἱὸν Ἀντίπατρον διὰ τοὺς ἐκ Μαρίας ἐφυγάδευσε τῆς πόλεως, μόναις ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀφείκει κατέναι. Jos. Bell. i. 22, 1.

**748 a.** Coin of Augustus.

S. P. Q. R. Imp. Cæsari Aug. Cos. xi. Tr. Po. vi. + Cívib. et sign. milit. a Parth. recup. Eckhel, vi. 101.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 16.

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11.

**B.C. 17. U.C. 737. Olymp. 190, 4.**

C. FURIUS.

C. JUNIUS SILANUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. VII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. IMP. IX.

Twenty-first year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**749.** Birth of Lucius Cæsar, the son of Julia and Agrippa, and the adoption of both Caius and Lucius by Augustus. Ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Γαίου τε Φουρνίου καὶ Γαίου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων, υἱὸν αὐθις ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀνέλειτο τὸν Λούκιον ὀνομασθέντα, καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὁ Αὐγουστος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Γαίου ἐποίησατο, μὴ ἀναμείνας σφᾶς ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν διαδόχους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξας. Dion, liv. 18. At the time of this adoption Agrippa was at Rome. *Latro declamabat illam Cæsare Augusto audiente et Agrippâ, cujus filios, nepotes suos, Cæsar Lucium et Caium adoptaturus diebus illis videbatur. Erat Agrippa inter eos qui non nati sunt nobiles sed facti. Cum diceret partem adolescentis Latro, et tractaret adoptionis locum, dixit 'Nam isti adoptione nobilitati fuerunt.'* Senec. Controv. 12, p. 195, cited Fasti Hellen.

**750.** Ludi Sæculares for the fifth time. Τὰ τε σαικουλάρια τὰ πεμπτα ἐπέτελεσε (his coss.). Dion, liv. 18. *Eodem anno Ludos Sæculares Cæsar ingenti apparatu fecit, quos centesimo*

*quoque anno (is enim terminus sæculi) fieri mos.*  
Liv. lib. 136, cited Censorinus, c. 17.

**751.** Advocates at Rome are restricted from taking fees. Καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀμισθεὶ συναγορεύειν, ἢ τετραπλάσιον, ὅσον ἂν λάβωσιν, ἐκτίνειν ἐκέλευσε. Dion, liv. 18 (see A.D. 47, no. 1713).

**752.** Herod marries his son Alexander to Glaphyra the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and his son Aristobulus to Berenice the daughter of Salome. This was before the mind of Herod had been poisoned by calumnies against his sons. Ἐν μέντοι τῷ τότε, πάσης ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς μείζονι χρώμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ τοῦ γεγεννηκένα φιλοστοργία, καὶ τιμῆς, ἧς ἔδει, μετεδίδου, καὶ γυναικας ἐν ἡλικίας γεγονόσιν ἐξέγγυεν, Ἀριστοβούλω μὲν τὴν Σαλώμης θυγατέρα Βερενίκην, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὴν Ἀρχελάου, τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως, Γλαφύραν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 1, 2; Bell. i. 23, 1. These marriages are placed in the narrative of Josephus before the arrival of Agrippa in Asia, B.C. 16, and the events, therefore, occurred either in this year or early in B.C. 16.

**752 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*Augustus Tr. Pot. vii. + Imp. Cæs. Aug. Lud. Sæc.* (Inscriptum cippo juxta) XV. S. P. (In orbem) L. Mescinius Rufus iii. vir.

*M. Sanguinius iii. vir + August. Divi F. Ludos Sæ.* (see ante, no. 750).

*Augustus Divi F. + C. Marius Tro. (i. e. Trogus) iii. vir.* Eckhel, vi. 102.

Coin of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

Βασιλεὺς Αρχελάου Φιλοπατρίδος του Κτιστου. K. i. e. in the twentieth year of his reign (see B. C. 36, no. 551). Eckhel, iii. 201.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, Sept. 30.

**B.C. 16. U.C. 738. Olymp. 191, 1.**

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

EX KAL. JUL. L. TATIUS RUFUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. VIII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. IMP. IX.

Twenty-second year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**753.** Augustus sets out for Gaul, having previously dispatched Agrippa into Syria, to

regulate that province and the affairs of the East. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, Λουκίου τε Δομιτίου καὶ Πουπλίου Σκιπίωνος ὑπατευόντων, ὤρμησε (Augustus) . . . καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας (τόν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθις ἐστάλκει, καὶ τῷ Μακῆνῳ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκεθ' ὁμοίως ἔχαιρε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον, καίτοι στρατηγούντα, παραλαβὼν, ἐξώρμησε. Dion, liv. 19 (see B.C. 23, no. 700; B.C. 13, no. 773).

**754.** Agrippa arrives in Asia, and Herod, on receipt of the intelligence, pays him a visit, and invites him to Judæa (see B.C. 15, no. 760). Ταῦτα διοικήσας (Herod) ἐπειδὴ καὶ Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν ἐπέθετο καταπελευκέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπέιχθεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠξίωσεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παρελθεῖν καὶ τυχεῖν ὧν ἔδει παρ' ἀνδρὸς ξένου καὶ φίλου. Jos. Ant. xvi. 2, 1.

**755.** About this time dies Asander, king of Bosphorus, ὁ Ἀσανδρος ἐτεθνήκει, Dion, liv. 24; at the age of 93. Ἀσανδρος δὲ ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντὶ ἐθνάρχου βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς Βοσπόρου . . . ἐτελεύτησε βιοὺς ἔτη τρία καὶ ἐνενήκοντα. Lucian Macrob. 17 (see B.C. 47, no. 304). Scribonius married Dynamis, Asander's widow, a descendant of Mithridates the Great, and sets himself up as king of Bosphorus. Dion, liv. 24 (see B.C. 14, no. 761).

**756.** Disturbances, but of little importance, break out in the Alpine nations, and in Pannonia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Spain, Macedonia, Thrace, Germany, and Gaul. Dion, liv. 20.

**757.** Augustus is employed this year and the next in calming these disorders. Τῶν μὲν οὖν ὅπλων οὐδὲν διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐδέηθη, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα καθιστάμενος τούτων τε τὸν ἐνταυτον κατηγάλωσε, καὶ τὸν ὕστερον, ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε Λίβων καὶ Καλπούρνιος Πείσων ὑπάτευσαν. Dion, liv. 21.

**757 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*S. P. Q. R. Cæsari Augusto + Vot. P. Susc. Pro Sal. et Red. J. O. M. Sacr.*

*Head of Augustus + Jovi Vot. Susc. pro Sal. Cæsaris Aug. S. P. Q. R.*

*Head of Augustus + S. P. Q. R. V. P. Red. Cæs. L. Mescinius Rufus*

*Cæs. Aug. Cons. S. C. ob R. P. Cons. + S. P. Q. R. V. S. pro S. et Red. Aug.*

*C. Antistius Vetus iii. vir + Pro Valetudine Cæsaris S. P. Q. R.* (see ante, no. 753).

*Imp. Cæs. Augu. Comm. Cons. (i. e. communi consensu) + J. O. M. S. P. Q. R. Pr. S. Imp.*



*Cæ. Quod per eu. R. P. in amp. atq. tran. S. E. (i. e. in ampliore atque tranquilliore statu est.)*

*Imp. Cæsar Augus. Tr. Pot. iix. or viii. + Apollini Actio or Fœdus P. R. cum Gabinis. C. Antistius Vetus iii.vir.*

*C. Antistius Vetus iii.vir. + Imp. Cæsar. Augus. Cos. xi.*

*Augustus Tr. Pot. viii. or Equestrian Figure of Augustus + S. P. Q. R. Imp. Cæ. Quod V. M. S. ex ea P. Q. Is ad Æ. De. L. Vinicius L. F. iii.vir (i. e.) Quod viæ munite sunt ex eâ pecuniâ quam is ad Ærarium detulit (see Dion. liii. 22).*

*S. P. Q. R. Imp. Cæs. + Quod viæ mun. sunt.*

*S. P. Q. R. Imp. Cæsari or S. P. Q. R. Cæsari Augusto + Quod viæ mun. sunt.*

Eckhel, vi. 103.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 25.

Pentecost, May 15.

Tabernacles, September 19.

**B.C. 15. U.C. 739. Olymp. 191, 2.**

M. LIV. DRUSUS LIBO.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONINUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. IX. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. IMP. IX.

Twenty-third year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**758.** Drusus and Tiberius overthrow the Rhæti. Dion, liv. 22.

**759.** Paphos suffers from an earthquake, and Augustus lends his aid, and calls the city Augusta. Παφίους τε σεισμῷ πονήσασι καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἀύγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε (his coss.). Dion, liv. 23.

**760.** Agrippa visits Judæa, and is conducted by Herod over Cæsarea, Alexandrium, Herodium, and Hyrcania, and finally Jerusalem, where the people receive Agrippa in state. Agrippa sacrifices in the temple, and, on the approach of winter, sails for Ephesus. Καὶ ἂν ἐπὶ πλείους ἐπιμείνας ἡμέρας, διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἠπέιγετο, τὸν γὰρ πλοῦν, ἐπιβαίνοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν ἀσφαλῆ κομιζομένῳ πάλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίαν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 2, 1. This visit was in B.C. 15, for Josephus expressly states it to have occurred the year before the expedition of Agrippa against Bosphorus. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν (Agrippa) ἀπέπλει, πολλαῖς

αὐτὸν ὠρεαῖς τετιμηκὸς Ἡρώδου, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ταῦς ἐπισημοτάτους· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς (Herod) χειμάσας ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ἕαρος ἠπέιγετο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς Βόσπορον εἰδὼς στρατιὰν προηρημένον. Ant. xv. 2, 2. And Dion places the expedition to the Bosphorus in B.C. 14. Dion, liv. 24 (see B.C. 14, no. 761).

**760 a.** Coin of Sinope.

*An. xxxi. Head of Augustus + Heads of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, i. e. in the thirty-first year, dating from U. C. 709.*

Eckhel, ii. 792.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

**B.C. 14. U.C. 740. Olymp. 191, 3.**

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. X. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. IMP. IX.

Twenty-fourth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**761.** Agrippa sends Polemo, king of Pontus, against Scribonius, who had set himself up as king of Bosphorus (see B.C. 16, no. 755). Scribonius is assassinated, and Agrippa, on arriving at Sinope, bestows Bosphorus on Polemo, who marries Dynamis, the widow of Asander, and afterwards of Scribonius. Οὕτω δὲ τὰ τε ὄπλα κατεθέντο (the Bosphorians) καὶ τῷ Πολέμῳ παρεδόθησαν, ἢ τε γυνὴ ἢ Δύναμις συνήκησεν αὐτῷ (his coss.). Dion, liv. 24 (see B.C. 26, no. 670; B.C. 2, no. 966 a.). Polemo married for his second wife Pythodoris (see B.C. 2, no. 966 a.).

**762.** Herod, in the spring of the year, sails by way of Rhodes and Cos to Chios, where he stays several days, and thence to Mitylene; and not finding Agrippa there, he follows him into the Euxine, and overtakes him at Sinope. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν (Agrippa) ἀπέπλει (from Judæa, see B.C. 15) . . . ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς (Herod) χειμάσας ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἕαρος ἠπέιγετο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς Βόσπορον εἰδὼς στρατιὰν προηρημένον. Καὶ πλεύσας διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ Κῶ προσέσχεν περὶ Λέσβου, οἰόμενος ἐκεῖ καταλήψεσθαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν . . . ὁ δὲ (Herod) ἐπέδιετριβεν ἡμέρας πλείονας ἐν τῇ Χίῳ . . . αὐτὸς δὲ λί-

Ξαντος τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς Μιτυλήνην κἀκῆθεν εἰς Βυζάντιον παρακομίσεις, ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐντὸς τῶν Κυανέων ἤδη πεπλευκέναι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μετέσπευδεν ὡς ἐνῆν, καὶ περὶ Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καταλαβὼν, etc. Ant. xvi. 2, 2.

**763.** Agrippa proceeds to Amisus, where Herod, undertaking the cause of the Plians, who had offended Agrippa, obtains their pardon, and entrusts to Nicolas Damascenus, who was about to sail to Chios, a letter to the Plians to that effect. Nicolas sails to Byzantium, and thence to Troas, and, going up to Pium, leaves the letter with the Plians. Τέλος δ' οὖν ἀναδειξάμενος ὁ ἀνὴρ (Herod) τὴν προστασίαν εὗρίσκειται αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄφεσιν τῆς ζημίας, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἐπιστολὴν, ἅτε δὴ ἀπεληλυθὼτων (the Plians) ἤδη διὰ τὸ ἀπογῶναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, Νικολάφ διδῶσι πλείοντι ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου, ἐνθά ἦσαν αὐτῶ οἱ υἱεῖς, αὐτὸς γὰρ (Herod) ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίας ἦει σὺν Ἀγρίππᾳ. Νικόλαος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμισοῦ πλεύσας ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου, κἀκῆθεν εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα γῆν, ἀνέβη εἰς Ἴλιον, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀπολύσεως τοῦ χρέους ἐπιστολὴν ἀποδόνς σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰλιέων ἀνὸς τε, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐτίμηθη. Nicolas Damascen. Müller's Fragm. Hist. Græc. iii. 350.

**764.** Agrippa and Herod, having passed through Cappadocia and Phrygia, arrive at Ephesus, and then cross to Samos Διαμειψάμενοι τὴν τε Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, κἀκῆθεν ἐπὶ τῆς Μεγάλης Φρυγίας ὀδεύσαντες εἰς Ἐφεσον ἀφίκοντο, πάλιν δὲ ἐξ Ἐφέσου διέπλευσαν εἰς Σάμον. Jos. Ant. xvi. 2, 2.

**765.** Agrippa, at the request of Herod, confirms the Jews of Asia in their various privileges, viz. immunity from attending the Law courts on the Sabbath, and from serving in the army. Jos. Ant. xvi. 2, 3.

**766.** Agrippa, about this time, writes also to Silanus, the proconsul. Ἐγραψα δὲ καὶ Σιλανῷ τῷ Στρατηγῷ. Jos. Ant. xvi. 6, 4. This was no doubt M. Junius Silanus, who had been consul B.C. 25, and was proconsul of Asia, one of the two consular provinces. Josephus also mentions as proconsuls of Asia, at one time or other, C. Norbanus Flaccus, who had been consul B.C. 24; Julius Antonius, who had been consul B.C. 10; and C. Marcius Censorinus, who had been consul B.C. 8. Ant. xvi. 6, 2 and 3, and 6, and 7 (see B.C. 59, no. 105; A.D. 21, no. 1131).

**767.** Herod sets out on his return to Judæa, and, landing not many days after at Cæsarea,

proceeds to Jerusalem, where he recounts his services to the nation, and remits one fourth of the year's taxes. Ἀπὸ δὲ Σάμον πλεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' οἶκον διέγνω, καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν παραιτησάμενος, ἀνήχθη· κατὰγεται δὲ εἰς Καισάρειαν οὐ πολλαῖς ὑστερον ἡμέραις, πνευμάτων ἐπιτηδεῶν τυχών· κἀκῆθεν ἔλθων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, etc. Jos. Ant. xvi. 2, 5.

**768.** Herod, on his return, and at the time of his address to the Jews, is assailed by the calumnies of Salome and Pheroras against Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons by Mariamne. Ταῦτα (the dissensions in Herod's family) προῆει μειζόνως, καιρὸν ἐχούσης τῆς στάσεως ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως· ὡς δ' ἐπανῆλθεν Ἡρώδης, καὶ τῷ πλήθει διελέξατο, προσέειπτον εὐθὺς οἱ λόγοι παρά τε τοῦ Φερώρα καὶ τῆς Σαλώμης, etc. Jos. Ant. xvi. 3, 2. This, therefore, was in the last quarter of B.C. 14.

Herod recalls his son Antipater (see B.C. 18, no. 748), and restores Doris, the mother of Antipater, to favour. Jos. Ant. xvi. 3, 3; Bell. i. 23, 2.

**769.** An inscription, no. 3, *ad calcem Suetonii*, refers to a closing of the temple of Janus (see B.C. 29, no. 649; B.C. 25, no. 678). *Imp. Cæsar Divi f. Augustus Pont. Max. Cos. xi., Tribunic. Potet. x., Imp. viii., orbe mari et terrâ pacatis, Templo Jani cluso, et Rep. P. R. optimis legibus et sanctissimis institutis reformatâ, viam superior. cos. tempore inchoatam, et multis locis intermissam, pro dignitate Imperi P. R. latiore longioreque Gadeis usque promovit.* This was the tenth year of the Tribunitian power (see B.C. 23, no. 699), and the last previous consulship of Augustus was for the eleventh time, which style would continue until the next, the twelfth, consulship, which was in B.C. 5. According to this inscription, therefore, the temple of Janus is found closed during this year; but when it had been first closed *non constat*. According to Orosius, but whose statement must be mistrusted, as evidently prompted by his own theory as to the date of the Nativity, the temple of Janus was closed by Augustus for the third time in U.C. 752. *Itaque anno ab urbe conditâ DCCCLII., Cæsar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, a Septentrione ad meridiem, ac per totum Oceani circum cunctis gentibus unâ pace compositis, Jani portas tertio ipse tunc clausit.* Oros. vi. 22.



Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.  
 Passover, April 2.  
 Pentecost, May 23.  
 Tabernacles, September 27.

**B.C. 13. U.C. 741. Olymp. 191, 4.**

TIB. CLAUDIUS NERO  
 P. QUINTILIUS SEX. VARUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XI. FROM 27 JUNE. COS.  
 XI. PONT. IMP. IX.

Twenty-fifth year of the reign of Herod, from  
 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**770.** Augustus, having composed Gaul, and Spain and Germany (where he leaves Drusus), returns to Rome. Ὁ γοῦν Αὐγουστος . . . ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ Κνιντιλίου Οὐάρου ὑπάτων, ἀνεκομίσθη. Dion, liv. 25.

**771.** Herod, early in the year, sails with his son Antipater, whom he advances with the view of depressing the sons of Mariamne, to Asia to meet Agrippa. Ἀγρίππα μὲν οὖν ἀνιόντι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας δεκαετῆ γεγεννημένην, πλεύσας (Herod) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ συγγυχνάνων, μόνον τε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάγειν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 3, 3. In this passage the ten years of Agrippa's administration are dated from his arrival in Asia, B.C. 23. In the interval he had visited Rome, but had retained the administration of Asiatic affairs in his hands (see B.C. 23, no. 700).

**772.** Agrippa, taking Antipater with him, sails for Rome. Jos. Ant. xvi. 3, 3; Bell. i. 23, 2. Dion, liv. 28. Antipater remained at Rome till Herod arrived there in B.C. 11, and during the interval was employed in defaming the sons of Mariamne by letters from Rome. Ἀλλὰ κῆκεῖθεν, ὅτε ἀνιάσειν τι καὶ παροξύνειν ἤλπιζεν τὸν πατέρα κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν. Ant. xvi. 4, 1.

**773.** It is probable that, on Agrippa's departure from the East, M. Titius was appointed prefect of Syria (see B.C. 23, no. 700; B.C. 9, no. 816). During the interval between B.C. 23 and B.C. 13 there was no special prefect of Syria; but Agrippa himself, as having the command of the East, discharged the duties. M. Titius had been consul suffectus B.C. 31.

**774.** Agrippa, on arriving at Rome, receives a renewal of the Tribunitian Power for five years more, the former grant of five years in

B.C. 18 having expired. This also identifies the year of Agrippa's arrival with B.C. 13. Agrippa proceeds to Pannonia, but so late in the year that he did not open the campaign till the beginning of the following year. Κἂν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθόντα τῆ τε δημαρχικῆ ἔξουσίᾳ αὐθις ἐς ἄλλα πέντε ἐτη πέντε ἐμεγάλυνε (Augustus), καὶ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν πολεμῆσειουσιν ἐξέπεμψε . . . καὶ ὃς τὴν μὲν στρατείαν, καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε Οὐαλέριος καὶ Πούπλιος Σουλπίκιος ὑπάτεον (B.C. 12) ἐνεστηκότος, ἐποιήσατο, etc. Dion, liv. 28.

**774 a.** Inscription.

*F. K. Jul. N. (1 July).*

*G. vi. (2 July) N. Fer. Ex S. C. quod ara Pacis Aug. in camp. Mart. constitut. Pax S. (lege T.) Nerone et Varo Cos. Old calendar.*

Muratori, i. 150.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

**B.C. 12. U.C. 742. Olymp. 192, 1.**

M. VALERIUS MESSALLA BARBATUS ÆMILIANUS, qui in mag. mort. Eum excepit C. Valgius Rufus qui abdic. et eum excepit C. Caninius Rebilus, qui in mag. mort. est.

M. SULPICIUS QUIRINUS. Quem excepit L. Volusius Saturninus.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS.  
 XI. PONT. MAX. (see *infra*, no. 775). IMP. X.  
 XI.

Twenty-sixth year of the reign of Herod,  
 from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**775.** Augustus succeeds Lepidus as Pontifex Maximus. Τοῦ Λεπίδου μεταλλάξαντος (Augustus) ἀπεδείχθη (his coss.). Dion, liv. 27. This was on 6 March, for *Prid. Non. F. . . . Imp. Cæsar August. Pont. . . . nio et Valgio coss.* Fasti Verriani in Martio; and again, *Prid. Non. Mart. Hoc die Cæsar Pontif. Maxim. fact. est.* Old calendar. Cited Fasti Hellen. B.C. 12.

*Sextus ubi Oceano clivosum scandit Olymum Phæbus, et alatis æthera carpit equis, Quisquis ades, canæque colis penetralia Vestæ, Cratera Iliacis thuraque pone focis. Cæsaris innumeris, quem maluit ille mereri, Accessit titulis Pontificalis honos.*

Ovid, Fast. iii. 415.

And see Suet. Octav. 31.

**776.** M. Agrippa returns from Pannonia to Italy, and dies in Campania in the month of March, for Augustus hears of his illness at Rome, at the Panathenæa (19th—23 March, see Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 809), and, on reaching Campania, finds him dead. Πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Αὔγουστος (ἔτυχε δὲ ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ὄπλομαχίας ἀγῶνας τῷ τῶν παιδῶν ὀνόματι τιθεῖς) ἐξωρμήθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα ἐς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσεκόμισε. *Dion*, liv. 28. Agrippa, at his death, was in his 51st year. *Quinquagesimo uno raptus anno.* *Plin.* N. H. vii. 6.

**777.** A comet was visible at Rome about the time of the death of M. Agrippa. Τό τε ἄστρον ὁ κομήτης ὠνομασμένος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεος αἰωρηθεὶς, ἐς λαμπάδας διελύθη. *Dion*, liv. 29.

**778.** The birth of Agrippa, a posthumous son of M. Agrippa. *Dion*, liv. 29.

**779.** Asia (Lydian) suffers from earthquakes. *Dion*, liv. 30.

**780.** Augustus, on the death of M. Agrippa, leans on Tiberius, and sends him to Pannonia. *Dion*, liv. 31.

**781.** Victories of Tiberius, upon which the Senate decrees public rejoicings, but they are not celebrated, from the mourning for Agrippa. Καὶ αὐτῷ (Tiberio) διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τά γε ἐπινίκια ἐψηφίσαστο, ὁ δ' Αὔγουστος ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἑορτάσαι, τὰς δὲ τιμὰς τὰς ἐπινικίους ἀπέδωκε. *Dion*, liv. 31.

**782.** Victories of Drusus in Germany. He returned to Rome at the beginning of the next year, but had no triumph, from the mourning for Agrippa. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ συνέβη . . . Ἀνεχώρησε (χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν) καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔλθων ἄστυνόμος, ἐπὶ τε Κνίντου Αἰλίου καὶ Παύλου Φαβίου ὑπάτων (B.C. 11) καίπερ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς ἔχων, ἀπεδείχθη. *Dion*, liv. 32.

**783.** Syllæus, the chief minister of Obodas, king of Petra (see B.C. 24, no. 688), while on a mission to Herod, falls in love with Salome, and, two or three months after his departure to Arabia, returns to Jerusalem, and makes an offer of marriage; but Herod forbids it, unless Syllæus would consent to adopt Judaism. Συλλαῖος . . . ὑπὸ χρείας οὖν τινὸς ἔλθων ὡς Ἡρώδην, συνδειπνῶν ἴδεν τὴν Σαλώμην, καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔσχεν πρὸς αὐτήν . . . διαλιπὼν δὲ δύο μῆνας ἢ τρεῖς, ἔρχεται πάλιν ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καὶ λόγους Ἡρώδῃ προσεφέρεν, ἄξιων αὐτῷ τὴν

Σαλώμην δοθῆναι πρὸς γάμον, etc. *Jos. Ant.* xvi. 7, 6. This was just before Herod's voyage to Rome in B.C. 11; for the Trachonites, who rebelled, and were defeated during the absence of Herod at Rome, were harboured by Syllæus, out of resentment from Herod's having refused him the hand of Salome. Συλλαίου δεξαμένον μετὰ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν τοῦ Σαλώμης γάμου. *Ant.* xvi. 9, 1.

**783 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*Augustus Divi F. + Imp. x. Act.*

*Augustus Divi F. + Imp. x. Sicil. or Imp. x.*

*Aug. Divi F. Imp. x. + Salus Generis Humani.*

*S. P. Q. R. + Salus Generis Humani.*

Eckhel, vi. 107.

#### Inscriptions.

*V. T. Latinius Ti. L. Dori . . .*

*θ Agrasia . . . Ti. L. Rufa . . .*

*Hoc Mansum Veni iiii. K. Sept.*

*P. Sulpicio C. Valgio Rufo Consulibus* (Florentiæ). *Muratori*, i. 297, 2.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Imp. xi. Tribunitia Potestate xi. iiii.* (near Forum Julii). *Muratori*, i. 442, 6; iv. 2005, 3.

*Imp. Cæs. Divi Fi. Aug. Tribunitiæ Pot. xii. Consuli xi. Pon. . . Maximo P. . . Patriæ Posteritas Sedunorum Patrono* (Seduni in Vallesia). *Muratori*, ii. 1080, 4.

(*C. Valgius C. F.*) *Rufus abdic. In e. l. f. e.*  
(*C. Caninius C. F.*) *C. N. Rebil. In mag. m. e.* *Fasti Capitol.*

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

#### B.C. 11. U.C. 743. Olymp. 192, 2.

PAULLUS FABIVS MAXIMVS.

Q. ÆLIVS TVERBO.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XIII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. XI. PONT. MAX. IMP. XI. (see *Dion*, liv. 33).

Twenty-seventh year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**784.** Drusus, in the spring, is again employed upon the war in Germany, ἅμα δὲ τῷ Ἡρι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αἴθεις (Drusus) ἔωρμσε, etc., *Dion*, liv. 33; and is so employed till the commencement of winter, καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐνέσθη, *Dion*, liv. 33.

**785.** Drusus, while in Germany, is nominated prætor; and the banquet which should



have been given by him on his election is celebrated at Rome during his absence; and the Augustalia, or festival of Augustus's birthday, 23 September, are celebrated this year, for the first time, by a decree of the Senate. 'Εν ᾧ δ' οὖν ὁ Δρουσος ταυτ' ἔπραττεν, ἢ τε πανήγυρις ἢ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ αὐτοῦ προσήκουσα πολυτελεστάτη ἐποιήθη· καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ Αὐγούστου . . . ἐτιμήθη . . . Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, καίτοι μὴ ψηφισθὲν, ἐν πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἔτεσι, πρὸς τινος τῶν ἀεὶ στρατηγούντων ἐγένετο, τὰ δὲ δὴ Αὐγουστάλια, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἄγεται, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ δόγματος ἐτελέσθη. Dion, liv. 34. Drusus was prætor elect in the latter part of this year, for he was full prætor in B.C. 10, the year before his consulship in B.C. 9. *Post Præturam, confestim inito consulatu, atque expeditione repetitâ, supremum diem obiit.* Suet. Claud. 1.

**786.** The Dalmatians and Pannonians revolt, and Tiberius is engaged this year in carrying on the war against both (his coss.). Dion, liv. 34.

**787.** Augustus, during the pressure of this double conflict, posts himself near the seat of war, at Milan, or Ravenna, or Aquileia. *Reliqua (bella) per legatos administravit, ut tamen quibusdam Pannonicis atque Germanicis aut interveniret aut non longe abesset, Ravennam, vel Mediolanum, vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progrediens.* Suet. Octav. 20.

**788.** Dalmatia and Pannonia are both subjugated, and Dalmatia, as a turbulent province, is transferred from the Senate to the Emperor, and is thenceforth an Imperial Province. *Καὶ τούτου καὶ ἡ Δαλματία τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φρουρᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὅπλων τινῶν ἀεὶ καὶ δι' ἑαυτὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Παννονίων γειτονίαν δεομένη, παρεδόθη.* Dion, liv. 34 (see B.C. 27, no. 666).

**789.** Herod sails to Rome, to accuse Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons, before Augustus; and, not finding him at Rome, follows him to Aquileia. *Ὡς δὲ ἀνήλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐγένετο μὲν μέχρι τῆς Ἀκυληΐας πόλεως Καίσαρι συνυχεῖν ἐπειγόμενος.* Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 1. *Ἐκ τούτου πλέων εἰς Ῥώμην ὡς Καίσαρα Ἡρώδης, ἐπήγετο τὸν Νικόλαον ὁμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νηὸς, καὶ κοινῇ ἐφιλοσόφουν.* Nicolaus Damasc. Müller's Fragm. Hist. Græc. iii. 351.

**790.** The cause of Herod against his sons is heard by Augustus, when a reconciliation is effected by the Emperor's interference. Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 1; Bell. i. 23, 3. It does not appear

whether the hearing was at Aquileia or after Augustus's return to Rome, but not improbably the latter, for ἀγωνία τε τοῖς παρούσιν ἐνεπεπτόκει καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ὁ λόγος διαδοθεὶς ἐπίφθονον ἐποίει τὸν βασιλέα, Ant. xvi. 4, 4; and see Bell. i. 23, 3, where no mention is made of Aquileia.

**791.** Alexander, on this occasion, refers thus to the building of the Temple at Jerusalem by Herod: *ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐσέβεια καὶ θρησκεία τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνος, ἐνέσχετο ἂν παροκτόνους ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀγώματον ὑπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασθέντα ναὸν εἰσεῖναι.* Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 3. The ναὸς, if begun at the Passover, B.C. 18 (see that year, no. 745), would, as it occupied a year and a half, have been finished in B.C. 17. The outer temple occupied eight years; and as Josephus most likely means, not complete years, but current years, it would be finished in B.C. 11; and thus the allusion of Alexander to the temple at this particular period would be peculiarly appropriate. It will be observed, however, that in the passage cited Alexander speaks not of ἱερόν (the Temple in the large sense), but τὸν ἀγώματον ναὸν (the Sanctuary or Holy edifice) (see B.C. 20, no. 738; B.C. 18, no. 745).

**792.** Herod, before quitting Rome, bestows 300 talents on Augustus towards the expenses of the games which he was then celebrating, and Augustus in return bestows on Herod one half of the copper mines of Cyprus and farms out to him the other half. *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑστέραις ἡμέραις Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐδώρειτο Καίσαρα τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις, θέας τε καὶ διανομᾶς ποιούμενον τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ· Καίσαρ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μετάλλου τοῦ Κυπρίων χαλκοῦ τὴν ἡμίσειαν πρόσδοον, καὶ τῆς ἡμισείας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔδωκεν.* Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 5. The games which were now being celebrated may have been either those exhibited in the name, but in the absence, of Drusus, or the Augustalia, on Augustus's birthday, or the rejoicings for the victories in Germany, or Pannonia, or Dalmatia. Herod, accompanied by Antipater and Aristobulus, and Alexander, returns to Judæa by way of Cilicia, and is entertained at Elæusa by Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and is escorted by him as far as Zephyrium. The homeward voyage of Herod, as it took this direction and not by way of Egypt, was probably when the Etesian winds had ceased, and, therefore, late in the year. *Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπανήει πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. . .*

Ἡρώδης δὲ πλέων σὺν τοῖς παισὶν, ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ Κελικίαν ἐν Ἐλεούσῃ, τῇ μετωνομασμένην ὡν Σεβαστῆ, καταλαμβάνει τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Καππαδοκίας Ἀρχέλαον, etc. Ant. xvi. 4, 6. It appears from Strabo that Archelaus had a palace at Eleusa. Εἰθ' ἡ Ἐλαιούσσα νῆσος μετὰ Κώρυκον, ἣν συνήκεισεν Ἀρχέλαος καὶ κατεσκευάσατο βασιλεῖον, Strabo, xiv. 5; and that he chiefly resided there, καὶ τὸ πλεόν ἐνταῦθα (Archelaus) διέτριβεν. Strabo, xii. 2.

**793.** It has been thought by some that the voyage of Herod to Rome occurred in b. c. 12, and that it was during the voyage in b. c. 12 that he was present at the Olympia mentioned Jos. Bell. i. 21, 12. But that the voyage was in b. c. 11, and not in b. c. 12, will appear from the following considerations: 1. Antipater had only reached Rome at the close of b. c. 13, and the voyage of Herod to accuse his sons was in great measure occasioned by the calumnies communicated by Antipater from Rome by constant letters, *συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν*, Ant. xvi. 4, 1; and if Herod was at the Olympia on 1 July b. c. 12, there was not sufficient time for this correspondence. 2. Herod, when dragging his sons to the bar of justice, could not, in common decency, have gone by the way to the Olympia to join in the celebration of the games. In b. c. 8, on the contrary, Herod had been reconciled to his sons, and his visit to Rome was one of mere ceremony. 3. When Herod reached Italy, Augustus was at Aquileia; and though Augustus might have been there in b. c. 12, it is much more likely that he was so in b. c. 11, when Pannonia and Dalmatia were both in revolt, and when, in particular, Dalmatia from its turbulence was placed under his especial care. 4. When Herod left Rome, Augustus was celebrating games; and it is impossible that this could have been the case in b. c. 12, as, from the general mourning observed for the death of Agrippa, even the usual rejoicings for the victories of Drusus and Tiberius were not allowed to take place. In b. c. 11, on the contrary, were numerous games at Rome, those, for instance, in the name of Drusus and the Augustalia (see *supra*, no. 785).

**794.** While Herod is at Rome, the Trachonites, taking advantage of his absence, rebel, but are put down by Herod's generals. Ἀποδημούντος δὲ (Herod), οὐ μικρὸν μέρος ἀπέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ περὶ τὸν Τράχωνα. Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 6.

Πλεύσαντος δὲ (Herod) εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅτε καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατηγορεῖ, καὶ παραθησόμενος Ἀντίπατρον τὸν υἱὸν, παρεληλύθει Καισαρι, λόγον, ὡς ἀπολωλὼς εἶη, διασπείροντες οἱ τὸν Τράχωνα νεμόμενοι, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησαν καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τοὺς πλησιωχῶρους ἀδοκεῖν ἐτρέποντο. Ant. xvi. 9, 1. But about forty of the ringleaders take refuge with Sylæus, who gives them protection. Ant. xvi. 9, 1.

**795.** Herod, on his return from Rome, invests Antipater, Alexander, and Aristobulus with nominal royalty and permits them to wear royal robes, but gives precedence to Antipater as the elder brother. Jos. Bell. i. 23, 5; Ant. xvi. 4, 6.

**796.** The wars in Germany, Pannonia, and Dalmatia being concluded, Augustus avails himself of the opportunity to institute a census. Ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ἐκεῖνα ἐγένετο (his coss.), Αὐγουστος ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποίησατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα οἱ καθάπερ τις ιδιώτης ἀπογραψάμενος, καὶ τὴν βουλήν κατελέξατο. Dion, liv. 35. The meaning may be either that Augustus made a census of Roman citizens only, or that he caused a survey to be made of the whole empire as if it were his private property. If the latter be intended, it may be argued that these ἀπογραφαὶ (not one ἀπογραφή) included the census in Judæa as part of a general measure at the time of the birth of Our Lord, for the edict must have been carried into effect in different countries at different times. The census of Rome was completed in b. c. 8 (see that year, no. 828), and it might have been still going on in Judæa at midsummer b. c. 6. Indeed, Tertullian tells us that these censuses in the East were still in operation in the time of Saturninus, and, therefore, some time between b. c. 9, when Saturninus entered upon office, and the latter part of b. c. 6, when Saturninus was succeeded by Varus (see the latter year, no. 873). Tertullian advers. Marcian. iv. 19.

**797.** About the same time, and at the conclusion of the wars in Germany, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, a decree is made for closing the temple of Janus, but before it is carried into effect, the Dacæ and Dalmatians rebel (see b. c. 10, no. 801). Ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰανὸν τὸν Γέμινον, ὡς καὶ πεπανμένων τῶν πολέμων (ἀνεῶκτο γὰρ) κλεισθῆναι· οὐ μόντοι καὶ ἐκλείσθη. Dion, liv. 36 (see b. c. 25, no. 678).

**798.** Augustus gives Julia in marriage to



Tiberius, and Octavia, the sister of Augustus, dies. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ (B.C. 11) τήν τε Ἰουλίαν τῷ Τιβερίῳ συνήκισε, καὶ τήν Ὀκταουίαν τήν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανούσαν προέθετο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλίῳ Ἡρόν. Dion, liv. 35. The death of Octavia must have been at the very end of the year, for Drusus was engaged in Germany at the commencement of the winter, and yet Drusus was at Rome at the time of the death. Καὶ ὁ Δρούσος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος (δημόσιον γὰρ τὸ πένθος) ἀλλαξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. Dion, liv. 35. Suetonius places the death of Octavia in the 54th year of the age of Augustus, i.e. some time between 23 September, B.C. 10, and 23 September, B.C. 9. *Sororem Octaviam amisit quinquagesimum et quartum agens ætatis annum.* Suet. Octav. 61. But this is probably the mistake of the transcriber, in writing lii. for liii.

**799.** Lucius Piso is this year prefect of Pamphylia. Λούκιος Πείσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἧς ἤρχε, προσετάχθη σφίσι. Dion, liv. 34. Pamphylia, under the republic, was governed by a proprætor, and comprised Pamphylia proper, Pisidia, and Phrygia Minor. Cicero in Verrem, ii. 1, 38. But when Pompey reduced all Asia Minor to subjection, Pamphylia was attached to the province of Cilicia. Under Augustus, Pamphylia appears to have been again subject to a proprætor of its own, appointed by the Emperor (see B.C. 51, no. 191).

**800.** Birth of Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and afterwards king of Judæa, in the latter half of this year or the first half of the next, for in A.D. 44 he was in his 54th year (see A.D. 44, no. 1678).

**800 a.** Coin of Augustus.

*Augustus Divi F. + Imp. xi.* Eckhel, vi. 109.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

**B.C. 10. U.C. 744. Olymp. 192, 3.**

JULUS ANTONIUS AFRICANUS.

Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS.

AUGUSTVS TRIB. POT. XIV. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. MAX. IMP. XII.

Twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod,  
from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**801.** Augustus is in Gaul when the Dacæ and Dalmatians revolt, and Tiberius is sent,

and subdues them. Καὶ τούτους μὲν ὁ Τιβερίως ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας, εἰς ἣν μετὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐξεληλύθει, καταπεμφθεὶς ἀνεστήσατο. Dion, liv. 36.

**802.** Drusus subdues the Chatti; and Augustus, who had been sojourning at Lyons to watch the war, returns to Rome, and with him Tiberius and Drusus. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ συνεκομισθησαν (Tiberius and Drusus), ἐν γὰρ τῇ Δυγδουνίδι τὰ πολλὰ, οὕτως ἐγγυθεν τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐφεδρεύων, διέτριβε. Dion, liv. 36.

**803.** Birth of Claudius on 1 August of this year. *Claudius natus est Julio Antonio, Fabio Africano coss. Kal. Augustis, Lugduni, eo ipso die, quo primum ara ibi Augusta dedicata est.* Suet. Claud. 2.

**804.** Herod, on his return from Rome, not being able to lay hold of the Trachonites who had been harboured by Syllæus, puts to death their relatives in Trachonitis. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης . . . τῶν μὲν ληστῶν ἐγκρατῆς οὐ δυνάμενος γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων προσασίας ἐπορίσαντο, χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἀδικημάτων, περιελθὼν τὸν Τράχωνα τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν ἀπέσφαξεν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 1 (see B.C. 11, no. 794).

**805.** Cæsarea is completed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod, and in the 192nd Olympiad, i.e. in the second year of that Olympiad which ended on 1 July, B.C. 10. Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον (the return of Herod) συντέλειαν ἔλαβεν ἡ Καισάρεια Σεβαστή, ἣν ἠκοδόμηι, δεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει πρὸς τέλος ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ τῆς ὅλης κατασκευῆς, ἐκπεσοῦσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας εἰς ὄγδοον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος δευτέρας καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 5, 1. For δεκάτῳ in this passage should clearly be read δωδεκάτῳ, for in the same work, the Antiquities, Josephus had previously stated that the building of Cæsarea occupied twelve and not ten years current. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις οὕτως ἐξετελέσθη δωδεκάτῃ χρόνῳ. Ant. xv. 9, 6 (see B.C. 21, no. 723). Josephus invariably computes the reign of Herod from 1 January, or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37; and if so, the completion of Cæsarea, as it fell in the twenty-eighth year of Herod, must be assigned to this year. From B.C. 21 to B.C. 10 would be just twelve years current. In the passage cited above from Ant. xvi. 5, 1, the completion of Cæsarea is referred

to the 192nd Olympiad, and the same thing is stated in the Wars. Καὶ πενταετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστησάμενος ὁμοίως ἐκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἄθλα μέγιστα προθεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος. Bell. i. 21, 8. And some, understanding by this the *first* year of the 192nd Olympiad, assign the completion of Cæsarea to B.C. 12, and reckon the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod from his appointment to the kingdom in B.C. 40. But this cannot be, for Josephus *never* reckons the reign of Herod from B.C. 40, but always from B.C. 37, when Herod became king *de facto* (see B.C. 31, no. 619). Nor is it the invariable practice of Josephus, in mentioning a particular Olympiad, to intend the first year of it. Thus the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius is placed by him in the consulship of M. Agrippa and Caninius Gallus, i.e. B.C. 37, and in the 185th Olympiad; but this consulship was not in the first year, but in the third year of that Olympiad. Ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανινίου Γάλλου ἐπὶ τῆς ρπῆ Ὀλυμπιάδος. Ant. xiv. 16, 4.

**806.** Herod, having exhausted his resources by the building of Cæsarea, opens the tomb of David, in the hope of finding treasure. Jos. Ant. xvi. 7, 1. The dissensions in the family of Herod break out after this more than ever. Ἡρώδης δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἣν ἐποίησατο τῷ τάφῳ, χεῖρον ἐδόκει πράττειν ἐν τοῖς κατ' οἰκίαν. Ant. xvi. 7, 2.

**807.** Herod administers a sharp rebuke to his sons by Mariamne, and there is a short calm. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐπιπλήξας τοῖς παισίν, ἀπολογησαμένων, ῥάων εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐγένετο. Jos. Ant. xvi. 7, 3. In the corresponding passage in the Wars, the less perfect work, the rebuke is said to have been administered as Herod was setting out on a voyage to Rome. Διὰ ταῦτα, καίτοι τὸ φρόνημα τῶν νεανίσκων ὑποδείσας, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέκοπτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς διορθώσεως, ἀλλὰ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς (καὶ γὰρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκπλεύσειν ἔμελλε) βραχέα μὲν ἠπέλησεν ὡς βασιλεὺς, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἐνουθέτησεν ὡς πατὴρ. Bell. i. 24, 4. But as Herod had sailed to Rome in the preceding year, and was again at Rome in B.C. 8, and as the Antiquities, the later and more correct work, omits all mention of a voyage to Rome at this time, the fact itself may be questioned, though of course it is possible. Whoever compares

the Wars with the Antiquities, and observes the laxity of the narrative in this part, will have little doubt that the allusion to a visit to Rome in the Wars has crept in through inadvertence.

**808.** Pheroras is convicted of an intended escape with his wife to the Parthians, but is forgiven. Jos. Bell. i. 24, 6; Ant. xvi. 7, 3.

**809.** Salome also is convicted of holding intercourse with Syllæus the Arabian, the enemy of Herod, but is also forgiven. Jos. Bell. i. 24, 6; Ant. xvi. 7, 6.

**810.** It was probably in this year that the Parthian hostages were delivered to Titius, then prefect of Syria. Φραάτης τοσοῦτον ἐσπούδασε περὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τρόπαια ἔπεμψεν (viz. in B.C. 20), ἃ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέστησαν Παρθυαῖοι καὶ καλέσαι εἰς σύλλογον Τίτιοι, τὸν ἐπιστατοῦντα τότε τῆς Συρίας (see B.C. 13, no. 773), τέτταρας παῖδας γνησίους ἐνεχείρησεν ὄμηρα αὐτῷ, Σεραспаδάνην, καὶ Ῥωδάσπην, καὶ Φραάτην, καὶ Βονώνην, καὶ γυναῖκας τούτων δύο, καὶ νιεῖς τέτταρας, δεδιῶς τὰς στάσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους αὐτῷ. Strabo, xvi. 1. Livy, according to his epitomizer, appears to have placed the delivery of the hostages in this year (B.C. 10), for he records the events *between* the subjugation of Dalmatia and Pannonia in B.C. 11 (see no. 788), and the death of Drusus in B.C. 9 (see no. 813), as follows: *Dalmatas et Pannonios Nero, frater Drusi, subegit. Pax cum Parthis facta est, signis a rege eorum, quæ sub Crasso et postea sub Antonio capta erant, redditis. Bellum adversus Germanorum trans Rhenam civitates gestum a Druso refertur. Ipse ex fracturâ equo super crus ejus collapsus, tricesimo die quam id acciderat, mortuus est.* Lib. 139, 140. The restoration of the standards, however, is here confounded with the delivery of the hostages. The standards had been restored in B.C. 20 (see no. 725), but the delivery of the hostages was in this year. In the *Fasti Verriani* in mense Januario is the inscription: *iii. Kal. Feb. Feriæ . . . ex S. C. quo(d eo) die ara Pacis Augusta (in Campo) Martio dedicata (est). Druso et Crispino c(oss.)* (B. C. 9); and see Ovid. *Fasti*, i. 709, and *Fasti Hellen.* This altar may refer to the peace made with the Parthians in the preceding year.

**810 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*Augustus Divi F. + Imp. xii.*



*Augustus Divi F. + Imp. xii. Act.*  
or *Imp. xii. Sicil.*

Eckhel, vi. 110.

Coin of Sinope.

A. XXXVI. *Head of Augustus + Heads of Caius and Lucius Cæsar*, i. e. in 36 year, dating from U.C. 709. Eckhel, ii. 392.

Inscription.

*Imperator Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Imp. xii. Cos. xi. Trib. Pot. xiv. Ægypto in Potestatem Populi Romani Redacta Soli donum dedit.* (at Rome) Inscriptio ad calcem Suetonii.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 16.

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11.

**B.C. 9. U.C. 745. Olymp. 192, 4.**

CLAUDIUS NERO DRUSUS GERMANICUS.  
TITUS QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XV. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. MAX. IMP. XIII.

Twenty-ninth year of the reign of Herod,  
from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**811.** Augustus appears to have been absent from Rome on new-year's day of this year (see Inscription, *infra*, no. 818 a).

**812.** The Dalmatians and Pannonians are again in arms, and are subdued by Tiberius. Dion, lv. 2.

**813.** Death of Drusus, in his 30th year, in his consulship, in the *Castra Æstiva* thence called *Castra Scelerata* between the rivers *Salas* and *Rhine*. *Sed illum (Drusum) fatorum iniquitas, consulem, agentem annum tricesimum, rapuit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 97. Σάλας ποταμός, οὗ μεταξὺ καὶ τοῦ Ῥήνου πολεμῶν, καὶ κατορθῶν, Δρούσος ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ Γερμανικός. Strabo, vii. 1. *Post preturam confestim inito consulatu, atque expeditione repetitâ, supremum diem morbo obiit in æstivis castris, quæ ex eo sunt appellata Scelerata.* Suet. Claud. 1. Dion, lv. 1. Plin. N. H. vii. 20. Liv. Epit. 140. Augustus, at the time of Drusus's last illness, was not far away, and sent Tiberius, then at *Ticinus*, to Drusus. Προπυθόμενος δ' ὁ Αὐγουστος ὅτι νοσεῖ (Drusus) (οὐ γὰρ ἦν πῶρῳ) τὸν Τιβέριον κατὰ τάχος ἔπεμψε. Dion, lv. 2. *Tantum enim amorem Princeps parensque noster (Tiberius) in-*

*situm animo fratris Drusi habuit, ut, eum Ticini, quo victor hostium ad complectendos parentes venerat, gravi illum et periculosâ valetudine in Germaniâ fluctuare cognôsset, protinus inde, metu attonitus, erumperet.* Valer. Max. v. 5, 2. Augustus, as he had taken the field, could not enter the city, without a breach of religious observances, and, therefore, pronounces the funeral oration in the *Flaminian Way*, without the limits of the city. "Ο,τε γὰρ Τιβέριος ἐνταῦθα (in the forum) αὐτὸν ἐπήνεσε, καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐν τῷ Φλαμινίῳ ἱπποδρόμῳ (ἐξεστράτετο γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἦν οἱ ὄσιον μὴ οὐ τὰ καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς κατεργασμένοις παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν εἴσω τοῦ πωμηρίου εἰσοδὸν ἐπιτελέσαι). Dion, v. 2. And Augustus did not enter the city till the following year. "Ομως δ' οὖν τοτ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν τοῦ Δρούσου θάνατον ἐσελθεῖν. Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει, etc. Dion, lv. 4.

**814.** A fracas in the family of Herod from the unfounded charge of Alexander against Herod of an improper familiarity of the latter with Alexander's wife. Jos. Ant. xvi. 7, 4. Alexander, in return, is accused of having corrupted the confidential eunuchs of Herod. Ant. xvi. 8, 1; Bell. i. 24, 7. And Herod puts him in bonds. Ant. xvi. 8, 4; Bell. i. 24, 8.

**815.** Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the father-in-law of Alexander, hastens to Jerusalem and reconciles Herod to his sons. Ἐγὼ γὰρ (Archelaus) ἠπειγόμεν ἄπο Καππαδοκίας. Jos. Bell. i. 25, 1; Ant. xvi. 8, 6.

**816.** Herod escorts Archelaus back as far as Antioch, where he reconciles Archelaus with M. Titius, then prefect of Syria (see v. c. 13, no. 773; and *infra*, no. 817). And Herod undertakes, on the advice of Archelaus, to sail to Rome to explain matters to Augustus, who had been written to upon the subject. This intended voyage may be placed in the following year, v. c. 8. Herod certainly did not set sail for Rome immediately after parting from Archelaus, as it is expressly mentioned that he returned from Antioch to Judæa. Ἐποιήσατο δὲ (Herod) καὶ συνθήκας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τούτων ἐγγράπτο Καίσαρι, καὶ μέχρι Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (Herod and Archelaus) παρήλθον· ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα Συρίας Τίτιον, ἐκ διαφορᾶς Ἀρχελάῳ κακῶς ἔχοντα, διήλλαξεν Ἡρώδης, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑποστρέφει. Γενομένη δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, κάκειθι ἐπανήκοντι, συνέστη πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβίας, etc. Jos. Ant. xvi. 8, 6; xvi. 9, 1. Δεῖν μὲν οὖν πάντως

ἔφη (Archelaus) πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην, Καίσαρι διαλεξόμενον. γεγραφέναι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ περὶ τούτων. Bell. i. 25, 5.

**817.** Titius, soon after this, was succeeded by C. Sentius Saturninus (see B.C. 6, no. 873), for Herod sailed for Rome in the second quarter of B.C. 8, and before doing so he had held more than one conference with Saturninus. The province of Syria was always bestowed upon a person of consular dignity, and C. Sentius Saturninus had been consul B.C. 19.

**818.** The Trachonites, whose relatives Herod had put to death (see B.C. 10, no. 804), had never ceased to ravage the territories of Herod, and on Saturninus taking the command of Syria, Herod lodges a complaint against them with Saturninus, when the Trachonites become more bitter than ever. Ἐκείνος δὲ (Herod) διελέγετο περὶ τούτων ἡγεμόσιν Σατουρνίνῳ τε καὶ Οὐλομνίῳ, ἐπὶ κολάσει τοὺς ληστὰς ἐξαιτούμενος. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 1.

**818 a.** Inscriptions.

*Imp. Cæsari Augusto Divi F. Pontifici Maximo Tribunic. Potestate xv. Imp. xiii. M. Julius Regis Donni F. Cottius Præfectus ceivitatium quæ subscriptæ sunt Segoviorum, Seguginorum, Belacorum, Caturigum, Medullorum, Tebavium, Adanatum, Savincatum, Egdiniorum, Veaminiorum, Venicamorum, Jemeriorum, Vesbianorum, Ovædiatum, et ceivitates quæ sub eo Præfecto fuerunt (Secusisæ).*

Muratori, ii. 1095.

*Imp. Cæs. Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Imp. xiii. Cos. xi. Trib. Potest. xv. Ex stipe quam Populus Romanus Anno novo apsentii contulit Nerone Claudio Druso T. Quinctio Crispino Cos. Volcano.* (Romæ) Inscriptio ad calcem Suetonii.

*III. Kal. Feb. . . . ex S. C. quo . . . die Ara Pacis Augusta (in campo) Martio dedicata est Druso et Crispino C.* Fasti Verriani in mense Januario cited Fasti Romani. And with this date agrees Ovid:—

*Ipsam nos carmen deducet Pacis ad Aram.*

*Hæc erit a mensis fine secunda dies.*

Ovid. Fast. i. 709.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, September 30.

**B.C. 8. U.C. 746. Olymp. 193, 1.**

C. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.

C. ASINIUS GALLUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XVI. FROM 27 JUNE.

IMP. XIV. COS. XI. PONT. MAX.

Thirtieth year of the reign of Herod,  
from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**819.** Augustus, who the year before had kept the field, now enters the city. Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Ἀσινίος τε Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Μάρκιος ὑπάτευσαν, τὴν τε ἄφιξεν ἐποιήσατο, etc. (Augustus). Dion, lv. 5.

**820.** The supreme power is conferred on Augustus for ten years more. Τὴν τε ἡγεμονίαν (καίπερ ἀφίεις ὡς ἔλεγεν), ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τὰ δεύτερα ἐξελήλυθει, ἄκων δῆθεν αἰθίς ὑπέστη. Dion, lv. 6 (see B.C. 18, no. 744; A.D. 3, no. 986). Dion speaks of the second ten years as having already expired, but in strictness they were only about to expire, viz. on 31 December, B.C. 8.

**821.** Augustus and Tiberius proceed, but at what time does not appear, to Gaul, when Augustus remains in his own territory, perhaps at Lyons, but Tiberius crosses the Rhine. Καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κέλτους (Augustus) ἐστράτευσεν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν (Augustus) ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὑπέμενεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τὸν Ῥῆνον διέβη. Dion, lv. 6. His coss. *Inter Albin et Rhenum Germani omnes Tib. Neroni dediti. Per Sex. Appuleium Pannoni subacti.* Cassiod.

**822.** Caius, the grandson of Augustus, is introduced, in his thirteenth year, to the army. Τὸν Γάιον ἐν ταῖς γυμνασιαῖς τότε πρῶτον συνεξεταζόμενον σφίσιον (the troops) ἔσχον. Dion, lv. 6.

**823.** Games are decreed to be for ever observed on Augustus's birthday (23 September). Αὐτὸς γὰρ (Augustus) ἐκεῖνα μὲν (ἐπινίκια) οὐκ ἠθέλησεν πέμψαι, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰ γενέθλια ἱπποδρομίαν αἰδίων ἔλαβε. Dion, lv. 6.

**824.** The month Sextilis is called August, in honour of Augustus. Τὸν μῆνα τὸν Σεξτίλιον ἐπικαλούμενον Αὐγουστον ἀνωνόμασε (his coss.). Dion, lv. 6.

**825.** Augustus advances Tiberius to the rank of Imperator, and nominates him consul for the ensuing year. Τὸν δ' οὖν Τιβέριον ἐς τὴν τοῦ Αυτοκράτορος ἀρχὴν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δρούσου, προαγαθὼν, τῆτε ἐπικλήσει ἐκείνη ἐγαύρωσε, καὶ ὑπατον αἰθίς ἀπέδειξε. Dion, lv. 6.



**826.** Death of Mæcenas. Dion, lv. 7. Mæcenas, besides his political eminence and patronage of letters, was also the inventor of a kind of shorthand. *Πρῶτος σημειὰ τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος ἐξέυρε.* Dion, lv. 7.

**827.** Augustus and Tiberius return to Rome toward the end of the year, for Tiberius holds a senate on the first day of the new year, and the festival for the return of Augustus was celebrated soon after. *Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῇ νομηνίᾳ ἐν ἧ ὑπατεύειν μετὰ Γναίου Πείσωνος ἤρξατο ἐς τὸ Ὀκταούειον τὴν βουλὴν ἤθροισε . . . τὴν δὲ δὴ πανήγυριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ Αὐγούστου γενομένην ὁ Γάιος ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ (Tiberii, who had returned to Gaul) σὺν τῷ Πείσωνι διέθηκε.* Dion, lv. 8 (see v.c. 7, no. 833).

**828.** A census is concluded by Augustus. *Nuper Lustrum solus feci Censo(rino et As)iniocos. Quo lustru censa sunt civium Romanorum (capita) quadragiens centum millia et ducenta triginta tria.* Lapis Ancyr. ad calcem Sueton. (see v.c. 28, no. 658; A.D. 14, no. 1051).

**829.** Herod again complains to Saturninus of the ravages of the Trachonites, under the encouragement of Syllæus (see v.c. 9, no. 818); and Herod and Syllæus have a meeting before Saturninus, the prefect, and Volumnius, the procurator of Syria, at Berytus; and Syllæus undertakes within thirty days to deliver up the Trachonites, and to discharge the loan which had been advanced by Herod to Obodas. *Περὶ ὧν (the outrage of the Trachonites) ἐπὶ τε Σατουρνίνου καὶ Οὐλομνίου τῶν Συρίας ἐπιστατούντων ἐγίνοντο λόγοι, τέλος δὲ συνέθετο (Syllæus) δι' ἐκείνων, ἐν τὸς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα, τὰ τε χρήματα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπολαβεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ βασιλείᾳ.* Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 1. *Τελευταῖον δὲ ἐν Βηρυτῷ, τούτων ἐναντίον, Συλλαίου τὴν σὴν (Augusti) τύχην ἐπομόσαντος, ἡ μὴν ἐν τὸς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα παρέξειν τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἡρώδου πεφευγότας. . . Ὡμολόγησε δὲ (Syllæus) καὶ τούτους (the Trachonites) ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄρκοις ἀποδώσειν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ θανείου προθεσμίαν.* Ant. xvi. 10, 8.

**830.** Herod, probably before the expiration of the thirty days, sails (as previously arranged with Archelaus) to Italy. Jos. Ant. xvi. 8, 6; xvi. 9, 1; Bell. i. 25, 5 (see v.c. 9, no. 816). This must have been the voyage in the course of which Herod visited the Olympia, which

were celebrated this year. *Τὸν γε μὴν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα, πολὺ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀδοξότερον ὑπ' ἀχρηματίας διατεθειμένον, τιμωτέρον ἐποίει, χρημάτων προσόδους καταστήσας, καὶ πρὸς θυσίας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον ἐσεμναποίησεν τὴν πανήγυριν.* Διὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν φιλοτιμίαν διηλεκῆς ἀγωνοθέτης παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀνεγράφη. Ant. xvi. 5, 3. *Ἀγωνοθέτης, ἧς ἐπέτυχε πενταετηρίδος, εἰς Ῥώμην παραπλέων ἐγένετο.* Bell. i. 21, 12. There is no other Olympiad at which Herod could, consistently with other events, have been present in Greece on his way to Rome. At the Olympia v.c. 12 Herod was in Judæa, and corresponding with Antipater, then at Rome (see v.c. 13, no. 772; v.c. 11, no. 793). In v.c. 16 (see that year, no. 754) Agrippa arrived in the East, and Herod was in attendance upon him in Asia. In v.c. 20 (see that year, no. 726) Augustus himself was in the East, and Herod waited upon him from time to time. In v.c. 24 (see that year, nos. 687 and 693) was the famine in Judæa, and Herod dispatched 500 auxiliaries to Ælius Gallus, and procured corn from Petronius in Egypt, and sent, but did not accompany, his sons by Mariamne to Rome. In v.c. 28 (see that year, no. 659) Herod was, at least at the beginning of the year, suffering from illness, and no mention is made of any voyage to Rome about that time. In v.c. 32 (see that year, no. 591) Herod was engaged in war with the Arabians. In v.c. 36 (see that year, nos. 541, 544) we find Herod in Judæa, employed in negotiations, first with Cleopatra, and then with Antony. In v.c. 40 (see that year, nos. 450, 463) Herod was in Jerusalem, from the feast of Pentecost till the approach of winter, and could not have attended the Olympia at midsummer. It may be added, that in the narrative of Josephus the generosity of Herod to foreign peoples and cities, including his gift in aid of the Olympia, is related as occurring subsequently to the costly buildings in his own country, and therefore in the latter part of his reign, and so not earlier, at all events, than v.c. 20.

**831.** Assuming Herod to have been at the Olympia at midsummer, v.c. 8, he would reach Rome in the third quarter of the year, and Augustus at that time was probably in Gaul; but he returned before the end of the year, and Herod might either have followed Augustus to Gaul, as before to Aquileia (see v.c. 11, no.

757), or have waited for the return of Augustus at Rome.

**832.** Syllæus, at the expiration of the thirty days, and some time after the departure of Herod from Judæa, sails himself for Rome, without having performed his engagement to Herod. Διελθούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας, ὁ Συλλαῖος, οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων πεποιθῶς, εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέρχεται. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 2.

**832 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*Augustus Divi F. + Imp. xviii.*

” ” or + *Tr. Pot. xvi.*

Eckhel, vi. 110.

Inscriptions.

*C. Marcio L. F. Censorino Cos. Auguri Patrono. D. D.* (Aquini).

*L. Vibius Visci Lib. Ariodotus Bergimo votum C. Asinio Gallo, C. Marcio Censor. Cos. L. Salvio Apro. C. Post. vii. viris Quinquennalibus* (Aquini).

*C. Marcius L. F. L. N. Censorinus, C. Asinius C. F. Gallus Cos. ex S. C. Termin. Curatores Riparum qui primi fuerunt ex S. C. restituer. R. R. Prox. Cippi P. lx.* (Romæ).

Muratori, i. 297, 3, 4, 5.

*Imp. Cæsari Augusto Divi F. P. M. Tribunio. Potestatis xv. Imp. xiv.* The fifteenth year was from 27 June, B. C. 9, to 27 June, B. C. 8; and Eckhel refers the inscription to the latter year, Eckhel, vi. 143.

*C. Marcius L. F. L. N. Censorinus, C. Asinius Gallus Cos. Ex S. C. Fin. Pom. termin.* (Romæ). Gruter, 196, 2.

*C. Marcius L. F. L. N. Censorinus, C. Asinius Gallus Cos. Ex S. C. A. R. Prox. Ped. XLV.* Id. 196, 1.

*Imp. Cæsar. Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Tribunio. Potest. xvi. ex S. C. Terminavit. R. Prox. Cipp. Ped. clv.* (Romæ). Id. 196, 3.

*C. Asinius C. F. Gallus, C. Marcius L. F. L. N. Censorinus Cos. ex S. C. Termin. Curatores Riparum qui primi fuerunt. Ex S. C. Restituer. R. P. Prox. Cipp. P. clviii. S.* (Romæ). Id. 197, 2.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 25.

Pentecost, May 15.

Tabernacles, September 19.

**B.C. 7. U.C. 747. Olymp. 193, 2.**

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO ii.

CN. CALPURNIUS PISO, ii.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XVII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. MAX. IMP. XIV.

Thirty-first year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**833.** Tiberius is at Rome on new-year's day, but proceeds to Germany soon afterwards, and before the celebration of the festival for the return of Augustus to Rome (see B.C. 8, no. 827). Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῇ νομημίᾳ ἐν ἡ ὑπατεύειν μετὰ Γναίου Πείσωιος ἤρξατο, ἐς τὸ Ὀκταούεινον τὴν βουλὴν ἤθροισε . . . καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, κινηθέντων τινῶν ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ, ἐξωρήθη. Τὴν δὲ δὴ πανήγυριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὁ Γάιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ σὺν Πείσωιου διέθηκε. Dion, lv. 8.

**834.** A conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn on 29 May, in the morning, before sunrise, in Pisces, the dominant Sign of the Jews. Wieseler's Chronol. 65; and see Ideler's Handb. ii. 404.

**835.** Herod, having found on his return from Rome that Syllæus had not performed his engagement, now obtains leave from Saturninus, the prefect, and Volumnius, the procurator of Syria, to raze, and he accordingly razes, Raeptha, where the Trachonites maintained themselves; and Nacebus, an Arabian general, is slain. Syllæus at this time was at Rome, and Obodas, king of Petra, was ill of the malady of which he soon after died. Herod sends an embassy to Rome to explain these proceedings; and Augustus, on the misrepresentations of Syllæus that Herod had, without Roman sanction, levied an army and made war on Aretas, is extremely wrath, and refuses the envoys an audience, and writes to Herod that henceforth he was to rank not as an independent prince, but as a subject of the emperor. Γενομένη δὲ (Herod) ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, κἀκεῖθεν ἐπανάκοντι, συνέστη πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβας. And then, after some explanatory matter which led to the war, διελθούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας ὁ Συλλαῖος οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων πεποιθῶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέρχεται· ῥύσια δὲ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ληστῶν Ἡρώδης ἐποίειτο, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σατουρνίνου καὶ Οὐολόμνιον ἐπιτρεπόντων ἀγνωμονοῦντας ἐπεξίεναι, στρατιάν τε ἔχων προσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν . . . Παρελθὼν (Syllæus)



ἔλεγεν ὡς αὐτὸν (Augustus), ὅτι πολέμῳ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν εἶη κεκακωμένα . . . καταπεφρονῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην, ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας οὐκ ἀρκήσαντα τῷ πολέμῳ, διὰ τὸ μητ' αὐτὸν (Syllæus) μήτε τὴν Ἀραβικὴν δύναμιν παρεῖναι . . . ὄργη τε μεζίων ἐγένετο τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται . . . οὐδὲ γὰρ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ (Herod) πρεσβείαν ἀπολογισομένην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἠνέσχετο, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς συνελθόντας ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψεν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 1-3; and see Ant. xvi. 11, 8. Ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν Ἡρώδης, οὐ συνδοκοῦν Καίσαρι, ἐφ' οἷς ἐκίνοι ἠφίει φωνὰς, καὶ ὄργην εἶχε χαλεπὴν εἰς τὸν Ἡρώδην, καὶ τοὺς ἠκόντας παρ' αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἀπέλυσεν. Nicol. Damasc. Müller's Fragm. Græc. Hist. iii. 351. The threat that Augustus would henceforth treat Herod as a subject seems to have been followed up, either now or soon after, by an order for a census of Herod's dominions, as part and parcel of the Roman empire. Ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἀνγούστου ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. Luke, ii. 1. Although Herod was still king, the edict for the survey was from Augustus. That the Roman census was enforced against dependent princes is evident from the instance of the Clitæ mentioned by Tacitus, Ann. vi. 41. See 1 Lardn. 287. Τὴν οἰκουμένην has been translated in the English version 'all the world,' but it should be rendered 'all the land' (viz. the dominions of Herod, as in Luke, xxi. 26; Acts, xi. 28; Ant. viii. 13, 4). That Luke had in his mind Judæa only is evident from the context, 'and all went to be taxed every one in his own city,' a remark applicable not to the whole Roman empire, but to Judæa only. Lardner takes the words τὴν οἰκουμένην in this restricted sense, Lardn. i. 268; and Kuinoël, the eminent critic in loc., has not the least doubt of it. The word πᾶσαν is added to explain why it extended to Galilee, in which Nazareth was situate, as on Herod's death, while Judæa was given to Archelaus, Galilee was separated from it and given to Herod Antipas. Josephus speaks of οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρέσβεις (not πρεσβευταὶ, the lieutenants of the prefect) as present at the council in the spring of B.C. 6 (Bell. i. 27, 2); and Pedanius may have been the commissioner sent to take charge of the census.

It could not proceed in the winter, and as there was not time to carry it out in the summer of this year, it was not executed until the summer of the following year.

**836.** The vision of Zacharias in the Temple, Luke, i. 5; about 16 May of this year. The particular season is arrived at as follows. The Temple was burnt by Titus, according to the Rabbins, on Saturday (the Jewish Sabbath) 9 Ab, or 4 Aug. A.D. 70, the very day that the course of Jehoiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses, entered upon its office. Mishna, iii. 298, 3. The courses served seriatim for a week at a time, and entered upon their office on the first day of the week; and it confirms the statement of the Rabbins, that if the first course began on the first day of the seventh month of the first year of Cyrus (see Ezra, i. 1; iii. 6), found by calculation to be 24 Sept., B.C. 536, the first course would again commence its duties on 4 August, A.D. 70. See Browne's Ord. Sæcl. 33. Zacharias was of the course of Abia or Abijah, Luke, i. 5, which was the eighth course, 1 Chron. xxiv. 10. During the interval from B.C. 7 to A.D. 70, there occurred nothing to interrupt the order of the courses; and if so, then, as the course of Jehoiarib began on 4 August, A.D. 70, the course of Abia began on 16 May, B.C. 7, and ended on 22 May, B.C. 7. The conception of John the Baptist was at the close of the course, Luke, i. 23, and therefore about 22 May, B.C. 7. The announcement at this time that John was to be the forerunner of the Messiah, Luke, i. 17, who was to sit on the throne of David, and of whose kingdom there was to be no end, Luke, i. 32, 33, would naturally create a great sensation at Jerusalem, and the rumour of it would of course be carried to the Jewish population, which was extremely numerous, in Babylonia.

**837.** The Annunciation to the Virgin Mary at Nazareth was in the course of the sixth month current from the conception of John the Baptist, and therefore in November, B.C. 7. Περιέκρουσεν ἑαυτὴν (Elizabeth) μήνας πέντε . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀπεσάλη ὁ ἄγγελος Γαβριὴλ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, etc. Luke, i. 24-27. Οὗτος μὴν ἕκτος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τῇ καλουμένῃ στείργα. Luke, i. 36.

**838.** Mary quits Nazareth on a visit to her cousin Elizabeth, in the hill-country, εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς πόλιν Ἰουδα, Luke,

i. 39, and see v. 67; and remains there three months, or during the winter, and returns home a little before the birth of John the Baptist. "Εμεινε δὲ Μαριάμ σὺν αὐτῇ (Elizabeth) ὡσεὶ μῆνας τρεῖς, καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς. Τῇ δὲ Ἐλισάβετ ἐπλήσθη ὁ χορὸς τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱόν. Luke, i. 56. It is evident from the above that the conception of John the Baptist preceded that of Jesus not by six months complete, but five months and part of another month. As the conception of John was about 22 May, B.C. 7, that of Jesus would be in November, B.C. 7. The words of Luke, πόλιν Ἰούδα, may mean either a city of Judah or the city Juda. Many adopt the latter opinion, and identify it with Jutta (now Yutta), a city a little to the south of Hebron, and therefore in the hill-country. See Robinson's Palest. 1838, ii. 206.

**839.** A conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn on 1 October and again on 5 December of this year in Pisces, the dominant Sign of the Jews. Wieseler's Chronol. 65. See Ideler's Handb. 405.

**840.** While Syllæus is at Rome, and in high favour with Augustus, and calumniating Herod, Obodas dies (see B.C. 24, no. 688), and Æneas, called afterwards Aretas, takes possession of the throne. Ἦν δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀθυμία καὶ δέος (Ἡρώδῃ), ὅτε Συλλαῖος οὐ μετρίως ἐλύπει, πιστευθεὶς τε καὶ πάρων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε δὲ καὶ μειζύων ἀπτόμενος, ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὀβόδας ἐτεθνήκει, παραλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχὴν Αἰνείας, ὁ μετωνομασθεὶς αὖθις Ἀρέτας. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 4.

**841.** Herod sends another embassy to Rome under Nicolas Damascenus to endeavour to make his peace with Augustus. Πέρασ δ' οὐδὲν ὁρῶν τῶν περιστάτων κακῶν, ἔγνω (Herod) πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν, εἴτι δύναιτο μετρίωτερον εὐρεῖν, διὰ τε τῶν φίλων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ἐντυχίαν ποιησάμενος· κακεὶ μὲν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἀπῆε Νικόλαος. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 4. Ἀφικόμενος δ' ὡς Καίσαρα Νικόλαος οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐρρύσατο Ἡρώδην ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦς. Nicol. Damasc. Müller's Fragm. Hist. Græc. iii. 351.

**842.** In the course of the year Eurycles, the Lacedæmonian (with whom Herod had probably become acquainted at the Olympia of the preceding year), pays a visit to Herod and artfully foments the family dissensions. Jos. Ant.

xvi. 10, 1; Bell. 1, 26, 1. This was about the same time with the displeasure of Augustus at Herod's invasion of Arabia (see *supra*, no. 835). Ἐξετετάρακτο δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ πολὺ χεῖρον ἐσχηκότας κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον (the time of the dispatch of Herod's embassy by Nicolas Damascenus to Augustus). Ant. xvi. 10, 1.

**843.** An ambassador also comes from Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, to Herod, apparently by accident, and not with reference to the family dissensions. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἦκοντος ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας πρεσβευτοῦ παρὰ Ἀρχελαίου, Μήλα τι οὖς, etc. Jos. Ant. xvi. 10, 6.

**844.** Herod being enraged against his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, but not daring—more especially now that he was regarded as a subject prince—to take violent measures without the sanction of Augustus, sends Olympius and Volumnius to Rome on the matter. Jos. Ant. xvi. 10, 7. This embassy was dispatched not long after that under Nicolas Damascenus, and would arrive at Rome soon after it; for Olympius and Volumnius were to regulate their proceedings by the success of Nicolas. Κἂν εὐρωσιν ἀνύσαντά τι Νικόλαον, ὡς μηκέτι αὐτῷ (Herod) ὄνυχαινεῖν Καίσαρα, διδόναι τᾶς ἐπιστολάς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους οὖς κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων κατασκευασάμενος ἀπέστειλεν. Ant. xvi. 10, 7.

**845.** Nicolas at Rome, being aided by some of the Arabians, who were partisans of Aretas, accuses Syllæus, and by this channel indirectly justifies Herod. Syllæus is condemned to death, and sent back to Arabia to make reparation, and then to be executed. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ὁ μὲν Συλλαῖος ἀνεπέμπετο, τὰς δίκας καὶ τὰ χρεῖα τοῖς δεδανεικόσιν ἀποδώσων, εἶτα οὕτω κολασθησόμενος. Jos. Ant. xvi. 10, 9. Syllæus was eventually put to death, as Nicolas Damascenus relates, καὶ ὕστερον εὐρῶν (Augustus) κάκιστον ἀπέκτεινε, Nicol. Damasc. Müller's Fragm. Hist. Græc. iii. 351; not however in Arabia, but at Rome, as Strabo testifies: ἔτισε δὲ καὶ δίκας (Syllæus) ἐν Ῥώμῃ . . . ἀποτιμηθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν. Strabo, xvi. 4. But Syllæus returned to Arabia on this occasion, and afterwards made another voyage to Rome, as will be seen hereafter, upon the subject of the old disputes with some additional charges against him.

**846.** Olympius and Volumnius, Herod's subsequent envoys, arrive at Rome soon after Nicolas had been heard, and Augustus gives Herod a qualified power over his sons, i. e. he



authorises a council to be held at Berytus to try Herod's sons on the charges made by Herod. Augustus at the same time confirms Aretas in the kingdom of Arabia, which had been previously intended for Herod. Ἀποκομισθέντες (Olympius and Volumnius) ἔσχον τε καιρὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ γράμματα τῷ Καίσαρι, διηλλαγμένον εὐρόντες Ἡρώδη. Jos. Ant. xvi. 10, 8. Ἀρέτα δὲ οὐκ εὐμενὴς ἦν Καίσαρ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δι' ἐκείνου καθ' αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν· ἐγνώκει γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν Ἡρώδη δίδου· διεκώλυσε δὲ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου πεμφθέντα γράμματα (by Olympius and Volumnius). Τοῖς γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον καὶ Οὐλολύμνιον, εὐμενῆ Καίσαρα πυθομένοις, εὐθὺς ἔδοξεν ἐξ ἔντολῆς Ἡρώδου τὰ περὶ τῶν παίδων γράμματα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀναδιδόναι. Καίσαρ δὲ ἀναγνὼς τὸ μὲν ἀρχὴν ἄλλην προυτιθέναι γέροντι, καὶ κακῶς πράττοντι τὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὐκ φήθη καλῶς ἔχειν. Δεξιόμενος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἀρέταν . . . τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐβεβαίωσατο. Ant. xvi. 10, 9.

**847.** Though Nicolas Damascenus, whom Josephus follows, magnifies the effects of his diplomacy at Rome, it is evident that Herod, though allowed to proceed, with the sanction of a council, against his sons, was not restored to favour nor his degradation to the rank of a dependent prince recalled. 1. The power over his sons was not that of a sovereign, but by the special permission of Augustus, and extended no further. Αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐφῆναι ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . Περιχαρῆς δὲ καὶ τῷ πάντα ἐξεῖναι κατὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ . . . Τῇ Καίσαρος δόσει τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς ἔχει. Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 1 and 2. 2. The council was to consist, amongst others, of τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἡγεμόνων, Bell. 1, 27, 1; which rather implies that Herod's dominions were regarded as part of the province of Syria. 3. Not only was Arabia not bestowed upon Herod, as had been once intended, but Augustus seems to have appointed a procurator to superintend the imperial interests in Judæa. Bell. i. 29, 3. 4. Syllæus, on his return home again, set Herod at defiance, and plotted against his life. 5. Antipater was sent by Herod to Rome upon the same mission that Nicolas had gone before, i. e. to conciliate Augustus. Περὶ ὧν πρότερον Νικόλαος. Ant. xvii. 3, 2. 6. When the guilt of Antipater was discovered, Herod, though morbidly bent on the death of Antipater, Bell. i. 33, 1, could not put him to death without the leave of Augustus, and was not a little pleased at ob-

taining it. Ἐπαυρόμενος καὶ ἐξουσία τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παυδὶ τιμωρίας. Ant. xvii. 7, 1. 7. Herod could not nominate a successor to his kingdom without the sanction of Augustus.

**847 a.** Coin of Augustus.  
*Augustus Divi F. + Tr. Pot. xvii.*

Eckhel, vi. 111.

#### Inscriptions.

*Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Nero Pontifex consul iterum Imp. iterum, ludos votivos pro reditu Imp. Cæsaris. Divi f. Augusti Pontificis Maximi Jovi Optimo Maximo fecit ex S. C. (Romæ).* Inscriptio ad calcem Suetonii, and Gruter, 11, 1.

*Imp. Cæsari Divi F. Augusto Pont. Max. Imp. xviii. Tribunic. Potestat. xvii. S. P. Q. R. quod ejus ductu auspiciisque Gentes Alpinae omnes quæ a mari supero ad inferum pertinebant sub imperium P. R. reductæ sunt.* Gruter, 226, 7. See Plin. N. H. iii. 24.

*Imp. Cæsari Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Tribunic. Potest. xvii. Ex S. C. Terminos Pomeri restituendos cur. (at Rome).*

Muratori, i. 442.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

#### B.C. 6. U.C. 748. Olymp. 193, 3.

C. ANTISTIVS VEVUS.

D. LÆLIUS BALBUS.

EX Kal. Jul. L. Manilius, Q. Nonius Asprenas Torquatus.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XVIII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. COS. DESIG. XII. PONT. MAX. IMP. XIV.

TIBERII TRIB. POT. I. (see no. 849).

Thirty-second year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**848.** Caius, in his fifteenth year (see B.C. 20, no. 740), is *Consul designatus*, but not to enter upon office until after five years; and the senate decrees his admission to the councils of state so soon as he should assume the toga virilis, and the Equites elect him Princeps Juventutis. The same honours were awarded, three years after, to Lucius in his fifteenth year. *Honoris mei causâ Senatus populusque Romanus annum quintum et decimum agentes (Caium et Lucium) consules designavit, ut eum magistratum inirent post quinquennium. Ex eo die (quo) deducti in (forum ut) interessent consiliis publicis decrevit Senatus. Equites autem Romani universi principem (Juventutis utrumque) hastis argen-*

*teis donatum appellaverunt. Lapis Ancyran ad calcem Suetonii. Genitos Agrippá Caium ac Lucium, in familiam Cæsarum induxerat, necdum positá puerili prætextá, Principes Juventutis appellari, destinari consules, specie recusantis flagrantissime cupiverat.* Tac. Ann. i. 3. And Dion, under the year b.c. 6, refers to other honours now conferred on Caius, as follows. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἱερwsύνην μὲν τινα αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοίτησιν, τό τε συνθεῖσθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἔδωκε. Dion, lv. 9. And in an ancient inscription Caius is designated as Pontifex. *C. Cæsari Augusti F. Pontifici cos. designato Principi Juventutis.* Noris. Cenot. Pis. i. 167. That Caius was not to undertake the duties of the consulship until five years after this, viz. until his twentieth year, appears from Dion. "Υπατον τὸν Γάϊον μὴδὲ ἐς ἐφῆβους τελοῦντα προεχειρίσατο. Καὶ προσεπύρξατο (Augustus) μὴδεμίαν τοιαύτην καρῶν ἀνάγκην, ὅποια ὅτε αὐτὸν κατέλαβε, γενέσθαι, ὥστε τινα νῦν ἄλλοι εἰκοσιετοῦς ὑπατεύσαι. Dion, lv. 9. The twentieth year of Caius would commence in the latter half of b.c. 1, and he was full consul in A. D. 1 (see that year). Dion describes Caius and Lucius, the one in his fifteenth and the other in his twelfth year (see b.c. 17, no. 749), as full of presumption and audacity. Ἰδὼν ὁ Αὐγουστος τὸν τε Γάϊον καὶ Λούκιον αὐτούς τε μὴ πᾶν, οἷα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τρεφομένους, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἴθη ζηλοῦντας, οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἀβρότερον διῆγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθρασύνοντο, etc. Dion, lv. 9.

**849.** Tiberius receives the Tribunitian power for five years next after his own second consulship (b.c. 7). Τῷ δὲ ὑστέρω, ἐν ᾧ Γάϊος τε Ἀντίστιος καὶ Δαίλιος Βάλβος ὑπάτευσαν . . . ὁ Αὐγουστος . . . τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν τε ἐξουσίαν δημαρχικὴν ἐς πέντε ἔτη ἔνειμε, etc. Dion, lv. 9. *Magistratus et maturius inchoavit, et pæne junctim percurrit, quæsturam, præturam, consulatum, interpositoque tempore consul iterum; etiam tribunitiam potestatem in quinquennium accepit.* Suet. Tib. 9 (see A. D. 4, no. 993).

**850.** Tigranes, king of Armenia (see b.c. 20, no. 734, and *infra*, no 852), dies, when a contest arises between another Tigranes, the candidate for the throne in the Parthian interest, and Artavasdes, or Artabazus, the candidate in the Roman interest, and Tiberius is sent to Armenia to settle affairs there; but, instead of going to Armenia, he retires to Rhodes. Ὁ Αὐγουστος . . . τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐς πέντε ἔτη τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀπένειμε καὶ τὴν

Ἀρμενίαν ἀλλοτρίουμένην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιγράνου θάνατον προσεκλήρωσεν . . . ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος τὴν ὄργην αὐτῶν (Caii et Lucii) ἐφοβήθη· διὸ οὐτ' ἐς Ἀρμενίαν ἀπεληλύθει, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥόδον ἀφίκετο. Zonaras, x. 538 D. Τῷ Τιβερίῳ . . . τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀλλοτριουμένην (Augustus) προσῆξε . . . ἀμέλει καὶ ἐς Ῥόδον ὡς καὶ παιδεύσεως τινας δέόμενος ἐστάλη, Dion, lv. 9; and appears to have passed by the way through Parium, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ἰδιωτικῶς ἐποίησατο, πλὴν καθόσον τοὺς Παρίους τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἀγαλμα πωλῆσαι οἱ ἠνάγκασεν. Dion, lv. 9. He remained at Rhodes seven years complete. *Tiberius Nero duobus consulatibus, totidemque triumphis actis, tribunicie potestatis consortione æquatus Augusto . . . morá quâdam et incredibili atque inenarrabili pietate (cujus causæ mox detecta sunt) cum C. Cæsar sumpsisset jam virilem togam, Lucius item maturus esset, veritus ne fulgor suus orientum juvenum obstaret initibus, dissimulatâ causâ consilii sui, commeatum . . . petiit. . . . Septem annos Rhodi moratum.* Vell. Pat. ii. 99. *Rediit octavo post secessum anno.* Suet. Tib. 14.

**851.** Tiberius, at Rhodes, was an auditor of Theodorus of Gadara. *Theodorus Gadareus . . . quem studiose audisse, cum in eam insulam secessisset, dicitur Tiberius Cæsar.* Quint. Instit. iii. 1.

**852.** Artavasdes, or Artabazus, the Roman candidate for the throne of Armenia, appears to have been set at naught by Tigranes, the Parthian candidate. *Dein jussu Augusti impositus Artavasdes, et non sine clade nostrâ dejectus.* Tac. Ann. ii. 4 (see *ante*, no. 850; A. D. 1, no. 975).

**853.** The birth of John the Baptist, about 22 February, being nine months from the conception, about 22 May, b.c. 7 (see that year, no. 836). Zacharias prophecies that the child should be called the Prophet of the Highest (the Messiah), who should save Israel 'from the hand of all that hated them.' Luke, i. 76, 71; and the hill-country of Judæa is now in expectation of the coming Saviour, Luke, i. 65.

**854.** Syllæus, who had returned from Rome to Arabia, makes favour with Fabatus, the procurator of Augustus, πείσας δὲ πολλοῖς χρήμασι Φαβάτον, τοῦ Καίσαρος διοικητὴν, ἐχρήτο βοηθῶ καὶ καθ' Ἡρώδον, Jos. Bell. i. 29, 3; and communicates to Fabatus a plot which Syllæus had concerted against the life of Herod, Συλλαίου πρὸς αὐτὸν (Fabatus) εἰρηκότος, Ant. xvii. 3, 2; but Herod wins over Fabatus to



his own side, and Fabatus, at his instance, requires Syllæus to give effect to Augustus's award. These occurrences respecting Fabatus were therefore certainly after, and not long after, the return of Syllæus from Rome. Πλείονα δὲ δοὺς Ἡρώδης ἀπίστησέν τε ἀπὸ Συλλαίου Φαβάτον, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Καίσαρος εἰσέπραττεν. Bell. i. 29, 3.

**855.** Syllæus accuses Fabatus to Cæsar, and Fabatus, in revenge, discloses to Herod the plot of Syllæus against him. Ὁ δὲ (Syllæus) . . . κατηγορεῖ Φαβάτον πρὸς Καίσαρα . . . ἐφ' οἷς ὀργισθεὶς Φαβάτος, ἦν δὲ ἐτι παρ' Ἡρώδῃ μάλιστα τιμώμενος, γίνεται προδότης Συλλαίου τῶν ἀπορρήτων. Jos. Bell. i. 29, 3. Μαθὼν οὖν Φαβάτος, Συλλαίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρηκότος, διηγεῖται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. Ant. xvii. 3, 2. And Corinthus, one of Herod's body guard, and some others are arrested as conspirators against the life of Herod, and are sent to Rome by Saturninus. This, therefore, was at least before 2 September, when Saturninus was out of office, and probably early in this year (see *post*, no. 873). Καὶ Σατουρνίνος, δηλώσας αὐτῷ πάντων ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου γενομένης, εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς. Ant. xvii. 3, 2. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀνακριθέντες καὶ παρὰ Σατουρνίνῳ τῷ διέποντι τὴν Συρίαν, ἀνεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ῥώμην. Bell. i. 29, 3. If Syllæus's accusation of Fabatus to Cæsar was made by an embassy to Rome, and Fabatus, in revenge for the intelligence brought back from Rome, informed Herod of Syllæus's designs, some interval must have elapsed, but the first half of the year would be sufficient. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that Syllæus sent to Rome, and that intelligence of Syllæus's accusation there had come from thence to Fabatus, for the wrath of Fabatus may have been excited by hearing, as he naturally would, that Syllæus was sending, or had sent, an embassy to Rome to accuse him. This conspiracy of Corinthus against the life of Herod was the first of several conspiracies this year (see *infra*, nos. 862, 884), and which, with domestic troubles and the displeasure of Augustus, seem at last to have driven Herod almost to distraction.

**856.** Syllæus, in revenge for this breach of confidence by Fabatus, causes him to be assassinated, either this year or the next, Jos. Ant. xvii. 3, 2; and the death of Fabatus, as he was one of Cæsar's officers, may have led to the execution of Syllæus himself subsequently at Rome (see *supra*, no. 845).

**857.** Herod, on receiving Augustus's permission to proceed, with the assistance of a council, against his sons, immediately assembles a conclave of 150 persons (including Saturninus and his three legates, who were his three sons, and Volumnius, the Procurator) for the trial of Alexander and Aristobulus. Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 2; Bell. i. 27, 2. As this was in the time of Saturninus, it was at least before 2 September of this year, and, indeed, it may be safely placed in the early part of the year (say in March). Herod did not summon Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, as suggested by Augustus (there not being time for it), but drew the assessors from the neighbouring cities. Διέπεμψεν οὖν, οὓς ἐδόκει, καλεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, Ἀρχελαίου χωρὶς. . . . Γενομένων δὲ ἐν Βηρυτῶ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐκάλεσε, μετ' ἐκείνων οἱ Σατουρνίνου παῖδες· εἶποντο γὰρ αὐτῷ τρεῖς ὄντες πρεσβευταί· τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀπεφάναντο. Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 1, 2 and 3. Προκαθίζονται δὲ οἱ ἡγεμόνες (γραφῆν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος), Σατουρνίνος τε καὶ οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρέσβεις, σὺν οἷς Οὐολούμνιος ὁ ἐπίτροπος· ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι, Σαλώμη τε, καὶ Φερώρας, μεθ' οὓς οἱ πάσης Συρίας ἄριστοι, πλὴν Ἀρχελαίου τοῦ βασιλέως. Bell. i. 27, 2. The official persons described as οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρέσβεις (not πρεσβευταί) were, it may be surmised, the delegates sent by Augustus to execute the census of Herod's dominions (see v. c. 7, no. 835). However, they were possibly the legates, viz. Pedanius and the two sons of Saturninus, for though in the Antiquities his three sons are said to have been the three legates, yet in the Wars Josephus speaks of the two legates as concurring with Saturninus, σύμψηφοι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ δύο πρεσβευταί, Bell. i. 27, 3; so that Pedanius may have been the third legate, who dissented. This, however, would contradict the Antiquities, whereas, supposing Pedanius to be the commissioner for making the census, the Antiquities and the Wars are reconciled.

**858.** Alexander and Aristobulus are condemned by the council, and Herod carries them to Tyre. Ὁ δὲ (Herod) σύρας τοὺς νιεῖς εἰς Τύρον, κάκειθεν διαπλεύσας εἰς Καισάρειαν, τρόπον ἀναφέσεως τοῖς μειρακίους ἐσκέπετο. Jos. Bell. i. 27, 3.

**859.** At Tyre Herod falls in with Nicolas Damascus, who had then only just returned

from Rome. *Κἀκεῖθεν μὲν* (from Berytus) *εὐθύς Ἡρώδης ἤκεν ἄγων αὐτοὺς εἰς Τύρον, καὶ τοῦ γε Νικολάου πλεύσαντος ὡς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, ἐπυθάνετο προδιηγησάμενος τὰ ἐν Βηρυτῷ, ἥτινα ἔχει γνώμην περὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ αὐτοῦ φίλοι.* Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 3. Πρὶν δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Ῥώμης Νικόλαον, ἐν συνεδρίῳ καταδικάσθησαν οἱ νεανίσκοι, καὶ παρωξυσμένοι ὁ πατὴρ ἔμελλεν αὐτοὺς ἀναρῆσειν· καταπλεύσαντι δὲ Νικολάφω περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπήγγειλε, καὶ σύμβουλον ἐποιεῖτο. Nicol. Damasc. Müller's Fragn. Græc. Hist. iii. 351. As Olympius and Volumnius had been heard at Rome, on the subject of Herod's sons, after the hearing of Nicolas Damascenus, and yet Nicolas did not reach Syria until after the condemnation of Alexander and Aristobulus, who were tried in pursuance of the powers given to Herod from the success of Olympius and Volumnius, it would seem that Nicolas Damascenus did not quit Rome until some time after the hearing of his embassy, and perhaps remained at Rome until after winter. It is evident that the trial of Herod's sons must have taken place immediately after the receipt of the Imperial rescript authorising it, or Nicolas would have returned before it was over.

**860.** Herod and Nicolas sail together from Tyre to Cæsarea. *Κἀκείνιον* (Nicolaum) *ἐκέλευσε* (Herodes) *συμπλεῖν αὐτῷ.* Ὡς δὲ ἤκεν εἰς Κασάρειαν, etc. Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 3, 4.

**861.** The condemnation of Alexander and Aristobulus excites the hatred of the whole nation, *ἐδυσχέραον*, Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 4; and in particular of the army, *ἥ τε στρατιὰ πᾶσα*, καὶ ταύτης οἱ πρωτεύοντες ἔλεον μὲν τῶν ἀτυχούντων, μῖσος δὲ τῶν ταῦτα διαπραττομένων ἐσχήκασιν. Ant. xvi. 11, 5; Bell. i. 27, 4.

**862.** Teron, an old soldier, expostulates with Herod on his cruelty, when Teron, and his son, and Tryphon, the king's barber, are put to the rack, and no less than 300 officers are arrested as disaffected, and brought to trial; and the whole 300, with Teron, and his son, and Tryphon, are stoned to death. *Προαγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τριακοσίους τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενομένους, etc.* Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 6. This was the second actual or supposed conspiracy this year against the life of Herod (see *ante*, no. 855).

**863.** Alexander and Aristobulus are at the same time sent to Sebaste (Samaria), where

they are strangled. Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 7; Bell. i. 27, 6. Their death followed not long after the condemnation. *Τὸ δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι ταχὺ, καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ νικῶντος αὐτὸν πάθους, ἀσεβείας τεκμήριον ἀνυποτιμήτου.* Ant. xvi. 11, 8. Καὶ ὅς (Herod) *δείσας περὶ αὐτοῦ, θάττον ἢ κάλλιον ἐβουλεύσατο, οὐδὲν ἔτι μεταδούς Νικολάφω, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ τοὺς ἀναρῆσοντας ὑποπέμψας.* Nicol. Damasc. Müller's Fragn. Græc. Hist. iii. 352. This event may be placed in April of this year.

**864.** Glaphyra, the widow of Alexander, is sent back, with her dowry, to her father Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. *Τὴν μὲν οὖν Γλαφύραν Ἡρώδης μετὰ τῆς προικὸς ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, ὡς ἀνεῖλεν Ἀλέξανδρον.* Jos. Bell. i. 28, 1; Ant. xvii. 1, 1.

**865.** Antipater, the son of Herod by Doris, who had contrived the death of the sons of Mariamne, is now looked upon as Herod's certain successor, and plays the part of a king. Ὡς ἂν ἦδη βασιλεὶ βεβαίῳ, Jos. Bell. i. 29, 1; βασιλείας ἐλπῖς; Ἄλλ' ἐβασίλευον, Bell. i. 32, 3; συνήρχε τε τῷ πατρὶ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ βασιλεὺς ὢν, Ant. xvii. 1, 1. Antipater, being detested by the nation, tries to conciliate all within his reach by largesses, and makes presents (amongst others) to Saturninus. *Τοὺς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης φίλους πομπαῖς μεγάλων δωρεῶν εὖνους καθιστάμενος, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Σατουρνίνιον τὸν τῆς Συρίας ἐπιμελητὴν· ὑποδέξασθαι δὲ ἦν ἐλπῖς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Σατουρνίνιον ἀδελφὸν μεγέθει δώρων, ἃ εἶδον.* Ant. xvii. 1, 1. Οἱ γε μὴν περὶ Σατουρνίνιον ἐν Συρίᾳ πάντες ἐπλήσθησαν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν. Bell. i. 28, 1. Ἐχθρον δὲ ἤγειτο Ἀντίπατρος Νικόλαον, ἀνελεν τοὺς ἀδελφούς. ἐμισεῖτο γε μὴν δεινὸν τι μῖσος, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῶν πέραν οἰκούντων. Ἐχῶρει δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἦν, οὔτε μέγας οὔτε μικρὸς, ὅς οὐκ ἐμίσει τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Nicol. Damasc. Müll. Fragn. Hist. Græc. iii. 352. These largesses followed immediately after the death of Alexander and Aristobulus, and would therefore be in the time of Saturninus, who was displaced by Varus some time before 2 September of this year.

**866.** Herod at first betrothes the children of Alexander and Aristobulus with a due regard to their welfare, but afterwards is induced by Antipater to betroth them to others, in conformity with Antipater's wishes. Jos. Ant. xvii. 1, 2; Bell. i. 28, 2.



**867.** The census of Herod's dominions (see B.C. 7, no. 835) commences about the end of July of this year (see *post*, no. 868); and as Herod was now a subject of Rome, the people are required to take the preliminary oath of allegiance to *Cæsar* and Herod. A census commonly led to disturbances (see Liv. Epitom. lib. 137; Tacit. Ann. vi. 41), and on this occasion 6,000 Pharisees refuse to take the oath, and are fined; and the wife of Pheroras, the brother of Herod, pays the fine for them. Lardner observes that there must have been an enrolment, or the exact number of 6,000 Pharisees could not have been known. Καὶ ἦν γὰρ μόνον τι Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπ' ἀκριβῶσει μέγα φρονούν τῷ πατριῶν νόμου, οἷς, χαίρειν τὸ θεῖον προσποιουμένων, ὑπέκτο ἡ γυναικίτις. Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῦσι δὲ ἀμενοὶ μάλιστα ἀτιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς, κᾶκ τοῦ προὔπτου εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπὴρμένοι. Πάντος γοῦν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βεβαίωσαντος δὲ ὄρκων ἡ μὴν εὐνοῖα καὶ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς βασιλέωσι, πρὸ γαμοσσι, οἷδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ὤμοσαν, ὄντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι. Καὶ αὐτοὺς βασιλέως ζημῶσαντος χρέμασιν, ἡ Φερώρα γυνὴ τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰσφέρει. Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 4. On a former occasion, when Herod's violations of the law had excited discontent, the population had been compelled, under heavy penalties, to swear allegiance to Herod; and then, as now, the Pharisees—viz. Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, and their disciples—had refused to take the oath; but there was no reference at that time to any allegiance to *Cæsar*. Τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ὄρκους ἤξιον πρὸς τὴν πίστιν ὑπάγεσθαι, καὶ συνηγαζέειν αὐτῶν ἐν ὄμοτον τὴν εὐνοίαν ἡ μὴν διαφυλάξειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμολογεῖν . . . συνέπειθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Πολλίωνα τὸν Φαρισαῖον καὶ Σαμέαν, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις συνδιατριβόντων τοὺς πλείστους ὁμνύειν, οἱ δὲ οὔτε συνεχώρησαν, etc. Ant. xv. 10, 4. The antipathy of the Pharisees to the oath of fealty was now increased by their expectations of the Messiah.

**868.** A census of the Jewish nation would be regulated by their tribes; and accordingly, Joseph of Nazareth, and Mary his wife, being of the house or lineage of David, go up to Bethlehem, the city of David, to be enrolled there. Luke, ii. 4. As a census by tribes was essentially Jewish, it would seem that the enrolment on this occasion was not cosmopolitan but local.

**869. THE NATIVITY, OR BIRTH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST** at Bethlehem, about 1 August. It could not have been, as commonly supposed, in the winter, for several reasons: 1. The shepherds and their flocks would not be in the open air during a winter's night. According to the Talmud, cattle in Judæa were usually turned out at the Passover, and brought back in October. Anger, 12. 2. Mary, in a state of advanced pregnancy, would not have travelled with Joseph so far as from Nazareth to Bethlehem in the winter. 3. It is highly improbable that a census, which obliged persons to take distant journeys, should have been fixed for a winter month. A more natural time would be after harvest, i. e. in August.

The date of 1 August has been fixed upon for the Nativity with reference to the birth of John the Baptist. As the course of Abia went out of office on 22 May, B.C. 6 (see that year, no. 836), at which time was the conception of Elizabeth, the birth of John would be nine months after, or about 22 February, B.C. 6. The conception of the Virgin Mary was in the sixth month current after that of Elizabeth, Luke, i. 26; and therefore the Nativity would be in the sixth month current after the birth of John, or about 1 August, B.C. 6.

The Nativity was before 2 September of this year, for it was at the time of the census, and the census was in the time of Saturninus, who was displaced by Varus before 2 September, B.C. 6 (see *post*, no. 873). *Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæâ per festum Saturninum apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent.* Tertull. adv. Marcion. iv. 19.

**870.** Luke refers to this census as follows: Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου ἀπογραφῆσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. Luke, ii. 1. The word πρώτη has given rise to various conjectures; but read in the sense of προτέρα, i. e. before Cyrenius was governor of Syria (as in John, i. 15, 30; xv. 18; 2 Sam. xix. 43; Aristoph. Aves, v. 484; Dion. Hal. iv. 3; Ælian, H. A. viii. 12; πρώτη δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐτελεύτησε, Suidas sub nom. Πλακίλλα, etc.), it presents no difficulty. Luke could not have confounded the census at the birth of Our Saviour with the census of Cyrenius, A.D. 6, for the latter was well known to Luke. Acts, v. 37. And if πρώτη be



rendered 'first' census, it implies a second, viz. the census of A.D. 6, from which the first census was therefore distinguished. Besides, the census of Cyrenius, in A.D. 6, did not include Galilee, in which was Nazareth, but only Judæa and Samaria, the dominions of Archelaus.

Another interpretation of the passage in Luke is this. Assuming that there was only one census (viz. in A.D. 6), there may still have been two enrolments, or *ἀπογραφαί*: 1. One in B.C. 6, which was ordered by Augustus when he took offence at Herod's proceedings (see B.C. 7, no. 835), but which was suspended on the reconciliation, or partial reconciliation, of Augustus to Herod (see B.C. 7, no. 846); and, 2. A second enrolment, or rather a continuation of the first, on the banishment of Archelaus, in A.D. 6, when the enrolment begun in the time of Herod was completed, and the census or taxation of the people was made up. In this view, the statement of Luke would be correct, that 'this first ἀπογραφή came to pass, or took effect (*ἐγένετο*), when Cyrenius was governor of Syria,' viz. in A.D. 6.

Another explanation of the passage, which can neither be proved nor disproved, is that the first census, at the birth of Our Lord, was confided to the care of Cyrenius, as a special commissioner appointed for the purpose; so that the passage in Luke should be rendered, 'This was the first census of Cyrenius, so well known as governor of Syria,' as opposed to the second census, also conducted by him, in A.D. 6. Another solution still will be found under B.C. 4, no. 955.

**871.** It is a common opinion that this census in Judæa, at the birth of Our Lord, was part only of a general census throughout the whole Roman empire, and it may be proper, therefore, to subjoin the passages which may be cited in support of this view.

Suetonius first of all records the three censuses of *Roman citizens* in the time of Augustus, Suet. Octav. 27; and after this he writes, *Romani Populi recensum vicatim egit*, Octav. 40; and Suetonius elsewhere uses the expression *Populus Romanus* for the whole Roman empire. Suet. Octav. 94. As to the word *vicatim*, see Suet. Octav. 43.

Again, we read in Dion, 'Ἐν ᾧ οὖν ἐκείνα ἐγράφητο (B.C. 11) Αὐγουστος ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποιήσατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα οἱ καθάπερ τις ιδιώτης ἀπογραψάμενος καὶ τὴν βουλήν κατε-

λέξατο, Dion, liv. 35; and these words may be applied to a general census. See observations upon the passage under B.C. 11, no. 796.

Again, Suidas states that Αὐγουστος Καῖσαρ, δόξαν αὐτῷ, πάντας τοὺς οἰκητορας (τῆς) Ῥωμαίων κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀριθμεῖ, βουλόμενος γινῶναι πόσον ἐστὶ πλῆθος· καὶ εὑρίσκονται οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων οἰκοῦντες υἱ. μυριάδες καὶ γίλιοι ιζ' ἄνδρες (4,101,017). Suidas, Αὐγουστος Καῖσαρ, Kuster's Ed. And this description may be applied to a general census of the Roman Empire, οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων οἰκοῦντες, and not of Rome only. The census of Luke was from a δόγμα of the Emperor; and here also it is issued by Augustus in like manner, δόξαν αὐτῷ, and not in the exercise of the office of censor. The numbers in Suidas may have crept in by the mistake of the transcriber, who supposed it to represent the population of Rome; and Greswell proposes to read δ μυριάδες, or forty millions, instead of four millions, as δι (that is, δ with the ι ascript, instead of δ̄ with the ι subscript) might easily have glided into υι. It will be observed that the numbers given are of ἄνδρες, or adult males only.

The testimony of Malala is as follows: Τῷ δὲ λθ' ἔτει, καὶ μηνὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ (thirty-ninth year and tenth month), τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ἐθέσπισεν ἐκφωνήσας δόγμα, ὥστε ἀπογραφῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην γῆν, καὶ ἦν πρόην εἶχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας Ἀγρίππου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Δονάτου, καὶ ἀπέγραφη πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίουσ γῆ, διὰ Εὐμένους καὶ Ἀττάλου συγκλητικῶν Ῥωμαίων. Malal. Chronog. lib. 9. Malala apparently dates the reign of Augustus from his first consulship, B.C. 43 (see Fasti Hellen. A.D. 14), for he assigns fifty-six years to this reign. Καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ αὐτὸς Αὐγουστος τὰ πάντα ἔτη νσ'. Lib. 9. And he places 25 December, B.C. 2, in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, and in the fourth month of the year. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μβ' ἔτει καὶ μηνὶ τῷ δ' τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ . . . τῇ πρὸ ἧ Καλενδῶν Ἰουναρίου, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κέ . . . ὑπατεύοντος δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὀκραβιανοῦ καὶ Σιλουανοῦ (B.C. 2). Malala, lib. 10. The thirty-ninth year of Augustus, and the tenth month, to which the census is referred by Malala, would therefore answer to June, B.C. 4. But as to the consulship of Agrippa II. and Donatus, there is some mistake.

The following extracts have also been cited,



as suggesting a general census. *Augusti siquidem temporibus orbis Romanus agris divisus censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvendâ.* Cassiodor. Var. 3, 52. *Huic addendæ sunt mensuræ limitum et terminorum ex libris Augusti et Neronis Cæsarium; sed et Balbi mensoris, qui temporibus Augusti omnium Provinciarum et civitatum formas et mensuras compertas in commentarios retulit, et legem agrariam per universitatem (al. diversitates) provinciarum distinxit ac declaravit.* Frontin. de Coloniis. Rei Agrar. Auctor. Ed. Goes. 109. (Augustus) *omnem terram suis temporibus fecit remensurari.* Ex Libro Balbi, 143. Cited Wieseler's Chronol. Synop. 81 (see v.c. 44, no. 343). Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀύγουστος ὁ μοιραρχήσας, εἴκοσιν ἄνδρας, τοὺς ἀρίστους τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιλεξάμενος, ἐπὶ πάντων τὴν γῆν τῶν ὑπικόνων ἐξέπεμψε, δι' ὧν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποίησατο τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐσιῶν, αὐτάρκη τινὰ προστάξας τῷ δημοσίῳ μῦθραν ἐκ τούτων εἰσφέρεισθαι. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τοῖς κεκτημένοις τι μὴ ἀφαιρουμένων, ὡς εἶναι τοῖς ἐντόροις δημόσιον ἔγκλημα τὸν πλοῦτον. Suidas, Ἀπογραφὴ (see further, v.c. 11, no. 796).

It is certain that Augustus kept a *rationarium*, Suet. Octav. 28; or *breviarium totius imperii*, Suet. Octav. 101; which, on his death, was produced and read in the Senate, Suet. Octav. 101; and in which *opes publicæ continebantur: quantum civium sociorumque in armis; quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa, aut vectigalia, et necessitudines ac largitiones, quæ cuncta suâ manu præscripserat Augustus*, Suet. Octav. 101; and all other things necessary to be known for the purposes of government, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν φέροντα ἦν, Dion, lvi. 33; and see Dion, liii. 30; and amongst these statistics the populations of the different provinces would naturally be included. How else could the number of persons capable of bearing arms have been ascertained? Strabo writes that Jamnia and its dependencies could arm 40,000, ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κώμης Ἰαμνείας καὶ τῶν κατοικιῶν τῶν κύκλῳ τέτταρας μυριάδας ὀπλιζέσθαι, Strabo, xvi. 2; and yet Jamnia was no part of the dominions of Archelaus, when Cyrenius was sent, in A.D. 6, to take an inventory of his possessions; so that the population of Jamnia and its vicinity must have been enrolled on some other occasion.

A census of Roman citizens had been made by Augustus in v.c. 8 (see that year, no. 828), and a census of the Roman empire generally a year or two after is highly probable in itself.

**872.** The Child of the Virgin Mary is circumcised the eighth day, by the name of Jesus. Ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν ἡμέραι ὀκτώ. Luke, ii. 21.

**873.** Saturninus is superseded as prefect of Syria by P. Quinctilius Varus (see v.c. 9, no. 817; v.c. 4, no. 955). This was sometime before 2 September, v.c. 6, for Varus before that day was in office, and money had been struck in his name, which was probably done on his assumption of the government. There are three coins of Antioch with the inscription *Αντωχεων επι Ουαρον*, with the respective dates EK, and 5 K, and ZK, i.e. 25, 26, and 27, viz. of the Actian era, commencing from 2 September, v.c. 31. The twenty-fifth year would be current from 2 September, v.c. 7, to 2 September, v.c. 6, and the coin with the date of EK must therefore have been struck in the course of that year, and so sometime before 2 September, v.c. 6. See Eckhel, iii. 275. The arrival of a new prefect in the East was usually at or after midsummer. Cicero entered on his office as prefect of Cilicia on 31 July (see v.c. 51, no. 198). Bibulus arrived in Syria the latter end of August (see v.c. 51, no. 204). It was at midsummer that Festus succeeded Felix as procurator of Judæa (see A.D. 60, no. 1893). There was no fixed rule as to the Imperial Provinces, which were governed by the Emperor's pleasure.

P. Quinctilius Varus had been consul in v.c. 13, which from that time qualified him for the office of consular prefect of Syria. He derives his principal notoriety from the loss of his legions in Gaul, and is thus pointedly described by Velleius: *Varus Quinctilius, nobili magis quam illustri ortus familiâ, vir ingenio mitis, moribus quietus, ut corpore ita animo immobilior, otio magis camporum quam bellicæ assuetus militiæ. Pecuniæ vero quam non contemptor, Syria, cui præfuerat, declaravit, quam pauper divitem ingressus, dives pauperem reliquit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 117.

**874.** Herod, about this time, and apparently after the arrival of Varus, settles Zamaris, a Jew from Babylonia, at Bathyra, in Batanæa (lying between Herod's dominions and Trachonitis), in order to keep down the marauders from Trachonitis. This is related by Josephus



after the marriage contracts of the children of Alexander and Aristobulus (see *supra*, no 866), and before the trial of Pheroras's wife (see *infra*, no. 887). 'Επιστάμενος ἄνδρα Ἰουδαῖον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας . . . ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ τῆς Συρίας διατιπᾶσθαι, Σατουρνήνον τοῦ τότε στρατηγούντος εἰς ἐνοίκησιν αὐτῷ δεδωκότος χωρίον· Οὐαλαθὰ ὄνομα αὐτῷ· μετεπέμπετο τοῦτον. Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 1. The words τοῦ τότε στρατηγούντος show that while Saturninus was prefect when Zamaris first arrived from Babylon, he was not prefect when Herod sent for Zamaris from Ulaitha. The settlement of Zamaris at Bathyra was therefore when Varus was in office.

**875.** Antipater, having failed to conciliate good will by largesses, proceeds to secure his ends by a system of terror. 'Εκ τοῦ φοβερός εἶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπορίζετο. Jos. Bell. i. 29, 1; Ant. xvii. 2, 4. This is related after the settlement of Zamaris. 'Ηρώδου δ' ἐν οἷς εἶπον (the settlement of Zamaris) ὄντος, ἀφέωρα τὰ πάντα πράγματα εἰς Ἀντίπατρον, etc. Ant. xvii. 2, 4. The change of Antipater's tactics from bribery to terror may have commenced when Saturninus was succeeded by Varus.

**876.** Antipater and Pheroras, with four women,—viz. Doris the mother of Antipater, and the wife of Pheroras, and her sister and mother—form a cabal together against Herod, and hold secret meetings. Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 6; Bell. i. 29, 1. Salome is a spy upon their proceedings and reports all to Herod, who pauses from a suspicion of her veracity. Εἰς δὲ τὸ θαρσεῖν οὐ διακειμένον, ὕπονοιῶν καθισταμένων διαβολαῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς. Ant. xvii. 2, 4; Bell. i. 29, 1.

**877.** The Purification of Mary in the Temple according to the law. Luke ii. 22. The time fixed for the Purification by the law was thirty-three days after the circumcision, or the fortieth day from the birth. It would, therefore, be in September of this year. Levit. xii. 4. Symeon, the Pharisee (supposed to be the son of Hillel, and the father of Gamaliel), who had been waiting for the consolation of Israel, testifies that the child Jesus was the Messiah. Luke ii. 25, 30. Luke adds, Καὶ ὡς ἐτέλεσαν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Κυρίου, ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν Ναζαρέτ. Luke ii. 39. But this passage of Luke cannot mean that there was no interval between the Purification in the Temple and the return to Galilee, for there occurred in the meantime the Flight into Egypt, related by Matthew ii. 14. The

Holy Family, after the Purification, return to Bethlehem, where they appear to have occupied a house. Τὴν οἰκίαν, etc. Matt. ii. 11.

**878.** About 1 October the Magi come from the East to Jerusalem to inquire after the new-born King. Matt. ii. 1. These Magi or Chaldee astrologers were either Jews or conversant with the Jews of Babylonia, and the rumours of the coming Messiah, occasioned by the vision of Zacharias in the preceding year, and the birth of John the Baptist in the present year, had spread from Jerusalem to the Jews of the East, and thus led the Magi to watch the heavens. It has been found by calculation that on 1 October, and again on 5 December, B.C. 7, and therefore after the time when the rumours of the coming Messiah must have reached the East, occurred a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, presenting the appearance of a single star, and this in the Sign of Pisces, the dominant Sign of the Jews. Wieseler's Chron. p. 65. 'A conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces,' writes an old Rabbi, 'is the signal of Messiah's coming.' Ideler's Handb. ii. 405. In the spring of B.C. 6, the planet Mars also became an adjunct. Wieseler's Chron. 64. It is remarkable that in A.D. 1604 was a like conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, followed, in 1605, by the addition of Mars; and a few months after, in the same year, a new star of great brilliancy appeared, which lasted for about eighteen months, and then vanished. Wieseler, 63, and see 68. It is not unlikely that, after the conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, in B.C. 6, and at end of May or beginning of June, a similar new and extraordinary star may have appeared, and that the Magi then set off upon their road to Jerusalem, where, as it was a four months' journey (Greswell Dissert. ii. 141), they would arrive about 1 October, B.C. 6.

**879.** On the inquiry by the Magi for the new-born King, Herod is alarmed, and all Jerusalem is in commotion. 'Ακούσας δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐταράχθη καὶ πᾶσα Ἱεροσόλυμα μετ' αὐτοῦ. Matt. ii. 3.

**880.** Herod calls a council of the chief priests and scribes to say where the Messiah was born, and they answer in Bethlehem. Matt. ii. 4. These chief priests and scribes were no doubt the Pharisees referred to by Josephus as priding themselves on a knowledge of the Scriptures, ἐπ' ἀκριβῶσει μέγα φρονοῦν τοῦ πατρίου νόμου, Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 4; and laying claim to prophetic



inspiration, *πρόγνωσιν δὲ ἐπεπιστεύοντο ἐπιφοιτήσῃ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Ib.

**881.** The Magi are sent by Herod in search of the Messiah to Bethlehem, the place pointed out by the chief priests and scribes; and at Bethlehem the Magi present their offerings to the infant Jesus, and then return home without making any report to Herod. Matt. ii. 9.

**882.** Joseph and Mary flee into Egypt, the nearest country beyond the dominions of Herod, and the common refuge in the time of danger, and remain there until the death of Herod. Matt. ii. 13.

**883.** The Pharisees of Jerusalem are busy in spreading the report that the Messiah was born, and that the family of Herod was about to become extinct (a conclusion prompted by the death of his two sons a few months before); and (as the wife of Pheroras had paid the fine for them) they give out that the kingdom would pass from Herod to Pheroras, his wife and children. *Οἱ δὲ (the Pharisees) ἀμειβόμενοι τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῆς (πρόγνωσιν δὲ ἐπεπιστεύοντο ἐπιφοιτήσῃ τοῦ θεοῦ) προὔλεγον, ὡς Ἡρώδῃ μὲν καταπαύσεως ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐψηφισμένης, αὐτῷ τε, καὶ γένει τῷ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε βασιλείας εἰς τε ἐκείνην περιηζούσης καὶ Φερώραν παιδᾶς τε οἱ εἶεν αὐτοῖς*. Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 4.

This movement touching the Messiah is ascribed by Josephus to the Pharisees exclusively, and tallies with the facts stated in the New Testament, that Symeon the Pharisee prophesied of the Messiah, and that those who afterwards went to inquire into John the Baptist's pretensions to the Messiahship were also Pharisees. John. i. 24. \*The present stir was evidently connected with the Messiah, for 'The King that was to rise up according to the prophecy was to have all things in his power;' that is, was to be a divine person. *Κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πάντα εἶναι*. Ant. xvii. 2, 4.

**884.** The belief of the coming Messiah and of the downfall of Herod's dynasty gains ground and insinuates itself into the palace, and Bagoas, one of Herod's eunuchs, and Carus, his *παιδικᾶ*, take part with the Pharisees; but Herod, through Salome, is informed of what is going on, and puts the leading Pharisees to death, with all their adherents, including Bagoas and Carus. This was the third actual or supposed conspiracy this year against the life of Herod (see *ante*, nos. 855, 862). *Καὶ τὰδε (οὐ γὰρ*

*ἐλάνθανεν Σαλώμῃ) ἐξαγγελτὰ βασιλεῖ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν διαφθείροίεν τινας. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν τε Φαρισαίων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους ἀναίρει, καὶ Βαγῶαν τὸν εὐνοῦχον, Καρόν τε τινὰ τῶν τότε προύχοντα ἀρετῇ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς, καὶ παιδικᾶ ὄντα αὐτοῦ. Κτείνει δὲ καὶ πᾶν, ὅ,τι τοῦ οἰκείου συνειστήκει οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἔλεγεν. Ἦρτο δὲ ὁ Βαγῶας ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς πατὴρ τε καὶ ἐνεργέτης ὀνομασθησόμενος τοῦ ἐπικατασταθησομένου προῤῥήσει βασιλέως· κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πάντα εἶναι· παρέξοντος αὐτῷ γάμου τε ἰσχὺν καὶ παιδῶσεως τέκνων γνησίων*. Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 4. This outrage against the Pharisees was not *immediately* after the fine of the Pharisees for refusing the oath of fealty at the census, for in the trial of Pheroras's wife the two events are treated as distinct. Herod charges against her, *τὴν τε διάλυσιν τῆς ζημίας τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβληθείσης τέλει διαφενχθῆναι τοῖς ἐκείνης, τῶν τε νῦν πεπραγμένων* (the stir about the Messiah, with the downfall of Herod's dynasty) *οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ μετ' αὐτῆς*. Ant. xvii. 3, 1.

**885.** At the same time with the punishment of the Pharisees, and in consequence of the same jealous alarm on finding that he had been mocked by the Magi, Herod orders a massacre of all the children of Bethlehem. *Ἀπὸ διετούς καὶ κατωτέρω*. Matt. ii. 16. This may mean either the children who had entered upon the second year, so as to comprise those only of one full year, or it may mean the children who had completed the second year, so as to extend to all those who were two years old or under. The age was limited with reference to the appearance of the star, *κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἠκρίβωσε παρὰ τῶν μάγων*, Matt. ii. 16; and if all the children that were two years old be intended, we may suppose that Herod had regard to the first conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in May B.C. 7, and extended the order to six months previously to make sure of his victim. If the children only that were one year old be meant, the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn on 16 October, B. C. 7, was one year before. All the children born subsequently were included, as the new and extraordinary star was still visible in the heavens.

**886.** In the heathen writer Macrobius is the singular statement: *Cum audisset (Augustus) inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes rex Judæorum infra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait, Melius est Herodis porcum (ἔνν)*

*esse quam filium (vión)* (Macrob. Saturn. ii. 4), 'Better be Herod's swine than Herod's son.' The *infra bimatum* answers exactly to the ἀπὸ διετούς καὶ κατωτέρω of Matthew. Some think that Augustus here refers to Alexander and Aristobulus, who had been put to death in the spring of this year; and certainly that event made a great sensation at Rome, Nicol. Damasc. Müller's Fragm. Græc. Hist. iii. 352; but the word is *filium*, not *filios*. Others think that reference is made to Antipater, who was put to death in B.C. 4. But the anecdote implies that Herod was still living, whereas Herod survived Antipater five days only, so that at the time of that saying Herod must have been dead. It is not unlikely that the anecdote arose from the death of Carus, who was put to death by Herod at this very time, and was the παιδικὰ of Herod, Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 4; and that common rumour exaggerated the παιδικὰ into the παῖδα of Herod. Josephus, in his account of the proceedings against the Pharisees, adds, κτείνει δὲ (Herodes) καὶ πᾶν ὅτι τοῦ οἰκεῖου συνειστέκει, οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἔλεγεν. Ant. xvii. 2, 4. And the τὸ οἰκεῖον (his own household) may have included a son of Herod. The population of Bethlehem may have been about 2,000; and if so, the births in two years would not be many, and one half only would be males. According to the average in England the births of males for one year would be about thirty, and for two years about sixty.

**887.** A little time (say two or three weeks) after the punishment of the Pharisees occurs the trial of Pheroras's wife; for Ἡρώδης δὲ κολάσας τῶν Φαρισαίων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἔληλεγμένους, συνεδρίον τε ποιῆται τῶν φίλων, καὶ κατηγορίαν τῆς Φερώρον γυναικός, etc. Jos. Ant. xvii. 3, 1. One of the charges against Pheroras's wife was the late payment of the fine by her on behalf of the Pharisees. Τὴν τε διάλυσιν τῆς ζημίας τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβληθείσης. Ant. xvii. 3, 1. Ὅτι τε Φαρισαῖοις μὲν χορηγήσειε μισθοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ. Bell. i. 29, 2.

**888.** Antipater, to avoid suspicion at home, writes to his friends at Rome to procure a letter from Augustus summoning Antipater to the capital. Γράφει (Antipater) πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ φίλους, κελύων ἐπιστέλλειν Ἡρώδη, πέμπειν, ἢ τάχος, Ἀντίπατρον ὡς Καίσαρα. Jos. Ant. xvii. 3, 2. Πραγματεύεται (Antipater) διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων τὴν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ. Bell. i. 29, 2. This letter of Antipater

must be placed about December of this year, for the answer to it was returned about 26 April, B.C. 5 (see B.C. 5, no. 900); and though the letter and answer were no doubt both dispatched with the greatest expedition, we cannot well allow (including the necessary delays at Rome) a less interval than four months for the transmission of the letter and the reply. The letter of Antipater to Rome was not long after the trial of Pheroras's wife, for it arose out of it, i.e. Herod at the close of the trial forbade Antipater to hold any intercourse with any of Pheroras's family; and Salome kept so jealous a watch over his movements in this respect, that Antipater thought it best to retire to a distance. Δ'δοκῶ ἐπιτηροῦσαν τὴν Σαλώμην, πραγματεύεται διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων τὴν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ. Bell. i. 29, 2. The trial, as Antipater wrote in December, B.C. 6, must be referred to the last quarter of B.C. 6, say in November.

**888 a.** Coins of Antioch.

Κίσαρι Σεβασῶ Αρχυρεῖ + Αρχιρατικὸν Αντιοχίης ΕΚ., i. e. in the 25 year of the Actian Era, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. B.C. 7, and 2 Sept. B.C. 6.

Αντιοχείων ἐπὶ Ουαρὸν ΕΚ. Eckhel, iii. 274-5.

Inscription.

Statuæ Matri Sac. Q. Cælius Q. L. Apollonides Mag. Vici D. Lælio Balbo C. Antistio Vet. Cos. (Florentiæ). Muratori, i. 297.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 23.

Tabernacles, September 27.

**B. C. 5. U. C. 749. Olymp. 193, 4.**

IMP. AUGUSTUS, xii.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XIX. FROM 27 JUNE. COS.

XII. PONT. MAX. IMP. XIV.

TIBERII TRIB. POT. II.

Thirty-third year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

**889.** Caius receives the toga virilis in the twelfth consulship of Augustus. *Duodecimum (consulatum) magno, id est, septemdecim annorum intervallo, et rursus tertium decimum biennio post ultro petiit, ut Caium et Lucium filios amplissimo præditus magistratu, suo quemque tirocinio, deduceret in forum.* Suet. Octav. 26. Τῷ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἔτει (viz. after Tiberius's retirement to Rhodes), ἑωδέκα-ον ὑπατεύων, ὁ Ἀύ-



γουστος ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους τὸν Γάϊον ἔταξε, καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἅμα εἰσήγαγε, καὶ πρόκριτον ἀπέφηνε τῆς νεότητος. Zonaras, x. 539; and see Monum. Ancyg. cited v.c. 6 (see v.c. 20, no. 740).

**890.** Herod, immediately after the arrival of the letter summoning Antipater to Rome, dispatches him to Augustus with the will of Herod, in which he nominates Antipater as his successor (see *post*, no. 901). 'Ο δὲ οὐ τι μελλήσας ἐξέπεμψε. Jos. Bell. i. 29, 2; Ant. xvii. 3, 2. This voyage of Antipater may be placed about 26 April, v.c. 5, for it was seven months before his return on 26 November, v.c. 5 (see *infra*, no. 900, for the process by which this date is determined).

**891.** Antipater, by plotting the procurement of this summons to Rome, outwitted himself in one respect, for Herod, at the same time that he parts with Antipater, sends for his sons Archelaus and Philip from Rome, to the great chagrin of Antipater. "Ἦδη δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ μετεπέμπετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν μάλιστα τάρασσον' Ἀντίπατρον. Bell. i. 31, 1. That this recall was cotemporaneous with the voyage of Antipater may be shown as follows. Antipater, as soon as he reached Rome, sent Bathyllus back with poison to take off Herod; and the same Bathyllus brought letters from Antipater, charging that Archelaus and Philip were murmuring at their recall. The order for their return must therefore have been sent by the hands of Antipater or at about the same time.

**892.** Syllæus sails to Rome cotemporaneously with Antipater: 1. To oppose Antipater on the old grounds. 2. To meet certain accusations advanced by Aretas of assassinations in Arabia and of Fabatus, Cæsar's procurator. And 3. To defend himself against the charge of having conspired against the life of Herod. Συνεξορμῆ δὲ Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Σύλλαιος ὁ Ἀραψ, etc. Jos. Ant. xvii. 3, 2. "Ἐπλευσε καὶ Σύλλαιος ὁ Ἀραψ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, etc. Bell. i. 29, 3.

**893.** Pheroras, also cotemporaneously with Antipater's departure, and in concert with him, retires to his tetrarchy of Peræa. Ἐβρόθη δὲ παρὰ πάσαις (δούλαις) τὰ προειρημένα συμφώνως, καὶ διότι κατὰ συνθήκην Ἀντίπατρος μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην, Φερώρας δὲ ὑποχωρήσειεν εἰς τὴν Περαϊαν. Jos. Bell. i. 30, 3: and see Bell. i. 29, 4; Ant. xvii. 3, 3; xvii. 4, 1.

**894.** Death of Pheroras in Peræa, which leads directly to the discovery of the guilt of

Antipater in bringing about the deaths of Alexander and Aristobulus. Μετέβαινε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐθέντην Ἀντίπατρον ἡ ποιηὴ, τὸν Φερώρα θάνατον ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα. Jos. Bell. i, 30, 1. Ἐπειδὴ Φερώρας τελευτῶ, ταφαὶ τε ἐγεγονέυσαν αὐτῷ, ἀπελεύθεροι δύο, etc. Ant. xvii. 4, 1. The death of Pheroras may have occurred about 20 August, v.c. 5, for the news of it reached Antipater on his way home at Tarentum about 8 October, v.c. 5, and the voyage from Judæa to Tarentum would be about seven weeks. There must have been some interval between the departure of Antipater from Judæa to Rome and the death of Pheroras, for during the interval Herod had been ill and Pheroras had refused to visit him, and then Pheroras had fallen sick and Herod had gone to him. Ἐπανήλθε δὲ (Pheroras) οὐδὲ πρὸς νοσοῦντα τὸν ἀδελφόν, καίτοι λιπαρῶς μεταπεμπόμενον. . . . Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ νοσεῖ Φερώρας, εὑρίσκειτο δὲ Ἡρώδης μετριώτερος, καὶ γὰρ ἤκει πρὸς αὐτόν. Bell. i. 29, 4; Ant. xvii. 3, 3. The death of Pheroras, and the consequent discovery of Antipater's guilt, was about four months after the departure of Antipater from Judæa, about 25 April; for at the same time with the discovery of Antipater's guilt Bathyllus arrived from Rome, having been dispatched by Antipater (see *infra*, no. 897), and a voyage from Judæa to Rome and back again to Judæa would under ordinary circumstances occupy about four months.

**895.** Herod's first step, on discovery of Antipater's guilt, is to disgrace Doris, the mother of Antipater. Ἀποσκήπτει δὲ εἰς τὴν πρώτην ὁ θυμὸς Δωρίδα τὴν Ἀντιπάτρον μητέρα. Jos. Bell. i. 30, 4; Ant. xvii. 4, 2.

**896.** Herod's wife, Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, being also implicated, Herod deprives him of the high-priesthood, and appoints Matthias. Κατηγορεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως ἡ θυγάτηρ γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως . . . καὶ διὰ ταῦτε Ἡρώδης . . . τὸν πενθερὸν τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφείλετο Σίμωνα τὸν τοῦ Βοηθοῦ, καθιστῶ δὲ Μαθθίαν τὸν Θεοφίλου. Jos. Ant. xvii. 4, 2. The appointment of Matthias was certainly before 11 September of this year, for on the day of the Great Fast, 11 September, he was unable as high-priest to discharge his office, and another high-priest was therefore associated with him. It could not have been the Fast of the next year, as Matthias, in the following spring, was displaced by Herod, who

died on 1 April, B.C. 4 (see *infra*, 904). 'Ο Μαθίας *ιερώμενος ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἡ νηστεία ἐνίστατο, etc.*; καὶ διὰ τὸδε οὐ δυναμένου *ιερουργεῖν*, 'Ιώσηπος ὁ τοῦ 'Ελλήμου *συνιερέυσαιο αὐτῷ συγγενῆς ὢν*. Ant. xvii. 6, 4 (see B.C. 22, no. 715; B.C. 4, no. 904).

**897.** Bathyllus, the freedman of Antipater, arrives at this time (Aug. B.C. 5) from Rome with poison to take off Herod, and with letters concocted by Antipater's friends at Rome against Archelaus and Philip. 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Βάθυλλος ἐκ 'Ρώμης, ἀπελεύθερος 'Αντιπάτρου, *παρῆν, etc.* Jos. Ant. xvii. 4, 3; Bell. i. 31, 1. Antipater, to remove suspicion from himself, had arranged with Pheroras before quitting Judæa that Herod should be poisoned while Antipater was at Rome; and Antiphilus, a friend of Antipater, was to furnish poison for the purpose from Alexandria; but lest this might not have been done, Bathyllus now brought poison from Rome.

**898.** Antipater writes again from Rome to Herod that he had dispatched the business committed to him, and had taken his leave of Augustus, and should return immediately. 'Αντιπάτρου *γεγραφότος πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς, τὰ πάντα ὄν χρῆ διαπεπραγμένους τρόπον, ἤξει ἐν τάχει*. Jos. Ant. xvii. 5, 1. Γράφει γοῦν ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης, ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ *ταχέϊαν εὐαγγελιζόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος μετὰ τιμῆς ἀπολυθείη*. Bell. i. 31, 2. This letter was dated about 17 September, B.C. 5, for it reached Herod about 12 November, B.C. 5, and two months may be allowed for the transmission of it from Rome to Judæa.

**899.** Antipater, about 1 October, sets out from Rome on his return, for he arrived at Cæsarea about 26 November, B.C. 5, and the voyage would occupy two months. Jos. Ant. xvii. 5, 1; Bell. i. 31, 3.

Antipater, about 8 October, hears at Tarentum of the death of Pheroras, in the preceding August. Πρότερον μὲν οὖν εἰλήφει τὴν περὶ τῆς Φερώρα *τελευτῆς ἐπιστολὴν ἐν Τάραντι*. Jos. Bell. i. 31, 3; Ant. xvii. 5, 1. Antipater's letter, announcing his intended return without delay, is delivered in Judæa about 12 November, B.C. 5; and Herod, wishing to get Antipater into his power, writes to him to make all haste home. Σπεύδειν *παρακαλῶν, θήσασθαι γὰρ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα μέμφεις ἐπιειχθέντος (οὐ γὰρ ἠγγόνει τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῆς μητρὸς 'Αντιπάτρος)*. Bell. i. 31, 3. The last words do not state as

a fact that Antipater, when Herod wrote, was acquainted with his mother's disgrace, which would contradict the whole tenor of the narrative, but only that, as Antipater was sure to know it (which is the force of *οὐκ ἠγγόνει*) before arriving in Judæa, Herod, to lull suspicion of the true state of affairs, smoothed the matter over as very trivial, and to be set right immediately on Antipater's arrival.

Antipater, at Celenderis in Cilicia, hears of his mother's disgrace, and also receives (about 19 November, B.C. 5) Herod's letter to him of 12 November. Τότε δὲ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ λαβὼν ἦν *προειρηκαμεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιστολὴν, παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔσπευδεν*. Bell. i. 31, 3; Ant. xvii. 5, 1. From Judæa to Celenderis would be about a week's voyage.

Antipater lands at Cæsarea and reaches Jerusalem about 26 November. Διαπεράσας εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν τὸν λιμένα τῆς Καισαρείας *κάταγεταί*. Bell. i. 31, 3; Ant. xvii. 5, 1. This was seven months after he had left Judæa. Θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις ὅτι, *τοσῶνδε ἐν 'Ιουδαίᾳ κατ' αὐτοῦ κεκνημένων μῆσι πρότερον ἑπτὰ, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ δῆλον γένοιτο*. Ant. xvii. 4, 3. In the Wars, Josephus dates the seven months not from Antipater's departure from Judæa, but from the *discovery* of his guilt, which followed immediately after the death of Pheroras. Μεταξὺ τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ τῆς ἐπανόδου *διελθόντων ἑπτὰ μηνῶν*. Bell. i. 31, 2. But this cannot be, for the news of the death of Pheroras, which led to the discovery of Antipater's guilt, reached Antipater, when already on his return, at Tarentum; and he heard of the disgrace of his mother, when he was near home, in Cilicia; and Herod's letter, written immediately after the disclosures consequent on the death of Pheroras, met Antipater at Celenderis, which was only a week's journey from Jerusalem. The interval between the discovery and the arrival of Antipater could therefore have been but a few weeks only. The seven months cannot possibly be dated from the discovery, but must be referred to Antipater's departure from Judæa.\*

**900.** If we can ascertain the time of Antipater's return, the time of his departure from Judæa, seven months before, will follow, and the

\* I am happy to find that Greswell had arrived at the same conclusion on independent grounds. See Gresw. Diss. i. 485, 1st edit.



time of the return may be thus calculated. Within a day or two after Antipater's arrival in Judæa, Herod wrote to Augustus (see *post*, no. 901), and on the receipt of the answer from Augustus Herod put Antipater to death; and five days after that, on 1 April, B.C. 4, Herod expired (see *post*, B.C. 4, no. 924). Thus,

From Antipater's return from Rome to the date of Herod's dispatch to Augustus . . . . .	2 days
Voyage of Herod's messenger to Rome . . . . .	8 weeks
Time spent in Rome in executing the commission . . . . .	1 week
Return of messenger from Rome . . . . .	8 weeks
Time from return to death of Herod	5 days
	<hr/> 18 weeks

If Herod, therefore, died on 1 April, B.C. 4, the return of Antipater would be on 26 November, B.C. 5. That the return of Antipater was late in the year we should conjecture from the route taken by him, viz. by way of Cilicia. Had his return been in July or August, he would have sailed, by favour of the Etesian winds, for Egypt. Assuming the return of Antipater to have been on 26 November, B.C. 5, his departure from Judæa, which was seven months before, must have been about 26 April, B.C. 5.

**901.** Varus is now at Jerusalem, and Antipater is heard before him in council, and condemned. Ἐτύχχανε δὲ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Οὐάρως Κυῖντιλιος, διάδοχος μὲν Σατουρνίνῳ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἀπεσταλμένος, etc. Jos. Ant. xvii. 5, 2. "Ἦκε μὲν ὁ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγὸς Οὐάρως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπιμεληταί, καθίζει δὲ συνέδριον ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ . . . Νικολάῳ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς. Κατηγορεῖ μὲν οὗτος, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Ἀντίπατρος, ἔκρινε δὲ Οὐάρως μετὰ τῶν φίλων. Καταδικάζεται δ' οὖν Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ παραδίδοται. Nicol. Damasc. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 352. This was the day after the arrival of Antipater, for τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ συνέδριον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀθροίζει, Bell. i. 32, 1; and, therefore, about 27 November.

Antipater is put in bonds, and Herod sends a letter on the subject to Augustus. Δήσας δὲ αὐτὸν, εἰς Ῥώμην εἰς Καίσαρα ἐκπέμπει γράμματα περὶ αὐτοῦ. Ant. xvii. 5, 7; Bell. i. 32, 7.

Herod, after dispatching the letter, is seriously attacked by illness. Ὠρμημένος δ' ἐπὶ

τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπεσχέθη νόσῳ χαλεπῇ. Bell. i. 32, 7; Ant. xvii. 6, 1.

Herod alters his will, and, passing over Archelaus and Philip, against whom his mind had been poisoned by Antipater, he nominates Herod Antipas, instead of Antipater, as his successor. Bell. i. 32, 7; Ant. xvii. 6, 1 (see *ante*, no. 890).

Varus returns the next day to Antioch. Τότε δ' ἐξαναστὰς, ἀπῆρεν τοῦ συνέδριου, καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας, οὐπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἦσαν αὐτῷ αἱ διατριβαί. Ant. xvii. 5, 7. Μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν χωρίζεται. Bell. i. 32, 5. From the expression οὐπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἦσαν αὐτῷ αἱ διατριβαί, it would seem that Varus had been long enough in office to have adopted a usual place of abode; and this is consistent with the Tables, which place the arrival of Varus some time after Midsummer, but before 2 September, B.C. 6. Josephus, however, may have referred to the habits of Varus as afterwards known (see B.C. 6, no. 873).

**902.** Further proofs are discovered of the guilt of Antipater, and Herod sends a second dispatch to Augustus. Αἴθεις δὲ πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε καὶ γράμματα ἐπὶ κατηγορίαν τοῦ υἱέος. Jos. Ant. xvii. 5, 8; Bell. i. 32, 6. This further discovery was just after the first. Ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας. Ant. xvii. 5, 7.

#### 902 a. Coins of Antioch.

Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ + Εἰουε 5 Κ. Νικησ Υπα. IB.  
i. e. *Cæsaris Augusti + Anno Victoriæ xxvi. Cos. xii.*, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. B.C. 6, and 2 Sept. B.C. 5. Eckhel, iii. 272.  
Ἀντιοχείων ἐπὶ Οὐαρου 5 Κ. Id. iii. 275.

#### Inscriptions.

*Lymphæis Dianæ Reducis Sacr. Imp. Cæsare xii. L. Cornelio Sulla Cos. Synhisor Sabidiæ C. F. Disp. . . . (Aquilæ). Muratori, i. 298, 1.*  
*Imp. Cæsar Divi Julii F. Augustus, Pontifex Maximus Cos. xii. Tribunus. Potest. xic. Imp. xiiii. Cens. Aquarum omnium Refecit (at Rome). Ib. 441; Gruter, vi. 176, 1, who for Cens. has rivos.*  
*Imp. Cæsari Divi F. Augusto Pontif. Max. Cos. xii. Trib. Pot. xviii. Urbani.*

Ib. iv. 2099, 8.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

**B.C. 4. U.C. 750. Olymp. 194, 1.**

C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.

L. PASSIENUS RUFINUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XX. FROM 27 JUNE. COS.  
XII. PONT. MAX. IMP. XIV.

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. III.

Thirty-fourth year of the reign of Herod, from  
1 January, or 1 Nisan.First year of the reign of Archelaus and Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**903.** Herod's illness increasing, he removes for change of air to Jericho; and, apparently during his absence, the Rabbins Judas, son of Sariphæus, and Matthias, son of Margolothus, hearing a report that Herod was at the point of death, pull down the Roman eagle which had been erected by Herod over the eastern gate of the Temple. Jos. Ant. xvii. 6, 2; Bell. i. 33, 2. The eagle was the emblem of Roman power; and it has been conjectured that the insurrection which now broke out from the report of Herod's death may have taken its rise from the recent census in Judæa, a measure that always excited disaffection.

This Judas, who was the ringleader, is thought, with great reason, to be the Theudas referred to by Gamaliel, Acts, v. 36; for Judas and Theudas were interchangeable names, Jehudah of the Hebrews, as Usher observes, being the same with Theudah of the Syrians. Usher, Annals, 797. See Lardner, i. 430. Judas, for instance, one of the Apostles, is also called Theudas. Mark, iii. 18. Luke, vi. 16. The Judas of Galilee referred to by Gamaliel was certainly the ringleader against the Roman census in A.D. 6; and this countenances the notion that the Theudas cited by Gamaliel as a similar example was also a ringleader against the Roman power, such as was Judas, son of Sariphæus.

Wieseler would identify *Matthias*, the coadjutor of Judas, with the Theudas of Gamaliel, and suggests that Matthias in Hebrew signifies the same thing as Theudas or Theodotus in Greek. Wieseler's Chronol. Synop. 104.

On the *émeute* being communicated to the officer in command at Jerusalem, he seizes the ringleaders and makes a report to Herod. Ἦγ- γέλθη δὲ εὐθὺς τῷ βασιλείῳ στρατηγῷ, etc. Bell. i. 33, 3; Ant. xvii. 6, 3.

Herod orders the conspirators to be sent to Jericho, whither he summons the chiefs of the nation, and, reclining on his bed, harangues them in the amphitheatre. Βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς καταδήσας ἐξέπεμπεν εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα, καλέσας Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἐν τέλει, καὶ παραγενο- μένων, ἐξεκκλησιάσας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (qu. ἀμφι-) θέατρον ἐπὶ κλινιδίου κείμενος ἀδυναμία τοῦ στήναι, etc. Jos. Ant. xvii. 6, 3.

**904.** Matthias, the high-priest, had been connected with the *émeute*, and Herod removes him from the office, and appoints Joazar in his place. Μαθθίαν δὲ τὸν Ἀρχιερέα παύσας ἱερῆσθαι, ὡς αἴτιον τοῦ μέρους τούτων γεγονότα, καθιστᾷ Ἰώζαρον Ἀρχιερέα. Jos. Ant. xvii. 6, 4 (see B.C. 5, no. 896, and *infra*, no. 952).

**905.** Herod burns the Rabbins at the stake at Jericho, and the same *night* occurs an eclipse of the moon. Καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλιπεν. Jos. Ant. xvii. 6, 4; and compare Bell. i. 33, 4. This eclipse was on the night of 12–13 March, B.C. 4. It has been calculated by Kepler, Petavius, and others, and began at 1h. 48m., and ended at 4h. 12m. On 5 September, B.C. 4, was another eclipse of the moon, but it occurred in the daytime, viz. for the meridian of Paris at noon, i.e. at 2h. 12m. P.M. at Jerusalem. In B.C. 3 was no eclipse of the moon. In B.C. 2 there was an eclipse of the moon on 20 January at 0h. 15m. for the meridian of Paris, i.e. at 2h. 27m. at Jerusalem; and another on 17 July, at 5h. 45m. A.M. for the meridian of Paris, i.e. 7h. 57m. A.M. at Jerusalem. See L'Art de vérifier les Dates.

**906.** Herod's disorder increases, and the people regard it as a judgment upon him for his burning of the Rabbins. Ὡστε τοὺς ἐπι- θειάζοντας ποινὴν εἶναι τῶν σοφιστῶν τὰ νοσή- ματα λέγειν. Jos. Bell. i. 33, 5; Ant. xvii. 6, 5.

**907.** Herod, by the advice of his physicians, crosses the Jordan to Callirrhoe, near the shore of the Dead Sea. It will be observed that Herod did not go from *Jerusalem* to Callirrhoe, but that he *crossed the Jordan* to Callirrhoe, that is, Herod was already at Jericho, on the west side of Jordan, and he crossed the river to Callirrhoe on the east side. Ἱατροὺς τε μεταπέμπων, καὶ ὅποσα ἀρωγὰ ὑπαγορεύσειαν χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀποτετραμμένος· ποταμὸν τε περά- σας Ἰορδάνην θερμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρρόην αὐτὸν παρείδου. Jos. Ant. xvii. 6, 5. Διαβάς γοῦν τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρρόην θερμοῖς ἐκεχρήτο. Bell. i. 33, 5. This was about 14



March. In Lynch's Expedition to the Dead Sea, p. 370, is the following account of Callirrhoe:—'The Zerka Ma'in, the outlet of the hot springs of Callirrhoe. The stream, twelve feet wide and ten inches deep, rushes in a southerly direction with great velocity into the sea. Temperature of the air 77°, of the sea 78°, of the stream 94°, and one mile up the chasm 95°.'

**908.** Herod at Callirrhoe, on 15, 16, 17, and 18 March, makes use of the waters, but without any good effect. *Τοῖς κατὰ Καλλυρρόην θερμοῖς ἐνέχηρητο.* Jos. Bell. i. 33, 5; Ant. xvii. 6, 5.

**909.** On 19 March he is plunged into a vessel of oil, which almost kills him, and he despairs of life. Jos. Ant. xvii. 6, 5; Bell. i. 33, 5.

**910.** On 20 March he distributes a donation to the army, Jos. Bell. i. 33, 5; Ant. xvii. 6, 5; and returns to Jericho. *Παρήν ἀνθις ἐπὶ Ἱεριχοῦντος.* Ant. xvii. 6, 5. *Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται.* Bell. i. 33, 6. The circumstance of his 'returning' to Jericho shows that he had come to Callirrhoe from Jericho, and not from Jerusalem.

**911.** The chiefs of the nation are ordered, on pain of death, to make all haste to Jericho, and, as they arrive, are shut up in the Hippodrome or prison. *Τοὺς γὰρ ἀφ' ἐκάστης κώμης ἐπισήμους ἀνδρας ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας συναγαγὼν, εἰς τὸν καλούμενον Ἰππόδρομον ἐκέλευσεν συγκλείσαι.* Jos. Bell. i. 33, 6. *Ἀφικόμενων προστάγματι τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ὁπούποτε ἀξιολόγων· πολλοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο, ὡς τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους κατακεκλημένου καὶ πάντων ἀκροασαμένων τοῦ διατάγματος, εἰς γὰρ θάνατον τοῖς ἀλογήσασι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν.* Ant. xvii. 6, 5. All that is probably meant is that such as received the summons and arrived in consequence were shut up in the Hippodrome; and from the use of the word πολλοὶ we should infer that they were not very numerous. As, however, any point in *Judæa*, to which the order was confined, could be reached in forty-eight if not in twenty-four hours by a special messenger, a week would be ample time for the assemblage of the principal personages.

**912.** On 27 March Herod charges Salome and Alexas, immediately on his own demise, to put all the chiefs to death. Jos. Bell. i. 33, 6; Ant. xvii. 6, 5. And contemporaneously with this injunction to Salome and Alexas, *ταῦτα δὲ ἐπιστέλλοντος αὐτοῦ,* Ant. xvii. 7, 1, a dispatch arrives from Rome in answer to his

own second dispatch about Antipater (see B.C. 5, no. 901); and Herod derives momentary relief from the news, *βραχὺ μὲν τι ἀνηνέγκει,* Ant. xvii. 7, 1; Bell. i. 33, 7; but relapses, and makes an attempt upon his life. Ant. xvii. 7, 1; Bell. i. 33, 7.

**913.** From the outcry on Herod's attempt upon his own life, Antipater believes that Herod is dying, and endeavours to persuade his jailor to give him his liberty, *οἰμῶγη δ' εὐθὺς ἤρθη μεγίστη κατὰ τὸ βασιλεῖον ὡς οἰχομένον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ταχέως ἀκούσας Ἀντίπατρος, etc.,* Jos. Bell. i. 33, 7; Ant. xvii. 7, 1; but Herod is informed of it, and, though *in extremis* himself, instantly puts Antipater to death. Bell. i. 33, 7; Ant. xvii. 7, 1. In Nicolas Damascenus the account is as follows:—*Νικόλαος δὲ καὶ τότε παρήγει πέμπειν αὐτὸν (Antipater) ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἠδίκησεν, καὶ ὅτι ἂν ἐκεῖνος γνῶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.* Ἐφθῆ δὲ τὰ παρὰ Καίσαρος γράμματα ἤκοντα, καὶ τῷ πατρί κολάζειν αὐτὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκολάσθη. Nicolas Damasc. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 353. Müller interprets this to mean that the letter from Augustus came not in answer to Herod's dispatch after the trial of Antipater before Varus, but proceeded from Augustus *mero motu*; but such a conclusion is not warranted by the words of Nicolas.

**914.** Herod makes a new will (see B.C. 5, no. 901), and, subject to Augustus's approval, appoints Archelaus, who had been malignd by Antipater, instead of Herod Antipas, to be his successor as king of Judæa, and makes a partition of the rest of his dominions: assigning Galilee and Peræa to Antipas; Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, and Botanæa to Philip; and Iamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis to Salome. Jos. Ant. xvii. 8, 1; Bell. i. 33, 8.

**915.** Herod dies at Jericho on 1 April, the fifth day after the death of Antipater. *Ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ μεθ' ὃ Ἀντίπατρον κτείνει τὸν υἱὸν τελευτᾷ.* Jos. Ant. xvii. 8, 1; Bell. i. 33, 8. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* (the death of Antipater) *ὀλίγου χρόνου διελθόντος, τελευτᾷ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς.* Nicol. Damasc. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 353.

**916.** Salome and Alexas the same day, and before the death of Herod had got wind amongst the soldiery, liberate, as by the king's order, the prisoners in the Hippodrome. Jos. Bell. i. 33, 8; Ant. xvii. 8, 2. When the prisoners are now on their way home (*τούτων οἰχομένων*), Salome and Alexas call together the troops in

the amphitheatre at Jericho, and the king's will is read. Bell. i. 33, 8; Ant xvii. 8, 2.

**917.** Archelaus, at the close of the proceedings, is greeted as king, but he declines to wear the crown until the ratification of the title by Augustus. Jos. Bell. ii. 1, 1; i. 33, 9; Ant. xvii. 8, 4.

After receiving these congratulations, Archelaus prepares the funeral of Herod with all magnificence, *έντεϋθεν δὲ τάφον ήτοιμάζον τῷ βασιλεῖ, μελήσαν Ἀρχελάφ πολυτελεστάτην γενέσθαι τήν εκκομδὴν τοῦ πατρὸς*, Ant. xvii. 8, 3; Bell. i. 33, 9; but at the same time with all dispatch, for—1. He was anxious to hasten to Rome. 2. He actually set sail about a fortnight after the death of Herod, for when he went down from Jerusalem to Cæsarea he met Sabinus, Cæsar's procurator, going up from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, to take an inventory of Herod's effects, a measure that required immediate attention (see *post*, no. 927). And 3. The preparations for the funeral could not have been long, for the want of proper respect for the memory of Herod on the occasion of his death was afterwards made a charge against Archelaus at Rome. *Πένθους τε τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμελείας, καὶ κόμους αὐτονυκτὶ τῇ ἐκείνου τελευτῇ γεγονότας*. Ant. xvii. 9, 5. The last words prove that the death of Herod was publicly announced on the very day of his demise.

**918.** Herod is buried with great pomp at Herodium, now the Frank mountain, a little to the S.E. of Bethlehem, Rob. Biblic. Res. i. 480; two hundred stades or twenty-five miles from Jericho, Jos. Bell. i. 33, 9; and sixty stades or seven miles and a half from Jerusalem. Ant. xv. 9, 4; Bell. i. 21, 10. In the Antiquities it is said, *ήσαν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡρωδίου στάδια ὀκτώ*. Ant. xvii. 8, 3. And if it be meant that Herodium was only eight stades or one mile from Jericho, Josephus would contradict himself. But the passage may be rendered that, Herodium being twenty-five miles distant, the troops followed the pall for the distance of eight stades toward or on the way to Herodium, and from that point the funeral procession passed on by itself. In Judæa the burial was usually before sunset on the day of the death; but on this occasion the preparations must have required some days—say six. The first public appearance of Archelaus at Jerusalem as Herod's successor was *after* the funeral, and

it cannot be supposed that many days would pass before Archelaus presented himself to the people as their sovereign.

**919.** Mourning for Herod is observed for seven days from the death (and therefore ended on 8 April), and at its close Archelaus provides the customary funeral banquet. *Ἀρχέλαος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἐβδόμην ήμέραν πένθος τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ τιμῶν διετέλει, τόσας γὰρ διαγορεύει τὸ νόμιμον τοῦ πατρίου*. Jos. Ant. xvii. 8, 4. *Πενθήσας γὰρ ήμέρας ἐπτά τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τήν ἐπιτάφιον ἐστίασιν πολυτελῇ τῷ πλήθει παρασχών*. Bell. ii. 1, 1. The mourning for Herod is expressly stated to have been the usual one, and that the seven days mourning were counted from the death, see Ecclesiast. xxii. 12.

**920.** When the public mourning is ended, and therefore on 9 April, Archelaus goes up to the Temple and receives the people on his throne, and offers sacrifices, and then entertains his friends at a banquet. These sacrifices were not those of the Passover, which had not yet begun. Jos. Ant. xvii. 8, 4; Bell. ii. 1, 1. In the evening of the same day (9 April), being the day next after the close of the public mourning (8 April), the adherents of the Rabbins *begin* a private mourning for the death of the Rabbins by Herod. *Ἐνθα δὲ περὶ δειλὴν ἀθροισθέντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν νεωτερίζειν προαιρουμένων, ήρξαντο τοῦ ἰδίου πένθους ὅτε τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πέπαυτο*. Bell. ii. 1, 2. The friends of the Rabbins, the next day, 10 April, assemble together in great multitudes, *συνόδου αὐτοῖς γενομένης*, Ant. xvii. 9, 1; when Archelaus sends the chief military officer, and endeavours to appease them, but the officer is hooted. Ant. xvii. 9, 2; Bell. ii. 1, 2; and Archelaus sends others without effect. *Ἐνίει δὲ πολλούς*. Bell. ii. 1, 3. *Πολλῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάου πεμπομένων*. Ant. xvii. 9, 2.

**921.** Multitudes at this time are collected at Jerusalem at the Passover. *Καὶ δὴ τῆς τῶν Ἀζύμων ἐνστάσης ἑορτῆς (Πάσχα παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καλεῖται) . . . ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν, ὡς μηδένος δεινοῦ γεγονότος, ἐπάραυτο πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν . . . οἱ, θύουσιν ἐκάστοις ἐξαίφνης προσπεσόντες, διαφθέρουσι μὲν περὶ τρισχιλίωνς*. Jos. Bell. ii. 1, 3.

**922.** Archelaus, fearing that the faction might become dangerous, sends a band of soldiers to disperse them, when the troops are driven back. Jos. Bell. ii. 1, 3; Ant. xvii. 9, 3;



and Archelaus then sends a larger force, and 3,000 of the multitude are slain. The feast is now proclaimed at an end, and the people are ordered to their homes. Καὶ πάντες ἄχοντο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀπολιπόντες. Bell. ii. 1, 3; Ant. xvii. 9, 3.

**923.** As the people at this time were engaged upon the sacrifice, αἴθις ἡ θυσία ἦν, Jos. Ant. xvii. 9, 3; ἐπάποντο πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν Bell. ii. 1, 3, the occurrence was probably on the great day of the Paschal sacrifice, which will account for the abundant supply of provisions stated to be in the Temple. Ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τροφῆς ἠνυποῦντο. Ant. xvii. 9, 3.

**924.** The day of the Paschal Sacrifice, or the day when the lamb was slain (between 3 P.M. and 5 P.M.), was 10 April this year, and the *émeute* therefore happened on 10 April. But it was on the day next after that on the evening of which the private mourning for the Rabbins began, and the private mourning began on the evening of the day after that on which the public mourning for Herod closed. As the private mourning, therefore, commenced on the evening before 10 April, i. e. on 9 April, the public mourning for Herod must have ended on 8 April; and as it lasted seven days, it must have commenced (exclusive) from 1 April, which was, therefore, the day of Herod's death. Thus from the day when the Rabbins were burnt at Jericho, on 12 March, to the death of Herod, on 1 April, was an interval of about three weeks only; and that it was very short may be inferred from the circumstance that the mourning for the Rabbins followed immediately upon the mourning for Herod, for it is not to be supposed that a mourning for the Rabbins would be observed unless their death had been quite recent. If the death of the Rabbins was on 12 March, B.C. 4, it is not conceivable that mourning would be observed for them a year after, in B.C. 3, supposing, as some think, that Herod died in that year. This interval of three weeks is just sufficient for all the intervening events; and there is no occasion to conjecture, as some do, that in this year there was an intercalation so that the Passover fell a month later, thus making the interval from the eclipse to the death of Herod about seven weeks. The *émeute*, however, at Jerusalem may have occurred, not, as we have assumed, on the day of Paschal sacrifices, but on some subsequent day of the feast, when also

sacrifices would be offered, and on this supposition the interval from the death of Herod would be increased by several days. The death of Herod must have been either a little before the Passover B.C. 4, or a little before the Passover B.C. 3; and it could not have been the latter, for Herod had sent his dispatch to Rome about Antipater some time before the eclipse on 12 March, B.C. 4, and he received an answer just before his death; and it cannot be imagined that an interval exceeding a year could have elapsed in so urgent a matter between the dispatch and the answer.

**925.** Herod is described by Josephus at the time of his death as almost seventy. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, Jos. Bell. i. 33, 1; or, as he expresses it elsewhere, 'about his seventieth year.' Περί ἑτος ἑβδομηκοστόν. Ant. xvii. 6, 1. He was in his sixty-ninth year (see B.C. 47, no. 310). He had reigned thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, and thirty-seven years from his appointment to the kingdom by the Romans. Βασιλεύσας μεθ' ὃ μὲν ἀνείλεν Ἀντίγονον τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, μεθ' ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποδέδεκτο ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Ant. xvii. 8, 1. By saying that Herod reigned thirty-four years and thirty-seven years, Josephus means thirty-four years and thirty-seven years current, i. e. that Herod died in his thirty-fourth year current from the death of Antigonus in B.C. 37, and thirty-seventh year current from the nomination of Herod to the kingdom by the Romans in B.C. 40; and on this, as on other occasions, Josephus reckons either by consular or Jewish years, i. e. he computes the thirty-four years either from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37, and the thirty-seven years either from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 40. In narrating events in the time of Herod the historian invariably adopts the shorter reign of thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, and dates it from 1 January or 1 Nisan B.C. 37 (see B.C. 31, no. 619). That Herod would reign more than thirty years is said to have been foretold by Manahem the Essene. Εἰ δέκα γενήσονται τῆς βασιλείας ἐνιαυτοὶ, (Herod) προσετύθητο· καὶ, εἴκοσι, καὶ τριάκοντα εἰπὼν, ὄρον οὐκ ἐπέθηκε τῷ τέλει τῆς προθεσμίας. Ant. xv. 10, 5.

**926.** On the death of Herod, Joseph and Mary, with the child Jesus, return from Egypt to Judæa; but hearing that Archelaus was king in the room of his father they retire to Nazareth, in



Galilee. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν· χρηματισθεὶς δὲ κατ' ὄναρ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἐλθὼν κατέκησεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Νιζαρέτ. Matt. ii. 22. Here ἀπελθεῖν means simply to 'go,' see Matt. x. 5; viii. 33; xvi. 21; and ἀνεχώρησεν signifies 'not returned, but retired,' see Matt. ii. 14; ix. 24; xii. 15. It has been inferred from this passage that Matthew was under the impression that Bethlehem was not only the birthplace of Our Lord, but also the domicile of his parents; but there is no necessity for this supposition. Wieseler suggests that Joseph, as Our Lord was born at Bethlehem and was to inherit the throne of David, may have desired that the Child might be educated at Bethlehem; but more probably, as Joseph had quitted Bethlehem in haste for Egypt, he might have wished to return thither on matters requiring attention; or when Joseph and Mary came on the occasion of the census to Bethlehem, their tribe city, they *may* have intended to settle there; and it would seem that after the birth of Jesus they were residing in a house at Bethlehem, οἰκίαν, Matt. ii. 11.

The rumour (ἀκούσας) that Archelaus was 'king' in the room of Herod is very significant, and confirms the veracity of Matthew, as until a few days before his death Herod had nominated Antipas as his successor (see *ante*, no. 90), and only in his last moments had he altered his will, and appointed Archelaus as his successor (see *ante*, no. 914). As to the word βασιλεύει, it is remarkable that Archelaus, by the appointment of Augustus, after hearing the claimants to the government of Judæa, was declared *Ethnarch* of Judæa; but in the interval between the death of Herod and the departure of Archelaus for Rome, Archelaus had been saluted as *king*. Jos. Bell. ii. 1, 1; i. 33, 9; Ant. xvii. 8, 2; xvii. 8, 4.

The fears of Joseph from the violence of Archelaus are in strict accordance with the character of the latter, for within a few days from the death of Herod, Archelaus, as we have seen, committed a wholesale massacre of his countrymen at Jerusalem, and wellnigh lost his succession in consequence; and eventually he was deposed and banished on account of his atrocities (see A.D. 6, no. 1011).

927. Archelaus, leaving his brother Philip to govern in his absence, goes down with his

mother Malthace to Cæsarea, where he has an interview with Varus, the prefect of Syria, who had come thither at his request, and also with Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, who was on his way to Jerusalem to take an inventory of Herod's property, and then sails to Rome with Nicolas Damascenus. Αὐτὸς δὲ (Archelaus) μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς (Malthace) καὶ τῶν φίλων, Ποπλᾶ καὶ Προλεμαίου καὶ Νικολάου, κατῆι πρὸς θάλασσαν, καταλιπὼν ἐπίτροπόν τε τῶν βασιλείων καὶ κηδεμόνα τῶν οἰκείων Φιλίππων. Jos. Bell. ii. 2, 2; Ant. xvii. 9, 3. As the procurator would lose no time in proceeding to Judæa to secure Herod's property, the presence of Sabinus at Cæsarea, and consequently the departure of Archelaus for Rome, must have been at the latest about a fortnight after Herod's death, i. e. about the middle of April. Sabinus appears to have been the successor of Volumnius in the office of Cæsar's procurator (see B.C. 7, no. 835).

928. Varus, on the departure of Archelaus, goes up to Jerusalem, and, foreseeing disturbances, leaves there one of his three legions, and then returns to Antioch. Ἐν τι τῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας ταγμάτων, ὅπερ ἦκεν ἄγων, ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλείπει, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. Jos. Bell. ii. 3, 1.

929. After the departure of Varus, Sabinus arrives at Jerusalem. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκπλεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀρχέλαος, Οὐάρφ δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἐγένοντο κομιδαὶ, Σαβίνος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων χωρήσας, etc. Jos. Ant. xvii. 9, 3. In another passage, Josephus relates the departure of Varus from Jerusalem, and adds, καὶ Σαβίνος ὁ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπομείνας αὐτόθι, μεγάλως τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κατεπόνει, etc. Ant. xvii. 10, 1. But the word ὑπομείνας may mean only that Sabinus remained behind in Judæa, and did not accompany Varus to Antioch.

930. Herod Antipas (called by Our Lord 'that fox') follows his brother Archelaus stealthily to Rome to lay claim to the kingdom. Jos. Ant. xvii. 9, 4; Bell. ii. 2, 3.

931. At Jerusalem, at the Feast of Pentecost (31 May), the assembled multitudes break out into an insurrection, and besiege Sabinus in the Prætorium, or Herod's palace. Ἐπιστάσης δὲ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς (ἑορτῇ δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστὶ πάτριος τοῦτο κεκλημένη) οὔτι κατὰ τὴν θρησκείαν μόνον παρήσαν, ἀλλ' ὀργῇ φέροντες τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς Σαβίνου ὑβρεως. Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, 2. Ἐνοστάσης



δὲ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς . . . οὐκ ἦ συνήθης θρησκεία συνήγαγε τὸν δῆμον ἀλλ' ἀγανάκτησις. Bell. ii. 3, 1.

**932.** During the absence of Archelaus at Rome, 2,000 of Herod's army make an insurrection in Idumæa, and are opposed by Achiabus, a nephew of Herod. Jos. Bell. ii. 4, 1; Ant. xvii. 10, 4.

**933.** At the same time, Judas rises in Galilee, and gets possession of Sepphoris. Jos. Bell. ii. 4, 1; Ant. xvii. 10, 5. This Judas is thought by some to be the Theudas referred to Acts v. 36, the two names Judas and Theudas importing the same thing, as in the case of *Judas*, one of the twelve Apostles, who is also called *Thaddeus* or *Theudas*. Mark, iii. 18. Luke, vi. xvi. (see A.D. 34, no. 1469). But the Theudas referred to by Gamaliel was more probably Judas the Rabbin, an insurgent *before* the death of Herod (see *ante*, no. 901).

**934.** Simon makes an insurrection in Peræa, and, crossing the Jordan, burns the palace at Jericho, but is overthrown by Gratus, the commander of Archelaus. Jos. Bell. ii. 4, 2; Ant. xvii. 10, 6. Tac. Hist. v. 9.

**935.** Athronges also, a shepherd, in concert with his four brothers, sets himself up as king. Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, 7; Bell. ii. 4, 3.

**936.** Varus, on receipt of dispatches from Sabinus, advances from Antioch with his two remaining legions, and collects his forces at Acre. Ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο τάγματα, καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς τέσσαρας ἴλας ἰππέων, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαΐδος ἦει. Jos. Bell. ii. 5, 1; Ant. xvii. 10, 9. And Aretas, king of Petra, sends some auxiliaries. Ant. xvii. 10, 9; Bell. ii. 5, 1.

**937.** Varus dispatches a part of his army against Sepphoris, in Galilee, the stronghold of Judas, which is taken and burnt, Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, 9; Bell. ii. 5, 1; and hastens himself to Jerusalem, where he restores order. Ant. xvii. 10, 10; Bell. ii. 5, 2.

**938.** Varus employs his army in suppressing disturbances throughout the country, Jos. Bell. ii. 5, 2; Ant. xvii. 10, 10; and puts down Simon (see no. 934). *Post mortem Herodis, nihil expectato Cæsare, Simeo quidam regium nomen invaserat. Is a Quinctilio Varo, obtinente Syriam, punitus.* Tac. Hist. v. 9.

**939.** Varus dismisses the Arabians and marches his own forces against the insurgents in Idumæa, who surrender. Jos. Bell. ii. 5, 3.

**940.** He returns to Antioch, leaving the

same legion as before to garrison Jerusalem. Οὐάρος μὲν σὺν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καταστησάμενος τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν τὸ καὶ πρότερον τάγμα, εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπάνεισιν. Jos. Bell. ii. 5, 3; Ant. xvii. 11, 1.

**941.** Archelaus and his opponents have an audience before Augustus at Rome, in the presence of Caius, the grandson and adopted son of Augustus, and of the other magnates. Ὁ Καῖσαρ . . . συνέδριον μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν ἐξ Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἰουλίαις τῆς θυγατρὸς θετὸν παῖδα Γάϊον, πρῶτως ἐκάθισεν, ἀποδίδωσι δὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς. Jos. Bell. ii. 2, 4. Ὁ δὲ (Augustus) ταῦτα τε ἀναγνοὺς τὰ γράμματα (the claims of Archelaus), καὶ τὰς τοῦ Οὐάρου καὶ Σαβίνου ἐπιστολάς, ὑποσά τε χρήματα ἦν καὶ τι ἐπ' ἔτος ἐφοῖτα, καὶ ὡς Ἀντίπας ἐπ' οἰκείωσει τῆς βασιλείας ἐπεπόμφει γράμματα, συνῆγεν ἐπὶ παρακωχῆ γνωμῶν τοὺς φίλους, σὺν οἷς καὶ Γάϊον τὸν Ἀγρίππου μὲν καὶ Ἰουλίαις, τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς υἱὸν, ποιητὸν δὲ αὐτῷ γεγονότα, πρῶτόν τε καθεδόμενον, παρέλαβε. Ant. xvii. 9, 5. From this allusion to the *letters* of Antipas it would seem that the *first* audience was before the arrival of Antipas himself. The first audience appears to have lasted one day only. Ἀναλίστας δὲ τοὺς συνέδρους ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας. Bell. ii. 2, 6.

**942.** Augustus reserves judgment; and, before any decision is given, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, dies, and the news reaches Rome of the insurrection against Sabinus at Jerusalem, at the Feast of Pentecost. Πρότερον δὲ ἢ κύρωσιν τινα τούτων γενέσθαι, Μαλθάκη τε, ἡ Ἀρχελαῖον μήτηρ, νόσφ' τελευτῆ, καὶ παρὰ Οὐάρου, τοῦ Συρίας στρατηγού, παρῆν γράμματα, τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀνάστασιν διασαφοῦντα. Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, 1; Bell. ii. 3, 1.

**943.** As *Caius* is represented as present at the hearing before Augustus, and *Caius* left Rome for the East at the close of B.C. 2 (see that year, no. 962), the hearing must of course have occurred previously to B.C. 1. It must also have been subsequent to the assumption of the *toga virilis* by *Caius*, in B.C. 5 (see that year, no. 889), for before that time *Caius* was not admitted to the councils of state (see B.C. 6, no. 848). As *Lucius* was not present, and he received the *toga virilis* in B.C. 2 (see that year, no. 959), the hearing must also have been before the majority of *Lucius*, in B.C. 2. The course of events shows it to have been in B.C. 4. And as the insurrection at Jerusalem began at

the Pentecost (see *supra*, no. 931), which this year was on 31 May, and the news of it reached Rome (say early in August) after the hearing, and before the decision of Augustus, the *first* hearing must have taken place soon after midsummer, B.C. 4. At the first audience, Caius is said to have taken his seat at the council, *πρώτως* or *πρωτον* (see the passages cited, *supra*, no. 941), and this has been generally understood to mean that Caius occupied the principal seat; but another interpretation is, that he now took his seat at a public audience for the first time. He was to be allowed to attend public councils on assuming the *toga virilis*, and he assumed the *toga virilis* in B.C. 5 (see that year, no. 889), and probably in the latter half of the year, when was his birthday (see B.C. 20, no. 740). The usual day for this ceremony was 17 March next after the completion of the fifteenth year (see Norisius Cenot. Pis. i. 160), and Caius, who completed his fifteenth year in B.C. 5, may not, though he had assumed the *toga virilis*, have exercised the privilege of taking his seat at public councils until after 17 March, B.C. 4.

**944.** An embassy of fifty Jews arrives at Rome from Jerusalem, to ask for the annexation of Judæa to the province of Syria. This embassy had been sent by the leave of Varus, before the outbreak of the Jews, and therefore before Pentecost, or 31 May; but as the embassy travelled slowly, it did not reach Rome until after the arrival there of the news of the insurrection, which had no doubt been forwarded by an extraordinary courier. 'Αρχελάφ' δ' ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πάλιν ἄλλη συνίστατο δίκη πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, οἱ πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἐπιτρέψαντος Οὐάρου, πρέσβεις ἐξεληλύθεισαν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτονομίας, ἦσαν δὲ πενήκοντα μὲν οἱ παρόντες, συμπαρίσταντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Ἰουδαίων ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους. Jos. Bell. ii. 6, 1; Ant. xvii. 11, 1.

**945.** At the same time arrives also Herod Philip, who had sailed from Judæa, at the instance of Varus, ostensibly to support Archelaus, but really to look after his own interests. Παρῆν δ' ἤδη καὶ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Συρίας, ἐξοτρύναντος αὐτὸν Οὐάρου, τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον ἐπὶ συνηγορίᾳ τ' ἀδελφοῦ, πάνν γὰρ εὐνόει Οὐαρος αὐτῷ, γενομένης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας μεταπτώσεως, καὶ τότε ὑπώπτευεν Οὐαρος νέμειν αὐτῆς γενήσεσθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς αὐτονομίας γλιχομένους, οὐκ ὑστερῶν τοῦ κῆν αὐτὸς μοῖραν αὐτὸς τινα φέρεσθαι. Jos. Ant. xvii. 11, 1.

**946.** Nicolas Damascenus mentions an embassy also of Greek cities, demanding their independence. Ἐπρεσβεύσαντο καὶ αἱ ὑφ' Ἡρώδῃ Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις, αἰτούμεναι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸ Καίσαρος. Müller's Fragm. Græc. Hist. iii. 354.

**947.** The conflicting parties are heard before Augustus (probably late in August), and a few days after, μετὰ δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, Jos. Bell. ii. 6, 3; ὀλίγων δὲ ἡμερῶν ὕστερον, Ant. xvii. 11, 4, the Emperor delivers his decision.

**948.** Archelaus is made Ethnarch of Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, with a revenue of 400 or 600 talents, and a promise, on good behaviour, of the title of King. Καῖσαρ δὲ . . . Ἀρχελάου βασιλέα μὲν οὐκ ἀποφαίνεται, τοῦ δὲ ἡμίσεως τῆς χώρας, ἥπερ Ἡρώδῃ ὑπετέλει, Ἐθνάρχη καθίσταται· τιμήσειν ἀξιωματι βασιλείας ὑπισχυρόμενος, εἴτερ τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν προσφέροιτο . . . τὰ δὲ Ἀρχελάφ συντελοῦντα Ἰδουμαία τε καὶ Ἰουδαία τό τε Σαμαρειτικόν . . . καὶ ἦσαν πόλεις αἱ Ἀρχελάφ ὑπετέλουσαν Στράτωνός τε Πύργος, καὶ Σεβαστῆ σὺν Ἰόπη καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις . . . προσήει δὲ Ἀρχελάφ φορὰ χρημάτων τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τάλαντα ἑξακόσια, ἐξ ἧς παρέλαβεν ἀρχῆς. Jos. Ant. xvii. 11, 4. Πρόσδοδος δὲ ἦν τῆς Ἀρχελάφ δοθείσης χώρας τετρακοσίων τάλαντων. Bell. ii. 6, 3. The reign of Archelaus is computed by Josephus either by consular or Jewish years, and commences either from 1 January or 1 Nisan of this year, though he was not confirmed as Ethnarch by Augustus until August of this year—just as the reign of Herod had been reckoned by Josephus from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37, though he was not king actually till the death of Antigonus, late in the year.

**949.** Herod Antipas is made Tetrarch of Peræa and Galilee, which yielded 200 talents per annum. Καὶ τούτῳ μὲν (Antipas) ἦ τε Περαία καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ὑποτέλουσαν· φορὰ τε ἦν τάλαντα διακόσια τὸ ἐπ' ἔτος. Jos. Ant. xvii. 11, 4; Bell. ii. 6, 3.

**950.** Herod Philip is appointed Tetrarch of Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Paneas, and Gaulanitis, with a revenue of 100 talents. Βαταναία δὲ, σὺν Τραχωνίτιδι, καὶ Αὐρανίτις, σὺν τινι μέρει οἴκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου λεγομένου, Φιλίππῳ τάλαντα ἑκατὸν προσέφερε. Jos. Ant. xvii. 11, 4. Ἠγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς . . . τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος, καὶ τοῦ Βαταναίων ἔθνους πρὸς αὐτοῖς. Ant. xviii. 4, 6. Βαταναία τε καὶ Τράχων Αὐρανίτις τε καὶ μέρη τινα τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἴκου τὰ περὶ Ἰάμνιαν, πρόσδοτον



ἔχοντα ταλάντων ἑκατὸν ὑπὸ Φιλίπῳ ἐτέτακτο. Bell. ii. 6, 3. Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ (Antipā) τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας. Luke, iii. 1. It will be observed that Luke, in this passage, speaks only of Trachonitis and Ituræa, which therefore in common parlance comprised, besides Trachonitis and Ituræa proper, the countries called by Josephus Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Batanæa, and part of the House of Zenon. The tetrarchy of Abylene, which lay to the north of Paneas, was not included in this grant to Herod Philip; and in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (from 19 August, A.D. 28—19 August, A.D. 29), it was in the possession of Lysanias, a descendant no doubt of the Lysanias put to death by Antony, in B.C. 36. Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος . . . Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς Τετραρχοῦντος. Luke, iii. 1. The tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias were afterwards united in the person of Agrippa the Elder. Καὶ βασιλέα καθίστησιν αὐτὸν τῆς Φιλίππου Τετραρχίας, δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου Τετραρχίαν. Ant. xviii. 6, 10 (see B.C. 20, no. 730; A.D. 37, no. 1503).

**951.** Salome, the sister of Herod the Great, receives Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaelis, and Archelais, with the palace at Askalon, and a revenue of sixty talents. Σαλώμη δὲ . . . Ἰάμνια καὶ Ἀζώτος καὶ Φασαηλῆς, . . . Καίσαρ δὲ χαρίζεται καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι βασιλείου οἰκισιν ἦν δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ πρόσδοδος ἐκ πάντων τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα ἐπ' ἔτος. Jos. Ant. xvii. 11, 5; Bell. ii. 6, 3. Φασαηλίδα καὶ Ἀρχελαίδα. Ant. xviii. 2, 2. Jamnia, now Yebna, is a little way from the coast, halfway between Azotus and Joppa. Phasaelis, now Fusail, was in the Ghor or valley of the Jordan, and about ten miles to the north of Jericho, and, like the latter city, abounded in palmgroves. Archelais was also a city in the plain of the Jordan, Ant. xvii. 13, 1; xviii. 2, 2; a little to the north of Phasaelis, and twenty-four miles from Jericho, according to the Pentinger tables. See Robinson's Palestine, 1852, 304.

**952.** Archelaus returns to Judæa and removes Joazar from the high-priesthood, and appoints Eleazar in his place. Ἀρχέλαος δὲ τὴν Ἐθναρχίαν παραλαβὼν, ἐπεὶ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικνεῖται, Ἰωάζαρον, τὸν Βοηθοῦ, ἀφελόμενος τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην, ἐπικαλῶν συστάντι τοῖς στασιώταις, Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἐκείνου ἀποκαθίσταται ἀδελφόν. Jos. Ant. xvii. 13, 1 (see B.C. 4, no.

904). Eleazar was succeeded by Jesus, son of Siah. Διατρίβει δὲ οὐδ' ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν τῇ Ἀρχιερωσύνῃ, ἐπικατασταθέντος αὐτῷ ζῶντι Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σιὲ παιδός. Ant. xvii. 13, 1. In A. D. 6, after the removal of Archelaus, Joazar, son of Boethus, is spoken of as still high-priest, πείσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως Ἰωάζαρου· Βοηθοῦ δὲ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν, Ant. xviii. 1, 1; and is afterwards said to have been displaced by Cyrenius, who appointed Annas, son of Seth, in his place. Ant. xviii. 2, 1. But Josephus, in these passages, had forgotten the intermediate appointments of Eleazar and Jesus, or the name of Joazar may have crept into the text by mistake for that of Jesus, as the names are not very dissimilar.

**953.** Herod Antipas fortifies Sepphoris and builds Julias, in Peræa, in honour of Julia, the wife of Augustus; and Herod Philip builds Cæsarea Philippi, in Paneas, in honour of Augustus, and Julias, in Gaulanitis, on the site of Bethsaida, in honour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus and wife of Tiberius. Καὶ Ἡρώδης (Antipas) Σεπφόριον τειχίσας, πρόσχημα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου πάντος, ἤγεν αὐτὴν Ἀντοκρατορίδα, Βηθαραμφθᾶ δὲ (πόλις ἦν καὶ αὐτῇ) τείχει περιλαβὼν, Ἰουλιάδα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντοκράτορος ἀγορεύει τῆς γυναικός· Φίλιππος δὲ Πανεάδα τὴν πρὸς ταῖς Κησάρεις τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατασκευάσας ὀνομάζει Παγαρειαν, κώμην δὲ Βηθσαιδᾶν πρὸς λίμνην τῇ Γεννηαρτίδι πόλεως παρασχῶν ἀξίωμα . . . Ἰουλίᾳ θυγατρὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ὀμώνυμον ἐκάλεσεν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 1. In Bell. ii. 9, 1, the building of Cæsarea and the two Juliases is made contemporaneous with the founding of Tiberias by Herod Antipas, and is consequently placed after the commencement of the reign of Tiberius, and, therefore, after 19 August, A.D. 14; but the Antiquities is the more accurate work, and, apparently, the building of Cæsarea Philippi and the two Juliases is coupled in the Wars with the founding of Tiberias for the sake of brevity only. The statement of Josephus that Julias, on the lake of Gennesaret, was so called after Julia, the daughter of Augustus, Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ θυγατρὶ Καίσαρος, shows that this city at least was built and named before the close of B.C. 2, as soon after midsummer of that year Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was disgraced and banished (see B.C. 2, no. 961). The building of Julias, on the site of Bethsaida, in honour of the emperor's daughter, was therefore prior



to this event, and probably in B.C. 3. This would be the natural time, as Herod died in B.C. 4, and Philip was appointed tetrarch in the third quarter of that year, and returned to Judæa at the close of B.C. 4, or the beginning of B.C. 3.

954. A pseudo-Alexander, or pretended son of Herod by Mariamne, makes his appearance, but the imposture is soon discovered by Augustus. Jos. Ant. xvii. 12, 1; Bell. ii. 7, 1.

955. After the proceedings of Varus consequent upon the death of Herod (see *ante*, no. 936–940), we hear no more of Varus in Syria; and it has been thought by some, and is not unlikely, that Varus was succeeded as governor of Syria, this year, by Publius Sulpicius Quirinus, called by Luke Cyrenius. Quirinus had been consul B.C. 12, and was therefore qualified from that time for the office. His prefecture at this time may be supported as follows:—

1. In B.C. 2, he was appointed the monitor of Caius when the latter proceeded to the East, *datusque rector C. Cæsari, Armeniam obtinenti*, Tac. Ann. iii. 48; and the only reason to be assigned for this is his experience in oriental affairs, from having held office in those parts at some time previously to this. The other monitor had been prefect of Galatia (see B.C. 25, no. 677).

2. The Homonadenses in Cilicia had belonged to Amyntas, king of Galatia, and he had been slain in B.C. 25, in attempting to reduce them to submission. Strabo, xii. 6. On his death, Cilicia Aspera was made over to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (see B.C. 25, no. 675). That Homonada was in Cilicia Aspera appears from the words of Strabo. Διέφθειραν αὐτὸν (Amyntam) οἱ Κίλικες ἐμβάλλοντα εἰς τοὺς Ὀμοναδεῖς. Strabo, xii. 6. That Cilicia generally was amenable to the prefect of Syria is evident. Thus, Piso, ex-prefect of Syria, sought to recover his province by levying troops in Cilicia, as part of it, Tac. Ann. ii. 78; the prefect of Syria sent his legate to reduce the Clitæ, a Cilician people, to subjection, Tac. Ann. vi. 41; which was again done in A.D. 52, Tac. Ann. xii. 55; and Vonones, ex-king of Parthia, who had taken refuge with Creticus Silanus, prefect of Syria, Tac. Ann. ii. 4, was kept in custody in Pompeiopolis, of Cilicia, Tac. Ann. ii. 58; and Antiochus, king of Commagene, was arrested at Tarsus by the orders of Cæsennius Pætus, prefect of Syria. Jos. Bell. vii. 7, 3. Now, these Homonadenses were subdued by Quirinus, who was rewarded for his services

not with a triumph, but with triumphal honours. *Nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinius pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium: sed impiger militiæ, et acribus ministeriis, consulatum sub D. Augusto* (B.C. 12); *mox expugnatis per Ciliciam castellis, insignia triumphii adeptus; datusque rector C. Cæsari, Armeniam obtinenti* (B.C. 2). Tac. Ann. iii. 48. It is implied, therefore, by this statement, that between his consulship, in B.C. 12, and his attendance upon Caius, in B.C. 2, he had been governor of Syria, and as such had reduced the Homonadenses. Strabo refers to the same event, but without any note of time. Ἐκείνους δὲ (the Homonadenses) Κυρίνιος ἐξέπύρθησε λιμῶ, καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἀνδρας ἐζώγρησε, καὶ συνήκειεν εἰς τὰς ἐγγυς πόλεις, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀπέλιπεν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ. Strabo, xii. 6. Dion alludes to it under a much later year (A.D. 5), but he expressly cautions his readers that he is grouping together some incidents of minor importance without observing the exact order of time. Κἂν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις . . . τά γε μὲν μνήμης τιτὸς ἄζια, κεφαλαίωσας, πλὴν τῶν μεγίστων, ἐρῶ. Ἰσσυροὶ τε γὰρ, ἐκ ληστείας ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ ἐς πολέμον δεινότητα προήχθησαν, μέχρι οὗ κατεδαμύθησαν. Dion, liv. 28.

3. There is an ancient fragmental inscription given by Sanclemente and others, which runs thus:—

... GEM QUA REDACTA IN POT . . .  
 AUGUSTI POPULIQUE ROMANI SENATU . . .  
 SUPPLICATIONES BINAS OB RES PROSP . . .  
 IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIUMPH . . .  
 PRO CONSUL ASIAM PROVINCIAM OP . . .  
 DIVI AUGUSTI ITERUM SYRIAM ET PH . . .

Here we have reference made to some one who for his military successes had obtained not a triumph, but the *ornamenta triumphalia*, and who had been twice legate of Augustus in Syria, that is, some time between B.C. 27, when the partition of the provinces was made, and A.D. 14, when Augustus died; and there is no one in whom these requirements can be found except in Quirinus, who is mentioned by Tacitus to have received the *insignia triumphii*, Tac. Ann. iii. 48, for his subjection of the Homonadenses; and if he was prefect of Syria in B.C. 4, was a second time prefect in A.D. 6. The blanks in the inscription might be readily filled up thus:—



[CIVITATEM SUBEGIT HOMONADENSIVM QUI INTERFERECERANT AMYNTAM RE-  
TERFERECERANT AMYNTAM RE-  
(OR)ADFLIXERANT LATROCINIIS ARCHELAUM RE-]  
GEM, QUÀ REDACTÂ IN POT[ESTATEM DIVI]  
AUGUSTI POPULIQUE ROMANI SENATU[S]  
SUPPLICATIONES BINAS OB RES PROSP[ERE GE-  
STAS ET]  
IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIUMPH[ALIA DECREVIT]  
PROCONSUL ASIAM PROVINCIAM OP[TINUIT LE-  
GATUS]  
DIVI AUGUSTI ITERUM SYRIAM ET PH[ENICEN]  
REXIT]

It appears from Strabo, xii. 16, that the Homonadenses had been subject to a τύραννος, who was slain by Amyntas, and that the latter was afterwards taken in ambush by the widow of the τύραννος. The letters . . . GEM in the inscription may therefore refer either to *REGEM*, the king of the Homonadenses, or to his wife, *CONJUGEM*, who succeeded to his power. The only objection urged against the application of the inscription to Cyrenius is that there were but two consular provinces, viz. Africa and Asia, and that Quirinus could not have been proconsul of Asia, as stated upon the inscription, as, according to Florus, he subdued the Marmaridæ and Garamantes, which he could only have done as proconsul of Africa. *Sub meridiano tumultuatum magis quam bellatum est. Musulanios atque Gætulos accolat Syrtium, Cosso duce (Augustus) compescuit; unde illi Gætulici nomen. Latius victoria patet. Marmaridas atque Garimantas Quirinio subigendos dedit. Potuit et ille redire Marmaricus, sed modestior in unâ victoriâ fuit.* Flor. iv. 12, 40. But this argument fails, for Florus places the victory after, or contemporaneously with, that of Cossus, which was in A.D. 5. Dion, lv. 28. Vell. Pat. ii. 116. And it cannot be supposed that Quirinus took Africa by lot, in ordinary course, sixteen years after his consulship in B.C. 12. But further, while the Musulanii and Gætuli, described as bordering upon the Syrtis, may have been assailed by Cossus, as prefect of proconsular Africa, the Marmaridæ and Garamantes were more to the east and adjoined the province of Cyrene, which was not a proconsular, but a prætorian province. Indeed, the Marmaridæ occupied the seacoast to the west of Cyrene and reached from Catabathmus, the eastern boundary of Cyrene, to the Great Syrtis, the western boundary, so as to environ the whole of Cyrene, except along the seaborde.

*Unde Catabathmum cævi. M. passuum. Accolunt Marmaridæ et Parætonii ferme regione ad Syrtin usque majorem porrecti.* Plin. N. H. v. 5; and see Strabo, xvii. 3. Thus, if Quirinus subdued the Marmaridæ and Garamantes, who adjoined them, the inference is that he did so not as prefect of proconsular Africa, but as prætor of Cyrene. Besides, Florus states that the appointment of Quirinus proceeded from Augustus, and was not, therefore, taken by lot. *Quirinio (Augustus) dedit.* And Quirinus may even have been specially appointed by Augustus, either to Cyrene or to the consular province of Africa, for Dion, in introducing the account of Cossus's campaign, states that, in consequence of the tumults at that time in the provinces, Augustus interrupted the usual routine, and sent his own officers specially commissioned instead of allowing the posts more responsible to be filled up by lot. *Ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθνεσι, καὶ αἰρετούς γε ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν ἄρξαι.* Dion, lv. 28. Quirinus, therefore, may have been employed in Africa, not as the prefect by lot of the province, but as sent specially; and if so, it is very possible that, many years before, he may have been proconsul of Asia, as stated in the inscription.

4. There is another inscription which, if genuine, has an important bearing; and it is this:—

Q. ÆMILIUS Q. F.

. . . PAL. SECUNDUS

CASTRIS DIVI AUG.

P. SULPICIO QUIRINO LEG.

CÆSARIS SYRIÆ HONORI

BUS DECORATUS PRÆFECT.

COHORT AUG. I. PRÆFECT.

COHORT II. CLASSICÆ IDEM

JUSSU QUIRINI CENSUM FEC.

APAMENÆ CIVITATIS MIL

LIUM HOMIN. CIVIVM CXVII.

IDEM JUSSU QUIRINI ADVERSUS

ITURÆOS IN LIBANO MONTE

CASTELLUM EORUM CEPIT ET ANTE

MILITIAM PRÆFECT. FABRUM

DELATUS A DUOBUS COS AD Æ

RARIUM ET IN COLONIA

QUÆSTOR ÆDIL II DUUMVIR. II

PONTIFEX

IBI POSITI SUNT Q. ÆMILIUS Q. F. PAL.

SECUNDUS P. ET ÆMILIA CHIA LIB

H. M. AMPLIUS H. N. S.

(Muratori, ii. 670, 1.)

Here we have a census of population taken in Apamea by the orders of Quirinus, prefect of Syria, and Apamea was not part of the dominions of Archelaus, and therefore not within the compass of the census with which Quirinus was charged in A.D. 6. The inscription was first edited by Sertorius Ursatus in 'Marmi eruditi, ovvero lettere sopra alcune antiche iscrizioni,' Padova, 1719, p. 276, and is said to have been found at Venice. The genuineness of it has been supported by some and doubted by others. The arguments will be found candidly and ably discussed by Mr. Boyle, in the Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 573, who supports the genuineness of the inscription.

5. Amongst other authorities may be cited the passage of Luke, who speaks of an edict from Augustus for a census in the time of Herod, and which 'first census (as it may be rendered) came to pass when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.' *Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.* Luke, ii. 2. A natural inference from this is that Cyrenius was prefect of Syria many years before the census made by him in A.D. 6. It will, of course, be objected that, even if Cyrenius was prefect of Syria in B.C. 4, it would still be about two years subsequent to the birth of Christ, which we have placed in B.C. 6. Luke, however, does not say that the *decree* for the census was in the time of Cyrenius, but only that the *census itself*, which had been ordered in the time of Varus, *ἐγένετο*, was completed in the time of Cyrenius. The word *ἐγένετο* is used by Josephus in the same technical sense. *Τῶν ἀποτιμήσεων πέρας ἐχουσῶν, αἱ ἐγένοντο τριακοστῇ καὶ ἐβδόμῃ ἔτει, etc.*, Ant. xviii. 2, 1; i.e. the second census, which was ordered in A.D. 6, *ἐγένετο*, was completed in A.D. 7 (see that year, no. 1021). The edict, therefore, for the first census may have been issued in B.C. 6, in the time of Varus, and the census itself may have been completed in the time of Cyrenius, in B.C. 4.

The duration of the first prefecture of Quirinus, or Cyrenius, if admitted, may be thus measured. He was consul in B.C. 12, from which time he was duly qualified for the office of governor of Syria; but from B.C. 12, we have successively, as prefects of Syria, M. Titius, C. Sentius Saturninus, and P. Quinctilius Varus, up to the latter half of B.C. 4; and here, where we lose sight of Varus, the prefecture of Qui-

rinus may have begun. On the other hand, at the end of B.C. 2, Quirinus was selected as monitor of Caius, on his proceeding to the East, and Quirinus was with him soon after at Rhodes (see B.C. 1, no. 971); and he must, therefore, have been recalled from Syria about midsummer B.C. 2. Thus, his rule would extend from the latter half of B.C. 4 to midsummer B.C. 2. If Quirinus was prefect of Syria in B.C. 4, he was probably succeeded, in B.C. 2, by Censorinus, for it is difficult on any other supposition to account for the public loss sustained by the death of Censorinus, in A.D. 1. *Obisse Censorinum in iisdem provinciis graviter tulit civitas.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102. And Censorinus is also alluded to, as apparently holding some high post, in a decree issued, in favour of the Jews, by Augustus, after he was Pontifex Maximus, and, therefore, after B.C. 12; and this high post may have been the prefecture of Syria. *Τὸ τε ψήφισμα τὸ δοθέν μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἔμης εὐσεβείας ἧς ἔχω πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ὑπὲρ Γαίου Μαρκίου Κλησορίνου, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ διάταγμα κελεύω ἀνατεθῆναι, etc.* Ant. xvi. 6, 2. Censorinus was succeeded by L. Volusius Saturninus (see B.C. 6, no. 873; A.D. 5, no. 1000).

#### 956. Coins of Antioch.

- Καίσαρος Σεβασου + Ερους ΖΚ. Νικης Υπα IB.  
i. e. *Cæsaris Augusti + Anno Victoriæ xvii.*  
*Cos. xii.*, and therefore struck between 2 Sept.  
B.C. 5, and 2 Sept. B.C. 4. Eckhel, iii. 272.
- Καίσαρι Σεβασω Αρχιερι + Αρχιερατικον Αντω-  
χεις. ΖΚ. (same date). Id. iii. 274.
- Αντιοχειων επι Ουαρου ΖΚ. (same date).  
Id. iii. 275.

A coin is extant assignable probably to Archelaus, but of uncertain date. *Ηρωδης (botrus) + Εθναρχος, galea cristata, juxta per-exiguus caduceus.* Eckhel, iii. 484. As no year is mentioned, the coin may have been struck in the first year of the reign.

#### Inscription.

*Laribus Publicis Sacrum Imp. Cæs. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Tribunic. Potestât. xviii.*  
*Ex stipe quam Populus ei contulit K. Januar.*  
*C. Calvisio Sabino L. Passieno Rufo Cos.*  
Inscriptio ad calcem Suetonii.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.



**B.C. 3. U.C. 751. Olymp. 194, 2.**

L. CORNEL LENTULUS.  
M. VALERIUS MESSALLINUS COTTA.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXI. FROM 27 JUNE.  
COS. XII. COS. DESIG. XIII. PONT. MAX. IMP.  
XIV.

TIBERII TRIB. POT. IV.

Second year of the reign of Archelaus, and  
Herod Antipas, and Herod Philip.

**957.** The birth of Galba is placed by Suetonius on 24 December, B.C. 3. *Ser. Galba Imperator M. Valerio Messallâ Cn. Lentulo coss. natus est ix. Kal. Januarii.* Suet. Galb. 4. But, in fact, Galba was born in B.C. 5, as is assumed by Suetonius himself in another place, where he makes Galba 73 at the time of his accession, in A.D. 69. *Consulto Delphis Apolline, septuagesimum ac tertium annum cavendum sibi (Nero) audivit, quasi eo demum obiturus, ac nihil conjectans de ætate Galbæ.* Suet. Nero, 40. And, again, Suetonius expressly states the age of Galba at his death to have been 73. Suet. Galb. 23 (see A.D. 69).

**957 a.** Athronges, the insurgent, is subdued by Archelaus. This was after some interval from the first outbreak in B.C. 4. 'Ο τελευταῖος (the last of the brothers) . . . Ἀρχελάφ παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ τὰδε μὲν ὕστερον γίνεται. Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, 7. Μετὰ χρόνον οἱ μὲν τρεῖς ἐχειρώθησαν, ὑπ' Ἀρχελάου ὁ πρεσβύτατος, οἱ δὲ ἐξῆς δύο Γράφ καὶ Προλεμαῖφ περιπεσόντες· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος Ἀρχελάφ προσεχώρησε κατὰ δεξιάν. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦς ὕστερον ἐξεδέχετο. Bell. ii. 4, 3.

**958.** To this year may be referred the subjugation of the Homonadenses by P. Sulpicius Quirinus, or Cyrenius, for which the *Insignia Triumphalia* were awarded to him. *Impiger militia, et acribus ministeriis, consulatum* (B.C. 12) *sub D. Augusto, mox, expugnatis per Cili-ciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphali (Sulpicius Quirinus) adeptus, datusque victor C. Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti* (B.C. 2). Tac. Ann. iii. 48 (see B.C. 4, no. 955).

**958 a. Coins of Antioch.**

Καῖσαρος Σεβασου + Ετους ΗΚ Νικης Υπα. IB.  
i. e. *Cæsaris Augusti + Anno Victoriæ xxviii.*  
Cos. xii., and therefore struck between 2 Sept.  
B.C. 4, and 2 Sept. B.C. 3. Eckhel, iii. 272.

Καῖσαρι Σεβασω Αρχιερι + Αρχιερατικον Αντιο-  
χεις ΗΚ. (same date). Ib. iii. 274.

## Inscriptions.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Aug. Pontif. Maximus*  
Cos. xii. Cos. Designat. xiii. Imp. xiiii. Tri-  
bunicia Potestate xx. (Nemausi).

Muratori, i. 120, 10; 442, 2.

*Pater Patriæ Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus*  
Pontifex Maximus Cos. xii. Designatus xiii.  
Imp. xiiii. Trib. Pot. xii. (Lege xxi.) (In agro  
Arelatensi). Ib. iv. 2005, 4.

(*Pater Patri*)æ (*Cæsar*) *Divi F. (Augustus) Pon-*  
*tifex (Maximus) xii. Cos. (Design)atus xiii.*  
(*Trib.*) *Potest. xxi.* (In vico Salon in Pro-  
vinciâ). Id. iv. 2005, 5.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

**B.C. 2. U.C. 752. Olymp. 194, 3.**

IMP. AUGUSTUS, xiii. Ex Kal. Oct. Q. Fabricius  
suffectus.

M. PLAUTIUS SYLVANUS. Ex Kal. Jul. C. Caninius  
Gallus suffectus.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXII. FROM 27 JUNE.  
COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. (see no.  
960) IMP. XIV.

TIBERII TRIB. POT. V. In B.C. 1 the five  
years of the Tribunitian power which had  
been granted to Tiberius in B.C. 6 (see that  
year, no. 849) expired; and as Tiberius  
was in disgrace at Rhodes from the latter  
part of B.C. 6 to A.D. 2, the Tribunitian  
power was not renewed to him until after  
the death of Caius, in A.D. 4. See that  
year, no. 993).

Third year of the reign of Archelaus, and  
Herod Antipas, and Herod Philip.

**959.** Lucius Cæsar, now in his fifteenth year  
(see B.C. 17, no. 749), assumes the *toga virilis*  
in the thirteenth consulship of Augustus.  
*Duodecimum (consulatum) . . . et rursus ter-*  
*tium decimum, biennio post, ultro (Augustus)*  
*petiit, ut Caium et Lucium filios, amplissimo*  
*præditus magistratu, suo quemque tirocinio, de-*  
*duceret in forum.* Suet. Octav. 26. Augustus  
was consul for nine months, viz. to the end of  
September, within which time, therefore, the  
*toga virilis* was conferred. See Suet. Octav.  
26. Noris Cenot. Pis. Dissert. 2, c. 4. Zonaras

states that Lucius received the *toga virilis* the very next year after Caius, which would be in B.C. 4, but he is certainly mistaken in this. Καὶ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τὰς τιμὰς, ὄσαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἐδίδοντο, ἔλαβεν. Zonar. x.

**960.** Augustus receives the title of Pater Patriæ on 5 February of this year. *Non. N. Concordiæ in arce feriæ ex S. C. quod eo die Imperator Cæsar Augustus Pontifex Maximus Trib. Potest. xxi. Cos. xiii. a senatu populoque Romano Pater Patriæ appellatus.* Old calendar cited Gruter, 136, 2. The nones referred to were those of February, as appears from Ovid, who, speaking of the nones of February, refers to the circumstance thus:—

*Sancte Pater Patriæ, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen  
Hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen eques.*

Fasti, ii. 127.

Τρισκαίδεκάτην ὑπατείαν ἄγοντός μου, ἢ τε σύγκλητος καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα ὄ,τε σύμπας ὄῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσηγόρευσέ με Πατέρα Πατριδος. Lapis Ancyra. Fasti Hellen. 2nd ed. 302.

**961.** Augustus celebrates a naval fight and gladiatorial games on a scale of great magnificence, and dedicates the temple of Mars; and about the same time the crim. con. of his daughter Julia comes to light. *At in urbe eo ipso anno quo magnificentissimis gladiatorii numeris navachiaque spectaculis D. Augustus abhinc annos xxx., se et Gallo Caninio Consulibus, dedicato Martis Templo, animos oculosque populi Romani repleverat . . . filia ejus Julia . . . nihil . . . libidine infectum reliquit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 100. If these events were in the consulship of Augustus and Caninius, they occurred between 1 July and 1 October, for Caninius was consul suffectus on 1 July, and Augustus resigned in favour of Q. Fabricius at the end of September.

**962.** Caius is appointed to the command of the East. The mission of Caius must have been late in this year, for he left Rome shortly after the games exhibited by Augustus.

*Quid? modo cum belli navalis imagine  
Cæsar*

*Persidas induxit Cecropidasque rates? . . .  
Ecce parat Cæsar domito quod defuit orbi  
Addere. Nunc, Oriens, ultime, noster  
eris . . .*

*Marsque Pater Cæsarque Pater, date nomen  
eunti;*

*Nam Deus e vobis alter es, alter eris.*

Ovid, *Ars Amandi*, i. 171, 177, and 203.

And the departure of Caius was very soon after the banishment of Julia. *Breve ab hoc (the banishment of Julia) intercesserat spatium, cum Caius Cæsar . . . in Syriam missus, convento prius Tib. Nerone.* Vell. Pat. ii. 101.

**963.** He was attended by councillors to aid him with their advice. Καὶ οἱ (Caio) καὶ συμβουλοῦς (Augustus) προσέταξε. Zonaras, x. 36. And these councillors were M. Lollius, who had been Legate of Galatia (see B.C. 25, no 677), *M. Lollii . . . quem velut moderatorem juventæ filii sui Augustus voluerat,* Vell. Pat. 102; and Sulpicius Quirinus, who there is reason to think had been Legate of Syria (see B.C. 4, no. 955). *Sed (Sulpicius Quirinus) impiger militiæ, et acribus ministeriis . . . datus rector C. Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti.* Tac. Ann. iii. 48.

**964.** Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, the father of Nero, was also one of the companions of Caius. *Siquidem comes ad orientem Caii Cæsaris juvenis, occiso liberto suo, quod potare quantum jubebatur, recusarat, dimissus e cohorte amicorum, nihilo modestius vixit.* Suet. Nero, 5. As also was Ælius Sejanus. *Primâ juventâ Caium Cæsarem Divi Augusti nepotem sectatus.* Tacit. Ann. iv. 1.

**965.** Dionysius, the Arabian geographer, had been sent into the East, before Caius sailed, to collect information. *Hoc in loco (Charax, a town on the Persian Gulf) genitum esse Dionysium, terrarum orbis situs recentissimum auctorem, constat, quem ad commentanda omnia in orientem præmisit Divus Augustus, ituro in Armeniam ad Parthias Arabicasque res majore filio.* Plin. N. H. vi. 31.

**966.** Caius did not proceed to Syria direct, but visited other provinces previously. *C. Cæsar, ante aliiis provinciis ad visendum obitis, in Syriam missus.* Vell. Pat. ii. 101. And his first voyage was to Greece, where he visited Athens, as appears from the inscription found there, Ο Δῆμος Γαῖον Καῖσαρα Σεβαστον υἱον Νεον Ἀρη; and Eubœa, as may be collected from the inscription found at Chaleis. Γαῖος Καῖσαρ Αυτοκρατορος Καῖσαρος Σεβ. υἱος. Muratori, i. 221, 8, 7.

Caius probably wintered in Greece.

**966 a.** Polemo I., son of Zenon the Rhetori-



cian, and king of Pontus, Colchis and Bosphorus, is still alive this year (inscription, *infra*, no. 966 b; see v.c. 14, no. 761). Polemo I. was captured in an expedition against the Aspurgiani in Bosphorus, and put to death. Strabo, xi. 2. Polemo I. left, at his death, Pythodoris, his widow, whom he had married after the demise of Dynamis, his first wife, and two sons, viz. Polemo II. and Zenon. Pythodoris, after her husband's death, married Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who died A.D. 17. Strabo xii. 3. Polemo I. must, therefore, have died at least some time before that year.

Pythodoris succeeded to the greater part of her husband's dominions. Those belonging to her in *Pontus* were bounded on the east by Colchis, on the south by the Lesser Armenia and the Hierarchy of Comana Pontica, and on the west by Amisene, and comprised the Tibareni and Chaldæi, Trapezus, Pharnacia, Cabira, Zelitis, Megalopolitis, etc. Strabo, xii. 3. Her palace was at Cabira. Τὰ δὲ Κάβειρα . . . ἐκείνη (Pythodoris) προσκατεσκεύασε καὶ Σεβαστὴν μετωνόμασε, βασιλείῃ τε τῇ πόλει χρῆται. Strabo, xii. 3 (see A.D. 38, no. 1533).

*Colchis* also was subject to Pythodoris. Ὑστατα δὲ Πολέμων ἔσχε τὴν Κολχίδα, κἀκείνου τελευτήσαντος ἡ γυνὴ Πυθοδώρις κρατεῖ, βασιλεύουσα καὶ Κόλχων καὶ Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ Φαρνακίας καὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων βαρβάρων. Strabo, xi. 3.

As to *Bosphorus*, which had belonged to Polemo I., Strabo speaks of it as subject to kings nominated by the Romans. Καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τοῖς τῶν Βοσπορανῶν βασιλεῦσιν, οὓς ἂν Ῥωμαῖοι καταστήσωσιν, ἅπαντά ἐστιν. Strabo, vii. 4. In the passage, therefore, οἱ ὕστατοι Φαρνάκης, καὶ Ἀσανδρος, καὶ Πολέμων, Strabo, xi. 2, the geographer refers to the *late* kings, but not to the very last kings. It appears from the coins that the kings who succeeded Polemo I. were, first, Sauromates, in the reign of Augustus, and Rhescuporis, in the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula. Eckhel, ii. 373 (see v.c. 14, no. 761; A.D. 38, no. 1533).

Polemo II. assisted Pythodoris in the administration of her government, ὁ μὲν (Polemo II.) ἰδιώτης συνδιώκει τῇ μητρὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, Strabo, xii. 3; but in A.D. 38 became himself king of Pontus and Colchis (see A.D. 38, no. 1533). Zenon, the other son of Polemo I., in A.D. 18 was made king of Armenia by the name of Artaxias. Ὁ δὲ (Zenon) νεωστὶ καθίστα-

ται τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας βασιλεύς. Strabo, xii. 3 (see A.D. 18, no. 1102).

966 b. Coins of Augustus.

*Cæsar Augustus Divi F. Pater Patriæ + Pontif. Max.*

*Cæsar Divi F. Pat. Pa. + Vota Publica.*

*Cæsari Aug. or Augusto + S. P. Q. R. Parent.*

*Cons. suo.* (as to *Parens Patriæ*, see *ante*, no. 960).

Eckhel, vi. 112.

Coin of Antioch.

Καῖσαρος Σεβαστοῦ + Ετους ΘΚ Νικης Υπα. ΙΓ.

i. e. *Cæsaris Augusti + Anno Victoriæ xxix.*

*Cos. xviii.*, and therefore struck between

1 Jan. and 2 Sept. v.c. 2.

Id. iii. 272.

Καῖσαρι Σεβαστῷ Αρχιερι + Αρχιερατικῶν Αντιω-

χεις ΘΚ., and therefore struck between 2

Sept. v.c. 3, and 2 Sept. v.c. 2.

Id. iii. 274.

Inscriptions.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Cos. viii. (lege xviii.) Trib. Potest. xxi. Pont. Max. A Bæte et Jano Augusto ad Oceanum cxxi. Constantia Æternitatisque Augusti (Cordubæ).*

Gruter. 153, 2.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Aug. Cos. xviii. Trib. Pot. xxi. Pont. Max. A Bæte et Jano. Aug. ad Oceanum cxxii. (Cordubæ).*

Id. 153, 1.

*Imp. Cæs. Aug. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxi. Cos. xviii. Pat. Patr. Term. Aug. Inter Lanc. opp. et Igaedit. (Alcanteræ in Lusitan.).*

Id. 199, 3.

*Imp. Cæsar Aug. Divi F. Cos. xviii. Tr. Pot. xvii. (at Forum Julii).*

Muratori, i. 442, 3.

Μῆνος Φρατρίῳ δεκάτῃ ἀπίοντος ἐπὶ Ἱερέως τῆς Ῥώμας καὶ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καῖσαρος, Θεῶ νιῶ, Θεῶ, Σεβάστω, Ἀρχιερέως Μεγίστῳ, καὶ Πατρὸς πατρίδος, Πολέμῳ τῷ Ζήνωνος Λαοδίκιος, Πρωτανίῳ δὲ Λευκίῳ Οὐακκίῳ, Λευκίῳ νιῶ Δίμυλια, Λαβέωνος, Φιλοκυμαῖῳ, εὐεργέτῃ, στεφανοφόρῳ δὲ Σπράτωνος τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ. Inscription at Cyme, Boeckh, vol. ii. no. 3524. Polemo is here called the Priest of the Temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus; and as Augustus is described as *Pater Patriæ*, the inscription could not have been earlier than v.c. 2, when Augustus first took that title (see no. 960).

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 19.

Pentecost, May 9.

Tabernacles, September 13.

**B.C. 1. U.C. 753. Olymp. 194, 4.**

CN. COSSUS CORNEL. LENTULUS.  
L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXIII. FROM 27 JUNE.  
COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XIV.

Fourth year of the reign of Archelaus and Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**967.** In the spring Caius visits Egypt. *Caium, nepotem suum, Cæsar Augustus ad ordinandas Ægypti, Syriæque provincias misit, qui, præteriens ab Ægypto fines Palestinæ, apud Hierosolymam in templo Dei tunc sancto et celebri adorare contempsit.* Oros. vii. 3. That Caius visited Egypt before Syria results not only from the above passage, but also from the fact that he was not at Samos or Chios until the close of this year; and had he taken the direct route the interval cannot be accounted for. It is further observable that Caius seems to have passed Jerusalem once only, Suet. Octav. 93; whereas, if he had gone from Syria to Egypt, and back again, he would have passed it twice (see *infra*, no. 969).

**968.** Caius makes an expedition to the Red Sea and Arabia. *In quo (Arabico Sinu) res gerente C. Cæsare, Augusti filio, signa navium ex Hispaniensibus naufragiis feruntur agnita.* Plin. N. H. ii. 67. But Caius does no more than get a sight of Arabia. *Caius Cæsar, Augusti filius, prospexit tantum Arabiam.* Plin. N. H. vi. 32. In his expedition to Arabia he was apparently accompanied by Juba, king of Mauritania; at least, Juba wrote an account of the expedition. *In hæc tamen parte arma Romana sequi placet nobis, Jubamque regem, ad eundem Caium Cæsarem scriptis voluminibus de eadem expeditione Arabicâ.* Plin. N. H. vi. 31. *Juba rex iis voluminibus quæ scripsit ad Caium Cæsarem Augusti filium, ardentem famâ Arabiæ, tradit,* etc. Plin. N. H. xii. 31. *Juba in iis voluminibus, quæ scripsit ad Caium Cæsarem, Augusti filium, de Arabiâ tradit.* Plin. N. H. xxxii. 4. It is said by Josephus that this Juba married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the widow of Alexander, the son of Herod by Mariamne, and that on the death of Juba she married Archelaus, the ethnarch of Judæa. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον (Alexandri) συνῴκησεν (Glaphyra) Ἰόβῃ τῷ βασιλεύοντι Λιβύης, οὗ τελευτήσαντος, ἐπανελθοῦσαν αὐτὴν καὶ χηρεύουσαν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ

(Archelaus of Cappadocia) θεασάμενος ὁ Ἐθνάρχης Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτος ἦλθεν ὥστε παραχρῆμα . . . ἐκείνην ἀγαγέσθαι, Jos. Bell. ii. 7, 4; Ant. xvii. 13, 4; and that Glaphyra died not long after her marriage to Archelaus. Μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς ἀφίξεως χρόνον. Bell. ii. 7, 4. That Glaphyra, the widow of Alexander, may have married Archelaus is very possible; but that during the interval she married Juba must be a mistake. As Archelaus, the ethnarch, saw her in Cappadocia, this must have been at least in or before A.D. 6, for in that year Archelaus the ethnarch was banished; but in A.D. 6 she could not have been Juba's widow, for Juba himself was then still living, as we learn from Dion. Ἐπὶ τε Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου καὶ ἐπὶ Δευκίου Ἀρρόντιου Γαιούδου . . . τῷ τε Ἰόβῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἅμα ἀπαξιούντες μὴ οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι ἐπανεστήσαν αὐτῷ. Dion, lv. 25, 28. And besides, Juba began to reign in B.C. 30 (see that year, no. 638), and there are a series of coins struck in the 17th, 31st, 32nd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 42nd, and 48th years of his reign (see Eckhel, vi. 156), and reaching, therefore, to A.D. 18. And Strabo, who wrote about A.D. 20, speaks of Juba as then lately dead. Ἰούβας μὲν οὖν νεωστὶ ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον, διαδεδέκται δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν υἱὸς Πτολεμαῖος, γεγωνὸς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου θυγατρὸς καὶ Κλεοπάρας. Strabo, xvii. c. 3. Juba, therefore, died about A.D. 19; and if so, his widow could not have returned to the court of her father, for Archelaus of Cappadocia died A.D. 17 (see that year, no. 1087).

**969.** Caius sails from Egypt along the Phœnician coast. *Præteriens ab Ægypto fines Palestinæ.* Oros. vii. 3. And refuses to worship Jehovah at Jerusalem, for which he is commended by Augustus. *Sed et Caium nepotem, quod Judæam prætervehens apud Hierosolymam non supplicasset, (Augustus) collaudavit.* Suet. Tib. 93. Oros. vii. 3.

**970.** Caius winters at Samos, as Augustus had done before in B.C. 31 and B.C. 21. While he is at Samos Tiberius pays him a visit with great humiliation. *Privignum Caium, Orienti præpositum, quum visendi gratiâ trajecisset Samum, alieniorem sibi (Tiberius) sensit ex criminationibus M. Lollii, comitis et rectoris ejus.* Suet. Tib. 12. The hostility of M. Lollius to Tiberius accounts for the severe terms in which Lollius is spoken of by Velleius Paterculus, the follower of Tiberius. *Accepta*



in *Germaniâ clades* (B.C. 16) *sub legato M. Lollio, homine in omnia pecuniâ, quam recte faciendi, cupidior, et, inter summam vitiorum dissimulationem, vitiosissimo.* Vell. Pat. ii. 97. According to Dion, the visit of Tiberius to Caius was at Chios. *Τοῦ δὲ Γαίου σταλέντος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ἀρμενίους πόλεμον, ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς Χίον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσεν.* Dion, lv. 11; and so Zonaras, x. 36.

This visit of Tiberius was before Caius had gone to Syria. *In Syriam missus* (Caius), *convento prius Tiberio Nerone.* Vell. Pat. ii. 101.

The exact date of the visit may be ascertained as follows:—Tiberius had been invested about midsummer B.C. 6 with the Tribunitian power for five years (see B.C. 6, no. 849), and this period would expire about midsummer B.C. 1. It was after the expiration of this Tribunitian power that Tiberius requested permission to return to Rome. *Transacto autem Tribunitiæ Potestatis tempore . . . petiit ut sibi . . . permitteretur revisere necessitudines, quarum desiderio teneretur.* Suet. Tib. 11. But this request was refused, and his mother Livia obtained with difficulty for him that, to cover his disgrace, he should act as one of the emperor's legates. *Remansit ergo Rhodi contra voluntatem, vix per matrem consecutus, ut ad velandam ignominiam quasi Legatus abesset.* Suet. Tib. 12. And it was after all this that Tiberius made interest for his recall with Caius while at Samos. Suet. Tib. 12. It is evident, therefore, that the voyage of Tiberius to Samos could not have been earlier than toward the close of B.C. 1.

**971.** P. Sulpicius Quirinus was also with Caius about this time. *Datusque rector C. Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti* (Sulpicius Quirinus) *Tiberium quoque, Rhodi agentem, coluerat; quod tunc patefecit* (Tiberius) *in senatu, laudatis in se officiis, et incusato M. Lollio quem auctorem C. Cæsari pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat.* Tac. Ann. iii. 48.

**972.** During this year a correspondence passes between Phraates and Augustus; viz. on the news of Caius's preparations for the Armenian war Phraates writes to Augustus: *Τοῦ δὲ Γαίου σταλέντος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ἀρμενίους πόλεμον . . . ὡς δὲ ἐπύθοντο οἱ Βάρβαροι τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Γαίου, Φραάτης ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Αὔγουστον.* Dion, lv. 11. And Augustus answers him: *Καὶ ἀντὶ ἐκεῖνος Φραάτη, ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικλήσεως, ἀντεπιστέλλας.* Ib.

And Phraates replies: *Ἄλλὰ καὶ ἀντέγραψεν οἱ.* Ib. As each dispatch would occupy about two months, the whole correspondence would require at least six months.

**972 a.** Coins of Antioch.

*Καίσαρος Σεβαστου + Ετους Α. Νικης Υπα.* II. i. e. *Cæsaris Augusti + Anno Victoriæ xxx. Cos. xiii.*; and therefore struck between 2 Sept. B.C. 2, and 2 Sept. B.C. 1.

Eckhel, iii. 272.

*Καίσαρι Σεβαστω Αρχιερι + Αρχιερατικον Αντιοχης Α.* (same date). Id. iii. 274.

Coin of Judæa.

*Καίσαρος + Ι. Α.* (same date). Id. iii. 497.

Inscriptions.

*Imp. Cæsari Augusto Pontifici Ma. Cos. xiii. Trib. Po. xxiii. Pat. P.*

Muratori, i. 221, 2.

*Fundamenta Murosque ab solo faciundos coeraver. Idemque probaver. Cosso Cornelio Lentulo L. Pisone Augure Cos.* (In Villâ Calderianâ Agro Veronensi). Gruter, 165, 3.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 7.

Pentecost, May 28.

Tabernacles, October 2.

**A.D. 1. U.C. 754. Olymp. 195, 1.**

C. CÆSAR.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXIV. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XIV.

Fifth year of the reign of Archelaus and Herod Antipap and Herod Philip.

**973.** Caius enters upon his consulship at Samos; and in the spring quits Samos, and advances into Syria. That this year was passed in the remote East appears from Cenotaph. Pisan. cited *infra*, no. 975.

**974.** Artabazus, the Roman aspirant to the throne of Armenia, dies; and Tigranes, who was in the Parthian interests, sends gifts to Augustus, and asks that he may be confirmed in the kingdom; and Augustus, holding out delusive hopes of the crown, refers Tigranes to Caius, then in Syria. *Ἐς τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς τὸν Γάϊον ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.* Dion, lv. 11 (see B.C. 6, no. 852; A.D. 2, no. 984).

**975.** Phraates, seeing Caius in Syria, and

fearing an insurrection amongst his own subjects, agrees to a peace, on the terms of resigning his pretensions to Armenia. 'Ο δὲ δὴ Φραάτης ὕστερον κατηλλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποστῆναι, ἐπειδὴ τὸν τε Γάιον ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ παρόντα ἔμαθε, καὶ τὰ οἰκεία παρατόμενα μίσει αὐτοῦ ὑπετόπασε. Dion, lv. 11. The peace was concluded at an interview on the Euphrates, when Caius and Phraates entertained each other. *Cum rege Parthorum juvenis excellentissimus (Caius) in insulâ, quam amnis Euphrates ambiabat, æquato utriusque partis numero, coit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 101. These events occurred in this consulship, for in the Cenotaph. Pisan.: *Quem (consulatum) ultra fines extremas populi Romani bellum gerens feliciter peregerat, bene gestâ Republicâ, devictis aut in fidem receptis bellicosissimis ac maximis gentibus.* The final conclusion of peace is placed by Dion immediately after the return of Tiberius (see A. D. 2, no. 980), but this part of Dion is very corrupt. As Caius was *ultra fines extremas populi Romani*, he had passed out of Syria into Parthia or Armenia (see B. C. 6, no. 852; A. D. 2, no. 984).

**976.** M. Lollius, the tutor of Caius, is discovered, through the Parthians, to be a traitor, and his death follows. *Quo tempore Marci Lollii, quem velut moderatorem juventæ filii sui Augustus esse voluerat, perfida et plena subdoli ac versuti animi consilia per Parthos indicata Cæsari fama vulgavit, cujus mors intra paucos dies fortuita an voluntaria fuerit ignoro.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102. *Lolliam Paulinam . . . vidi smaragdīs margaritisque opertam . . . nec dona prodigi Principis fuerant, sed avitæ opes provinciarum scilicet spoliis partæ. Hic est rapinarum exitus: hoc fuit quare M. Lollius, infamatus regum muneribus in toto Oriente, interdictâ amicitia a Caio Cæsare Augusti filio, venenum biberet.* Plin. N. H. ix. 58.

**977.** Censorinus (prefect of Syria) dies about the same time. *Paullo post obisse Censorinum in iisdem Provinciis graviter tulit civitas, virum demerendis hominibus genitum.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102. He is succeeded as prefect of Syria by L. Volusius Saturninus (see B. C. 4, no. 955; A. D. 5, no. 1000).

**978.** That Caius was in the East on 23 September of this year appears from a letter of that date from Augustus to Caius. *ix. Kal. Octob. Ave mi Cai, meus ocellus jucundissimus, quem semper, me Dius Fidius, desidero quum a me abes,*

*sed præcipue diebus talibus, qualis est hodiernus, oculi mei requirunt meum Caium, quem, ubicunque hoc die fuisti, spero latum et bene valentem celebrâsse quartum et sexagesimum natalem meum nam, ut vides, κλιμακτῆρα communem seniorum omnium tertium et sexagesimum annum evasimus.* Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. xv. 7. Augustus was born on 23 September, B. C. 63, and the letter was therefore written on 23 September, A. D. 1.

#### 978 a. Coin of Antioch.

Καίσαρι Σεβασῶ Αρχιερεὶ + Αρχιερατικὸν Αντιοχείας ΑΑ. (i. e. in the 31 year) and therefore struck between 2 Sept. B. C. 1, and 2 Sept. A. D. 1. Eckhel, iii. 274.

#### Coins of Alexandria.

- L. A. Αυτοκρατωρ, i. e. in the 30 year from the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, as dated from 1 Thoth B. C. 30, and therefore struck between 29 Aug. B. C. 1, and 29 Aug. A. D. 1.
- L. A. with pontifical emblems. Eckhel, iv. 45.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 27.

Pentecost, May 17.

Tabernacles, September 21.

#### A. D. 2. U. C. 755. Olymp. 195, 2.

P. VINICIUS.

P. ALFINIUS VARUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXV. FROM 27 JUNE.  
COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XIV.

Sixth year of the reign of Archelaus and Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**979.** On the discovery of the treachery of M. Lollius, Caius is reconciled to Tiberius. (Tiberius) *coactus est . . . reditum expostulare . . . Destinatum Augusto erat nihil super eâ re, nisi ex voluntate majoris filii (Caii), statuere. Is forte tunc M. Lollio offensior, facilis exorabilisque in vitricum (Tiberium) fuit.* Suet. Tib. 13.

**980.** Caius gives Tiberius permission to return to Rome, which he does in the eighth year of his exile, having passed at Rhodes seven complete years. *Permittente ergo Caio revocatus est. Rediit octavo post secessum anno.* Suet. Tib. 14. *Septem annos Rhodi moratum.* Vell. Pat. ii. 99. Thrasyllus the astrologer



was with Tiberius at Rhodes, and is said to have foretold the dispatch of his recall. Suet. Tib. 14. Dion, lv. 11. The return of Tiberius was *his coss.*, and before the death of either Lucius or Caius, and therefore before 20 August, A.D. 2. *Ante utriusque horum obitum, Patre tuo Vinicio consule, Tib. Nero reversus Rhodo inaudibili lætitiâ patriam repleverat.* Vell. Pat. ii. 103. Dion is therefore mistaken, or the passage is corrupt, where the return is dated *after* the deaths of Lucius and Caius. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Φραάτης ὕστερον κατηλλάγη . . . συνέβη δὲ εἰθὺς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι, Λουκίου καὶ Γαίου τελευτησάντων. Dion, lv. 11. The return of Tiberius, however, was not long before the death of Lucius. Οὐ πολλῶν πρότερον ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην (Tiberius) ὑπονοστήσας. Zonaras, x. 540. About the same time may be placed the recall of P. Sulpicius Quirinus from the East, for he was in Rome at the close of this year (see B.C. 4, no. 955; and *infra*, no. 983).

**981.** War breaks out in Germany in this consulship, three years current before A.D. 4. *Ante triennium, sub M. Vinicio avo tuo clarissimo viro, immensum exarserat bellum.* Vell. Pat. ii. 104. So the death of Caius, A.D. 4, is said to have occurred three years, i.e. three years current, from the return of Tiberius in A.D. 2. Suet. Tib. 15 (see A.D. 4, no. 991).

**982.** Death of Lucius at Marseilles, on his way to Spain, on 20 August. *Cum ante annum ferme* (being eighteen months before the death of Caius) *Lucius Cæsar frater ejus, Hispaniâs petens, Massiliæ decessit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102. *L. Cæsarem euntem ad Hispanienses exercitus . . . mors fato propera, vel novercæ Livix dolus, abstulit.* Tac. Ann. i. 3. *Massiliæ quippe Lucius morbo solvitur.* Florus, iv. 12, 42. *Caium et Lucium in duodeviginti mensium spatio amisit* (Augustus) *ambos, Caio in Lyciâ, Lucio Massiliæ defunctis.* Suet. Octav. 65. 'xiii. Kal. Sept. (20 August) *Infer. L. Cæsaris.*' Old Calendar, cited Muratori, i. 304. *xiii. Kal. Octob. (19 September) Pisis in foro in Augusteo . . . cum Senatus populi Romani inter cæteros plurimos ac maximos honores L. Cæsari, Augusti Cæsaris Patris Patriæ Pontificis Maximi Tribunitiæ Potestatis xv. (A.D. 2) filio, Auguri, Consuli designato per consensum omnium ordinum . . . utique apud eam aram quod annis* (quotannis) *a. d. (obliterated) pub-*

*lice manibus ejus per magistratus . . . inferiâ mittantur,* etc. Cenotaph. Pisan. The date which is obliterated was *xiii. Kal. Sept.*, as appears from the old calendar above referred to. This date would place the death of Lucius eighteen months before that of Caius, as stated by Suetonius.

**983.** Lepida had been destined as the wife of Lucius; but now, upon the death of Lucius, Lepida is married to P. Sulpicius Quirinus. *Ut, effusi in lacrymas, sæva et detestanda Quirinio clamitarent, cujus senectæ atque orbitati, et obscurissimæ domui, destinata quondam uxor Lucio Cæsari ac D. Augusti nurus, dederetur.* Tac. Ann. iii. 23. This was twenty years before the condemnation of Lepida, in A.D. 21. *Satis constat . . . condemnatam et generosissimam feminam Lepidam, in gratiam Quirini Consularis prædivitis et orbi, qui dimissam eam e matrimonio post vicesimum annum, veneni olim in se comparati arguebat.* Suet. Tib. 49 (see A.D. 20, no. 1127).

**984.** Caius, in Armenia, carries all before him, and places Ariobarzanes on the throne. *Armeniam deinde ingressus primâ parte introitus prospere gessit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102.

*Ecce fugax Parthus, magni nova causa triumphî,*

*Jam videt in campis Cæsaris arma suis.*

Ovid. Remed. Amor. v. 155.

*Tempora nec numera, nec crebro respice Romam,  
Sed fuge; tutus adhuc Parthus ab hoste fugâ  
est.*

Ib. v. 223.

*Tum Caius Cæsar componendæ Armeniæ deligitur. Is Ariobarzanem origine Medum, ob insignem corporis formam et præclarum animum, volentibus Armeniis præfecit.* Tac. Ann. ii. 4. Καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος (Armenia) ἀφιστάμενον καὶ ἀναπολεμοῦν, δαμασθὲν ὑπὸ Γαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ μου, βασιλεῖ Ἄρωβαρζάνει παρέδωκα, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀραουάσδη. Lapis Ancyr. Fasti Hellen. iii. 301 (see A.D. 1, no. 974; A.D. 16, no. 1078). Ariobarzanes probably died about A.D. 15, for the throne was occupied for a short time after his death by a female, Erato, and then Vonones became king, and the latter event was in A.D. 16. *Ariobarzane morte fortuitâ absumpto, stirpem ejus haud toleravere; tentatoque fœminæ imperio, cui nomen Erato, eâque brevi pulsâ, incerti solutique, et magis sine domino, quam in libertate,*

*profugum Vononem in regnum accipiunt.* Tac. Ann. ii. 4. There is a coin of Erato, described as sister of Tigranes (see B.C. 6, no. 850), on the obverse, Βασιλευς Βασιλεων Τιγρανης; and on the reverse, Ερατω βασιλεως Τιγρανου Α-δεληφη. Addenda to Eckhel, 36. It would appear, from a fragment of Dion, that on the death of Tigranes, B.C. 6, Erato made a vain attempt at that time to occupy the throne, and was obliged to resign her pretensions in favour of Ariobarzanes; and Dion places the war of the Romans for securing Ariobarzanes on the throne in this consulship. Οί γε μὴν Ἀρμένιοι, καί-περ τοῦ τε Τιγράνου ἐκ πολέμου τινὸς βαρβαρικοῦ φθαρέντος, καὶ τῆς Ἐρατοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείσης, ὁμως, ἐπειδὴ Ἀριοβαρζάνει τινὶ Μήδῳ, ὃς ποτε μετὰ τοῦ Τειριδάτου πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίκτο, παρείδοντο, ἐπολέμησαν σφισι τῷ ἑτέρῳ ἔτει ἐν ᾧ Πούπλιος τε Οὐνίκιος καὶ Πούπλιος Οὐάρος ὑπάτευσαν. Dion. Cited Addenda to Eckhel, 38.

**985.** Caius hears of the death of Lucius. *Caius Cæsar, divi Augusti avunculi mei filius ac nepos, circa primos juventæ suæ annos Lucium fratrem carissimum sibi, princeps juventutis principem ejusdem juventutis, amisit in apparatu Parthici belli, et graviore multo animi vulnere quam postea corporis ictus est. Quod utrumque püssime idem et fortissime tulit.* Senec. Consol. ad Polyb. 34. He had heard, therefore, of his brother's death before he was wounded, and he would receive the intelligence in the last quarter of the year.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, June 5.

Tabernacles, October 10.

**A.D. 3. U.C. 756. Olymp. 195, 3.**

L. ÆLIUS LAMIA.

M. SERVILIUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXVI. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XIV.

Seventh year of the reign of Archelaus and Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**986.** The supreme power is conferred on Augustus for ten years more. Πληρωθείσης δὲ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας, τὴν ἡγεμονείαν καὶ το τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆθεν, ὑπέδειξάτο. Dion,

lv. 12. The third decad was only about to expire, viz. on 31 December, A.D. 3 (see B.C. 27, no. 662).

**987.** Dion places the grant of the third decad after the deaths of Caius and Lucius, and therefore in A.D. 4; but as the previous grant was in B.C. 8, and the subsequent one in A.D. 13, it may be assumed that the third decad was conferred in A.D. 8. In fact, this part of Dion is very corrupt and fragmentary, of which we have noticed an earlier instance under A.D. 2, where the return of Tiberius from Rhodes is also placed erroneously after the deaths of Caius and Lucius (see A.D. 2, no. 980).

**988.** Caius is treacherously wounded at Artagera, in Armenia. *Mox in colloquio, cui se tamen crediderat, circa Artageram graviter a quodam, nomine Adduo, vulneratus.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102. *Domnes quem Rex Artoxates præfecerat, simulatâ proditione, adortus est virum intentum libello, quem, ut thesaurorum rationes continentem, ipse porrexerat stricto repente gladio. At recreatus ex vulnere in tempus cæterum barbarus, undique infesto exercitu oppressus, gladio et pyrâ, in quam se percussus immisit, superstiti etiamnum Cæsari satisfacit.* Flor. iv. 12, 44. *Vulneribus pro Re Publicâ exceptis.* Cenotaph. Pisan.

**989.** Caius loses his energy and lingers in Armenia. *Eo ductus erat ut in ultimo ac remotissimo terrarum orbis angulo consenescere, quam Romam regredi, mallet.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102.

**990.** Caius is recalled against his will by Augustus. *Diu deinde reluctatus, invitique, revertens in Italiam, etc.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102.

**990 a.** Coin of Judæa.

Καισαρος + I. ΑΓ. i. e. in the thirty-third year of the Actian Era, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 2, and 2 Sept. A.D. 3.

Eckhel, iii. 497.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 4.

Pentecost, May 25.

Tabernacles, September 29.



## A.D. 4. U.C. 757. Olymp. 195, 4.

SEXT. ÆLIUS CATUS.

C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXVII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XIV.

TIBERII TRIB. POT. VI. FROM 27 JUNE (see B.C. 6, no. 849, and *infra*, no. 993).

Eighth year of the reign of Archelaus and of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**991.** Caius dies on his way by sea to Rome at Limyra, in Lycia, two miles and a half from the mouth of the river Limyrus, on 21 February. 'Ο δὲ (Caius) ἐς Λυκίαν ἐν ὀκτάδι παρέπλευσεν ἔνθα δὴ καὶ μετήλλαξεν. Zonaras, x. 36. *Caium remeantem Armeniâ et vulnere invalidum mors fato propera vel novercæ Liviæ dolus abstulit.* Tac. Ann. i. 3. *Massiliæ quippe Lucius morbo solvitur: in Syriâ (the East) Caius, ex vulnere, quum Armeniam ad Parthos se subtrahentem recipit.* Florus, iv. 12, 42. *Cum a . . . ii. nonas Apriles allatus esset nuntius Caium Cæsarem Augusti, Patris Patriæ, [Po]ntif. Maximi, custodis imperi Romani, totiusque orbis terrarum præsi[dis] filium, Divi nepotem, post consulatum quem ultra finis extremas popu[li Rom]ani bellum gerens feliciter peregerat, bene gestâ Republicâ, devictis aut in [fid]em receptis bellicosissimis ac maximis gentibus, ipsum vulneribus pro Repu[bli]câ exceptis, ex eo casu crudelibus fatis ereptum populo Romano, jam designatum . . . justissimum ac simillimum parentis sui virtutibus principem, coloniæque no[st]ræ unicum præsidium, eaque res, nondum quieto luctu, quem ex decessu [L. C]æsaris fratris ejus, consulis designati, Auguris, prôni nostri, principi[s] Ju[ventutis] coloniâ universa susceperat, renovâset multiplicâssetque m[œ]rorem omnium singulorum universorumque ob eas res universi decuri[one]s coloniæ . . . inter sese consenserunt, pro m[agn]itudine tantæ ac tam improvixæ calamitatis oportere ex eâ die qu[â] ejus decessus nuntiatus esset usque ad eam diem, quâ ossa relata atque c[on]dita, justaque ejus manibus perfecta essent, cunctos veste mutatâ templisq[ue] D[e]orum immortalium balneisque publicis et tabernis omnibus clausis co[n]victibus sese abstinere, matronas, quæ in coloniâ nostrâ sunt, sublugere, di[em]que eum quo die C. Cæsar obit. qui dies est, a.d. viii. K. Martias pro Alliensi lu[gu]brem memoriæ prodi. Utique . . . [T. St]atulenius Junceus F[lame]n Augustalis, Po[ntif.] minor publicorum P. R. sa-*

*crorum rogaretu[r] ut] cum legatis hoc of[ficiu]m publicum et voluntatem universorum libello reddito Im[p. C]æsari Augusto, Patri Patriæ, Pontif. Maximo, Tribunitiæ Po[testatis] xxvi. indicet. Idqu[e] T. St[atulenius] Junceus . . . libello ita uti supra scriptum es[t] Imp[eratori] Cæsari Augusto Pontific. Maximo Trib. pot. xxvi. Pa[tri] Pa[triæ] reddito fecerit placere conscriptis quæ a.d. iii. nonas Apriles qu[æ] Sex.] Ælio Cat. C. Sentio Saturnino cons. fuerunt facta, etc. Cenotaph. Pisan.*

The death of Caius was eighteen months after the death of Lucius, which was on 20 August, A.D. 2. Suet. Octav. 65. The statement of Velleius that the interval was about a year must be taken in a liberal sense: *ante annum ferme.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102. Suetonius mentions the death of Caius as three years from the return of Tiberius in A.D. 2. *Caio et Lucio intra triennium defunctis.* Suet. Tib. 15. The interval was not *two* complete years, but the Annalist means three consular years—viz. A.D. 2, 3, 4—Lucius having died in the first and Caius in the last. We have seen that Josephus reckons the reign of Herod in the same way.

**992.** The followers of Caius on his death in Lycia plunder the province, for which they are afterwards punished. *Pædagogum ministrosque Caii filii, per occasionem valetudinis mortisque ejus superbe avareque in provinciâ grassatos, oneratis gravi pondere cervicibus, præcipitavit in flumen.* Suet. Octav. 67.

**993.** Tiberius is invested with the 'Tribunitian power for ten years. Τὴν ἔξουσιαν αὐτῷ τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἐς δέκα ἔτη (Augustus) δούκ. Dion, iv. 13. And this was probably on 27 June (see the next number). As the Tribunitian power had been conferred on Tiberius in B.C. 6 for five years (see B.C. 6, no. 849), his title in this year, A.D. 4, would be Tribun. Pot. vi.

**994.** On 5 Kal. Jul. (27 June) of this consulship Tiberius is adopted by Augustus as his son. *Perseveravit (Augustus) ut et Tribunitiæ Potestatis consortionem Neroni constitueret . . . et eum Ælio Cato, Sentio Consulibus v. Kal. Jul. post urbem conditam 757 abhinc annos 27 adoptaret.* Vell. Pat. ii. 103. M. Agrippa, the brother of Caius and Lucius, was also adopted by Augustus on the same day. *Adoptatus eâdem die etiam M. Agrippa.* Vell. Pat. ii. 104. *Caio et Lucio intra triennium defunctis, adoptatur (Tiberius) ab Augusto simul cum fratre eorum M. Agrippâ, coactus*

*prius ipse Germanicum patris sui filium adoptare.* Suet. Tib. 15.

**995.** Immediately after the adoption, Tiberius proceeds to Germany to take the conduct of the war there. *Non diu vindicem custodemque imperii sui morata in urbe, patria protinus in Germaniam misit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 104. And Velleius himself accompanied him. *Hoc tempus me, functum ante tribunatu, castrorum Tiber. Cæsaris militem fecit; quippe protinus ab adoptione missus cum eo præfectus equitum in Germaniam,* etc. Vell. Pat. ii. 104. And Tiberius was engaged in campaigns there for three years. *Fractis deinde post adoptionem continuâ triennii militiâ Germaniæ viribus, idem illi honor et deferendus et recipiendus fuerit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 122. The campaign this year was protracted until December. *Anni ejus æstiva usque in mensem Decembrem perducta.* Vell. Pat. ii. 105.

**996.** Augustus makes a census or survey of property in Italy for fiscal purposes. *Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων, καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν κекτημένων, ἐποίησατο, τοὺς γὰρ ἀσθενεστέρους, τοὺς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκοῦντας, οὐκ ἠνάγκασεν ἀπογράψασθαι, δέισας μὴ νεωτερίσωσι τι παραχθέντες.* Dion. lv. 13 (see B.C. 11, no. 796). This apparently was a census of Roman citizens only in Italy, who possessed incomes of a certain amount, and did not affect the provinces.

**997.** A futile conspiracy against Augustus by Cnæus Cornelius and others. Dion. lv. 14.

**997 a.** Coin of Augustus.

*Augustus Divi F. + Tr. Pot. xxvii.*

Eckhel, vi. 116.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 24.

Pentecost, May 14.

Tabernacles, September 18.

**A.D. 5. U.C. 758. Olymp. 196, 1.**

L. VALERIUS MESSALA VOLUSUS.

CN. CORN. CINNA MAGNUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXVIII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. POT. PATR. IMP. XIV.

TIBERII TRIB. POT. VII. FROM 27 JUNE.

Ninth year of the reign of Archelaus and of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**998.** Tiberius, who had returned to Rome during the winter, sets out again in the spring

for Germany. *Pietas sua Cæsarem pæne obstructis hieme Alpibus in urbem traxit; at tutela imperii eum veris initio reduxit in Germaniam.* Vell. Pat. ii. 105.

**999.** A famine in Italy, with an eclipse of the sun and earthquakes. *Τότε δ' οὖν, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Κορηηλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Οὐαλερίου Μεσσαλοῦ ὑπάτων, σεισμοὶ τε ἐκαίσιον συνέβησαν . . . τοῦ τε ἡλίου τι ἐκλειπές ἐγένετο καὶ λιμὸς συνηνέχθη.* Dion. lv. 22. The eclipse was on 5 April (see Pingré's Tables).

An inundation of the Tiber. *His coss. per dies octo Tyberis impetu miseranda clades hominum domorumque fuit.* Cassiodor.

**1000.** L. Volusius Saturninus is at this time prefect of Syria, as appears from a coin of Antioch, with the inscription *Αντιοχεων επι Σατορνινου Ουολο.* EA. Eckhel, iii. 275. The date EA., or 35, must be referred to the Actian Era, and the thirty-fifth year began 2 September, A.D. 4, and ended 2 September, A.D. 5, during which interval, therefore, the coin must have been struck. Pliny thus refers to V. Saturninus. *Nuper etiam L. Volusio Saturnino in urbis Præfecturâ extincto, notum est Corneliâ Scipionum gentis Volusium Saturninum qui fuit consul genitum post lxxii. annum.* Plin. N. H. vii. 12, and see 49 (see A.D. 1, no. 977; A.D. 6, no. 1012).

**1001.** About this time disturbances arise in various cities, insomuch that the prefects of the senatorial or popular provinces are continued for two years, and the Emperor sends his own officers specially appointed to the provinces of the senate or people. Dion warns the reader that he does not give the exact dates. *Κἄν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις . . . πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι ἐνεωτέριζον, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθνεσι, καὶ αἰρετοὺς γε ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν ἄρξαι· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσετάττετο.* Dion, lv. 28.

**1002.** Cornel. Cossus makes a successful campaign against the Gætuli in Africa, for which he is decreed triumphal honours, and acquires the name of Gætulicus. Dion, lv. 28. This date agrees with the statement of Velleius Patereulus, that it was a few years before A.D. 9, under which year he writes: *Quem honorem (the ornamenta triumphalia) ante paucos annos Passienus et Cossus, viri quibusdam diversis virtutibus celebres, in Africâ meruerant.* Vell. Pat. ii. 116.

**1003.** At the same time with the campaign



of Cossus, P. Sulpicius Quirinus, or Cyrenius, subdued the Marmaridæ and Garamantes. *Sub meridiano tumultuatum magis quam bellatum est. Musulanus atque Gætulos, accolæ Syrtium, Cosso duce, (Augustus) compescuit; unde illi Gætulicis nomen. Latius victoria patet. Marmaritas atque Garamantes Quirinio subigendos dedit. Potuit et ille redire Marmaricus, sed modestior in unâ victoriâ fuit.* Flor. iv. 12, 40 (see B.C. 4, no. 955).

**1003 a.** Coin of Antioch.

Αντιοχείων ἐπὶ Σατορνίνου Οὐολο. EA. i. e. in the thirty-fifth year, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 4, and 2 Sept. A.D. 5.

Eckhel, iii. 275.

Coin of Judæa.

Καυσαρος + ΑΕ. (same date). Id. iii. 497.

Inscription.

*Imp. Cæsar Aug. Pontif. Maxim. Tribunic. Pot. xxviii. Cos. xiii. Pater Patr. Termin. Augustal. inter Bletissam et Mirobr. et Salm. (Ledismæ in Hispaniâ).* Gruter, 199, 2.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 12.

Pentecost, June 2.

Tabernacles, October 7.

**A.D. 6. U.C. 759. Olymp. 196, 2.**

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS NEPOS  
ex Kal. Jul.

C. ATEIUS CAPITO.

C. VIBIUS POSTUMUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXIX. COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XV. (An old inscription describes Augustus as PONT. MAX. TRIB. POTEST. XXVIII. COS. XIII. P. P. IMP. XV. The twenty-eighth year of the Trib. Pot. was from 27 June, A.D. 5, to 27 June, A.D. 6; and Eckhel refers the inscription to the latter year. Eckhel, vi. 144.)

TIBERII TRIB. POT. VIII. FROM 27 JUNE.

Tenth year of the reign of Archelaus and of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1004.** Tiberius opens the campaign in Germany, and advances as far as the Albius. The enemy submit, but afterwards break faith, and then again submit. Dion, lv. 28. In reducing them to submission the second time, Messalinus,

proprætor of Dalmatia and Pannonia, was with Tiberius. Dion, lv. 29.

**1005.** The absence of Messalinus from his provinces causes a revolt in Dalmatia and Pannonia. *Proximo anno (A.D. 6) . . . præparaverat jam hiberna Cæsar ad Danubium, amotoque exercitu non plus quinque dierum iter a primis hostium, Saturninum admovere copias jusserat . . . cum universa Pannonia insolens longæ pacis bonis et adulta viribus Dalmatia . . . arma corripuit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 109, 110.

**1006.** Tiberius sends Messalinus forward, who gains a success. Dion, lv. 30. Vell. Pat. ii. 112.

**1007.** The winter now approaching, the enemy take advantage of it and commit various ravages. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ γε ὁ χειμῶν ἐνέστη, πολὺ πλείω ἐκακούρησαν. Dion, lv. 30.

**1008.** A famine at Rome, *his coss.* Ταῦτά τε ὄν τούς Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρός. Dion, lv. 26.

**1009.** The proconsul of Achaia dies, and his quæstor and legate take the command of the province; one in the Peloponnesus, and the other over the rest. Ταῦτά τε ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἄρχων, μέσης που τῆς ἡγεμονείας, ἀπέθανε, τῷ τε Ταμείᾳ καὶ τῷ Παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ (ὃν Πρεσβευτήν, ὡσπερ εἶπον, καλοῦμεν) τῷ μὲν τὰ ἔντος τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ, τῷ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικήσαι προσετάχθη. Dion, lv. 27. Thus, though there were usually three legates in the imperial provinces, there was only one legate in the senate's or people's provinces. Dion, liii. 14. So it was in Bætica, a popular province. Ἡ μὲν Βαιτικῆ προσκείται τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ πέμπεται στρατηγὸς (*proconsul*) ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἔχων ταμίαν τε (*quæstorem*) καὶ πρεσβευτήν (*legatum*). Strabo, iii. 4 (see a similar instance in A.D. 15, no. 1067).

**1010.** Augustus, at this time, still hears personally all important matters for adjudication with assessors in his palace; but being now advanced in years, he commits the audience of embassies to three consular presidents. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Αὐγουστος καὶ τῷ γήρῳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ ἔκαμνε, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τι αὐτοῦ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ διεσκέψατο καὶ ἐδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθήμενος· τὰς δὲ πρεσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν δήμων, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλείων ἀφικνουμένας, τριάσι τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπέτρεψεν (see Dion, lxvi. 25), ὥστ' αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ἕκαστον καὶ





πεται, τάγματος τῶν ἰππέων, ἡγούμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔξουσίᾳ. Ant. xviii. 1, 1. Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελαίου χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης, ἐπίτροπός τις ἰππικῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίους τάξεως Κωπώνιος πέμπεται, μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξουσίαν. Bell. ii. 8, 1 (see A.D. 9, no. 1033; A.D. 12, no. 1046). It is remarkable that Josephus speaks of Cyrenius as sent not only to take account of Archelaus's possessions in Judæa, but to make a survey of Syria. Ἀποτιμησόμενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ. But as this is preceded by the statement that Judæa now became tributary and was annexed to Syria, it may mean only that the rating or taxing of all Syria was to be adjusted with reference to the new annexation.

**1013.** Judæa (subject to the Roman procurator or governor) was henceforth governed by βουλαὶ, or councils of nobles, οἱ πρῶτοι, and the people, or δῆμοι, had a nominal voice. The constitution was after the pattern of *Senatus Populusque Romanus*. The high-priest was the head of the state, but the real power was with the οἱ πρῶτοι, and the government was in fact an aristocracy. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτήν (i. e. after the expulsion of Archelaus) ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς πεπίστευτο. Jos. Ant. xx. 10, 5. The country had been divided by Gabinus into five Toparchies. Ant. xiv. 5, 4; and see Ant. xiii. 3, 9 (see B.C. 57, no. 116). But the number of toparchies afterwards varied. In the time of Pliny the Elder there were ten. *Pars ejus (Judææ) Syria juncta Galilæa vocatur; Arabiæ vero et Egypto proxima Peræa, asperis dispersa montibus, et a cæteris Judæis Jordane amne discreta. Reliqua Judæa dividitur in toparchias decem quo dicemus ordine: Hierichuntem, palmetis consitam, fontibus irriguam, Emmaum, Lyddam, Joppicam, Acrabatenam, Gophniticam, Thamniticam, Bethleptephenem, Orinen (εἰς τὴν Ὀρεινήν, Luke, i. 39) in quâ fuerit Hierosolyma, longe clarissima urbium orientis, non Judææ modo, Herodium cum oppido illustri ejusdem nominis.* Plin. N.H. v. 15. And see Bell. ii. 18, 10; ii. 20, 4; ii. 22, 2; iv. 8, 1; iv. 9, 9. *Emmaus*, or *Nicopolis*, is now Amwâs, and, according to Itin. Hieros., *Nicopolis* was 22 miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Lydda. *Acraba*, from which *Acrabatene* took its name, is still called *Acrabeh*, and is the chief city of the district. It is situate upon the highlands of Samaria, by

the side of the Aulon, or valley of the Jordan, and is to the south-east of Sychar, and stands on the southern slope of a hill overlooking a plain. *Gophne*, now *Jufna*, was nearly half-way along the road from Jerusalem to Antipatris, or *Kefr-Saba*. Farther along to the north-west, on the same road from Jerusalem to Antipatris, was *Thamna*, or *Thimnath*, now *Tibneh*. See an account of the above places, *Robinson's Palest.* 1838 and 1852. *Bethleptephen* was on the confines of *Idumæa*. Jos. Bell. iv. 8, 1. The βουλή of *Tiberias* (which may furnish an analogy to that of Jerusalem) consisted, in the time of the Jewish war, of six hundred members. Μέχρι πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν βουλήν οὖσαν εἰς ἑξακοσίους. Bell. ii. 21, 9.

**1014.** Cyrenius proceeds forthwith to make a survey of Archelaus's dominions. Παρῆν δὲ καὶ Κυρήνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, προσθήκη τῆς Συρίας γενομένην, ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχελαίου χρήματα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 1, 1.

**1015.** Joazar, the son of Boethus, exhorts submission to the census. Οἱ δὲ . . . ὑποκατέβησαν τοῦ εἰς πλεόν ἐναντιοῦσθαι, πείσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως Ἰωαζάρου. Βοηθοῦ δὲ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 1, 1. Joazar is here said to be high-priest, but Jesus, at this time, was the actual high-priest; and, therefore, 'Joazar, the son of Boethus,' may be a mistake for Jesus, as the names are not very dissimilar (see B.C. 4, no. 952; A.D. 7, no. 1022).

**1016.** Judas the Gaulonite opposes the census and begins the sect of the Galileans, who resist the Roman power. Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γάμαλα, Σαδδουκων Φαρισαῖον προσλαμβανόμενος, ἠπείγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τὴν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀντικρὸς δουλείαν λέγοντες, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπ' ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 1, 1; Bell. ii. 8, 1. Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ἡγεμῶν κατέστη. Ant. xviii. 1, 6; Bell. ii. 8, 1. This is the Judas of Galilee alluded to by Gamaliel in the Sanhedrim, when the Apostles were impeached before it, in A.D. 34. Acts, v. 37.

**1016 a.** Coins of Augustus.

*Cæsar Augustus Divi F. Pater Patriæ + Sicil. Imp. xv.*

Obverse uncertain + *Tr. Pot. xxix.*

or *Pontif. Max. Tribun. Poptest. xxix.*

Eckhel. vi. 116.

## Coin of Antioch.

Καίσαρος Σεβαστου + Αντιοχεων Μητροπολεως. 5 Δ. ΔΝ. The letters 5 Δ. refer to the Actian Era, and show that the coin was struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 5, and 2 Sept. A.D. 6. The letters ΔΝ denote the Era of Antioch, commencing from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, so that the coin was struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 5, and 2 Sept. A.D. 6. Eckhel, iii. 272, 279.

## Coin of Alexandria.

Head of Tiberius + Τιβεριου L.Γ. i. e. in the third year from the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus (see A.D. 4, no. 994).

Id. iv. 50.

Obverse uncertain + ΑΕ. i. e. in the thirty-fifth year from the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, as dated from 1 Thoth B.C. 30, and therefore struck between 29 Aug. A.D. 5, and 29 Aug. A.D. 6.

Id. iv. 45.

## Coin of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

Βασιλεως Αρχελαου Φιλοπατριδος του Κτιστου ΜΒ. i. e. in the forty-second year of his reign (see B.C. 36, no. 551).

Id. iii. 201.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 1.

Pentecost, May 22.

Tabernacles, September 26.

## A.D. 7. U.C. 760. Olymp. 196, 3.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.

A. LICINIUS NERVA SILANUS

ex Kal. Jul.

P. CORN. LENTULUS SCIPIO.

T. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS VALERIANUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXX. FROM 27 JUNE. COS.

XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XV.

TIBERII TRIB. POT. IX. FROM 27 JUNE.

Eleventh year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1017.** Tiberius is still at the head of his army. Velleius Paterculus, who the year before, when Quæstor Designatus, had taken out succours to Tiberius on the revolt of Pannonia and Dalmatia, is now full Quæstor (which shows that a new year had commenced), and acts as legate under Tiberius. *Habuit in hoc quoque bello (Pannonico) mediocritas nostra speciosi ministri locum. Finitâ equestri militiâ, designatus quæstor, necdum senator, æquatus senatoribus, et jam designatis tribunis plebis, partem*

*exercitûs ab urbe traditi ab Augusto (A.D. 6) perduci ad filium ejus (Tiberium). In Quæsturâ deinde (A.D. 7) remissâ sorte provinciâ, legatus ejusdem ad eundem missus.* Vell. Pat. ii. 111.

**1018.** At the close of the year Tiberius winters at Siscia. *Ipsæ asperrimæ hiemis initio ingressus Sisciam, legatos, inter quos ipsi fuimus, partitis præfecit hibernis.* Vell. Pat. ii. 113.

**1019.** Agrippa, the son of Julia, the daughter of Augusta, is regarded as a madman, and banished to Planasia, an island near Corsica. Dion, iv. 32.

**1020.** Germanicus is employed against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, and gains some successes. *Ἐπὶ Καικιλίου Μετέλλου καὶ ἐπὶ Λικινίου Σιλανοῦ ἰπάτων . . . ὁ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικός Μαζαίους Δαλματικὸν ἔθνος μάχῃ νικήσας ἐκάκωσεν. Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ταῦτα ἐπράχθη.* Dion, iv. 30–32.

**1021.** The census or survey of Cyrenius is carried out and completed in the thirty-seventh year of the Actian Era, i. e. between 2 September, A.D. 6, and 2 September, A.D. 7. *Κυρήνιος δὲ τὰ Ἀρχελαίου χρήματα ἀποδόμενος ἤδη, καὶ τῶν ἀποτιμήσεων πέρας ἔχουσῶν αἱ ἐγένοντο τριακοστῷ καὶ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίου ἐν Ἀκτίῳ ἦσαν (2 September, B.C. 31) ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, etc.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 1. This date agrees with Dion's statement that Archelaus was banished in A.D. 6 (see that year, no. 1011); for as Cyrenius was sent for the express purpose of making the census, he would proceed with it at once, and if so, it would probably be completed in A.D. 7.

**1022.** Cyrenius, at the completion of the census, removes Jesus (called by mistake Joazar, see B.C. 4, no. 952), and appoints Ananus, son of Seth. *Κυρήνιος δὲ . . . Ἰωάζαρον (lege Ἰησοῦν) τὸν Ἀρχιερέα καταστασιασθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πληθούς, ἀφελόμενος τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς τιμῆς, Ἄνανον τὸν Σέθ ἰστῶ Ἀρχιερέα.* Jos. Ant. xvii. 2, 1 (see A.D. 15, no. 1074).

**1022 a.** L. Seneca, the philosopher, is born when his father, M. Seneca, is about sixty-eight (see *Fasti Romani*, A.D. 19)

**1022 b.** Coin of Augustus.

Obverse uncertain + *Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Potest. xxx.* Eckhel, vi. 117.

## Coin of Alexandria.

Head of Tiberius + Τιβεριου L.Δ. i. e. in the



fourth year from the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus (see A. D. 4, no. 994). Eckhel, iv. 50.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 21.

Pentecost, May 11.

Tabernacles, September 15.

**A. D. 8. U. C. 761. Olymp. 196, 4.**

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.  
SEXTUS NONIUS QUINCTILIANUS  
ex Kal. Jul.  
L. APRONIUS.  
A. VIBIUS HABITUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXI. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XV.

TIBERII TRIB. POT. X. FROM 27 JUNE.

Twelfth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1023.** The Pannonians and Dalmatians are compelled to sue for peace. Μάρκου δὲ δὴ Φουρίου μετὰ Σέξτου Νωνίου ἵπατεύσαντος, ἐπεθύμησαν μὲν καὶ οἱ Δαλμάται καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι συμβῆναι . . . ἢ μὲν οὖν Δαλματία, τοῦτο μὲν πολέμῳ, τοῦ-ο δὲ καὶ ὁμολογία, πάλιν προσεχώρησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. Dion, iv. 33. *Hiems* (A. D. 7-8) *emolumentum patradi belli intulit, sed insequenti æstate* (A. D. 8) *omnis Pannonia, reliquiis totius belli in Dalmatiâ manentibus, pacem petiit . . . Autumno victor in hiberna reducitur exercitus.* Vell. Pat. ii. 114.

**1024.** During the progress of the war, Augustus was constantly at Ariminum, to be near the scene of action. Πρὸς μέντοι τὰς τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσεις οὕτως ἔρρωτο (Augustus), ὥσθ', ἴν' ἔγγυθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Δαλμάταις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Παννονίοις πᾶν ὅ,τι χρὴ συμβουλευεῖν ἔχη, πρὸς Ἀρίμινον ἐξώρμησε. Dion, iv. 34.

**1025.** Julia, granddaughter of Augustus, is banished about this time, for she died A. D. 28, after an exile of twenty years. Tac. Ann. iv. 71 (see A. D. 28, no. 1165).

**1026.** Jesus at the age of twelve years attends the Feast of the Passover at Jerusalem. Καὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔτος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα, καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἑτῶν δώδεκα, etc. Luke, ii. 41. It thus appears that the parents of Our Lord attended the Passover regularly every year; and probably Our Lord himself did so, if not before, yet from this time forward until the commencement of His ministry. It has been thought that Jesus, being now of the age of twelve years, went up

to Jerusalem to be examined by the doctors as to His proficiency in the Jewish Law, the preliminary step to confirmation, or being admitted a 'Son of the Law.' If Our Lord was born in August, B. C. 6, His twelfth year would be complete on August, A. D. 7, and the Passover A. D. 8 would be the first Passover after His attainment of the requisite age.

**1026 a.** Coin of Augustus.

Obverse uncertain + *Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Potest. xxvi.* Eckhel, vi. 117.

Coin of Alexandria.

*Head of Tiberius* + Τιβερίου L. E. i. e. in the fifth year from the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus (see A. D. 4, no. 994). Id. iv. 50.

Inscription.

*Imp. Caesar Divi F. Augustus Pont. (Max.) Trib. Pot. xxx.*

*Ti. Caesar Augusti F. Divi N. Trib. Pot. ix.*

*M. Furius P. F. P. N. Camil.*

*Sex. Nonius L. F. L. N. Quinctilian.*

(*Ex K. Jul.*) *L. Apronius C. F. C. N. A. Vibius C. F. C. N. Habitus.* Fasti Capitol.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 9.

Pentecost, May 30.

Tabernacles, October 4.

**A. D. 9. U. C. 762. Olymp. 197, 1.**

C. POPPÆUS SABINUS.  
Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS  
ex Kal. Jul.  
M. PAPIUS MUTILUS.  
Q. POPPÆUS SECUNDUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP.

XVI. (This last title is found in conjunction with Cos. xiii. Tr. Pot. xxxii. P. P.

Eckhel, vi. 144. The titles of Imp. xvii.

xviii. and xix. were assumed in A. D. 9 and

A. D. 10, but it is not known on what particular occasions. See Eckhel, vi. 144.)

TIBERII TRIB. POT. XI. FROM 27 JUNE.

Thirteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1027.** Tiberius returns to Rome in the spring. Ὅ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἐν ᾧ Κύντος Σουλπίκιος καὶ Γάϊος Σαβίνος ἵπάτευσαν, ἀνεκομίσθη. Dion, lvi. 1.

**1028.** Germanicus is occupied in Dalmatia.

Οἱ δὲ γε μετὰ Γερμανικοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπὶ Ῥαίτινον, τῆς Δαλματίας πόλιν, ἐλθόντες οὐ καλῶς ἀπήλλαξαν. Dion, lvi. 11.

**1029.** Tiberius is sent to Dalmatia. Τὸν Τιβέριον ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐς τὴν Δαλματίαν αἰθῆς ἐπεμψε. Dion, lvi. 12.

**1030.** Lepidus, with the army, joins Tiberius; and they have a successful campaign, and bring the war to a conclusion. *Initio æstatis Lepidus educto hibernis exercitu . . . pervenit ad Cæsarem . . . Illa æstas maximè belli consummavit effectus.* Vell. Pat. ii. 115. Dion, lvi. 12–17. The war in Dalmatia had lasted three years. *Nunciatâ Illyrici defectione transiit (Tiberius) ad curam novi belli, quod . . . triennio gessit.* Suet. Tib. 16. From the summer of A.D. 6 to the summer of A.D. 9 would be three years complete (see A.D. 6, no. 1005).

**1031.** Five days before the close of the war in Dalmatia the report arrives that Varus and his legions had been destroyed. *Tantum quod ultimam imposuerat Pannonico ac Dalmatico bello Cæsar manum, cum intra quinque consummati tanti operis dies, funestæ ex Germaniâ epistolæ cæsi Vari, trucidatarumque legionum, totidemque alarum et sex cohortium.* Vell. Pat. ii. 117. The senate at Rome had just decreed triumphal honours for the victories of Germanicus when the news arrived. "Ἄρτι δὲ ταῦτα (the triumphal honours) ἐδέδοκτο, καὶ ἀγγελία δεινὴ ἐκ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐλθοῦσα ἐκάλυσε σφᾶς διορθῆσαι, ἐν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ τὰδε συνηνέχθη. Dion, lvi. 18.

**1032.** On receipt of the intelligence at Rome all Gauls and Celts are ordered to quit the city. Ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Κελτοὶ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ στρατευόμενοι, ἦσαν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τι νεοχμῶσσι, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐς νήσους τινας ἀπέστειλε, τοῖσδ' ἄοπλοις ἐκχωρῆσαι τῆς πόλεως προσέταξε. Dion, lvi. 23. The Jews, when an outbreak was threatened in Judæa, were ordered in like manner to depart from Italy (see A.D. 52, no. 1773). Votive offerings are made for the safety of Augustus. *C. Poppæo Q. Sulpicio coss. ludis pro salute Divi Augusti votivis.* Plin. N. H. vii. 49.

**1033.** About this time Coponius, the first procurator of Judæa, is succeeded by M. Ambivius. Κωπώνιος μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, διάδοχος δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραγίνεται Μάρκος Ἀμβιούσιος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2,

2. The exact year is uncertain, but Augustus's policy was to continue his proprætors in office at least three years. Καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν μήτε ἔλαττον ἐτῶν τριῶν, εἰ μή τις ἀδικήσῃε τι, μήτε πλείον πεντε, Dion, lii. 23; and as Coponius was appointed in A.D. 6, his term of three years would expire in A.D. 9. His successor, M. Ambivius, would in like manner be recalled in A.D. 12; and accordingly we find that his successor, Annus Rufus, was certainly in office in A.D. 14, at the death of Augustus, and was displaced in A.D. 15; so that, supposing him to have been appointed in A.D. 12, he also would have held office for a period of three years (see A.D. 6, no. 1012; A.D. 12, no. 1047).

**1034.** Birth of Vespasian on 17 November of this year. *Vespasianus natus est . . . quintodecimo Kalendas Decembris, vesperi, Quinto Sulpicio Camerino C. Poppæo Sabino coss. quinquennio antequam Augustus excederet.* Suet. Vesp. 2.

**1035.** The birth of the Apostle Paul may be placed about this year. In A.D. 62 he describes himself as πρεσβύτερος, an elder, Philem. v. 9 (see A.D. 62, no. 1938); and Philo (whose writings apparently were much studied by the Apostle) divides the ages of man as follows:

Child (παιδίον) up to	7 years.
Boy (παῖς)	14
Youth (μενίαιον)	21
Young man (νεανίσκος)	28
Man (ἄνθρωπος)	49
Elder (πρεσβύτερος)	56
Old man (γέρον)	from that time forward.

(See Philo de Mund. Opif. s. 36.)

If Paul, therefore, was πρεσβύτερος, he was between forty-nine and fifty-six, say fifty-three, in A.D. 62. In A.D. 37 he is described as νεανίας, Acts, vii. 38; that is, according to Philo, between twenty-one and twenty-eight; and if he was fifty-three in A.D. 62, he would be twenty-eight in A.D. 37. His birth upon this footing would be in A.D. 9.

**1035 a.** Coin of Judæa.

Καίσαρος + I. ΛΘ. i. e. in the thirty-ninth year of the Actian Era, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 8, and 2 Sept. A.D. 9.

Eckhel, iii. 497.

Coin of Alexandria.

Obverse uncertain + I. ΛΗ. i. e. in the thirty-eighth year of Augustus from his conquest of Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, B.C. 30, and



therefore struck between 29 Aug. A.D. 8, and 29 Aug. A.D. 9. Eckhel, iv. 45.

## Inscriptions.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Pontif. Maxim. Trib. Potest. xxxii. Cos. xiiii. P. P. Sacru.* (Ter-geste). Muratori, i. 220, 4.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Max. Cos. xiiii. Tribunicia Potestate xxxii. Imp. xvi. Pater Patriæ Murum Turresque refecit* (at Naples). Id. i. 441, 1.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. xxxi.*

*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Trib. Pot. x.*

*C. Poppæus Q. F. Q. N. Sabinus Q. Sulpicius Q. F. Q. N. Camerinus.*

*Ex K. Jul. M. Papius M. F. M. N. Motilus Q. Poppæus Q. F. Q. N. Secund.*

Fasti Capitol.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 29.

Pentecost, May 19.

Tabernacles, September 23.

**A.D. 10. U.C. 763. Olymp. 197, 2.**

P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

C. JUNIUS SILANUS

ex Kal. Jul.

SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MALUGINENSIS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXIII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XIX.

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. XII. FROM 27 JUNE.

Fourteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1036.** Tiberius is employed in Germany. *Proximo* (after the death of Varus) *anno repetitâ Germaniâ, quum animadverteret* (Tiberius) *Varianam cladem temeritate et negligentia ducis accidisse, nihil non de consilii sententiâ egit.* Suet. Tib. 18. Dion, lvi. 23.

**1037.** Tiberius, after a vigorous campaign, retires into winter quarters. *His auditis* (the death of Varus) *revolat ad Patrem* (Augustum) *Cæsar* (Tiberius) . . . *Mittitur ad Germaniam, Gallias confirmat, etc. . . . maximâque cum gloriâ, incolumi omnium quos transduxerat numero, in hiberna revertitur.* Vell. Pat. ii. 120.

**1038.** In the time of M. Ambivius, procurator of Judæa, dies Salome, the sister of Herod the Great, having bequeathed Jamnia

Phasaëlis and Archelais to Julia, or Livia, the wife of Augustus. 'Εφ' οὗ (M. Ambivius) καὶ Σαλώμη, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου ἀδελφῆ, μεταστᾶσα Ἰουλίῳ Ἰαμίῳ τε καταλείπει καὶ τὴν τοπαρχίαν πᾶσαν, τὴν τε ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Φασαηλῶν καὶ Ἀρχελαιῶν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2; Bell. ii. 9, 1 (see B.C. 4, no. 951; A.D. 39, no. 1553).

**1038 a.** Coins of Tiberius.

*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Imp. v. + Pontifex Tribun. Potestate xii. or Ceres. S. C.*

*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Imperator v.*

Eckhel, vi. 184.

## Coin of Judæa.

Καισαρος + L. M. i. e. in the fortieth year of the Actian Era, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 9, and 2 Sept. A.D. 10.

Id. iii. 497.

## Coins of Alexandria.

*Head of Augustus* + L. ΛΘ. i. e. in the forty-ninth year of Augustus from his conquest of Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, B.C. 30, and therefore struck between 29 Aug. A.D. 9, and 29 Aug. A.D. 10. Id. iv. 45.

*Head of Livia* + L. ΛΘ. (same date). Id. iv. 48.

*Head of Livia* + Εὐθημία L. ΛΘ. (same date).

Id. iv. 49.

## Inscriptions.

*P. Cornelio Dolabellæ Cos. vii. viro Epuloni, Sodali, Titiensi Leg. Pro Pr. Divi Augusti Civitates Superioris Provinciæ Hillyrici* (at Epidaurus in Dalmatia).

Muratori, i. 299, 5.

*P. Cornelius P. F. Dolabella C. Junius C. F. Silanus Flamen Martialis Cos. ex S. C. faciundum curaverunt Idemque probaverunt.*

Gruter, 176, 2.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. xxxvii.*

*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Trib. Pot. xi.*

*P. Cornelius P. F. P. N. Dolabella.*

*C. Junius C. F. M. N. Silanus Flam. Mart.*

*Ex K. Jul. Ser. Cornelius Cn. F. Cn. N. Lentul. Malug. Flam. Dial.*

Fasti Capitol.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 16.

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11.

**A.D. 11. U.C. 764. Olymp. 197, 3.**

M. ÆMIL. LEPIDUS. Qui abd. et eum excepit ex  
Kal. Jul. L. Cassius Longinus.  
T. STATILIUS TAURUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXIV. FROM 27 JUNE.  
COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XX.  
(Coins exist with the inscription IMP. XX.  
TRIBUN. POT. XXXIII. Eckhel, vi. 144.)

TIBERII TRIB. POT. XIII. FROM 27 JUNE.

Fifteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas  
and Herod Philip.

**1039.** Tiberius prosecutes a successful campaign in Germany. *Eadem et virtus et fortuna subsequenti tempore* (viz. after A.D. 10) *imperatoris Tiberii fuit, quæ initio fuerat.* Vell. Pat. ii. 121. The details are given in Dion, from which it appears that Tiberius, in the autumn, was in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. *Μάρκου δὲ Αἰμιλίου μετὰ Στατιλίου Ταύρου ὑπατεύσαντος, Τιβέριος μὲν καὶ Γερμάνικος ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρχων ἕξ τε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον καὶ κατέδραμόν τινα αὐτῆς, etc.* Dion. lvi. 25.

**1040.** This year there were sixteen prætors, whereas the usual number was twelve. *Στρατηγὸι ἐκκαίδεκα ἦρξαν, ἐπειδὴ τοσοῦτοί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεποίησαν, καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λυπῆσαι ὁ Αὐγουστος, οἷα ἐν τοιούτοις ὦν, ἠθέλησεν. Οὐ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσι ταῦτο ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἱ δώδεκα ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέστησαν.* Dion, lvi. 25 (see B.C. 23, no. 703; A.D. 14, no. 1057).

**1041.** Apollonius Tyanæus, at the age of fourteen, is, about this time, placed under the tuition of Euthydemus at Tarsus, and was, therefore, at Tarsus at the same time with Saul, afterwards St. Paul. *Γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη ἰδ' ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοὺς ὁ πατὴρ παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης.* Philost. V. A. i. 7. The fourteenth year of Apollonius may be thus estimated. Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, was summoned to Rome A.D. 15, and Apollonius had then certainly attained his sixteenth year, for *προελθῶν δὲ ἐς ἔτος ἕκτον καὶ δέκατον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου βίον,* Philost. V. A. i. 7; and *ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἐκείνον ὡς ξὺν Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖ* (A.D. 15) *νείωτερα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πράττοντα.* Id. i. 12. And Apollonius had not then attained his twentieth year. *Ἐπει δὲ θετνεῶτα τὸν πατέρα ἦκουσεν ἔδραμεν ἐς τὰ Τύανα . . . τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν λαμπρὰν οὖσαν διέλαχε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ἀκόλαστόν τε καὶ φιλοπότην ὄντα· καὶ τῷ μὲν τρίτον τε καὶ*

*εἰκαστὸν ἦν ἔτος . . . ὃδ' αὖ εἴκοσιν ἐγένοναι.* Id. i. 13. As the call of Archelaus to Rome was thus some time between the sixteenth and twentieth year of Apollonius, we may take the eighteenth year as the mean, and then the fourteenth year of Apollonius would coincide with A.D. 11.

**1041 a.** Coin of Augustus.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Imp. xx. + Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Pot. xxxiii. S. C.*  
Eckhel, vi. 118.

Coin of Judæa.

*Καίσαρος* + L. MA. i. e. in the forty-first year of the Actian Era, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 10, and 2 Sept. A.D. 11.  
Id. iii. 497.

Coins of Alexandria.

*Head of Augustus* + L. M., i. e. in the fortieth year of Augustus from his conquest of Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, B.C. 30, and therefore struck between 29 Aug. A.D. 10, and 29 Aug. A.D. 11.

*Καίσαρ Σεβαστος* + L. M. (same date).

Obverse uncertain + L. M. *Ευθηνία* (same date).  
Id. iv. 45.

*Head of Livia* + L. M. (same date). Id. iv. 48.

Inscriptions.

*(Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxxiii.*

*Tib. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Trib. Pot. xii. M. Aemilius Q. F. Q. N. Lepidus.*

*(T. Statilius T. F. T. N. Taurus.)*

*Ex K. Jul. L. Cassius L. F. . . . N. Longinus.*  
Fasti Capitol.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Trib. Potest. xxv. ex S. C. Finibus Pomerium Ampliavit Ter.que* (i. e. Terminavit-que) (at Rome). Muratori, i. 442, 1.

*Imp. Cæs. Aug. Pontif. Max. Trib. P. xxxiii. Cos. xiii. P. P. Victoriae Sacr. L. Cætroniuss M. F. Pacorus, L. Aim. L. F. Nigellus Æd. ii. viri D. S. P. F.* (Arionæ in Hispan.).  
Gruter, 226, 8.

In one column of a monument is the following inscription:—

*T. Statilio Tau . . .*

*L. Cassio Longino . . .*

*Cos. x. K. Octobr . . .*

*Numini Augusti votum susceptum a plebe Narbonensium in perpetuum.*

*Quod bonum faustum felixque sit Imp. Cæsari Divi filio Augusto P. P. Pontifici Maximo Trib. Potest.*



xxviii. *Conjugi liberis gentique ejus senatui Populoque Romano et colonis incolisque C. I. P. N. M. qui se numini ejus in perpetuum colendo obligaverunt plebs Narbonensium aram Narbone in foro posuit ad quam quot annis viii. K. Octobr. quâ die eum sæculi felicitas orbi terrarum rectorem edidit tres equites Romani a plebe et tres libertini hostias singulas immolent et colonis et incolis ad supplicandum numini ejus thus et vinum de suo eâ die præsentent et viii. K. Octobr. thus vinum colonis et incolis item præsentent K. quoque Januar. thus et vinum colonis et incolis præsentent vii. quoque Idus Januar. quâ die primum imperium orbis terrarum auspicatus est thure vino supplicent et hostias singul. immolent et colonis incolisque thus vinum eâ die præsentent.*

*Et pridie K. Junias quod eâ die T. Statilio Taurò M. Emilio Lepido cos. judicia plebis decurionibus conjunxit hostias singul. immolent et thus et vinum ad supplicandum numini ejus colonis et incolis præsentent.*

*Exque iis tribus equibus Rom. libertinis unus . . .*

In a parallel column of the monument is the following inscription:—

*Narbonensis A . . .*

*Numinis Augusti . . .*  
*cavit.*

*Legibus iis q. i. s. s.*

*Numen Cæsaris Aug. P. P. quando tibi hodie hanc aram dabo dedicaboque his legibus hisque regionibus dabo dedicaboque quas hic hodie palam dixero uti infimum solum hujusque aræ titulorumque est si quis tergere ornare reficere volet quod beneficii causâ fiat jus fasque esto sive quis hostiâ sacrum faxit qui magmentum nec protollat idcirco tamen probe factum esto si quis huic aræ donum dare augeturque volet liceto eademq. lex ei dono esto quæ aræ est cæteræ leges huic aræ titulisque eadem sunt que sunt aræ Dianæ in Aetino hisce legibus hisque regionibus sic uti dixi hanc tibi aram pro Imp. Cæsare Aug. P. P. Pontificique Maximo Tribunicia Potestate xxxv. [lege xxiv.] Conjuge liberis gentique ejus*

*Senatu populoque R. colonis incolisque col. Jul. patern. Narb. Mart. qui se numini ejus in perpetuum colendo obligaverunt doque dedicoque uti sies volens propitium. (Narbone.)*

Gruter, 229.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, September 30.

**A.D. 12. U.C. 765. Olymp. 197, 4.**

GERMANICUS CÆSAR, i.

C. FONTEIUS CAPITO. Quem excepit ex Kal. Jul. C. Visellius Varro.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXV. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XX.

TIBERII TRIB. POT. XIV. FROM 27 JUNE.

Sixteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1042.** The war in Germany is not concluded, at least, at the beginning of this year, for Γερμάνικος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν, μὴδὲ στρατηγήσας, ἐδέξατο (Germanicus was one of the consuls for this year), καὶ δι' ὄλου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔτους . . . ἔσχε . . . Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἠτήσατο (Augustus) παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κελτικῶς πολέμου προφάσει, μήτε οἴκοι αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι, μῆτ' ἀγανακτεῖν εἰ μηκέτι συσσιτοῖη σφίσι. Dion, lvi. 26. And so Velleius speaks of having served nine campaigns in Germany: *Quippe protinus ab adoptione (Tiberii, A.D. 4, see no. 994) missus cum eo (Tiberio) præfectus equitum in Germaniam, successor officii patris mei, cælestissimorum ejus operum per annos continuos ix. præfectus aut legatus, spectator, pro captu mediocritatis meæ, adjutor fui.* Vell. Pat. ii. 104. As the first campaign was in A.D. 4 (see no. 995), the last would be in A.D. 12. But the war was concluded, and Tiberius returned and celebrated his triumph in the course of the year. *Proximo anno* (after the death of Varus, A.D. 9, see no. 1031, and therefore in A.D. 10) *repetitâ Germaniâ, quum animadverteret (Tiberius), etc. . . a Germania in urbem post biennium (A.D. 12) regressus triumphum, quem distulerat, egit.* Suet. Tib. 18, 20, and see 17. *Eadem et virtus et fortuna subsequenti tempore imperatoris Tiberii fuit, qui contusis hostium viribus, classicis peditumque expeditionibus, cum res Galliarum maximæ molis,*

*accensasque plebis Viennensium dissensiones, coercitione magis quam pœnâ, mollisset, et senatus populusque Romanus, postulante patre ejus ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset (etenim absurdum erat non esse sub illo, quæ ab illis vindicabantur, et qui ad opem ferendam primus erat, ad vindicandum honorem non judicari parem), in urbem reversus jam pridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatum, ex Pannoniis Delmatisque egit triumphum. Vell. Pat. ii. 121. Velleius adds, quem (triumphum) mihi patrique meo, inter præcipuos præcipisque donis adornatos viros, comitari contigit. Ib. And as Velleius served nine campaigns in Germany (see *supra*), and went thither in A.D. 4, he would be present in Rome at the end of his nine campaigns in A.D. 12. The report of this triumph reached Ovid in Pontus not earlier than the winter of A.D. 12–13.*

*Huc quoque Cæsarei pervenit fama triumphi.*  
Epist. Pont. ii. 1, 1; and see ii. 2, 77.

And this was written not earlier than the fourth winter of his exile, for in Epist. Pont. i. 2, 27—

*Hic me pugnantem cum frigore, cumque sagittis,*  
*Cumque meo fato quarta fatigat hiems.*

But the fourth winter of his exile was that of A.D. 12–13; for the sixth winter of his exile was that which followed the death of Augustus, i.e. the winter of A.D. 14–15.

*Nam patris Augusti docui mortale fuisse*  
*Corpus, in aetherias numen abisse domos.*  
Ib. iv. 13, 25.

— *sed me jam, Care, nivali*  
*Sexta relegatum bruma sub axe videt.*

Ib. iv. 13, 39.

In the following year, A.D. 13, a coin was struck with the figure of Tiberius in triumphal procession, so that the triumph had been celebrated at least some time previously: '*Cæsar Augustus divi f. pater Patriæ + Ti. Cæsar Aug. f. tri. pot. xv.*' Eckhel, vi. 118, 186. The 15 Trib. Pot. commenced on 27 June, A.D. 13.

**1043.** It appears, from the passage cited from Velleius, that just before the triumph, the Senate had decreed to Tiberius a co-ordinate power with Augustus over the *armies and provinces* of the empire; but this power, as is evident from the reflections of Velleius, did

not extend to Rome and Italy. This limited power of Tiberius is confirmed by Suetonius, but is erroneously placed by him after the triumph. *A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit, . . . ac non multo post lege per consules latâ ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque census ageret, condito lustro, in Illyricum profectus est.* Suet. Tib. 20, 21. And Tacitus may be thought to allude to the same circumstance. *Nero (Tiberius) solus e privignis erat: illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors Tribunitiæ Potestatis adsumitur, omnesque per exercitus ostentatur.* Tac. Ann. i. 3.

**1044.** It is the opinion of some that the fifteenth year of Tiberius, referred to by St. Luke (iii. 1) as the year in which John the Baptist began his ministry, is to be dated from this decree by the Senate of imperial honours to Tiberius, and that the fifteenth year of Tiberius commenced, therefore, toward the close of A.D. 26. And in favour of this view, two coins of Antioch (of which city Luke was either a native or an inhabitant) are referred to, on one of which we find the head of Tiberius, with the inscription *Καίσαρ Σεβαστος ΓΜ.*, i.e. in the forty-third year of the Actian Era, from 2 September, B.C. 31, and therefore in the year A.D. 12–13; and on the other, the head of Tiberius, with the like inscription, but the letters *ΔΜ.*, i.e. A.D. 13–14. But the genuineness of these coins is not admitted by Eckhel (see iii. 276); and, on the other hand, it is clear, from Velleius and Suetonius, that Tiberius was not associated with Augustus in the empire generally, but only in respect of the provinces and armies. Neither is there any instance of the computation of the reign of Tiberius from this year. Indeed, the coins of Antioch itself show the contrary, for there are coins of that city with the head of Tiberius, and the date *EM.* of the Actian Era, i.e. A.D. 14–15, with the letter *A.*, i.e. in the first year of his reign, viz. from the death of Augustus; and other coins with the head of Tiberius, and the date *ZM.*, i.e. A.D. 16–17, with the letter *Γ.*, i.e. in the third year of his reign, viz. from the death of Augustus. See Eckhel, iii. 278. Besides, if Tiberius was already emperor in the lifetime of Augustus, Tiberius could not on his death have been *tanquam vetere Republicâ et ambiguus imperandi*, and have sum-



moned the Senate by virtue only of his Tribunitian power. *Ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi Tribunitiæ Potestatis præscriptione posuit sub Augusto acceptæ.* Tac. Ann. i. 7. No doubt *defuncto Augusto signum prætoris cohortibus ut imperator dederat, and litteras ad exercitus, tanquam adepto principatu, misit, Ib.;* but the words *tanquam adepto principatu* show that he had not already obtained the imperial dignity, but had been admitted only to a part of the prerogative, or, as Tiberius said of himself, *se in partem curarum ab illo vocatum.* Tac. Ann. i. 11. It is clear, from the account of Tacitus, that Tiberius, on the death of Augustus, did not consider himself, and was not considered by others, as already emperor. Suetonius, to the same effect, states that Tiberius, though he immediately, on the death of Augustus, *seized on the imperial power in fact, yet pretended to decline it. Principatum, quamvis neque occupare aperte confestim, neque agere dubitasset, et statione militum, hoc est, vi et specie dominationis assumptâ, diu tamen recusavit.* Suet. Tib. 24. And in A.D. 13 the imperial power was renewed for ten years more to Augustus exclusively, and not to Augustus and Tiberius jointly. To Tiberius the Tribunitian power only was renewed, and it was by virtue of that power that Tiberius, on the death of Augustus, summoned the Senate (see A.D. 13, no. 1048; A.D. 14, no. 1053).

**1045.** The birth of Caligula is on 31 August. *C. Cæsar natus est pridie Kalendas Septembres, patre suo (Germanico) et C. Fonteio coss.* Suet. Calig. 8.

**1046.** Creticus Silanus, about this time, or the year before, is appointed prefect of Syria, in the room of Cyrenius, who had held the office since A.D. 6. Silanus was in office in A.D. 16, when Vonones, king of Parthia, was deposed. *Βονώνης δὲ . . . παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν Σιλανῶ τῷ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγῷ.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 4. *Rector Syriæ Creticus Silanus ex-citum (Vononem) custodiâ circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine.* Tac. Ann. ii. 4 (see A.D. 6, no. 1012; A.D. 16, no. 1078; A.D. 17, no. 1090).

**1047.** Annii Rufus, about this time, is appointed procurator of Judæa, in the place of M. Ambivius. Rufus was certainly in office in A.D. 14, and was succeeded by Gratus in A.D. 15; and as the procurators of Judæa at this time usually held office for three years, the

appointment of Annii Rufus may be placed in this year. *Διαδέχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον (M. Ambivium) Ἄννιος Ῥοῦφος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καίσαρ.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2 (see A.D. 9, no. 1033; A.D. 15, no. 1073).

#### 1047 a. Coins of Antioch.

*Head of Jupiter + Ἀντιοχείων Μητροπόλεως* BM., i. e. in the forty-second year, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 11, and 2 Sept. A.D. 12.

*Head of Jupiter + Ἀντιοχείων ἐπι Σιλανου* BM. (same date). Eckhel, iii. 276.

#### Coin of Alexandria.

*Head of Augustus + L. MA.,* i. e. in the forty-first year of Augustus from his conquest of Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, B.C. 30, and therefore struck between 29 Aug. A.D. 11, and 29 Aug. A.D. 12.

Eckhel, iv. 45.

*Head of Livia + L. MA.* (same date).

Id. iv. 48.

*Head of Livia + Εὐθηνία* L. MA. (same date).

Id. iv. 49.

#### Inscriptions.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Aug. Pont. Maximus Imp. xv. (lege xx.) Consul. xiii. Trib. Pot. xxxvi. Pater Patriæ. Brac.* (at Bracara).

Murator, iv. 2005, 6.

*Germanico Cæsare C. Fonteio Capitone Cos. K. . . an Sieia Fortuna Aug. Sacr. Sex. Fonteius D. L. Trophimus Cn. Pompeius, Cn. L. Nicephor. Mag. Vici Sandaliari Reg. iiii. Anni xviii. D. E.* Gruter, 79, 5.

*Saluti Perpetuæ Dom. August. Ti. Claudi. Divi Augusti Fvl. Divi Juli Nep. Aug. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xviii. Imp. ii. Cos. iii. (lege ii.) C. Julius Successus Præf. Corp. Fabrum Ferrar. Tignar. et Tabular. Portuen. D. S. P. P. (Romæ).* Id. 235, 7.

*Germanico Cæsari Ti. F. Augusti N. Divi Pron. Cos. L. Turellius L. F. Geminus. Æd. D. S. P. (In Hispaniâ).* Id. 236, 3.

*(Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus (Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxxvi.*

*Ti. Cæsar) Augusti F. Divi N. (Tr. Pot. xiii. Germanicus) Cæ(sar) Ti. F. Augusti N. C. Fonteius C. F. C. N.*

*(Ex K. Julii) C. Visellius C. F. C. N. Varro.* Fasti Capitol.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 25.

Pentecost, May 15.

Tabernacles, September 19.

**A.D. 13. U.C. 766. Olymp. 198, 1.**

C. SILIUS.

L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXVI. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XX.

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. XV. FROM 27 JUNE.

Seventeenth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1048.** Augustus accepts the empire, the fifth time, for ten years, and the Tribunitian power is renewed to Tiberius. Λουκίου δὲ ἡ Μουνατίου καὶ Γαίου Σιλίου ἐς τοὺς ὑπατεύοντας ἐγγραφέντων, τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν δεξιὴν τὴν πεμπτήν, ἄκων δὲ, ὁ Αὐγουστος ἔλαβε, καὶ τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν ἔξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν αἰθὺς ἔδωκε. Dion, lvi. 28 (see A.D. 3, no. 986). It will be observed that the supreme power was renewed to Augustus, and not to Augustus and Tiberius jointly, as would have been the case had Tiberius been associated with Augustus in the empire in A.D. 12 (see that year, no. 1043).

**1049.** Drusus is also made consul elect for the third year after this (inclusive). Τῷ τε Δρούσῳ τῷ νιέῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν ἐς ἔτος τρίτον, καὶ πρὶν στρατηγήσαι, αἰτῆσαι ἐπέτρεψε. Dion, lvi. 28. Drusus was consul in A.D. 15.

**1050.** Piso is appointed Præfectus Urbis. He succeeded Taurus Statilius, and held the office for twenty years, and died A.D. 32. The twenty years were no doubt current years; and if so, he was appointed this year. *Augustus bellis civilibus Cilnium Mæcenatem, equestris ordinis, cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam præposuit. Mox rerum potitus, ob magnitudinem populi ac tarda legum auxilia, sumpsit e consularibus qui coerceret servitia et quod civium, audaciâ turbidum, nisi vim metuat. Primusque Messalla Corvinus eam potestatem, et paucos intra dies finem accepit, quasi nescius exercendi. Tum Taurus Statilius nancquam provecâ etate, egregie toleravit. Dein Piso viginti per annos pariter probatus publico funere ex decreto Senatus celebratus est.* Tac. Ann. vi. 11. According to Suetonius, he was appointed when Tiberius was Princeps. *In castris tiro, etiam tum propter nimiam vini aviditatem pro Tiberio Biberius, pro Claudio Caldus, pro Nerone Mero vocabatur. Postea Princeps in ipsâ publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco et Lucio Pisone noctem*

*continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit, quorum alteri Syriam provinciam (see A.D. 20, no. 1127), alteri Præfecturam urbis confestim detulit.* Suet. Tib. 42. And Pliny (but with some carelessness) copies Suetonius. *Êaque commendatione (of drunkenness) credidit L. Pisonem urbis Romæ Præfectum ab eo (Tiberio) delectum, quod biduo duabusque noctibus perpotationem continuâsset apud ipsum jam Principem.* Plin. N. H. xiv. 28. The word *princeps* in these passages is commonly understood to mean when Tiberius became Emperor, on the death of Augustus, in A.D. 14; but if so, Piso, who certainly died in A.D. 32, was not prefect, as Tacitus states, for twenty years. But it will be observed that in Suetonius there is an antithesis between the words *in castris Tiro* and *Princeps in correctione morum*; and the latter can only mean when Tiberius was discharging the office of censor. And there was no census at all in the reign of Tiberius, after the death of Augustus, but Augustus and Tiberius concluded in May, A.D. 14, a census which had been made by them jointly (see A.D. 14, no. 1051); and the census, therefore, may have been going on in A.D. 13, when Piso was appointed. The term *princeps* refers either to the association of Tiberius with Augustus in the censorship, or to the participation of Tiberius in the imperial power, as regarded the provinces and armies, which had been conferred upon him in A.D. 12 (see that year, no. 1043).

**1050 a.** Coins of Augustus and Tiberius.

*Cæsar Augustus Divi F. Pater Patriæ with Head of Augustus + Ti. Cæsar Aug. F. Tr. Pot. xv. with Head of Tiberius*; and in others with figure of Tiberius in triumphal car, with sceptre and eagle (see A.D. 12, no. 1042). Eckhel, vi. 118.

## Coins of Antioch.

*Head of Jupiter + Αντιοχειν επι Σιδανου* ΓΜ. i. e. in the forty-third year, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 12, and 2 Sept. A.D. 13.

*Καισαρ Σεβαστος Σεβασου + Επι Σιδανου Αντιοχειν.* ΓΜ. (same date). Id. iii. 276.

## Coins of Alexandria.

*Head of Augustus + L. MB.*, i. e. in the forty-second year of Augustus from his conquest of Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, B.C. 30, and therefore struck between 29 Aug. A.D. 12, and 29 Aug. A.D. 13. Id. iv. 45.



*Head of Livia* + L. MB. (same date).

Id. iv. 48.

*Head of Tiberius* + Τιβέριου L.I., i. e. in the tenth year from the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus in A.D. 4 (see that year, no. 994).

Id. iv. 50.

Inscription.

(*Imp. Cæsar Divi*) *F. Augustus Pont. Max.*

*Tr. Pot. xxxv.*

*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Tr. Pot. xviii.*

*C. Silius P. F. P. N. L. Mumatius, L. F. L. N. Plancus.* Fasti Capitol.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

**A.D. 14. U.C. 767. Olymp. 198, 2.**

SEXTUS POMPEIUS.  
SEXTUS APPULEIUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXVII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XXI.

(*nomen Imperatoris semel atque vicies partum.*

Tac. Ann. i. 9).

TIBERIUS I. FROM 19 AUGUST, AND TRIB. POT. XVI.

FROM 27 JUNE. (For the date of the Tribunitian Power, see B.C. 6, no. 849, and A.D. 4, no. 993.)

Eighteenth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1051.** A census or lustrum concluded for the third time in the reign of Augustus. *Nuperrime lustrum (egi cum Con)legâ Tiberio, Sext. Pompeio et Sext. Apuleio cos. quo lustrum (censa sunt) Romanorum capita quadragens centum millia . . . ginta et septem mil.* Lapis Ancyr. ad calcem Sueton. *Olymp. 198, 2. Augustus cum Tiberio censum peragens reperit xli. centena et xc. millia centum et septemdecim Romanorum capita.* Euseb. Chron. lib. ii. sub anno Augusti 56. The lustrum was concluded by Augustus in person. *Quum lustrum in Campo Martio magnâ populi frequentiâ conderet, aquila eum (Augustum) sæpius circumvolavit.* Suet. Octav. 97. And apparently this was about May, for *sub idem tempus* (with the conclusion of the lustrum) *ictu fulminis ex inscriptione statuæ ejus prima nominis litera effluxit. Responsum est centum solos dies post-hac victurum, quem numerum C litera notaret.* Suet Octav. 97. Augustus died on 19 August,

and one hundred days before that would carry us back to 11 May (see B.C. 8, no. 828; A.D. 48, no. 1716).

**1052.** Augustus is taken ill at Astura. Suet. Octav. 97. Thence he proceeds to Capreae. *Tunc Campaniæ orâ proximisque insulis circuitis, Caprearum quoque secessui quadriduum impendit.* Suet. Octav. 98. And thence to Naples. *Mox Neapolim trajecit.* Suet. Octav. 98. And then accompanies Tiberius, on his way to Illyricum, as far as Beneventum; and then retires to Nola. *Prosecutus filium (Tiberium) digressusque ab eo Beneventi, ipse Nolam petiit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 123.

**1053.** Augustus dies at Nola on 19 August, at 3 P.M., when he had nearly completed his seventy-sixth year (see B.C. 63, no. 88). *Τῷ γὰρ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Σέξτος τε Ἀπουλήϊος καὶ Σέξτος Πυμπήϊος ὑπάτευσαν, ἐξωρήθη τε ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ὁ Αὐγουστος, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νεαπόλει διαθείε, ἔπειτα ἐν Νόλῃ μετήλλαξε.* Dion, lvi. 29. *Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῇ ἐννεκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγουστού, ἐν ᾗ ποτε τὸ πρῶτον ὑπάτευσε, μετήλλαξε, ζήσας μὲν πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι (τῇ γὰρ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγεγέννητο), μοναρχήσας δὲ ἀφ' οὗ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ἐνίκησε τέσσαρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, δεκατριῶν ἡμερῶν δέοντα.* Dion, lvi. 30. *G. xiv.* (Kal. Sept.) *Vin. F. August. Excess.* Old Calendar. Muratori, i. 305. *Obiit . . . duobus Sextis Pompeio et Appuleio consulibus, decimo quarto Kalendas Septembris, horâ diei nonâ, septuagesimo et sexto ætatis anno, diebus quinque et triginta minus.* Suet. Octav. 100. *Cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quatuor et quadraginta solus rempublicam tenuit.* Suet. Octav. 8. (Tiberius therefore was not made joint emperor with him in B.C. 12. See that year, no. 1044.) *Pompeio Apuleioque coss. septuagesimo sexto anno animam cælestem cælo reddidit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 123. Josephus erroneously states his age at seventy-seven instead of seventy-six. *Τελευτῶ Καῖσαρ . . . ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ πενήκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη, πρὸς οἷς μῆνες ἕξ ἡμέραιν δυοῖν πλείονες (τούτου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἔτη συνῆρξεν Ἀντώνιος) βιώσας ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2. According to Eutropius, he died at Atella. *Rempublicam per quadraginta et quatuor annos solus obtinuit, ante enim xvii. annis cum Antonio et Lepido tenuerat. Ita ab initio principatus ejus usque ad finem lvi. anni*

*fuere. Obiit autem lxxvi. anno, morte communi, in oppido Campaniæ Atellâ. Eutrop. vii. 8.*

The reign of Augustus has been variously estimated by various writers, as: 1. From the death of Cæsar on 15 March, B.C. 44, making fifty-seven years, five months, five days. 2. From the first consulship of Augustus on 19 August, B.C. 43, making fifty-six years. 3. From the Triumvirate on 27 November, B.C. 43, making fifty-five years, eight months, twenty-four days. 4. From the battle of Actium on 2 September, B.C. 31, making forty-four years wanting fourteen days. 5. From his entrance into Alexandria on 29 August, B.C. 30, making forty-three years wanting ten days. See *Fasti Hellenici*. According to Cassiodorus, Augustus reigned fifty-six years and six months. *Regnavit annis quinquaginta sex mensibus sex.* Cassiod. sub Coss. C. J. Cæsar and M. Agrippa; and see Coss. Sext. Pompeius and Sext. Appuleius. According to Clemens Alexand., Augustus reigned forty-six years, four months, and one day. *Strom. i. 21, 406.*

**1054.** Augustus is succeeded by Tiberius. *Anno ab urbe conditâ DCLXVII. post mortem Augusti Tiberius Cæsar imperium adeptus est.* Oros. vii. 4. Tiberius, according to Dion, was now fifty-six, *ἕξ γὰρ καὶ πενήτηκοντα ἔτη ἐγγόνει*, Dion, lvii. 2; but he did not enter his fifty-sixth year till 16 November, A.D. 14, for *natus est Romæ in Palatio sexto decimo Kalendas Decembris M. Æmil. Lepido iterum L. Munatio Planco coss. post bellum Philippense* (B.C. 42). *Suet. Tib. 5. Τῆς βουλῆς . . . τὸν μῆνα τὸν Νοέμβριον, ἐν ᾧ τῆ ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγγέννητο, Τιβέριον καλεῖσθαι ἀξιούσης.* Dion, lvii. 18.

**1055.** Tiberius immediately on the demise of Augustus, and before it was made public, procures the assassination of Agrippa, the son of Julia and M. Agrippa. *Excessum Augusti non prius palam fecit, quam Agrippâ juvene interempto.* *Suet. Tib. 22. Primum facinus novi Principatus fuit Postumi Agrippæ cædes.* Tac. Ann. i. 6. *Τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν παραχρῆμα, ἀπὸ τῆς Νώλης πέμψας τινὰ, ἀπέκτεινε.* Dion, lvii. 3.

**1056.** For two years from the death of Augustus, Tiberius does not stir from Rome, and after that not further than to Antium until his retirement to Caprea. *Biennio continuo post adeptum imperium, pedem portâ non extulit: sequenti tempore, præterquam in propinqua op-*

*pida et quam longissime Antio tenuis, nusquam abfuit, idque perraro et paucos dies.* *Suet. Tib. 38.*

**1057.** Twelve prætors (the orthodox number, by the rule of Augustus) are appointed, and the comitia are transferred from the people to the senate. *Candidatos Præturæ duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum, et, hortante senatu ut augetet, jurejurando se obstrinxit se non excessurum. Tum primum a Campo comitia ad patres translata sunt. Nam ad eam diem, etsi potissima arbitrio Principis, quedam tamen studiis tribuum fiebant. Neque populus ademptum jus questus est, nisi inani rumore, et Senatus, largitionibus ac precibus sordidus exsolutus, libens tenuit, moderante Tiberio, ne plures quam quatuor candidatos commendaret sine repulsâ et ambitu designandos.* Tac. Ann. i. 14, 15, and see ii. 36 (see A.D. 11, no. 1040; A.D. 42, no. 1636).

**1058.** Seius Strabo is at this time prefect of the Prætorium. *Apudque eos* (who took the oath of allegiance) *Seius Strabo et C. Turranus, ille Prætoriarum cohortium Præfectus hic annonæ.* Tac. Ann. i. 7. And his son Ælius Sejanus was shortly after made his colleague. *Ælius Sejanus collega Straboni, patri suo, datus.* Tac. Ann. i. 24, and see vi. 8. *Ἐκείνου (Strabo) ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον πεμφθέντος, μόνος (Sejanus) τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῶν (the Prætorians) ἔσχε.* Dion, lvii. 19 (see A.D. 31, nos. 1353 and 1357).

**1059.** Tiberius at first refuses the offers of divine honours. *Οὔτε ὀμνύναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν αὐτοῦ Τύχην συνεχώρει, οὔτ', εἰ καὶ ὁμοσας τις αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ ἐπιωρκῶδες ἔλαβεν, ἐπέξῃει . . . Ταῦτα τε οὖν δημοτικῶς διψκει, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε τεμένισμα αὐτῶ, οὐκ ὅπως αὐθαίρετον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλως τότε γε ἐτεμενίσθη . . . καὶ τὸ ἡσεβῆσθαι πρὸς τινος (Ἀσεβίαν τε γὰρ ἦδη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὠνόμαζον, καὶ δίκας ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλάς ἐσηγον), ἤκιστα προσεποιεῖτο.* Dion, lvii. 8 and 9 (see A.D. 15, no 1165).

**1060.** The mutinies of the Pannonian and German legions are suppressed by Drusus and Germanicus. Tac. Ann. i. 16. Dion, lvii. 4. *Suet. Tib. 25.* In the course of the mutiny in Pannonia an eclipse of the moon occurs in Pannonia. *Noctem minacem et in scelus eruptionam fors lenivit, nam luna claro repente cælo visa languescere.* Tac. Ann. i. 28. *Τῆς δὲ δὴ σελήνης ἐκλιπούσης ἀπημβλύθησαν.* Dion, lviii. 4. This was toward the winter, for



*auxerat militum curas præmatura hiems.* Tac. Ann. i. 30. And in fact the eclipse took place on 27 September, A.D. 14, at 5 A.M. for the meridian of Paris (see Pingré's Tables).

**1061.** Death of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, soon after the accession of Tiberius. *Eodem anno Julia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicitiam olim* (B.C. 2, no. 962) *a patre Augusto Pandateriâ insulâ, mox oppido Rheginorum qui Siculum fretum accolunt, clausa,* etc. Tac. Ann. i. 53.

**1062.** About this time (the demise of Augustus) Phraates, king of Parthia, is put to death by his son Phraataces, who succeeds to the throne (see B.C. 37, no. 516); and shortly afterwards Phraataces himself is taken off, and the Parthians set up Orodes II., who himself is slain not long after. Josephus having related the death of Augustus and the Jewish affairs under Tiberius, proceeds: *Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Φραάτης ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς κατὰ τούτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐτιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπὸ Φραατάκου τοῦ υἱέως . . . Στάσει περιελασθεῖς* (Phraataces) *πρότερον ἢ φύναι μέγας ἐξέπιπτε τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ οὕτω θνήσκει, συμφρονήσαντες δὲ οἱ γενναιότατοι Πάρθων . . . Ὅρωδην ἐκάλουν πρεσβεύσαντες . . . Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ (Orodes) συστάντες ἀποκτείνουσιν . . . Πρεσβεύσαντες δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἤτοῦντο βασιλέα τῶν ὀμηρεόντων, καὶ πέμπεται Βονώνης προκριθεὶς τῶν ἀδελφῶν.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 4. It is evident that Phraataces was not long king, for he had not time to get a firm footing; and besides, he was succeeded by Orodes II., and then by Vonones (see A.D. 15, no. 1075); and the latter, after taking possession of the throne, was expelled from it in A.D. 16 (see A.D. 16, no. 1077).

**1062 a.** Coins of Tiberius.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Augustus + Imp. vii. Tr. Pot. xvi.*

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Augustus Imp. vii. + Clementiæ S. C. or Moderationi S. C.*

Eckhel, vi. 186.

Coins of Antioch.

*Head of Jupiter + Αντιοχείων ἐπι Σιλανου ΔΜ.* i. e. in the forty-fourth year, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 13, and 2 Sept. A.D. 14.

*Καισαρ Σεβαστος Σεβαστου + Ἐπι Σιλανου Αντιοχείων.* ΔΜ. (same date). Id. iii. 276.

Coin of Judæa.

*Τιβ. Καισαρ. + Ιουλια* L.A. and therefore struck in the first year of his reign.

*Ιουλιαν* + L.A. (same date). Eckhel, iii. 498.

Coin of Alexandria.

*Head of Augustus + L.M.F. i. e.* in the forty-third year from the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, as dated from 1 Thoth, B.C. 30, and therefore struck between 29 Aug. A.D. 13, and 29 Aug. A.D. 14. Id. iv. 45.

Inscriptions.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maxim. Cos. xviii. Imp. xx. Tribunic. Potest. xxxvii. P. P.* (Arimini).

Muratori, i. 223, 5; id. iv. 2006, 1.

*(Cæsa)ri August. . . (Imper. xviii. . . Cla. Visptano Gallo C. Rutilio Ga. . . o.* (Vindobonæ). Id. i. 226, 8.

*Imp. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Aug. Cos. ii. Trib. Pot. xvi. Imp. vii. Pont. Max. M. ii.* (at Santa Cara in Spain).

Id. i. 443, 1.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 23.

Tabernacles, September 27.

**A.D. 15. U.C. 768. Olymp. 198, 3.**

DRUSUS CÆSAR, i.

C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

TIBERIUS II. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XVII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. II. IMP. VII.

Nineteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1063.** Tiberius became Pontifex Maximus on 10 March of this year. *vi.* (Id. Mart.) *feriæ ex S. C. q. . . Ti. Cæsar Pontifex Max. fac. est Druso et Norbano.* Fasti Verriani. *vi. Idus Martias. Quia hac Ti. Cæsar Pont. Max. felicissime creatus est.* Lapis apud Gruterum, 228, 8.

**1064.** Germanicus, in the opening of spring, makes a successful campaign against the Catti, *Druso Cæsare C. Norbano Coss. decernitur Germanico triumphus, manente bello, quod, quanquam in æstatem summâ ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Cattos excursu præcepit,* Tac. Ann. i. 55; and against the Cherusci and other nations who were under the

leadership of Arminius, Tac. Ann. i. 60; and buries the bones of Varus's legions the sixth year after the defeat, which was in A.D. 9 (see no. 1031). *Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus, sectum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa . . . condebant.* Tac. Ann. i. 62. Arminius and his army are defeated. Tac. Ann. i. 68. See Dion, lvii. 18, where the honours paid to the remains of Varus's legions are placed in A.D. 17, but this part of Dion is mutilated and corrupt.

**1065.** Tiberius restores the Laws of Treason in all their vigour. *Legem majestatis reduxerat.* Tac. Ann. i. 72 (see A.D. 14, no. 1059; A.D. 41, no. 1618).

**1066.** Achaia and Macedonia, complaining of their burdens as the senate's or people's provinces under proconsuls, are transferred to the emperor and governed by proprætors. *Achaiam et Macedoniam, onera deprecantes, levari in præsens proconsulari imperio, tradique Cæsari placuit.* Tac. Ann. i. 76 (see B.C. 27, no. 666; A.D. 44, no. 1682).

**1067.** The proconsul of Crete dies, and his quæstor and legate take the command. *Ἐπὶ μὲν Δρούσου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Γαίου τε Νωρβάνου ὑπάτων . . . ἡ Κρήτη, τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῆς ἀποθανόντος, τῷ τε Ταμείᾳ καὶ τῷ Παρέδρῳ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον προσετάχθη.* Dion, lvii. 14. Whence it appears as elsewhere (see A.D. 6, no. 1009; A.D. 22, no. 1140), that the senate's or people's provinces were governed by a proconsul and one quæstor and one legate.

**1068.** Granius Marcellus is at this time prefect of Bithynia, and is indicted for treason. *Granium Marcellum, prætorem Bithyniæ, quæstor ipsius, Cæpio Crispinus, majestatis postulavit.* Tac. Ann. i. 74. The province of Bithynia comprised Bithynia proper, Paphlagonia, Propontis, and the part of Pontus from Heraclea to Amisus. See Noris. Cenot. Pis. i. 290.

**1069.** All prefects of provinces are ordered for the future to quit Rome for their respective provinces before 1 June. *Ἐπειδὴ τε συχνοὶ τῶν τὰ ἔθνη κληρουμένων ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐνδιέτριβον . . . ἐκέλευσε σφίσιν ἔντος τῆς τοῦ Ἰουνίου νομηνίας ἀφορμᾶσθαι.* Dion, lvii. 14 (see A.D. 42, no. 1637; A.D. 43, no. 1655).

**1070.** Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, is summoned to Rome in the 50th year of his reign. He had been appointed king in B.C. 36.

*Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum* (see B.C. 36, no. 551) *Cappadociâ potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset . . . Ut* (Tiberius) *versâ Cæsarem sobole, imperium adeptus est, elicit Archeläum matris literis . . . Ille . . . in urbem properat, exceptusque immitti a principe et mox accusatus in Senatu.* Tac. Ann. ii. 42. *Τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἀρχέλαον τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλέα δι' ὄργης σχῶν, . . . μετεπέμψατο ὡς καὶ νεωτερίζοντά τι καὶ τῇ τῆς γεροσύας ψήφῳ παρέδωκεν . . . Τότε μὲν οὕτως ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐάσθη, ἄλλως δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀπέθανε.* Dion, lvii. 17 (see B.C. 36, no. 551; A.D. 17, no. 1087).

**1071.** The proprætor of Cilicia is assassinated at the same time on the plea of having conspired with Archelaus. *Ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἐκείνον ὡς ζῶν Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖ νεώτερα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πράττοντα.* Philost. V. A. i. 12 (see B.C. 22, no. 712; A.D. 57, no. 1832).

**1072.** Apollonius Tyanæus is now at Ægæ, and is between sixteen and twenty, for before this he is said to be sixteen. *Προελθὼν δὲ ἐς ἔτος ἑκτονκαδέκατον, ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου βίον,* Philost. V. A. i. 7; and after this he is called twenty. *Ὁ δ' αὖ εἴκοσιν ἐγγόνει.* Id. i. 13.

**1073.** Valerius Gratus is sent this year to succeed Annus Rufus as procurator of Judæa. *Διαδέχεται δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Τιβέριος Νέρων . . . καὶ πεμπτός ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρῆν Ἰουδαίοις ἔπαρχος, διάδοχος Ἀννίου Ρούφου, Οὐαλέριος Γράτος.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2. Coponius, M. Ambivius, and Annus Rufus filled up the interval from A.D. 6 until the reign of Tiberius; and, allowing three years to each (see A.D. 9, no. 1033), their respective periods of office would expire in A.D. 9, A.D. 12, and A.D. 15; and that Annus Rufus was superseded this year by Valerius Gratus may thus be shown. Pilate was removed in A.D. 36 (see that year, no. 1493), and had held office for ten years, and, therefore, had been appointed in A.D. 26: *καὶ Πιλάτος, δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας, εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπέιγετο, ταῖς Οὐίτελλίου πετιθόμενος ἐντολαῖς, οὐκ ὄν ἀντειπεῖν· πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσχεῖν αὐτὸν φθάνει Τιβέριος μεταστάς* (16 March, A.D. 37), Ant. xviii. 4, 2; and Gratus, his predecessor, was in office for eleven years, *καὶ Γράτος μὲν ταῦτα πράξας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, ἔνδεκα ἔτη διατρίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ,* Ant. xviii. 2, 2: Gratus, therefore, had succeeded



Annius Rufus in A.D. 15 (see A.D. 12, no. 1047; A.D. 26, no. 1160).

**1074.** Gratus removes Ananus from the high-priesthood and appoints Ishmael, and not long after displaces him and appoints Eleazar. Παῦσας ἱεράσθαι Ἀνανον, Ἰσμάηλον Ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει, τὸν τοῦ Φαβί· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστήσας, Ἐλεάζαρον, τὸν Ἀνάου τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν, ἀποδείκνυσιν Ἀρχιερέα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2 (see A.D. 7, no. 1022; A.D. 16, no. 1085).

**1075.** Vonones, son of Phraates, and who had been sent as a hostage to Rome (see B.C. 10, no. 810), arrives from Rome in Parthia as successor to Orodes. *Post finem Phraatis et sequentium regum* (Phraatices and Orodes), *ob internas caedes venire in urbem legati a primoribus Parthis, qui Vononem, vetustissimum liberorum ejus, accirent. Magnificum id sibi credidit Cæsar, auxilium opibus; et accepere barbari latantes, ut ferme ad imperia nova . . . Ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum, exturbantium Antonium, si mancipium Cæsaris tot per annos servitutem perpepsum Parthis imperitet?* Tac. Ann. ii. 2. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 4 (see A.D. 14, no. 1062; A.D. 16, no. 1077).

**1076.** Birth of Vitellius, afterwards emperor, on 24 September. *Aulus Vitellius, L. filius, Imperator, natus est octavo Kalendas Octobris vel, ut quidam, septimo Idus Septembris, Druso Cæsare Norbano Flacco coss.* Suet. Vit. 3.

**1076 a.** Coins of Tiberius.

Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Augustus + Imp. vii.  
Tr. Pot. xvii.

Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. A gustus + Pontif.  
Maxim.

Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Tr. Pot. xvii.

Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. August. Imp. vii. +  
Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Potest. xvii. S. C.  
Eckhel, vi. 187.

Coin of Antioch.

Καῖσαρ Σεβαστος Σεβαστου + Επι Σιλανου Αντιοχειου  
EM. i. e. in the forty-fifth year, and therefore  
struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 14, and 2 Sept.  
A.D. 15. Id. iii. 276.

Coin of Judæa.

Ιουλια + L.B. i. e. in the second year of the  
reign of Tiberius, and struck in honour of his  
mother Julia, or Livia.

Id. iii. 497.

### Inscription.

Αρχων καὶ Ἱερεὺς (Δρουσου Ὑπατου) Ξενων  
Μεννεου Φλυνευ  
Βασιλευς Ηρακλιου Αριστοκλεουεϋ Σφηττιου,  
Πολεμαρχου Αλκετης Αλκετου Περιθουιδηϋ,  
Θεσμοθεται Λευκιου Σεπτιου Κηφισιευ  
Φιλωτας Θεοδωρου εϋ (εξ) Μυρινουττης  
Δημητριου Κινεου Κυδαθηναιευ  
Σεξτος Λευκιου Διραδιωτης  
Αθηνωδωρου Ευγιτονου Φρεαρριου  
Αλεξανδρου Αλεξανδρου Θριασιου  
Κηριξ της εξ Αρειοπαγου Βουληϋ  
Λεωνιδηϋ Λεωνιδου Μελιτειϋ  
Κηρυξ Αρχοντι Διοδωρου Ερμειου  
Αυλητης Ισιφιδου Ασκληπιαδου Αθμονευϋ  
Λιτουργου Εστιαιου Διονυσιου Μιλησιου (at  
Athens). Muratori, i. 300, 2.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 2?.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

### A.D. 16. U.C. 769. Olymp. 198, 4.

L. STATILIUS SISENNA TAURUS.

SCRIBONIUS LIBO. Quem excep. ex Kal. Jul. Julius  
Pomponius Græcinus.

TIBERII III. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XVIII.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. II. PONT. MAX. IMP. VII.

Twentieth year of the reign of Herod Antipas  
and Herod Philip.

**1077.** Disturbances arise in the East in this consulship, and the Parthians, dissatisfied with Vonones, send for Artabanus, king of Media, who at first is vanquished by, and then vanquishes, Vonones, and establishes himself in the kingdom. *Sisennâ Statilio Tauro L. Libone coss. mota Orientis regna provincieque Romanæ initio apud Parthos orto, qui petitum acceptumque regem, quamvis gentis Arsacidarum, ut externum, aspernabantur. Is fuit Vonones, obses Augusto datus a Phraate . . . Igitur Artabanus Arsacidarum e sanguine apud Dahas adultus, excitur, primoque congressu fusus, reparat vires regnoque potitur.* Tac. Ann. ii. 1-3. Παράχρημα δὲ (οἱ Πάρθοι) ἐκάλουν Ἀρτάβανον, Μηδείας βασιλεύοντα, γένος Ἀρακιδῶν· πείθεται δὲ Ἀρτάβανος, καὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἔπεισιν· ὑπαντιάζει δὲ αὐτὸν Βονῶνης, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον . . . παραταξάμενος ἡττηθείς φεύγει πρὸς τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Μηδείας Ἀρτάβανος, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ συναγαγὼν πολλὴν στρατιὰν συμβάλλει Βονῶνῃ

καὶ νικᾷ . . . κἀκεῖνος μὲν (Artabanus) ἔβασιλευεν ἤδη Πάρθους. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 4 (see A.D. 15, no. 1075; A.D. 42, no. 1648).

**1078.** Vonones, being ejected from Parthia, takes possession of Armenia, then vacant by the expulsion of Erato, who had succeeded Ariobarzanes (see A.D. 2, no. 984; A.D. 18, no. 1102); but on the Parthians threatening an invasion, Vonones repairs to Creticus Silanus, then prefect of Syria, and lives there under surveillance. *Victo Vononi perfugium Armenia fuit, vacua tunc . . . Ariobarzane morte fortuitâ absumpto, stirpem ejus haud toleravere, tentatoque feminæ imperio cui nomen Erato . . . profugum Vononem in regnum accipiunt; sed ubi minitari Artabanus . . . rector Syriae Creticus Silanus excitum custodiâ circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine.* Tac. Ann. ii. 3. Βονώνης δὲ εἰς Ἀρμενίαν διαπίπτει, καὶ καταρχὰς μὲν ἐφίετο τῆς χώρας, ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ Τιβέριος μὲν ἀπέπειπε, πρὸς τε τὴν ἀνανδρείαν καὶ τοῦ Πάρθου τὰς ἀπειλὰς . . . παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν Σιλανῶ, τῷ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγῷ, κἀκεῖνος μὲν . . . ἐν Συρίᾳ παρεφύλαττετο. Τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν Ὀρώδη δίδωσιν Ἀρτάβανος, ἐνὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 4. As Creticus Silanus was displaced for Cnæus Piso, in A.D. 17, these occurrences must have taken place about A.D. 16.

**1079.** Germanicus is now making his third campaign in Germany. *Tertium jam annum belligerenti.* Tac. Ann. ii. 5 (see A.D. 14, no. 1060). He gains a victory, in the summer, over Arminius and the Cherusci, Tac. Ann. ii. 17; and then places his troops in winter quarters. *Sed, æstate jam adultâ, legionum alia itinere terrestri in hibernacula dimissæ, plures Cæsar classi impositas per flumen Amisiam Oceano invexit.* Tac. Ann. ii. 23. *Reductus inde in hiberna miles.* Tac. Ann. ii. 26.

**1080.** A decree is made at Rome for the expulsion of astrologers and sorcerers from Italy. *Facta et de mathematicis magisque Italiâ pellendis Senatus consulta.* Tac. Ann. ii. 32. Dion, lvii. 15 (B.C. 34, no. 571; A.D. 19, no. 1123).

**1081.** A centurion, at Rome, is not allowed to give his evidence in the Senate in Greek, though the use of Greek there had been a common practice. Ἐκατοντάρχου Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μαρτυρῆσαι τι ἐθελήσαντος, οὐκ ἦν ἐσχετο (Tiberius), καίπερ πολλὰς μὲν δίκας ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐκεῖ λεγομένας, ἀκούων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπερωτῶν. Dion, lvii. 15.

**1082.** The quæstors of this year not being

numerous enough to supply proquæstors for the provinces, the quæstors of the preceding year are taken for the purpose. Ἐκ τῶν πέρυσι τεταμιευκότων ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τινὲς ἐξεπέμφθησαν, ἐπειδὴ περ οἱ τότε ταμιεύοντες ἐλάττους αὐτῶν ἦσαν. Dion, lvii. 16. This shows how the quæstors for the provinces were usually supplied.

**1083.** A pseudo-Agrippa, claiming to be the son of Julia and M. Agrippa, appears in Gaul. Dion, lvii. 16. Tac. Ann. ii. 40. Suet. Tib. 33 (see A.D. 14, no. 1055).

**1084.** Rise of the power of Sejanus, son of Seius Strabo, prefect of the prætorian guard (see A.D. 31, no. 1353).

**1085.** Gratus, procurator of Judæa, displaces Eleazar, and appoints Simon, son of Camithus, high-priest. Ἐνιαντοῦ δὲ διαγενομένου καὶ τόνδε (Eleazar) πάσας, Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσιν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2 (see A.D. 15, no. 1074; A.D. 17, no. 1096).

**1085 a.** Coin of Tiberius.

*Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Potest. xviii. S. C.*

Eckhel, vi. 189.

Coin of Judæa.

Ιουλιὰ + Λ.Γ. i. e. in the third year of Tiberius, and struck in honour of his mother Julia, or Livia. Id. iii. 497.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

#### A.D. 17. U.C. 770. Olymp. 199, 1.

C. CÆCILIUS RUFUS.

L. POMPONIUS FLACCUS.

TIBERII IV. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XIX.

FROM 27 JUNE. COS. II. COS. DESIG. III.

PONT. MAX. IMP. VII.

Twenty-first year of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1086.** Triumph of Germanicus, on 26 May. *C. Cæcilio L. Pomponio coss. Germanicus Cæsar a.d. vii. Kal. Jun. triumphavit de Cheruscis, Cattisque, et Angrivariis, quæque alia nationes usque ad Albim colunt.* Tac. Ann. ii. 41.

**1087.** The death of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, at Rome, when Cappadocia becomes a Roman province. *Rex Archelaus . . . finem vitæ, sponte an fato, implevit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. ii. 42. Καὶ ἡ Καππαδοκία τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, καὶ ἰκπεῖ ἐπετράπη. Dion, lvii.



17. Eutrop. vii. 11. Archelaus had been made king in B.C. 36 (see that year, no. 551) and was summoned to Rome in A.D. 15 (see that year, no. 1070).

**1088.** Antiochus III., king of Commagene (see B.C. 20, no. 728; A.D. 18, no. 1104), and Philopator, king of Cilicia Amaniensis, or the parts about Mount Amanus (see B.C. 20, no. 727; A.D. 41, no. 1623), die about the same time with Archelaus. *Per idem tempus Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum, regibus defunctis, turbabantur nationes, plerisque Romanum, aliis regium imperium cupientibus* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. ii. 42. Ἐπελεύθησέν τε καὶ ὁ τῆς Κομμαγενῆς βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 5. This is related by Josephus after the flight of Vonones from Parthia, A.D. 16 (see no. 1078), and just before the appointment of Germanicus to the East, late in A.D. 17 (see *post*, no. 1089). At what time Antiochus became king of Commagene does not appear, for in B.C. 20 (see that year, no. 728) Mithridates, a minor, was nominated to the kingdom. As to Philopator, on the death of Tarcondimotus I., just before the battle of Actium his son Philopator assumed the crown; but Augustus deposed him (see B.C. 31, no. 618), and afterwards appointed Tarcondimotus II., another son of Tarcondimotus I., to be king of Cilicia Amaniensis, except a portion of the seacoast, which was made over to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (see B.C. 20, no. 727). It was perhaps on the death of Tarcondimotus II. that this Philopator (either the brother, who may have made his peace with the Emperor, or a son of Tarcondimotus II.) was appointed to succeed (see A.D. 41, no. 1623).

**1089.** After the triumph of Germanicus, and therefore after 26 May, and probably late in the year, Tiberius proposes to the Senate, and it is decreed, that the provinces of the East be committed to Germanicus. *Decreto patrum permittæ Germanico provinciæ quæ mari dividuntur, majusque imperium, quoquo adisset, quam his, qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. ii. 43. Καὶ ψηφίζεται ἡ Συγκλητὸς Γερμάνικον πέμπειν διορθώσοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 5.

**1090.** Before this, Tiberius had already appointed Cn. Piso prefect of Syria, in the place of Creticus Silanus. *Sed Tiberius demoverat Syriâ Creticum Silanum.* Tac. Ann. ii. 43; and

see Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 5; Dion, lvii. 18; Suet. Tib. 52; Calig. 2 (see A.D. 12, no. 1046; A.D. 19, no. 1113). And it was not long before, for Piso thought his own appointment was connected with that of Germanicus. *Nec dubium habebat se delectum, qui Syriæ imponderetur, ad spes Germanici coercendas.* Tac. Ann. ii. 43. Neither Piso nor Germanicus reached the East until early in the following year.

**1091.** Vipsanius Gallus, the prætor, dies, and during the election of a new prætor Germanicus and Drusus are both at Rome. *Germanicus atque Drusus (nam etiam tum Romæ erant) Haterium Agrippam, propinquum Germanici, fovebant.* Tac. Ann. ii. 51.

**1092.** Not long after the appointment of Germanicus to the East, Drusus proceeds to Illyricum. *Nec multo post* (the appointment of Germanicus) *Drusus in Illyricum missus est.* Tac. Ann. ii. 44. And at the close of the year, Germanicus was with Drusus in Illyricum (see A.D. 18, no. 1099).

**1093.** Twelve, or according to some thirteen, cities of Asia are overthrown by an earthquake. *Eodem anno (A.D. 17) duodecim celebres Asiæ urbes conlapsæ nocturno motu terræ.* Tac. Ann. ii. 47. *Terræ motu tredecim urbes corrue-runt, Ephesus, Magnesia, Sardes, Mosthene, Ægæ, Hierocæsarea, Philadelphia, Tmolus, Temnus, Myrhina, Apollonia Dia, Hyrania.* Euseb. Chron. Eusebius records the event under the year from Abraham 2032, ending October, A.D. 17, before which time therefore the catastrophe must have occurred. Cyme is here omitted by mistake, but is found in Syn-cellus, and is also mentioned in Tacitus Ann. ii. 47. See Pliny N. H. ii. 86; Senec. Nat. Quæst. vi. 1. Ephesus, the thirteenth and disputed city, suffered perhaps very slightly. Strabo (xii. and xiii.) alludes to this earthquake as having then recently (*νεωστὶ*) occurred.

**1094.** M. Aletus, a prætor, is appointed to and charged with the relief of the cities which had suffered by the earthquake. Tac. Ann. ii. 47. Dion, lvii. 17.

**1095.** The law of treason is still further strained. *Adolescebat interea Lex Majestatis.* Tac. Ann. ii. 50.

**1096.** Gratus displaces Simon from the pontificate, and appoints Joseph, otherwise Caiaphas. *Ὁ πλέον καὶ τῷδε (Simon) ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος, ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας, διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ.* Jos.

Ant. xviii. 2, 2 (see A.D. 16, no. 1085; A.D. 37, no. 1496).

**1097.** Asinæus and Anilæus, two Jewish brethren, taking advantage of the dissensions amongst the Parthians, set up for themselves in Babylonia about this time. In A.D. 18 they were so strong that Artabanus was obliged to come to terms with them. Jos. Ant. xviii. 9, 1 (see A.D. 18, no. 1105).

**1097 a.** Coin of Tiberius.

*Pontif. Maxim. Trib. Pot. xviii. Cos. Des. S. C.*  
Eckhel, vi. 189.

Coin of Antioch.

Καίσαρ Σεβαστος Σεβαστου + Ε. ι Σιλανου Αντιοχεων.  
ZM. i. e. in the forty-seventh year, and therefore struck some time between 2 Sept. A.D. 16, and 2 Sept. A.D. 17. Id. iii. 276.

Coin of Seleucia.

Επι Σιλανου. ZM. (same date). Id. iii. 325.

Inscriptions.

*Ti. Cæs. Divi Aug. F. Augustus Pont. Max. Imp. Trib. Potest. xviii. Cos. Desig. Tert.*  
(Nonæ in Dalmatiâ).  
Muratori, i. 223, 3.

*J. O. et Mercurio Reduci ob reditum M. Clerii Pacati, M. Vibius, M. Lib. Geminus ux. Vot. P. C. Cæcilio L. Pomponio Flacco Cos.*  
(Sancti Blasii in Lucaniâ).  
Id. i. 301, 1.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæs. Aug. Germ. Trib. Pot. ii. (lege xix.) Cos. Desig. iii. Imp. iii. (lege vii.) P. P. Dedit ob memoriam Patris sui Dec. vii. Collegi. Fabrum M.R. H-S. cIo N. Liberalitate donavit sub hac conditione ut quotannis rosas ad monumentum ejus deferant et ibi epulentur dumtaxat in v. Idus Julias, quod si neglexerint tunc ad viii. ejusdem collegii pertinere debet condicione supra dictâ.*  
(Ravennæ). Gruter, 237, 5.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.  
Passover, March 30.  
Pentecost, May 20.  
Tabernacles, September 24.

**A.D. 18. U.C. 771. Olymp. 199, 2.**

TIB. CLAUD. NERO CÆSAR AUGUSTUS iii. Quem excep. L. Sejus Tubero.  
GERMANICUS CÆSAR, ii. Quem excepit Rubellius Blandus.

TIBERII V. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XX. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. III. PONT. MAX. IMP. VII.

Twenty-second year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1098.** Tiberius continued in the consulship for a few days only. *Nec amplius quam omnino tres consulatus* (viz. after his accession to the empire), *unum* (A.D. 18) *paucis diebus, alterum* (A.D. 21) *tribus mensibus, tertium* (A.D. 31) *absens usque in Idus Maias gessit.* Suet. Tib. 26.

**1099.** On 1 January of this year Germanicus is at Nicopolis, at Actium, having just arrived there from Illyricum on his way to the East. *Eum honorem* (the consulship) *Germanicus iniit apud urbem Achaia Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso in Dalmatiâ agente, Hadriatici ac mox Ionii maris adversam navigationem perpessus.* Tac. Ann. ii. 53. Thence he proceeds successively to Athens, which he treats as a free city, Eubœa, Lesbos, Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Black Sea, and on his return to the south visits Ilium, Colophon, and Rhodes. *Hinc* (from Actium) *ventum Athenas, federique sociæ et vetustæ urbis datum, ut uno lictore uteretur . . . Petiti inde Eubœâ tramisit Lesbum . . . Tum extrema Asia Perinthusque ac Byzantium, Thracias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et Os Ponticum intrat . . . Ab Ilio . . . relegit Asiam appellitque Colophona . . . apud insulam Rhodum.* Tac. Ann. ii. 53-55.

**1100.** Cnæus Piso passes through Athens on his way to Syria after Germanicus had left it, and then, sailing across amongst the Cyclades, overtakes Germanicus at Rhodes. *At Cn. Piso . . . civitatem Atheniensium . . . oratione sævâ increpat, oblique Germanicum obstringens . . . Exin navigatione celeri per Cycladas et compendia maris, adsequitur Germanicum apud insulam Rhodum.* Tac. Ann. ii. 55.

**1101.** Piso hastens from Rhodes to Syria. *Piso . . . linquit Germanicum prævenitque.* Tac. Ann. ii. 55.

**1102.** Germanicus proceeds to Armenia, and appoints Zeno, son of Polemo, king by the



name of Artaxias. *Præverti ad Armenios instantior cura fuit . . . Favor nationis inclinabat in Zenonem, Polemonis regis Pontici filium . . . Igitur Germanicus in urbe Artaxata, adprobantibus nobilibus, circumfusâ multitudine, insignis regium capiti ejus imponit. Cæteri venerantes regem Artaxiam consalutavere, quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis.* Tac. ii. 56. Strabo refers to this event. 'Ο δὲ (Zeno) νεωστὶ καθίσταται τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας βασιλεύς. Strabo, xii. 3. And he therefore wrote the twelfth book after this date (see A.D. 16, no. 1078; A.D. 34, no. 1461).

**1103.** Cappadocia is settled as a province, and Q. Veranius is appointed legate. *At Cappadoces in formam provinciæ redacti Quint. Veranium legatum acceperere.* Tac. Ann. ii. 56 (see A.D. 17, no. 1087; A.D. 51, no. 1758). Cilicia Aspera, which had belonged to Archelaus (see B.C. 25, no. 675), is now probably incorporated with the Roman province of Cilicia, i. e. Cilicia Campestris, which had been annexed previously to Syria, and had a proprætor of its own (see B.C. 51, no. 191). In A.D. 37 Cilicia Aspera was annexed to the kingdom of Commagene (see B.C. 25, no. 677; A.D. 37, no. 1505).

**1104.** Commagene also is made a Roman province, and Q. Servæus is appointed proprætor. *Commagenis Q. Servæus præponitur, tum primum ad jus prætoris translatis.* Tac. Ann. ii. 56. It remained a Roman province until A.D. 37 (see A.D. 17, no. 1088; A.D. 37, no. 1505).

**1105.** Artabanus, king of Parthia (see A.D. 16, no. 1078), conciliates Asinæus and Anclæus (see A.D. 17, no. 1097), and appoints the former satrap of Babylonia. *Παρακαταθήκην δὲ σοὶ (Asinæus) δίδωμι (Artabanus loquitur) τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν γῆν. . . Πάντα τε ἤδη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας πρὸς αὐτὸν (Asinæus) ἤρτο πράγματα, προῦκοπτέ τε αὐτῷ ἡ εὐδαιμονία ἐπὶ ἕτη πεντεκαίδεκα.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 9, 4. The accuracy of the present date depends upon the time when the fifteen years expired (see A.D. 33, no. 1457).

**1105 a.** Coins of Tiberius.

*Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Tr. Pot. xx.*

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Augustus Imp. vii. + Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Potest. xx.*

Eckhel, vi. 189.

### Inscriptions.

Η πολις Γερμανικον Καισαρα Τιβεριου Καισαρος υιον Σεβασιου Καισαρος υιωνον Υπατεινοντα Θεοις (Corcyraë). Muratori, i. 224, 3.

*Germanico Cæsari Ti. F. Aug. Pontif. Q. Cos. ii. D. D. (Brixiaë).* Gruter, 236, 2.

. . . *ermanico*

. . . *aisari*

. . . *Augusti F.*

. . . *ivi Augusti N.*

. . . *ivi Julii Pron.*

. . . *uguri Flam. Aug.*

. . . *Cos. ii. Imp. ii. (Romæ).*

Id. 236, 4.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 19.

Pentecost, May 9.

Tabernacles, September 13.

### A.D. 19. U.C. 772. Olymp. 199, 3.

M. JUNIUS SILANUS.

L. NORBANUS BALBUS. P. Petronius consul suff.

TIBERII VI. FROM 19 AUG. TRIBUN. POT. XXI.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. III. PONT. MAX. IMP.  
VII.

Twenty-third year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1106.** The Laws of Treason are rigorously enforced at Rome. *Τιβέριος δὲ . . . τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγρίως ἤρξε, καὶ ταῖς τῆς Ἀσεβείας δίκαις, εἴ τις οὐχ ὅσον ἐς τὸν Αὐγουστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκείνον, τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ, πράξας τι ἢ καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνεπιτήδειον, ἐπεκλήθη, δεινῶς ἐπεξήκει.* Dion, lvii. 19 (see A.D. 15, no. 1065; A.D. 33, no. 1417).

**1107.** Germanicus visits Egypt in this consulship, *M. Silano L. Norbano coss. Germanicus Ægyptium proficiscitur,* Tac. Ann. ii. 59; and is at Alexandria. *Tiberius . . . acerrime increpuit, quod contra instituta Augusti, non sponte Principis, Alexandriam introisset.* Tac. Ann. ii. 59. He proceeds up the Canopic mouth of the Nile to Thebes and Syene. *Germanicus . . . Nilo subvehebatur, orsus oppido a Canopo . . . Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. . . Exin ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen.* Tac. Ann. ii. 60, 61.

**1108.** The same summer that Germanicus is in Egypt Drusus is winning laurels in Germany. *Dum ea æstas Germanico plures*

*per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quæsit, inciciens Germanos ad discordias, etc.* Tac. Ann. ii. 62. Drusus appoints Vannius king of the Quadi. *Dato rege Vannio gentis Quadorum.* Tac. Ann. ii. 63. Vannius reigned upwards of thirty years (see A.D. 50, no. 1743).

**1109.** Vonones attempts to escape from Cilicia, and is slain. Tac. Ann. ii. 68. Suet. Tib. 49 (see A.D. 16, no. 1078).

**1110.** Germanicus returns from Egypt, and quarrels with Piso, who resolves on leaving the province; but Germanicus falls ill, and Piso waits to see the issue. *At Germanicus Ægypto remeans, etc. Dein Piso abire statuit: mox adversâ Germanici valetudine detentus.* Tac. Ann. ii. 69.

**1111.** Germanicus recovers for a time, and Piso is about to embark at Seleucia, when Germanicus again falls ill. Germanicus orders Piso from the province, and Piso sets sail. *Tum (Piso) Seleuciam digreditur, oppertiens ægritudinem quæ rursum Germanico acciderat . . . Addunt plerique jussum (Pisonem) provinciâ decedere. Nec Piso moratus ultra navis solvit.* Tac. Ann. ii. 69, 70.

**1112.** Germanicus dies at Epidaphne, near Antioch, and is thought to have been poisoned by the machinations of Piso. Tac. Ann. ii. 72. Dion, lvii. 18. Suet. Tib. 52; Calig. 2, 3. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 5. The day of the death was 9 October. *vii. Id. Infer. Germanic.* Old Calendar, Muratori, i. 304.

**1113.** The legates and chief men of Syria choose Cn. Sentius prefect of the province. *Inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quæsitum. Dein Marsus seniori et acrius tendenti Sentio concessit.* Tac. Ann. ii. 74 (see A.D. 17, no. 1090; A.D. 20, no. 1128).

**1114.** The news of Germanicus's death reaches Piso at Cos. *Pisonem interea apud Coum insulam nuntius adsequitur excessisse Germanicum.* Tac. Ann. ii. 75. Piso, with the view of repossessing himself of Syria, sends Domitius Celer forward to Syria, and opens a communication with the chiefs of Cilicia for their armed assistance. *Domitium . . . pergere in Syriam jubet . . . Regulis Ciliæ, ut se auxiliis jurent, scribit.* Tac. Ann. ii. 78.

**1115.** Domitius lands at Laodicea, where the sixth legion is now in winter quarters, but has no success. *Domitius Laodiceam, urbem Syria,*

*adpulsus, cum hiberna sextæ legionis peteret . . . a Pacuvio legato prævenitur.* Tac. Ann. ii. 79.

**1116.** Agrippina, with the ashes of Germanicus, her husband, on her way to Rome, and Piso, on his return from Cos to Syria, pass each other off the coast of Lycia and Pamphylia. Tac. Ann. ii. 79. Agrippina continues her voyage during the winter, and reaches Corcyra and then Brundisium. Tac. Ann. iii. 1.

**1117.** Piso fortifies himself in the castle of Celenderis, but is attacked by Sentius, and is obliged to surrender, and is sent to Rome. Tac. Ann. ii. 80, *et seq.*

**1118.** It may have been from these commotions in Cilicia that the family of Saul (afterwards St. Paul) quitted Tarsus and took up their abode at Jerusalem, and placed Saul under the tuition of Gamaliel. Saul was certainly brought up at Jerusalem, *ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ*, Acts, xxii. 3, from his youth from the very first. *Τὴν μὲν οὖν βίωσίν μου τὴν ἐκ νεότητος τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένην ἐν τῷ ἔθνει μου ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἴσασι πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, προγινώσκοντές με ἄνωθεν.* Acts xxvi. 4. The Jews at twelve years old were examined as to their proficiency before becoming disciples of the Law; and Saul, now about ten years old, may have been taken to Jerusalem to be placed under the tuition of Gamaliel for instruction in the Law preparatory to his examination (see A.D. 9, no. 1035).

**1119.** The news of the death of Germanicus had already reached Rome, and mourning was observed during the festivals of December. *Etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies.* Suet. Calig. 6. The festivals of December were almost exclusively in the latter part of the month.

**1120.** Rhescuporis, king of Northern Thrace, puts to death by artifice Cotys, king of Southern Thrace (see A.D. 38, no. 1533), and possesses himself of the whole kingdom. Tac. Ann. ii. 64-66.

**1121.** Tiberius appoints Pomponius Flaccus to the prefecture of Mæsia, the adjoining province to Thrace. *Defuncto Pando (prefect of Mæsia), quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum veterem stipendiis et arctâ cum rege (Rhescupore) amicitia, eoque accommodatiorem ad fallendum, ob id maxime, Mæsia præfecit (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. ii. 66.



**1122.** Flaccus gets Rhescuporis into his power and sends him to Rome, when Northern Thrace is given to Rhœmetalces, son of Rhescuporis, and Southern Thrace to the children of Cotys, under the regency of Trebellienus Rufus. Tac. Ann. ii. 67 (see A.D. 38, no. 1533).

**1123.** Jewish and Egyptian rites are prohibited at Rome; and four thousand of those who professed these rites are sent to Sardinia, and the rest are ordered out of Italy. *Actum et de sacris Ægyptiis Judaicisque pellendis, factumque patrum consultum, ut quatuor millia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, queis idonea ætas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur coercendis illic latrocinii, et si ob gravitatem cæli interissent vile damnum; cæteri cederent Italiâ nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. ii. 85. Josephus refers the edict to the Jews only. Καὶ ὁ Τιβερίος . . . κελύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελαθῆναι· οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ τετρακισχιλίου ἀνθρώπων ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον, πλείστον δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὴ θέλοντας στρατεύεσθαι διὰ φυλακῆν τῶν πατρίων νόμων, καὶ οἱ μὲν . . . ἠλαύνοντο τῆς πόλεως. Jos. Ant. xviii. 3, 5 (see B.C. 21, no. 719).

**1123 a.** Coin of Judæa.

Ιουδαια + Λ. S. i. e. in the sixth year of Tiberius, and struck in honour of his mother Julia, or Livia. Eckhel, iii. 497.

Inscription.

Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Aug. Pontifex Max.  
Trib. Pot. xxi. Refecit et Restituit (Nemausi).  
Muratori, i. 443, 2.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.  
Passover, April 7.  
Pentecost, May 28.  
Tabernacles, October 2.

**A.D. 20. U.C. 773. Olymp. 199, 4.**

M. VALER. MESSALA.  
M. AUREL. COTTA.

TIBERII VII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXII.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV.  
PONT. MAX. IMP. VII.

Twenty-fourth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1124.** Agrippina is met by Drusus at Terracina, and enters Rome with the ashes of Germa-

nicus (his coss.). Tac. Ann. iii. 2. This was before 4 April, for *Ludorum Megalensium* (which began 4 April) *spectaculum suberat*. Tac. Ann. iii. 6.

**1125.** Soon after Drusus returns to Illyricum. *Tum exuto justitio reditum ad munia, et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est*. Tac. Ann. iii. 7.

**1126.** Piso sends his son forward to Rome, and proceeds himself to Illyricum to try to appease Drusus, *at Piso, premisso in urbem filio, . . . ad Drusum pergit*, Tac. Ann. iii. 8; and then proceeds by way of Ancona to Rome. *Piso, Dalmatico mari tramisso, relictisque apud Anconam navibus, per Picenum ac mox Flaminiam viam*, etc. *Nare ac mox Tiberi devectus, auçit vulgi iras, quia navem tumulto Cæsarum adpulerat*. Tac. Ann. iii. 9.

Death of Piso by his own hand. Tac. Ann. iii. 15. Dion, lvii. 18.

**1127.** Under this year, Tacitus relates the trial of Lepida, the wife of P. Sulpicius Quirinus, or Cyrenius. It began at the close of the year, for Drusus is spoken of as consul designatus, *exemit etiam Drusum, consulem designatum*, etc., Tac. Ann. iii. 22; but, the holidays intervening before the conclusion of the trial, it was adjourned to the first term in the following year, A. D. 21. *Lepida, ludorum diebus qui cognitionem intervenerant, theatrum cum claris fæminis ingressa*, etc. Tac. Ann. iii. 23. The condemnation must have been in A. D. 21, as Suetonius places it twenty years after the marriage of Quirinus, in A. D. 2. *Post vicesimum annum*. Suet. Tib. 49 (see A. D. 2, no. 983). The death of Quirinus himself followed soon after (see A. D. 21, no. 1034 a).

**1128.** Lucius Pomponius Flaccus, who had been consul A. D. 17, may perhaps have been appointed prefect of Syria about this time. Tac. Ann. vi. 27. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 2 (see A. D. 19, no. 1113; A. D. 33, no. 1456). The date of Flaccus's appointment is conjectural. Lucius Ælius Lamia, who, in A. D. 32, was appointed *præfectus urbis*, Dion, lviii. 9, and died in A. D. 33, Tac. Ann. vi. 27, is described at the latter period as having been for a long time previously the nominal prefect of Syria. *Extremo anni* (A. D. 33) *mors Ælii Lamie funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandæ Syriæ imagine tandem exsolutus, urbi præfuerat*. Tac. Ann. vi. 27. Arruntius was in detention at Rome in the same way from the province of

Spain for ten years. Tac. Ann. vi. 27; and see Suet. Tib. li. 63. But L. Ælius Lamia had not been appointed to Syria for the same length of time, for in A.D. 23 he was prefect of Africa. *Ælius Lamia et L. Apronius Africam obtinuerant.* Tac. Ann. iv. 13. The general rule of Augustus had been to continue prefects from three to six years, and while the procurators of Judæa exemplified the three years, the prefects of Syria commonly exemplified the six years. Cn. Piso had been deposed from the prefecture of Syria by Germanicus, in A.D. 19, and his successor would naturally arrive in A.D. 20. Supposing Flaccus to have been then sent and to hold office for six years, this would bring us to A.D. 26, and six years more for the prefecture of L. Ælius Lamia would bring us to A.D. 32, when Ælius Lamia was made prefect of the city. During these last six years, L. Ælius Lamia had been in name only the prefect of Syria, as Flaccus had not been recalled. Flaccus was, in A.D. 19, appointed to Mœsia, but this was on a special mission, for the purpose of reducing Rhescuporis, king of Thrace, who was in revolt; and as Flaccus was enabled in a short time to get Rhescuporis into his power and send him to Rome, he may very well have quitted Mœsia in A.D. 20, and have been rewarded for his services by the prefecture of Syria. Accordingly, in A.D. 21, when disturbances again broke out in Thrace, we find, not Pomponius Flaccus, but P. Velleius interfering. *Quæ ubi cognita P. Velleio (is proximum exercitum præsidebat), etc.* Tac. Ann. iii. 39; see iv. 5. Supposing Flaccus to have been appointed to Syria in A.D. 20, he held office, as he died in A.D. 33, for thirteen years; and this long duration of government would agree with the statement of Suetonius that Tiberius, after his retreat to Capræ, in A.D. 27, made no changes in the prefectures of provinces. *Regressus in insulam Reipublicæ quidem curam usque adeo abjecit ut postea . . . non Provinciarum præsidēs ullos mutaverit.* Suet. Tib. 41. In A.D. 34, Pomponius Labeo was accused of maladministration in his province of Mœsia (Tac. Ann. vi. 29), and if so, his return from Mœsia was probably in the latter half of the preceding year, A.D. 33; but Labeo held office in Mœsia for eight years, Dion, lviii. 24; which would place his appointment in A.D. 25; and he was certainly in Mœsia at the beginning of A.D. 26. Tac. Ann. iv. 47. It is possible, therefore,

that, as Pomponius Flaccus was appointed in A.D. 19, his prefecture *may* have continued till A.D. 25; but this does not follow, as the interval between A.D. 20 (supposing Flaccus to have been then transferred to Syria) and A.D. 25 or 26 may have been occupied by P. Velleius or some prefect not named. It is much more likely that a prefect of Mœsia should have been passed over by history *sub silentio* than a prefect of Syria.

**1128 a.** Coins of Tiberius.

*Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Tr. Pot. xxii.*

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Augusti F. Augustus + Pont. Maxim. Cos. iii. Imp. vii. Tr. Pot. xxii.*

Eckhel, vi. 190.

Inscription.

*Trib. Potest. xxii. Cos. iii. Imp. viii. Id. vi. 191.*

Coin of Judæa.

*Τιβεριου Καίσαρος + L.Z.* and therefore struck in the seventh year of his reign. Id. iii. 498.

Inscriptions.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Augusti F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Tribunicia Potestate xxii. Refecit et Restituit* (Sancti Canati in Provinciâ).

Muratori, i. 442, 9.

*Ti. Cl. Drus. F. Cæs. Aug. Germ. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. v. (lege xxii.) Cos. iii. Des. iiii. Imp. ii. (lege vii.) P. P. ex S. C. C. Calpurnius Staius Sex. Matrobis M. Perpenna Larco T. Satrius Decianus curat. Tabul. Pub. Fac. Cur. (Romæ).* Gruter, 237, 8.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 27.

Pentecost, May 17.

Tabernacles, September 21.

**A.D. 21. U.C. 774. Olymp. 200, 1.**

TIB. CLAUD. NERO AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, iv.  
DRUSUS CÆSAR, ii.

TIBERII VIII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXIII.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP.  
VIII. (see Eckhel, vi. 190).

Twenty-fifth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1129.** Tiberius is consul for three months only. *Nec amplius quam omnino tres consulatus* (after his accession to the empire) *unum* (A.D. 18) *paucis diebus, alterum* (A.D. 21) *tribus mensibus, tertium* (A.D. 31) *absens usque in Idus Maias gessit.* Suet. Tib. 26.



**1130.** Tiberius withdraws into Campania at the opening of the year. *Ejus anni principio Tiberius, quasi firmandæ valetudini, in Campaniam concessit, longam et continuam absentiam paullatim meditans.* Tac. Ann. iii. 31.

**1131.** M. Lepidus proceeds as proconsul to Asia. *Igitur missus (M. Lepidus) in Asiam.* Tac. Ann. iii. 32. His successor was probably C. Silanus (see B.C. 14, no. 766; A.D. 22, no. 1137).

**1132.** Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, returns to Rome at the expiration of his office. *Ancharius Priscus Cæsium Cordum Proconsulem Crætæ postulaverat repetundis (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. iii. 38.

**1133.** Illness of Drusus at the close of the year. *Fine anni C. Lutorium Priscum . . . conripuit delator, objectans ægro Druso composuisse (carmen) quod, si exstinctus foret, majore præmio vulgaretur.* Tac. Ann. iii. 49.

**1134.** A decree made that after condemnation by the senate there should be no execution for ten days, in order that the Emperor might have time to grant a pardon. *Factum S.C. ne decreta patrum ante diem decimum ad ærarium deferrentur, idque vitæ spatium damnatis prorogaretur (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. iii. 51. Δόγμα τι παραδοθῆναι ἐκέλευσε, μητ' ἀποθνήσκειν ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν τὸν καταψηφισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μήτε τὸ γράμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνον ἀποτίθεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ ἀποδημῶν προπυθάνηται τὰ δόξαντα σφίσι καὶ ἐπιδιακρίνη. Dion, lvii. 20.

**1134 a.** The death of P. Sulpicius Quirinus, called by Luke Cyrenius. *Sub idem tempus ut mors Sulpicii Quirini publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, (Tiberius) petivit a Senatu (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. iii. 48 (see B.C. 4, no. 955).

**1134 b.** Coin of Tiberius.

*Pont. Maxim. Cos. iii. Imp. viii. Tr. Pot. xxiii.*  
Eckhel, vi. 190.

Coin of Judæa.

Τιβεριον Καισαρος L.H. + Ιουλια Καισαρος, and therefore struck in the eighth year of his reign. Id. iii. 498.

Inscription.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Augusti Filius Divi Julii N. August. Pontifex Maxim. Cos. iii. Imp. viii. Trib. Potest. xvii. (Arimini).*  
Muratori, iv. 2006, 1; id. i. 223, 5.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 15.

Pentecost, June 5.

Tabernacles, October 10.

**A.D. 22. U.C. 775. Olymp. 200, 2.**

DEC. HATERIUS AGRIPPA.

C. SULPICIUS GALBA

ex Kal. Jul.

M. COCCÆUS NERVA.

C. VIBIUS RUFINUS.

TIBERII IX. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXIV.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Twenty-sixth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1135.** Peace prevails during the year in the provinces. *C. Sulpicius, D. Haterius coss. sequuntur. Inturbidus externis rebus annus.* Tac. Ann. iii. 52.

**1136.** The Tribunitian power is conferred on Drusus (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. iii. 56. Drusus at this time had been tried in public affairs for eight years. *Neque nunc propere, sed per octo annos capto experimento, compressis seditionibus, compositis bellis, triumphalem et bis consulem, noti laboris participem sumi.* Tac. Ann. iii. 56 (see A.D. 14, no. 1060).

**1137.** The province of Asia falls by lot to Servius Maluginensis, the flamen Dialis. *Ut Asiam sorte haberet, Tac. Ann. iii. 58;* but it was adjudged that, as flamen Dialis, he could not hold the office. Tac. Ann. iii. 71. The person who was eventually proconsul of Asia appears to have been Lucilius Capito (see A.D. 21, no. 1131; A.D. 23, no. 1149).

**1138.** The privilege of the Temple of Diana of Ephesus as a sanctuary or asylum for debtors, etc., is called in question, and is put under new regulations. Tac. Ann. iii. 61–63.

**1139.** Julia, or Livia, or Augusta, the mother of Tiberius, is taken ill; and Tiberius, who was still on good terms with her, is obliged to return from Campania to Rome. *Sub idem tempus (his coss.) Julia Augustæ valetudo atrocis necessitatem Principi fecit festinati in urbem reditus.* Tac. Ann. iii. 64. Dion, lvii. 21.

**1140.** C. Silanus, who had been proconsul of Asia, is accused by the provincials, and even by his own quæstor and his own legate. *C. Silanum, Proconsulem Asiæ, repetundarum a sociis*

*postulatum Mamercus Scaurus e consularibus, Junius Otho prætor, Brutidius Niger corripunt.* Tac. Ann. iii. 66. *Auxere numerum accusatorum Gellius Poplicola et M. Paconius, ille Quæstor Silani, hic Legatus.* Tac. Ann. iii. 67 (see A.D. 21, no. 1131; A.D. 23, no. 1149).

**1141.** Sejanus rises rapidly into power. *Τὰ τε ἴδια αὐτῷ πάντα, ὅσα τινὲς ἀξίωσεν παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ὑπὲρ ὧν χρηματισθῆναι ἔδει, ἐπεκρίνον, καὶ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν ἔτι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπράττετο.* Dion, lvii. 21.

**1142.** Death of Junia, sister of M. Brutus and wife of C. Cassius, in the sixty-fourth year from the battle of Philippi, B.C. 42 (see no. 414). *Et Junia sexagesimo quarto post Philippensem aciem anno supremum diem explevit.* Tac. Ann. iii. 76.

**1143.** Coins of Tiberius.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. August. Imp. viii. + Pontif. Maxim. Tribum. Potest. xviii.*

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. August. P. M. Tr. Pot. xviii. + Civitatibus Asiæ Restitutis* (see A.D. 17, no. 1093).

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. August. P. M. Tr. Pot. xviii. + Divus Augustus Pater.*

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. August. P. M. Tr. Pot. xviii. + S. P. Q. R. Julæ August. or + Justitia or + Salus Augusta.*

Eckhel, vi. 192.

Coin of Judæa.

Τιβ. Καῖσαρ + Ιουλιὰ Λ.Θ. and therefore struck in the ninth year of his reign.

Id. iii. 498.

A coin of Herod Philip.

Καῖσαρος Σεβαστ. v. *Caput laureatum + Φιλ . . .*

Τετραρχ. v. *Templum 4 columnarum inter quas ΚϚ. i. e. in the twenty-sixth year of his reign.* Id. iii. 490.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 4.

Pentecost, May 25.

Tabernacles, September 29.

**A.D. 23. U.C. 776. Olymp. 200, 3.**

C. ASINIUS POLLIO. Quem excepit L. Marcium.

C. ANTISTIVS VETER.

TIBERII X. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXV. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Twenty seventh year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1144.** Tiberius, in his government, changes for the worse. *C. Asinio C. Antistio coss.*

*nonus Tiberio annus erat . . . cum repente turbare fortuna cæpit; sævire ipse, aut sævienti-bus vires præbere.* Tac. Ann. iv. 1. *Tiberio mutati in deterius principatus initium ille annus attulit.* Tac. Ann. iv. 6.

**1145.** The influence of Sejanus is now at its height, Tac. Ann. iv. 1; and he quarters all the prætorians together in one camp, called the Prætorium, just without the city, on the north-east. Tac. Ann. iv. 2. However, the year when the prætorian camp was formed does not appear. The walls of the Prætorium still remain.

**1146.** The death of Drusus, as supposed at the time from his excesses, but as was discovered eight years after, in A.D. 31 (see no. 1538), from poison by the artifices of Sejanus. *Id* (the poison) *Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est.* Tac. Ann. iv. 8. Dion, lvii. 22.

**1147.** Tiberius, under the impression that Drusus had fallen a victim to his own vices, affects indifference at his death. *Cæterum Tiberius per omnes valetudinis ejus dies, nullo metu an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto, necdum sepulto, curiam ingressus est.* Tac. Ann. iv. 8. *At Tiberius nihil intermissâ rerum curâ, negotia pro solatiis accipiens, jus civium, preces sociorum tractabat.* Tac. Ann. iv. 13. *Filiorum neque naturalem Drusum, neque adoptivum Germanicum, patriâ caritate amavit; alterius vitis infensus; nam Drusus animi fluxioris remissiorisque vitæ erat. Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde affectus est, sed tantum non statim a funere ad negotiorum consuetudinem rediit, justitio longiore inhibito. Quin et Iliensium legatis paullo serius consolantibus, quasi oblitteratâ jam doloris memoriâ, irridens, Se quoque, respondit, vicem eorum dolere quod egregium virum Hectorem amisissent.* Suet. Tib. 52. *Αἰτίαν μὲν γὰρ ὁ Τιβέριος ἔλαβεν, ὅτι μήτε νοσοῦντος τοῦ Δρούσου, μήτε ἀποθανόντος, ἕξω τι τῶν συνήθων ἔπραξε, μήτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν. Οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος. Τοῦτο τε γὰρ ἀπὸ γνώμης ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμοίως ἔπραττε, καὶ τῷ νιέῳ, ἅτε καὶ μόνῳ καὶ γιγισίῳ ὄντι, προσέκειτο· τοὺς τε χειρουργήσαντας τὸν ὄλεθρον αὐτοῦ, τοὺς μὲν εὐθύς, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκόλασε. Τότε δ' οὖν ἐσῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἔπανον ποιησάμενος, οἴκαδε ἐκομίσθη.* Dion, lvii. 22; and see Senec. Consol. ad Marciam, 15. Suet. Tib. 39. The banishment of Agrippa, therefore, from Rome, re-



ferred to by Josephus, because the presence of Drusus's friends recalled the grief of Tiberius for the loss of his son, *διὰ τὸ ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖσθαι, μνημονεύων τοῦ παιδός, θεωρία τῇ ἐκείνων*, Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 1, cannot have occurred at this period, but must be referred to A.D. 31, when Tiberius really grieved on discovering for the first time that Drusus had been carried off, not by his own excesses, but by the artifices of Sejanus (see A.D. 31, no. 1358).

**1148.** Tiberius retires to Campania. *Sed orbatus utroque filio . . . secessum Campanie petiit*. Suet. Tib. 39.

**1149.** Lucilius Capito, ex-procurator of Asia, is accused of mal-administration. *Adeo ut procurator Asiæ Lucilius Capito, accusante Provinciâ, causam dixerit (apud senatum)* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 15. Dion, lvii. 23 (see A.D. 22, no 1137; A.D. 24, no. 1152).

**1149 a.** Coin of Tiberius.

*Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Tr. Pot. xxv.*  
Eckhel, vi. 194.

Inscription.

*xi. K. Oct. Q. Teolus O. L. Germullus. xvi. K. Nov. Oppia M. F. Pariet. iiii. Col. ii. Q. Junio Blæso L. Antistio Vet. x. K. Jan. Sex. Campatius Sex. L. Eutactus. Pariete ii. Col. i. C. Tufio Gemino L. Rubellio Gemino Cos. iiii. Idus Mai ossa inlata Luricæ P. L. Aprilis Pariete ii. Col. iiii.* (Romæ). Muratori, i. 301, 4; who suggests that Q. Jun. Blæsus was consul suffectus for C. Asinius Pollio, and that the prænomen of Antistius Veter was not Caius according to the Fasti, but Lucius according to the inscription.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 24.

Pentecost, May 14.

Tabernacles, September 18.

**A.D. 24. U.C. 777. Olymp. 200, 4.**

SERVIVS CORNKL. CETHEGVS.  
L. VISELLIVS VARRO.

TIBERII XI. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXVI.  
COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1150.** The first ten years of the rule of Tiberius expire, and the people are banqueted; but there is no decree for a renewal of the

imperial power, as deemed unnecessary. *Διελθόντων δὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ, ψηφίσματος μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτῆς οὐδενὸς ἐδέηθη (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδέϊτο, κατατέμνων αὐτὴν ὡσπερ ὁ Αὐγουστος, ἀρχεῖν) ἡ μέντοι πανήγυρις ἡ δεκαετηρίς ἐποιήθη*. Dion, lvii. 24.

**1151.** The end of the African war against Tacfarinas. Tac. Ann. iv. 23. Ptolemy is at this time king in the room of his father Juba. *Raptabat Africam Tacfarinas, auctus Maurorum auxiliis, qui, Ptolemæo Juba filio juventâ incurioso, libertos regios et servilia imperia bello mutaverant*. Tac. Ann. iv. 23. Juba, however, had died some years previously (see B.C. 1, no. 968).

**1152.** Fonteius Capito is apparently proconsul of Asia this year, for in the year following he was accused of maladministration. Tac. Ann. iv. 36 (see A.D. 23, no. 1149; A.D. 25, no. 1155; A.D. 26, no. 1158).

**1152 a.** Coins of Judæa.

*Τιβεριον Καισαρος L. IA. + Ιουλια Καισαρος*, and therefore struck in the eleventh year of his reign.

*Τιβ. Καισαρ + Ιουλια L. IA.* (same date).  
Eckhel, iii. 498.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 12.

Pentecost, June 2.

Tabernacles, October 7.

**A.D. 25. U.C. 778. Olymp. 201, 1.**

M. ASINIUS AGRIPPA.  
COSSUS CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.

TIBERII XII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXVII.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Twenty-ninth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1153.** Cremutius Cordus is accused. *Cornel. Cosso Asinio Agrippâ Coss. Cremutius Cordus postulat*. Tac. Ann. iv. 34. Dion, lvii. 24.

**1154.** Cizicus is deprived of its liberty (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 36. Dion, lvii. 24.

**1155.** Fonteius Capito, ex-proconsul of Asia, is accused of maladministration and acquitted. *At Fonteius Capito qui Proconsul Asiam curaverat, absolvitur* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 36.

**1156.** L. Piso, prefect of Spain, is waylaid and assassinated (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 45.

**1156 a.** Inscription.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Augusti F. Augustus Pontif. Max. Trib. Potest. xxvii.* (In ponte Tagi apud Alcantaram). Muratori, i. 224, 2.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 1.

Pentecost, May 22.

Tabernacles, September 26.

**A.D. 26. U.C. 779. Olymp. 201, 2.**

CN. LENTULUS GÆTULICUS.

C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.

Quos excep. ex Kal. Jul. Q. Marcius Barea, T. Ruficus Nummius Gallus.

TIBERII XIII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXVIII.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP.  
VIII.

Thirtieth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1157.** Sabinus, assisted by Pomponius Labeo (then prefect of Mœsia), and by Rhœmetalces, king of part of Thrace, subdues a rebellion in Thrace. *Lentulo Gætulico C. Calvisio, Coss. decreta triumphii insignia Poppæo Sabino.* Tac. Ann. iv. 46 (see A.D. 19, no. 1122).

**1158.** The province of Asia falls to the lot of M. Lepidus (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 56. See Ann. iii. 32 (see A.D. 24, no. 1152; A.D. 40, no. 1602).

**1159.** Tiberius retires to Campania, and never afterwards returns to Rome (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 57. He was there for three years before the death of Livia, his mother, who died A.D. 29 (see that year, no. 1176). *Toto quidem triennio, quo vivente matre abfuit, semel omnino eam . . . vidit,* Suet. Tib. 51; and for six years after the death of Sejanus, in A.D. 31 (see that year, no. 1353), *cæde ejus (Sejani) patratâ sex postea annos pari secreto conjunxit.* Tac. Ann. iv. 57. Tiberius was absent from Rome for eleven years before his own death, in A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1500). *Neque enim tam incredibilem casum providebant, ut undecim per annos libens patriâ careret.* Tac. Ann. iv. 58; and see Suet. Tib. 39.

**1160.** Pontius Pilate, towards the close of this year, arrives in Judæa, as successor to Gratus; for Pilate was removed at the close of A.D. 36, and had then been in office for ten years. Καὶ Πιλάτος δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπέιγετο . . . πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ

προσχεῖν φθάνει Τιβέριος μετάρας (16 March, A.D. 37). Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 2. The occurrences during the procuratorship of Pilate are related Jos. Ant. xviii. 3, 1–3, and xviii. 4, 1 and 2; Bell. ii. 9, 2–4. Philo thus sums up the enormities of Pilate's administration. *Τὰς δωροδοκίας, τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἀρπαγὰς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπηρείας, τοὺς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φόβους, τὴν ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀργαλειωτὴν ὀμότητα.* Phil. Leg. 38 (see A.D. 15, no. 1073; A.D. 36, no. 1493).

**1160 a.** Coins of Tiberius.

*Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Tr. Pot. xxviii.*

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Augustus Imp. viii. + Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. xxix.*

Eckhel, vi. 195.

## Inscriptions.

*Ti. Cæsari Divi Aug. F. Divi Juli N. Augusto Pont. Max. Trib. Potes. xxviii. Cos. iii. Imp. viii. Auguri xv. vir S. F. vii. vir Epulonum T. Papius Severus* (apud Pontem de Pinos in Hispaniâ). Muratori, i. 223, 6.

*Ti. Cæsari Div. Aug. F. Juli N. Augusto Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxix. Cos. iii. Imp. viii. Auguri xv. viro. S. F. vii. viro. Epulon. T. Papius Evrus. Decreto ordinis Iurconiensis A. F. Q. Marcio Barea T. Rustio Nummio Cos. (in Hispaniâ).* Gruter, 235, 10.

Ἐτους ΝΕ. Φαῶφ ΚΕ. (Anno 55, Phaoph 25) ἐπι συλλογῶν τῆς Σκηνοπηγίας ἐπὶ Ἀρχόντων Κλεανδρου του Στρατονικου Ευφρανορος του Αριστωνος Σοσιγενοῦς του Σωσιππου Ανδρομαχου του Ανδρομαχου Μαρκου Λαιλιον Ονασιωνος του Απολλωνιου Φιλωνιδου του Αγημονος Αυτοκλεους του Ζηωννος Σωνικου του Θεοδοτου Ιωσηπου του Στρατωνος. Ἐπι Μαρκος Τιττιος Σεξτου υἱος Αἰμιλια ανερ καλος και αγαθος παραγηνηθεις εἰς την Ἐπαρχειαν ἐπὶ Δημοσιων πραγματων την τε προστασιαν αυτων ποιησατο φιλανθρωπως και καλως ἐν τε τῇ ἀναστροφῇ ἡσυχιον ἦθος ἐνδικνυμενος ἐν διατελων τυχαανει οὐ μονον δε ἐν τοις αἵμασι εαυτου παρεσχηται ἀλλα και τοις κατ' ἰδιαν ἐντυχανουσι των πολιτων ἐτι δε και τοις ἐκ των πολιτευματος ἡμων Ἰουδαιοις και κοινῇ και κατ' ἰδιαν ευχρηστον προστασιαν ποιουμενος οὐ διαλειπει τῆς ἰδίας καλοκαγαθίας ἀξία πρᾶσων ὧν χαριν εδοξε τοις Ἀρχουσι και τῷ πολιτευματι των ἐν Βερενικῇ Ἰουδαιων ἐπαινεσαι τε αυτον και στεφανουν ονομασι καθ' ἑαστην συνοδον και νομηνιαν στεφανω ελαινω και λημμισκω τους τε Ἀρχοντας αναγραφαι το ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθου Παριου και θειναι εἰς τον ἐπισημοτατον τοπον του Ἀμφίθεατρον. Λευκα πασαι (at Tripoli). Muratori, ii. 562, 1.



Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 21.

Pentecost, May 11.

Tabernacles, September 15.

**AD. 27. U.C. 780. Olymp. 201, 3.**

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

TIBERII XIV. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXIX.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP.  
VIII.

Thirty-first year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1161.** Great loss of life from the fall of an amphitheatre at Fidenæ (*his* *cos.*), Tac. Ann. iv. 62; and Tiberius, on the occasion, crosses from Capræa to the continent. *Transiit* (Tiberius) *in continentem, potestatemque omnibus adeundi sui fecit.* Suet. Tib. 40. Part also of Rome on Mount Cælius is consumed by fire (*his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 64.

**1162.** Tiberius again shuts himself up in Capræa. *Perosus tamen municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit.* Tac. Ann. iv. 67.

**1163.** Herod Antipas is in high favour with Tiberius, and builds Tiberias, on the Sea of Galilee, in his honour. Πόντιος δὲ Πιλάτος διάδοχος αὐτῷ (Grato) ἦκεν. Ἡρώδης δ' ὁ Τετράρχης, ἐπὶ μέγα γὰρ ἦν τῷ Τιβερίῳ φιλίας προελθὼν, οἰκοδομεῖται πόλιν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ Τιβεριάδα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2 and 3. This follows immediately after the appointment of Pilate, and may therefore be placed about this time.

**1163 a.** Coin of Judæa.

Τιβ. Καίσαρ + Ἰουλία Λ.ΙΔ., and therefore struck in the fourteenth year of his reign.

Eckhel, iii. 498.

Coin of Alexandria.

Τιβέριος Καίσαρ Σεβαστος Λ. ΙΔ. + Θεός Σεβαστος (same date). Id. iv. 50.

Inscription.

*M. Crasso Frugi L. Calpurnio Pisone Cos. iii. Non. Febr. Civitas Themetra ex Africa Hospitium fecit cum C. Silio C. F. Fab. Aviola eum liberos posterosque ejus sibi liberis posterisque suis patronum cooptaverunt. C. Silius C. F. Aviola civitatem Themetrensem liberos posterosque eorum sibi liberis posterisque suis in*

*fidem clientelamque suam recepit. Egerunt Banno Hivnilis F. Sufes. Azdrubal Baisillecis F. Iddibal Bosiharis F. Leg. (Veronæ). Muratori, i. 302, 1, where will be found another similar inscription.*

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 9.

Pentecost, May 30.

Tabernacles, October 4.

**A.D. 28. U.C. 781. Olymp. 201, 4.**

APP. JUN. SILANUS.

P. SILIUS NERVA.

TIBERII XV. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXX.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP.  
VIII.

Thirty-second year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1164.** The year begins at Rome with the arrest of Titius Sabinus, the friend of Germanicus, under the pretext of treasonable practices, Tac. Ann. iv. 68; and soon after he is executed without a trial, and his body thrown into the Tiber. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκρίτως ἐφθάρη. Dion, lviii. 1.

**1165.** Death of Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus, twenty years after her banishment, at Trimerus, an island off Apulia. *Illic viginti annis exsiliium toleravit, Augustæ ope sustentata* (*his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 71 (see A.D. 8, no. 1025).

**1166.** War with the Frisii in Germany (*his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 73.

**1167.** Tiberius refuses to come from Capræa to Rome, and the senate, knights, and people pay servile court to him and Sejanus in Campania (*his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 74.

**1168.** The marriage of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, to M. Domitius (*his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 75. It was prognosticated, from the infamous character of both, that no good could come from their union, and Nero the emperor was the fruit of this marriage.

**1169.** The approaching advent of the Messiah is revealed to John the Baptist in the wilderness, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and therefore some time between 19 August, A.D. 28; and 19 August, A.D. 29. Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας

(see A. D. 26, no. 1160), καὶ Τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου (viz. Herod Antipas, see B. C. 4, no. 949), Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίδος χώρας (see B. C. 4, no. 950), καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς Τετραρχοῦντος (see B. C. 36, no. 537; A. D. 41, no. 1620), ἐπὶ Ἀρχιερέων Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα (see A. D. 17, no. 1096), ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Luke, iii. 1.

Lysanias the *Tetrarch* was no doubt the descendant of Lysanias, the *king* of Abylene, who had been put to death by Mark Antony, at the instance of Cleopatra, in B. C. 36 (see that year, no. 537). Lysanias the Tetrarch may have been partly of Jewish extraction, for Ptolemy Mennæi, the father of Lysanias the *king*, married Alexandra, the daughter of Aristobulus. Jos. Ant. xiv. 7, 4. And this connection with the Jewish people may be the reason why Lysanias the Tetrarch is here particularly mentioned by Luke. Mention is made of Lysanias the Tetrarch in an ancient inscription found at Abyla. Ὑπερ τῆς τῶν κυριῶν Σε(βασῶν) σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς συμ(παντος) αὐτῶν οἰκον Νυμφαῖος . . . Λυσανίου Τετραρχου ἀπελε(υθερος) τὴν ὁδὸν κτισας ἀσρ(ωτον καὶ) τὸν ναὸν οἰκο(δομ)η(σας) τας περὶ αὐτον) φύτεας πασας ἐφυ(τευσεν ἐκ τ)ῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων. Boeckh Corp. Ins. no. 4521.

**1170.** Annas and Caiaphas are here named together as high-priests. But Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Annas, or Ananus, was, according to Josephus, actual high-priest. However, it sometimes happened that a relative of the high-priest was associated with him in the office. In the case of Matthias, for instance (see B. C. 5, no. 896), his kinsman Joseph became his colleague, though only for a day, on a particular occasion. Καὶ διὰ τὸδε οὐ δυναμένου (Matthias) ἱερουργεῖν, Ἰώσηπος ὁ τοῦ Ἑλλήμου συνιερῆ-σατο αὐτῷ, συγγενῆς ὢν. Jos. Ant. xvii. 6, 4. Or, perhaps, as Annas had been long high-priest himself (see A. D. 7, no. 1022), and was father-in-law of Caiaphas, and still exercised great influence over the discharge of the pontifical duties, the common people (whose sentiments are reflected in the Gospels) may have regarded Annas and Caiaphas as joint high-priests, though not such in the strict sense. Or, Annas and Caiaphas may have exercised the office in alternate years, and this hypothesis would remarkably agree with the incidental

notices of the pontificate of Caiaphas in the Gospels. The year of office would begin from 1 Nisan, the commencement of the Jewish sacred year; and thus the fifteenth year of Tiberius (viz. from 19 August, A. D. 28, to 19 August, A. D. 29) would comprise parts of two pontificates, i. e. first, from 19 August, A. D. 28, to 1 Nisan, A. D. 29; and, secondly, from 1 Nisan, A. D. 29, to 19 August of that year. Supposing Annas to have been high-priest from 1 Nisan, A. D. 28, until 1 Nisan, A. D. 29, and then Caiaphas from 1 Nisan, A. D. 29, to 1 Nisan, A. D. 30, Caiaphas would be high-priest again from 1 Nisan, A. D. 31, to 1 Nisan, A. D. 32, and again from 1 Nisan, A. D. 33, to 1 Nisan, A. D. 34; and, accordingly, after the raising of Lazarus, in January, and therefore before 1 Nisan, A. D. 32, Caiaphas is spoken of as the high-priest of that year, Ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου, John, xi. 51 (see A. D. 32, no. 1375); and again, on 15 Nisan, A. D. 33, the Passover of the Crucifixion, Caiaphas was the high-priest also of that year. Ὅς ἦν ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου. John, xviii. 13 (see A. D. 33, no. 1440).

**1171.** John the Baptist must have warned the people of the coming of Christ soon after 19 August, A. D. 28, when the fifteenth year of Tiberius commenced; for during the interval that elapsed between John's announcement of the coming Messiah and the close of the forty days' temptation (which was shortly before the Passover, April 16, A. D. 29, see no. 1182) John had pursued his mission long enough to attract the attention of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, and they had sent a deputation to inquire into his pretensions (see A. D. 29, no. 1184). As the birth of John was in the sixth month current before that of Christ (see B. C. 6, no. 869), the commencement of John's ministry may have preceded that of Christ by about six months; and if so, as Our Lord was baptized in February, A. D. 29 (see that year, no. 1180), John may have entered upon his office late in August, or at the beginning of September, A. D. 28.

John may now, for the first time, have received his commission to proclaim the near approach of the Messiah; but we are not to conclude that this was his first appearance in the desert. He had not improbably led an ascetic life, and been a public teacher, from the time of his manhood, and he was now thirty-



three (see B.C. 6, no. 853). He had many converts, for we find some of them as far off as at Ephesus. Acts, xix. 3. Such a life is not without a parallel, as Josephus mentions that, when a youth, he retired for three years into the same desert, and placed himself under one Banûn, who seems to have practised a life like that of the Baptist, for he is described as *ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον, τροφήν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως φυομένην προσφερομενον, ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλάκις λουόμενον πρὸς ἀγυεῖαν.* Jos. Vit. 2. Banûn, like the Baptist, had his disciples, or Josephus would not have gone to him.

John the Baptist is called in the new Dispensation Elias or Elijah, Luke, i. 17; Matt. xvii. 12, 13; xi. 14; and they were alike, not only in their prophetic office, but also in their apparel, for Elijah was 'a hairy man,' i.e. wore sackcloth, or a garment woven of camel's hair, 'and was girded with a girdle of leather about his loins,' 2 Kings, i. 8; and so John 'had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins.' Matt. iii. 4. Mark, i. 6.

The scene of the Baptist's labours was the desert, Luke, i. 80; iii. 2; vii. 24; Matt. xi. 7; viz. the Ghor, the valley of the Jordan, between the sea of Tiberias and the Dead Sea. 'Ο Ἰορδάνης . . . πολλὴν ἀναμετρούμενος ἐρημίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλιτίν ἔξεισι λίμνην. Jos. Bell. iii. 10. It was also called the Great Plain, τὸ Μέγα Πέδιον (being thirty miles long, and fifteen wide, Bell. iv. 8, 2), and sometimes the Aulon. Ant. xvi. 5, 2. The banks of the Jordan are clothed with a jungle, which is alluded to by Our Lord in 'the reed shaken with the wind.' *Κάλαμον ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον.* Matt. xi. 7. Luke, vii. 24. And beyond the jungle runs, on each side, a belt of trees, and then follows the arid desert, strewn with stones. Stanley's Palest. 294, 311. And it is to these trees and these stones that the Baptist refers in the passage, *λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγείρει τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ρίζαν τῶν δένδρων κείται, etc.* Matt. iii. 9. John's habitation may have been a hut woven of the boughs and reeds which grew on the banks of the Jordan, or he may have found shelter in one of the numerous caves in the adjoining mountains.

**1172.** The Pharisees and Sadducees are at first favourable to John's baptism, Matt. iii. 7;

but fall off and become hostile on his disclaiming the Messiahship, and, instead of adopting their temporal views, preaching repentance. *Ἥθελήσατε ἀγαλλιασθῆναι πρὸς ὄραν ἐν τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ.* John, v. 35.

**1173.** Amongst others who came to John's baptism were the 'soldiers.' Luke, iii. 14. As John was baptizing in Peræa, part of Herod's dominions, these soldiers must have belonged to Herod's army. It appears from Josephus, that Aretas (the Greek form of the Arabic Hareth), the king of Petra, had troops at this time at, or near, Machærus, the castle on the confines of the tetrarchy of Herod and the kingdom of Aretas, Ant. xviii. 5, 1; and Herod, for his safety, must also have had a standing force in the same neighbourhood, and therefore near the Jordan, where John was preaching. In the following year, A.D. 29 (see that year, no. 1214), Herod and Aretas quarrelled, and Herod would naturally increase his army on the frontier; and as Luke does not assign any particular date to the delivery of the Baptist's warning to the soldiers, it may have been spoken in the following year and addressed to the troops who were on their march from Galilee through Peræa to the borders of Arabia. The monition to the soldiers of Herod, 'to be content with their wages,' Luke, iii. 14, was peculiarly appropriate, as not long after (see A.D. 32, no. 1414) Herod's general was defeated in battle by the general of Aretas, through the treachery of some deserters from Herod's army.

**1174.** In entering upon the narrative of the four Gospels, we may observe that the publication of the Gospel is distributable, according to the three first Evangelists, into two parts: first, the preaching of John the Baptist, from his call in the desert to his imprisonment, a period of about a year; and, secondly, the preaching of Christ, from the imprisonment of John to the Crucifixion, a period of about three years and a half. But, according to the fourth Evangelist, the publication of the Gospel is distributable into three periods: first, the preaching of John the Baptist *alone*, from his call to the ministry of Our Lord, at the Passover, A.D. 29, an interval of about six months; secondly, the preaching of John and Our Lord *conjointly*, from the Passover, A.D. 29, to the imprisonment of John, in the latter part of the same year, an interval of about six months; and, thirdly, the

preaching of Christ *alone*, from the time of John's imprisonment to the Crucifixion, a period of about three years and six months. The reasons for the omission, in the three first Gospels, of the labours of Our Lord during the ministry of John and Our Lord jointly may be conjectured to be these: the sojourn of Our Lord in Judæa during this time was short, and extended at the most to half a year only; and though Our Lord was preaching and working miracles, He was not considered to have displaced John. Our Lord also, during this period, made no circuits (though obliged occasionally to shift His residence from an apprehension of the Pharisees), and, what is more to the purpose, had not yet attached to Himself any constant attendants. The listeners to His discourses came and went at pleasure, varying from time to time in number and person. But on the imprisonment of John, Our Lord succeeded to the Baptist's office as preacher; and then it was that Our Lord first made circuits, and first called permanent disciples, who left all and followed Him. Indeed, the disciples of Our Lord were chiefly those of John, and who, therefore, during the continuance of the Baptist's ministry, would not have abandoned him. Peter and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Nathanael, otherwise Bartholomew, were all of them, either certainly or probably, disciples of the Baptist. Matthew, the publican, may also have been one of the publicans who came to John's baptism. Luke, iii. 12.

**1175.** The consecutive ministries of John and of Our Lord must be regarded as forming together one whole; and this will serve to explain the conduct of Herod towards the Baptist and Our Lord, for while John was at large, Herod knew nothing of Christ, but looked only to John, and, fearing the rapid growth of his sect, cast him into prison. Even after that event, Jesus was still regarded by Herod as one of John's disciples, until the Baptist's death, when Herod for the first time became cognisant of Our Lord as a distinct religious teacher. Herod was then anxious to see Jesus, Luke, xxiii. 8; and though he dared not take violent measures against Him, he in secret entertained sinister intentions, Luke, xiii. 31; and was at last a party clandestinely to the death of Our Lord. Acts, iv. 27. The ministry of John the Baptist began in the first year of the Sabbatic cycle, and the ministry of Our Lord

closed in the sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle, so that the joint labours of John the Baptist and of Our Lord extended into, though they did not completely fill, the six years of work which preceded the seventh year of rest.

**1175 a.** Coin of Tiberius.

*Tr. P. xxx.*

Eckhel, vi. 195.

Inscriptions.

*Ti. Cæsare Aug. F. Augusto Imperato. Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. xxx. Leg. iiii. Scythia. v. Maced. (Orsovæ in Serviâ).*

Muratori, i. 223, 4.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Aug. Pontifex Max. Tribum. Pot. xxx. Refecit et Restituit (Santæ Caræ in Spain).*

Id. i. 443, 3.

*Imp. Tiberius Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Trib. Potest. xxx. Restituit (Aterni).*

Id. i. 443, 4.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 29.

Pentecost, May 19.

Tabernacles, September 23.

**A.D. 29. U.C. 782. Olymp. 202, 1.**

L. RUBELLIUS GEMINUS.

C. FUFIVS GEMINUS

ex Kal. Jul.

Q. POMPONIVS SECUNDVS.

M. SANGVINIVS MAXIMVS.

Or, according to Muratori,

A. PLAVTIVS.

L. NONIVS ASPRENAS.

TIBERII XVI. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXXI.

FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Thirty-third year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1176.** Livia, or Julia, or Augusta, the wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius, dies *at the very beginning of the year*, being the first event recorded by Tacitus under this consulship. *Rubellio et Fufio coss., quorum utrique Geminus cognomen, Julia Augusta mortem obiit, ætate extremâ.* Tac. Ann. v. 1. At the age of eighty-two, according to Pliny. *Julia Augusta lxxvii. annos vitæ Pucino vino retulit acceptos,* Plin. N.H. xiv. 8; but according to Dion, at the age of eighty-six. *Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ Διοῦια μετῆλλαξεν ἐξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ζήσασα.* Dion, lviii. 2. The funeral oration was pronounced by Caius, afterwards the emperor Caligula. *Laudata est pro rostris a Caio Cæsare pronepote,*



*qui mox rerum potitus est.* Tac. Ann. v. 1. She was buried in the tomb of Augustus, Dion, lviii. 2; and mourning was ordered to be worn by the ladies of Rome for a whole year. Παρ' ἄλλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν. Dion, lviii. 2. The death of Julia was three years after the retirement of Tiberius to Capreae, in A.D. 26 (see that year, no. 1159). *Toto quidem triennio, quo vivente matre abfuit, semel omnino, nec amplius quam uno die, paucissimis vidit horis.* Suet. Tib. 51.

**1177.** The power of Sejanus, which had been held in check by Julia, now becomes unbounded, Tac. Ann. v. 3; Dion, lviii. 2; and Sejanus is courted by the most influential persons, as the only channel of obtaining promotion, and he is regarded as *quasi* Emperor. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σηϊανὸς καὶ μειζῶν καὶ φοβερώτερος αἰεὶ ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτοκράτορι προσέχειν, τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον ἐν ὀλιγοῖσι ποιεῖσθαι. Dion, lviii. 4.

**1178.** Herod Antipas, on hearing of the death of Julia, the emperor's mother, sails to Italy to offer, according to the custom of the age (see Suet. Tib. 52), his condolence to Tiberius, his great patron. On his way to embarkation (while waiting, perhaps, for a vessel or a favourable wind) he is entertained by his brother Philip (not the tetrarch, but another son of Herod of the same name and called by Josephus Herod), and becomes enamoured of Herodias, the wife of Philip, and makes a secret compact with her that, on his return from Rome, he should put away his own wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of Petra, and marry Herodias. Ἡρώδης ὁ Τετράρχης . . . στελλόμενος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, κατάγεται ἐν Ἡρώδου, ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος οὐχ ἰμομητρίου (ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σίμωνος τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐγεγόνει), ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Ἡρωδιάδος τῆς τούτου γυναικὸς, . . . πολμῶ λόγων ἄπτεσθαι περὶ γάμων, καὶ, δεξαμένης, συνθήκαι γίνονται μετοκίσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅποτε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παραγένοιτο . . . Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπλει, ταῦτα συνθέμενος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 1.

This compact between Herod and Herodias was a gross infraction of the Jewish law, for there had been issue of the marriage between Philip and Herodias, a daughter named Salome, and, according to the Mosaic law, a woman after issue born could not even after her husband's death marry her husband's brother. In case there had been no issue, the marriage to the husband's brother on the husband's death

was not only allowable, but commanded. Ἡρωδιάς δὲ ἡ ἀδελφὴ γήμεται Ἡρώδῃ Ἡρώδου τοῦ μεγάλου παιδὶ . . . καὶ ἀντοῖς Σαλώμῃ γίνεται, μεθ' ἧς τὰς γονὰς Ἡρωδιάς, ἐπὶ συγχύσει φρονήσασα τῶν πατρῶν, Ἡρώδῃ γήμεται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῷ ὀμοπατρίῳ ἀδελφῷ, διαστᾶσα ζῶντος· τὴν δὲ Γαλιλαίων τετραρχίαν εἶχεν οὗτος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 4. This quotation from Josephus is valuable as showing how scandalous the marriage contract between Herod and Herodias was regarded by the Jews at the time.

**1179.** Livia had died possessed of Jamnia, Phasaelis, and Archelais, bequeathed to her by Salome, the sister of Herod the Great, Jos. Bell. ii. 9, 1 (see B.C. 4, no. 951); and Herod Antipas may have had in view a grant of these, or some part of them, by the emperor to himself. Herod certainly made a voyage to Rome about this period, and the death of Julia, and the consequent necessity of offering condolence to the emperor, and the hope of some further acquisition of territory are sufficient reasons for placing the voyage at this time.

Herod would arrive in Italy in the second quarter of the year, and as the business upon which he went would be soon dispatched, he would not be long absent from Judæa. Διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφ' ἅπερ ἔσταλτο. Ant. xviii. 5, 1. Rome, in this passage, must stand for Italy, as Tiberius and Sejanus were at this time at Capreae.

**1180.** Jesus, quitting Nazareth in Galilee, where He had hitherto resided, repairs to John the Baptist, now on the banks of the Jordan, and is baptized by him, and the Holy Ghost descends upon Jesus in the form of a dove. Matt. iii. 13. Mark, i. 9. Luke, iii. 21. The baptism was probably in the first half of February, as between the baptism and the Passover, A.D. 29 (16 April), occurred the following events: the temptation of forty days; a journey to Cana of Galilee; and thence to Capernaum; and thence, after a few days, to Jerusalem, at the Passover. The month of February in Judæa is very different from the same month in the north of Europe. Thus, Van de Velde (i. 205) writes under the date of 15 February: 'The weather so delightful! No cold to make you chilly, and no summer-heat, but a warm temperature, pleasantly cooled by a southwest breeze from the sea.' And another traveller observes 'that the sun in the early spring, in the Aulon (the valley of the Jordan), is as power-



ful as at Jerusalem at midsummer; and he styles the Aulon, or valley of the Jordan, 'the torrid zone' of Judæa. Dupuis' Holy Places, i. 265, 273.

Jesus is described by Luke as of *about* thirty years when He began His ministry. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἑτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος. Luke, iii. 23. His age (as we have placed the birth) was thirty-three years and upwards (see B.C. 6, no. 869). That Luke uses the word ὡσεὶ with considerable latitude, see Luke, ix. 28, as compared with Matt. xvii. 1; Mark, ix. 2. That Our Lord at this time was not *exactly* thirty is evident, for John the Baptist did not open his mission till the fifteenth year of Tiberius, i. e. after 19 August, A.D. 28, and Our Lord, therefore, could not have been baptized until the end of A.D. 28, at the earliest; and then, if He was thirty years old, His birth would fall at the close of B.C. 3, and the death of Herod the Great at the beginning of B.C. 2, which is impossible. Luke probably means that Jesus had attained the age allowed by the law for the full exercise of the priesthood, i. e. thirty years, Numbers, iv. 3, 23, 30, 47; 1 Chron. xxiii. 3; just as he had before stated that when Jesus was twelve years old, the age required for becoming a son of the Law, He went up to Jerusalem (see A.D. 8, no. 1026). As Luke states that Jesus on the latter occasion was *twelve years old*, but that when He began His ministry He was of *about thirty*, the inference arises that Luke had not the same accurate information in respect of the age of Jesus when He began His ministry as of His age when He went up with His parents to the Passover. It is improbable that either Joseph or Mary, who could have given more precise information, was still living at the publication of Luke's Gospel.

**1181.** Luke had a little before stated that *John the Baptist* began his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and as he now states the *age of Jesus* when He began, without mentioning the *year of Tiberius*, it seems to be implied that the baptism of Jesus was also in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, which it would be if placed in February, A.D. 29.

**1182.** Jesus retires into the wilderness, where He is tempted forty days. Luke, iv. 1. Mark, i. 12. Matt. iv. 1. The temptation would expire about the end of March. The barren tract of the Aulon, between the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, was called the wilderness, and

tradition assigns the desert on the right, or western, bank of the Jordan, near Jericho (called hence Quarantania), as the scene of the forty days' temptation. But Stanley (Sinai and Palest.) thinks that the desert on the eastern side of the Jordan was the true locality, and that the high mountain from which the kingdoms of the world were pointed out to Jesus, was one of the mountains of Moab, six or seven miles from the Jordan, and which command a view over all Palestine. Pisgah, from whose summit Moses had his first and last view of the Holy Land, was one of this range, and is described as 'over against Jericho.' Deut. xxxiv. 1. There were also two other wildernesses at a greater distance from the Jordan, one some way to the east, and the other a day's journey to the south; and the wilderness in question has been thought by some to be the wilderness to the south, because we find Jesus on His return from the temptation passing through Bethabara, on His way to Galilee.

**1183.** One of the temptations was the placing Our Lord on τὸ πτερόγιον τοῦ Ἱεροῦ, at Jerusalem. This was probably the south-eastern corner of the Temple, at the eastern extremity of the στοὰ βασιλική, or grand southern portico. From this spot the height above the valley of Cedron on the south-east was so vast as to make the eyes of the spectator swim. Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 5. James the Just was posted upon the same πτερόγιον τοῦ Ἱεροῦ that the people might see and hear him. Euseb. ii. 23. It may be objected to this account of James that the multitude would not be found there, inasmuch as the Temple in this part overhung the valley; but while the view to the south-east was into the valley, there was to the east of the Temple a platform, or vacant space, called Κεδρῶνος Φάραγξ, lying between the eastern wall of the Temple and the wall distinct from that of the Temple, which continued the outer line of fortification round the city. Bell. v. 6, 1; v. 4, 2; vi. 3, 2. We learn from Josephus himself that the eastern end of the στοὰ βασιλική was the place from which the priest proclaimed to the people below the commencement and close of the Sabbath. Bell. iv. 9, 12.

**1184.** The fame of the Baptist having greatly spread, the Pharisees, who were in daily expectation of the Messiah (see B.C. 6, no. 883), call a council of the Sanhedrim, when



certain priests and Levites of the sect of the Pharisees are commissioned to inquire into the character of the Baptist. Ἀπέστειλαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖτας, ἵνα ἐρωτήσωσιν αὐτὸν, Σὺ τίς εἶ; John i. 19. Καὶ οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ἦσαν τῶν Φαρισαίων. John i. 24. This embassy of the Pharisees implies not only that John had been baptizing long enough to attract attention, but also that the interval had not been great; for as John, from the novel character of his baptism, would rise at once into notice (Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 2), the Sanhedrim would soon bestir themselves to investigate his claims. We should place the arrival of the embassy about the end of March, so that between the commencement of John's ministry and the arrival of the embassy would be an interval of about seven months.

**1185.** John the Baptist was at this time at Bethabara, beyond Jordan. Ταῦτα ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ ἐγένετο, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων. John. i. 28. Many of the most ancient MSS. have ἐν Βηθανίᾳ for ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ, and this reading is adopted by Griesbach and Lachmann. If Bethabara be the true reading, it would seem to be the same as Bethbara. Judg. vii. 24. Bethbara, the house of passage or the ferry, was one of the four fords over the Jordan. The first was just below the lake of Tiberias; the second just above the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan, near Succoth; the third a little above Jericho; and the fourth a little below Jericho. Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, p. 294. Robinson's Palestine, i. 538. Bethabara, however, may have been a general name for all the ferries over the Jordan. The common opinion is that the Bethabara in question was one of the two ferries near Jericho, but Stanley thinks it was the ferry over the Jordan near Succoth, and the Bethbara of Judges vii. 24 would certainly appear from the context to have been near Succoth.

**1186.** Jesus at this time had not yet opened His public ministry, for John the Baptist tells the Pharisees μέσος ὑμῶν ἔστηκεν, ὃν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε, John i. 26, which could scarcely have been said had Jesus already proclaimed His divine mission. Besides, we know that Our Lord did not perform any miracle until His return into Galilee at Cana. And that He had not baptized hitherto is evident from the fact, that the disciples of John did not hear of Jesus's bap-

tizing until it was reported to them in the summer or autumn of this year, when Our Lord had retired from Jerusalem into the rural districts of Judæa. John iii. 26 (see *infra*, no. 1210).

**1187.** The day after the arrival of the embassy from the Sanhedrim Jesus returns from the wilderness, at the close of the forty days' temptation, to the Baptist, when John testifies that Jesus was the Lamb of God. Τῇ ἐπαύριον (after the arrival of the embassy) βλέπει ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν, etc. John i. 29. John's testimony was that God, from whom he had received his commission, had said that He upon whom he should see the Spirit descending, He it was that should baptize with the Holy Ghost. John i. 33. And this reference is remarkable as exemplifying the supplemental character of John's Gospel, for it assumes the reader's knowledge of the fact that the Spirit had descended upon Jesus at His baptism; whereas the baptism of Jesus and the descent of the Spirit are not recorded by John at all, but are found only in the three first Gospels. Matt. iii. 16. Mark i. 10. Luke iii. 22.

**1188.** The next day John the Baptist again points out Jesus as the Lamb of God to two of his disciples, one of whom was Andrew, and the other apparently John the Evangelist, but who from a natural feeling suppresses his own name. Τῇ ἐπαύριον πάλιν εἰστήκει ὁ Ἰωάννης, καὶ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο, etc. Ἦν Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σίμωνος Πέτρον εἰς ἐκ τῶν δύο. John i. 35, 41. The two disciples follow Jesus home, and remain with Him from the tenth hour, or 4 o'clock P.M., until the close of the day. Καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἔμειναν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ὥρα δὲ ἦν ὡς δεκάτη. John i. 40. Daylight, therefore, at this season lasted some time after 4 P.M., which would be the case in March. It can scarcely be thought that John is here reckoning from midnight, so that the tenth hour should be 10 A.M. The astronomers measured time in this way, but the universal custom in common life was to reckon from 6 A.M.

**1189.** Andrew finds his brother Peter, and tells him that he had discovered the *Messiah*. John i. 42. The Jewish people at this time were in anxious expectation of the Messiah, and Andrew thus spake of Jesus from his own preconceived ideas. So Peter (John vi. 69) and Martha (John xi. 27) afterwards addressed Our Lord as the Messiah. But Jesus himself,



except at His interview with the Samaritan woman, in the absence of His disciples (John iv. 26), never until near the close of His ministry at Cæsarea Philippi (see A.D. 32, no. 1380) directly declared His Messiahship. The title which He commonly gave Himself was the Son of Man or the Son of God. To have announced himself as the Messiah would have led to political disturbances, as the prevalent notion of the Messiah was that of a temporal prince who should deliver his people from the Roman yoke.

**1190.** The next day Jesus sets out for Galilee, and invites Philip, of Bethsaida the city of Andrew and Peter, to follow Him, and Philip brings Nathanael to Jesus. *Τῇ ἐπαύριον* (after the coming of Peter) *ἤθελῆσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐξελεθεῖν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ εὐρίσκει Φίλιππον, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἀκολούθει μοι. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδᾶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀνδρέου καὶ Πέτρου, etc.* John i. 44.

Greswell makes a distinction between *ἀπὸ* and *ἐκ* in this passage, and holds the former to denote the place of residence, and the latter the place of birth; and argues that, as Simon Peter's house was at Capernaum, Luke iv. 38, Matt. viii. 14, Mark i. 29, Peter could not have been an inhabitant of Bethsaida. But admitting that Peter, when he became a constant disciple of Our Lord, was a resident at Capernaum, it does not follow that he had not been a year or two before an inhabitant of Bethsaida, more particularly as the two places must, at all events, have been in immediate proximity to each other. According to Epiphanius, Peter was a native of Bethsaida, but married a wife from Capernaum, which may have been the occasion of changing his residence. *Τοῦ μὲν Πέτρου ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδᾶ ὄντος, γήμαντος δὲ ἀπὸ Καφαρναούμ, οὐ μακρὰν ὄντων τῶν τόπων τούτων.* Epiphanius. Adv. Hær. ii. 437.

As to the words addressed to Philip, *ἀκολούθει μοι*, this phraseology is generally applied by the evangelists to the call of a disciple permanently, but is sometimes used, as here, in a more lax sense. If Philip now became a constant attendant upon Our Lord, it would be an exceptional case, for Jesus did not attach any other disciples to Himself until the imprisonment of John the Baptist, when Peter and Andrew, and James and John, who had been followers of the Baptist, became disciples of Jesus. Not long after Matthew also was called. Of the seven

others no call is specially recorded, and perhaps they received none until they were ordained amongst the twelve Apostles. Undoubtedly between the time of Our Lord's baptism and the imprisonment of John, and before the Marriage Feast at Cana of Galilee, Our Lord had a few followers about Him, for His disciples were invited to the marriage banquet. But the persons thus alluded to must have been Peter and Andrew and John, and Nathanael and Philip; and it would be absurd to suppose that the three first of these were then permanent disciples of Jesus, for the disciples of John were not called to be Our Lord's disciples until many months afterwards. We should therefore conclude that Philip also did not now receive his final call, but became a disciple in the same sense only in which Peter and Andrew and John were so at this time, but who were afterwards called in a more solemn and formal manner. It may be added that the words *ἀκολούθει μοι* are figurative, and refer to our Lord's custom of walking before His disciples as a shepherd before His flock. See Mark, x. 32.

Nathanael had just before been reposing himself under a fig-tree. *Ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν εἶδόν σε.* John, i. 49. This must have been for shade, and agrees with the month of March. Barclay, in his Calendar for Judæa, in 'The city of the Great King,' p. 422, observes of the month of March, 'Trees all in full leaf;' and Van de Velde (vol. i. 322), under the date of 2nd March, writes, 'Having seated ourselves beneath the shade of a huge oak, we once more opened our Bibles,' etc.; and again, on 8 March, he speaks (vol. i. 329) of 'the oppressively sultry heat.' In no part of Judæa was the vegetation so forward as in the Aulon, or valley of the Jordan. That at the time of the Passover the fig-tree was in full leaf even in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem we know from the fact that in a subsequent year Our Saviour, at the Passover, found leaves only on the barren fig-tree. Mark, xi. 13. Matt. xxi. 19.

**1191.** On the third day after the interview between Our Lord and Nathanael occurs the Marriage Feast at Cana of Galilee (not Cana simply, but Cana of Galilee). The marriage may have been that of some near relative of Our Lord, which would account for the circumstance that Jesus' mother and brethren, and Jesus himself and His disciples, were pre-



sent. Καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, etc. John, ii. 1.

**1192.** Nathanael, one of Our Lord's followers, was himself a native or inhabitant of Cana. Ναθαναὴλ ὁ ἀπὸ Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. John, xxi. 2. And one of the two Simons is also called the Cananite, Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης, Matt. x. 4; Mark, iii. 18; from, as some think, the town of Cana; but others consider that by Simon the Cananite is meant Simon the Zealot, the word Cananite in Hebrew signifying the Zealot. Acts, i. 13.

**1193.** It has been much disputed whether Cana of Galilee be identical with Kefr Kenna, a little to the south-east of Sepphoris, or with Kana-al-Jelil, i. e. Cana of Galilee, a little to the north of Sepphoris. The balance of evidence is in favour of the latter. See Robinson's Palest. ii. 346.

**1194.** From the mention of Our Lord's mother, and not of Joseph, at Cana of Galilee, we should infer that Joseph was no longer living. He must certainly have been dead, four years later, at the Crucifixion, A.D. 33, or Jesus would not have commended His mother to the care of the beloved disciple. John, xix. 26. The words οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, οὐ ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα; John, vi. 42, do not necessarily imply that Joseph was then alive.

**1195.** The miracle wrought at Cana of Galilee was *πᾶρεργόν τι*, and in anticipation of Christ's public ministry. He had before, by His fast of forty days and by collecting followers, prepared for the ministry, but He did not solemnly open it until the Passover of this year (A.D. 29) at Jerusalem. He said Himself at this time, 'Mine hour is not yet come.' John, ii. 4. Had Jesus now preached publicly in Galilee He would no doubt have also wrought miracles; but this was not the case, for on His return from Judæa into Galilee after the Passover of this year (A.D. 29), the miracle which He then performed is said to have been the *second* only in Galilee. John, iv. 54. The Galileans also on the latter occasion received Him gladly, not for any works which had been wrought in Galilee, but for those which they had witnessed at Jerusalem at the Passover, for they also, it is said, had gone up to the feast. John, iv. 45.

**1196.** After the marriage banquet Jesus and His mother and brethren and disciples go down to Capernaum, and sojourn there for a few days

previously to the Passover (April 16). Μετὰ τοῦτο (the marriage feast) κατέβη εἰς Καπερναοῦμ, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων. John, ii. 12. The circumstance that Jesus now sojourned a few days at Capernaum is mentioned by John, not as having any bearing upon the journey to Jerusalem, or as the beginning of a new subject, but in continuation of the previous narrative, in which John had traced the movements of Our Lord day by day from the time of His interview with the Baptist at Bethabara. John usually commences a new subject with the expression *μετὰ ταῦτα*, but here the expression is *μετὰ τοῦτο*, which has a more limited signification.

**1197.** It will be observed that Our Lord's *brethren* are mentioned in this passage, but not his *sisters*. It would seem that the latter were married and settled at Nazareth. The language of the Nazarenes on the occasion of Our Lord's presence amongst them in one of His circuits is, οὐχὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται Μαριάμ, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰώσης καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰούδας; καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσι; Matt. xiii. 55. Mark, vi. 3. And from the statement that the sisters (but not the mother and brethren) were still at Nazareth, it may be presumed that the mother and brethren had migrated from Nazareth and taken up their residence elsewhere, probably at Capernaum. If, as we conjecture, the sisters were domiciled at Nazareth, we may conclude that Mary did not leave Nazareth until after the marriage of her daughters. The inducement to remove to Capernaum may have been that Capernaum offered a better prospect than Nazareth to Our Lord's brethren for gaining a livelihood by fishing. Capernaum also was the residence of Mary's sister Salome, whose sons James and John were fishermen on the lake of Gennesaret.

**1198.** It has been supposed by some that the four persons, James, Joses, Simon, and Judas, called the *brethren* of Our Lord were in fact His *cousins*, viz. the sons of Mary, the wife of Cleophas or Alphæus, and that this Mary was the sister of Mary Our Lord's mother. But this notion has arisen from a mistaken interpretation of the passage in John, *εἰστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ στανῶφ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ*

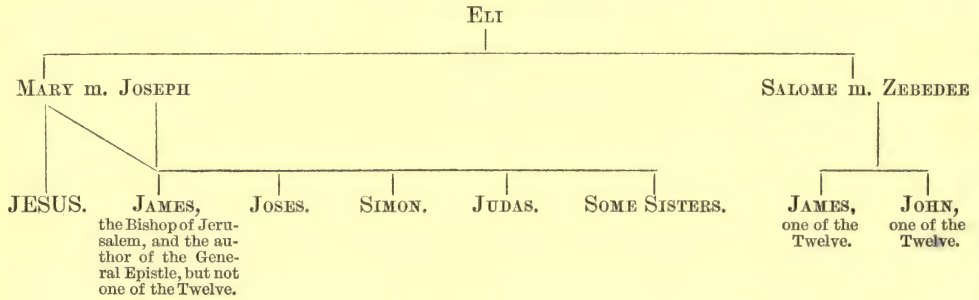
καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή, John, xix. 25 ; as if the sister of Our Lord were here called the wife of Cleophas. It is inconceivable, however, that two sisters should both have been named Mary, and clearly the passage should be read and pointed thus : ' Mary the mother of Our Lord, and her sister, and Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.' By comparing together the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, we shall find that the sister of Our Lord's mother was not Mary, but Salome, and was the wife of Zebedee.

Matt. xxvii. 56. Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσή μήτηρ Ἡ μήτηρ τῶν υἰῶν Ζεβεδαίου	Mark, xv. 40. Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ Ἰωσή μήτηρ Σαλώμη	John, xix. 25. Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή. Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ. Ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.
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gelist: 1. Mary Magdalene. 2. Mary the mother of James the Less and Joses, who was the same person as Mary the wife of Cleophas ; for while James the Less is here said to be the son of Mary, he is elsewhere called the son of Alphæus, Matt. x. 3 ; Mark, iii. 18 ; Luke, vi. 15 ; so that Cleophas and Alphæus are the same name. In fact, Cleophas and Alphæus are the different Greek forms of the Hebrew צפלי, pronounced either Chalpai or Chlopai, and the former, by omitting the aspirate, becomes Alphæus. 3. As we can thus establish the identity of ' Mary the mother of James the Less and Joses' with ' Mary the wife of Cleophas,' it follows that ' the mother of Zebedee's children' in Matthew must be identical with ' Salome' in Mark, and ' the sister of Our Lord's mother' in John ; that is, the sister of Mary Our Lord's mother was named Salome, and was the wife of Zebedee.

Here we have mentioned in the three evan-

therefore stand thus :—



James, the Lord's brother, was not one of the Twelve, but was an apostle in the same sense that Paul and Barnabas were, 2 Gal. i. 19 ; and was afterwards constituted Bishop of Jerusalem, and as such presided at the great council of Jerusalem, Acts, xv. 13, 19 ; and wrote the General Pastoral Epistle to the Twelve Tribes dispersed amongst the Gentiles.

**1199.** Jesus sets out from Capernaum, and is at Jerusalem at the Passover. Καὶ ἐγγύς ἦν τὸ Πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ Ἰησοῦς. John, ii. 13. Jesus and His parents had been accustomed to keep this feast at Jerusalem. Luke, ii. 41.

THE FIRST YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY MAY BE DATED FROM THIS PASSOVER, 16 APRIL, A.D. 29.

**1200.** The duration of the ministry may be

collected from the number of successive Passovers. The *first* was that which He now attended, A.D. 29, and is mentioned John, ii. 13, and was *before* John the Baptist was cast into prison, John, iii. 24. The *second*, A.D. 30, was that which a little preceded the incident recorded by the three first Gospels, when Our Lord passed through the corn-fields on the δευτεροπρωτον σάββατον, Luke, vi. 1 ; Matt. xii. 1 ; Mark, ii. 23 ; for this must have been soon after some Passover when the harvest began, and was *after* John the Baptist was cast into prison. Matt. iv. 12. Mark, i. 14. A *third*, A.D. 31, was at hand at the feeding of the Five Thousand. Ἦν δὲ ἐγγύς τὸ πάσχα. John, vi. 4. A *fourth*, A.D. 32, occurred when the corban, or Temple-tax, was demanded of Our Lord at Capernaum, Matt. xvii. 24 ; for the corban, or Temple-tax,



was usually demanded at the Passover. And the *fifth*, A. D. 33, was the Passover of the Crucifixion.

**1201.** That a fourth Passover intervened between the feeding of the Five Thousand at the Passover A. D. 31, and the Passover of the Crucifixion, further appears thus: while Our Lord was on His last circuit, on His way from Capernaum to Jerusalem, the blood of some Galileans was shed by Pilate over their sacrifices; i. e. at the celebration of one of the great festivals at Jerusalem, for on no other occasion would the Galileans be at Jerusalem. Luke, xiii. 1. If, then, no Passover intervened between the feeding of the Five Thousand and the Passover of the Crucifixion, the festival at which the massacre of the Galileans took place must have been either the next Pentecost, or the next Tabernacles, or the next Dedication (*ἑγκαίνια*), or the next Feast of Purim after the Passover when the Five Thousand were fed. But it could not be any of these; for it was not the Pentecost next after the feeding of the Five Thousand, for between the feeding of the Five Thousand and the news of the Galilean massacre are recorded so many events (as the visit to Tyre and Sidon, Decapolis, and Cæsarea Philippi, and the long account from Luke, xi. 18, to end of xii.) that they could not possibly have fallen within the compass of fifty days. Again, it was not the Feast of Tabernacles, or the Dedication, for both these feasts are mentioned by John himself as occurring after the feeding of the Five Thousand; and at both of these feasts Jesus, according to John, was not in Galilee, where He heard of the massacre, but at Jerusalem. Nor could it have been the Feast of Purim, which began on 13 Adar, and ended on 15 Adar, for this would not allow time for the events during Our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem which are related *subsequently* to the news of the Galilean massacre, for Our Lord, during this interval, taught on one Sabbath, Luke, xiii. 10; preached in various cities and villages, xiii. 22; ate bread with a Pharisee on another Sabbath, xiv. 1; passed along the borders of Samaria and Galilee, xvii. 11; descended down the left bank of Peræa, teaching as usual, xviii. 15 (compare Matt. xix. 13, Mark, x. 13); and arrived at Jerusalem a week before the Passover, John, xii. 1; and from 15 Adar, the end of the Feast of Purim, to 8 Nisan, a week before the Passover, would be

only about three weeks, an interval which would be quite insufficient for the occurrences on the road subsequently to the Galilean massacre.

**1202.** The ministry of Our Lord measured from the Passover A. D. 29 to the Passover A. D. 33, the date of the Crucifixion, would be just four years, the period indicated by the parable of the fig-tree, the emblem of the Jewish nation, where the Lord of the vineyard is represented as saying, Lo! *These three years* I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; and the Vinedresser, i. e. the Son of Man, answers, 'Lord, let it alone *this year also*, until I dig about it, and dung it, and if it bear fruit, well; but if not, then *after that* thou shalt cut it down.' Luke, xiii. 7. The fig-tree was thus to be tried for a fourth year, and was then, if still barren, to be cut down.

**1203.** The arena of Our Lord's ministry during these four years was as follows:—He began to preach at *Jerusalem*, the Jewish capital; but the Pharisees were jealous of His success, and He was obliged to retire into the rural districts of *Judæa*. The hostility of the Pharisees still pursued Him, and He then quitted *Judæa* altogether, and retreated to *Capernaum in Galilee*, which, being on the lake, was a safe refuge, as affording the means of ready escape into the tetrarchy of Herod Philip. For two years after this, Jesus made Capernaum His headquarters, and commenced from thence His various circuits. At the end of that time, He was obliged, from the persecution of His enemies, to withdraw into *Herod Philip's tetrarchy*, and was engaged first along the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and then in *Decapolis*. After this, He made another attempt to preach, but cautiously, in *Judæa*, and sojourned there for some three or four months, but eventually was obliged to quit *Judæa*, and again retired to the northern extremity of Palestine, viz. the villages about *Cæsarea Philippi*, the capital of Philip's tetrarchy. From this time He set His face steadily in the direction of Jerusalem, Luke, ix. 51; and entered upon His last great circuit, which was to terminate with His death upon the cross.

In the course of these four years, Our Lord, though not permitted after the first Passover, A. D. 29, to take up His abode at Jerusalem, yet several times visited it at the public festivals, when the worshippers either had immunity by law or were protected from violence by the



force of public opinion. The order in which Our Lord attended the festivals is remarkable. The three great feasts were the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Tabernacles; and of these three, Our Lord attended one in each year, and on each successive occasion He attended the feast which followed next in order after that of the preceding year. Thus, in A.D. 29, He went up to the *Passover*; in A.D. 30, to the *Pentecost*; and in A.D. 31, to the *Tabernacles*. This may have been the result of accident, but it may also, in some degree, have resulted from design. Our Lord's presence at Jerusalem always provoked hostility from the Pharisees, and prudence may have required an interval of more than a year from the last feast before attending another. As the Jews usually went up, not to all the feasts, but to some one in each year, and generally to the same feast, Our Lord, by varying the time of His own visit to the capital, may have thought to excite less commotion, and, at the same time, also to extend the sphere of His ministry by presenting Himself at each feast to new multitudes.

**1204.** Jesus, when at Jerusalem, at the Passover A.D. 29, opens His ministry by expelling the money-changers from the Temple, His Father's House, John, ii. 14; and when asked for a sign in justification, He answers, *λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τούτον, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν.* John, ii. 19. Thus, at the very commencement of His ministry, Our Lord foretold His death and resurrection. It will be remembered that every Jew learnt a trade, and that Jesus was a carpenter, *ὁ τέκτων.* Mark, vi. 3. He would therefore naturally illustrate the resurrection from the dead by the figure of rebuilding the House.

**1205.** At this time, the Temple is said to have already occupied forty-six years in building. *Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος.* John, ii. 20. And this was the fact, for the Temple had been commenced by Herod the Great at the Passover B. C. 18 (see that year, no. 745), and from that time to the Passover A.D. 29 would be just forty-six years. Supposing the Temple to have been begun some months either earlier or later than the Passover B. C. 18, the statement of the Jews, being in round numbers, would still be sufficiently accurate.

**1206.** Jesus, at the Passover, works many miracles in attestation of His divine mission. *Θεωρῶντες αὐτοῦ τὰ σημεῖα, ἃ ἐποίει.* John, ii.

23. *Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα δύναται ποιεῖν, ἢ συ ποιεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ ἦ ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ.* John, iii. 2. But He is obliged to beware of the plots of the Pharisees, John, ii. 24; and Nicodemus, one of the Sanhedrim, visits Him by stealth at night. *Οὗτος ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν νυκτός.* John, iii. 1; vii. 50.

**1207.** Jesus, at this time, predicts also the form of His own death, by an allusion to the lifting up of the serpent. *Καὶ καθὼς Μωϋσῆς ὑψώσε τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὕτως ὑψωθήναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,* John, iii. 14; that is, His death was to be, not by stoning at the hands of the Jews, but He was to be lifted up on the cross, at the hands of the Romans.

**1208.** The Passover ended on 23 April; and soon after, Our Lord, to avoid the persecution of the Pharisees, retires with His disciples from Jerusalem into the rural districts of Judæa. *Μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν.* John, iii. 22. He may have proceeded to Ephraim, on the north-west of Jerusalem, near the desert, or to the valley of the Jordan, whither He retreated on a subsequent occasion. See John, xi. 54. Judæa being Our Lord's native country (as He was born at Bethlehem), and the people of Judæa standing higher in public estimation than the Galileans, Jesus, when obliged to quit Jerusalem, sought to prosecute His ministry in Judæa rather than in Galilee.

**1209.** Jesus remains long enough in Judæa to make disciples, *καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐβάπτιζεν,* John, iii. 22; and, indeed, to make more disciples than John. *Πλείονας μαθητὰς ποιεῖ καὶ βαπτίζει ἢ Ἰωάννης.* John, iv. 1. *Ἐκεῖνον (Jesum) δεῖ αὐξάνειν, ἐμὲ δὲ (Johannem) ἑλαττοῦσθαι.* John, iii. 30. This was *before the imprisonment of the Baptist*, who was now at Ænon, near Salem. The reason assigned for John's being at Ænon is because water was found there, from which we may infer that it was now the season of drought in Judæa. Salem was evidently the principal place, and Ænon a village near it. *Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν Αἰνὸν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλεῖμ ὅτι ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ, καὶ παρεγίνοντο καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο· οὐπω γὰρ ἦν βεβλημένος εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν ὁ Ἰωάννης.* John, iii. 23, 24. Salem and Ænon were on the *western* side of the Jordan, for Bethabara was certainly on the *eastern* side; and the disciples of John, now



that he was at Ænon, speak of Bethabara as *περὰν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, on the other side Jordan (see the passage presently cited from John, iii. 26, no. 1210). Salem and Ænon are no doubt identical with שִׁלְחִים and אֵינ (translated Shilhim and Ain), belonging to the tribe of Simeon. Joshua, xv. 32; xix. 7. See Wieseler's Chronol. 247. The valley of Salem is also mentioned Judith, iv. 4. Salem, according to Eusebius and Jerome, was eight miles south of Scythopolis. Αἰνῶν. Δείκνυται ὡς ἔτι νῦν ὁ τόπος ἀπὸ ἡ σημεῖων Σκυθοπόλεως πρὸς νότον πλησίον Σαλείμ καὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. *Ostenditur usque nunc locus in octavo lapide Scythopoleos ad meridiem juxta Salim et Jordanum.* Eusebii Onom. art. Ænon. *In octavo lapide a Scythopoli in campo vicus Salumios appellatur.* Ib. art. Salem. Jerome considered Salem, and not Jerusalem, to have been the residence of Melchizedek. *Salem autem . . . oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quod usque hodie appellatur Salem, et ostenditur ibi palatium Melchizedek, ex magnitudine ruinarum veteris operis ostendens magnificentiam.* Hieron. Ep. ad Evangel. Oper. ii. 573, ed. Mart. The site of Salem has been identified by Robinson with the village now called Sheikh Sâlim, at the northern foot of Tell Ridghah, in a plain a few miles to the east of Sychem, and where there is a pleasant fountain, with a brook flowing near, so that a plentiful supply of water would be found there. See Robinson's Palest. 1852, pp. 315, 333.

**1210.** While Jesus is in Judæa, the rumour of His baptizing is carried to John the Baptist at Ænon. Ἐγένετο οὖν ζήτησις ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰωάννου μετὰ Ἰουδαίων περὶ καθαρισμοῦ, καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ, Ῥαββί, ὃς ἦν μετὰ σου πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ᾧ συ μεμαρτύρηκας, ἴδε οὗτος βαπτίζει, καὶ πάντες ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτόν. John, iii. 25. Jesus, therefore, had not baptized up to the time of His interview with John at Bethabara before the Passover A. D. 29, or the disciples of John would not have commented upon His baptizing now.

**1211.** John's disciples are here represented as disputing with the Jews about ablution, and that John's baptism was at variance with the prevalent notions of the Jews we learn from the remarks of Josephus upon John's baptism, in the passage cited at length under A. D. 31 from Ant. xviii. 5, 2 (see no. 1290).

**1212.** From the allusion of John's disciples to the testimony of the Baptist at Bethabara, it would seem that the success of Our Lord in Judæa was not long after the interview with John at Bethabara, and it was at most an interval of a few months.

**1213.** During the absence of Herod Antipas in Italy, whither he had sailed in the spring of the year to offer his condolence to Tiberius on the death of Livia (see *ante*, no. 1178), his wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of Petra, having been apprised of the secret compact between Herod and Herodias, sends a message to her friends at Machærus, the border castle between Peræa and Petra, to prepare for her the means of escape. Jos. Ant xviii. 5, 1.

**1214.** Soon after midsummer, Herod, having dispatched his business at Rome, returns to Judæa. But his wife, before Herod knew that she was aware of his compact with Herodias, requests permission to visit Machærus, and then escapes to Aretas. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανεχώρει (Herod) διαπραζάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφ' ἅπερ ἔσταλτο, ἡ γυνὴ, πύστεως αὐτῇ τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα συνθηκῶν γενομένης, πρὶν ἐκπυστος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὰ πάντα ἐκμαθοῦσα, κελύει πέμπειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντος (μεθόριον δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἀρέτα καὶ Ἡρώδου ἀρχῆς), γνώμην οὐκ ἐκφαιούσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς. Καὶ Ἡρώδης ἐξέπεμπε, μηδὲν ἠσθῆσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον προσδοκῶν. Ἡ δὲ, προαιεστάλκει γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα, τότε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελή, πάντων εἰς τὴν ὁδοπορίαν ἠτοιμασμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀρέτα, παρῆν, καὶ ἀφορμᾶται εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν κομῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς, παρῆν δὲ ὡς τὸν πατέρα ἢ τάχος, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἡρώδου τὴν διάνοιαν ἔπραξε· ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιησάμενος, περὶ τε ὄρων ἐν τῇ Γαμαλίτιδι, καὶ δυνάμει ἐκατέρω συλλεγείσης, εἰς πόλεμον καθίστανται. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 1. Thus the flight of Herod's wife laid the *foundation* of the quarrel between Herod and Aretas; but the difference between the two princes was afterwards fomented by an altercation about the boundary line at Gamala, and in A. D. 32 they were at open war (see that year, no. 1414). As the flight of Herod's wife was before he suspected her knowledge of his compact with Herodias, we may infer that it followed almost immediately after Herod's return to Judæa.

**1215.** The narrative of Josephus, as it stands, asserts that Machærus was *then* subject to Aretas;

but this fact is so much at variance with all history that it may justly be called in question. Machærus had never belonged to the kings of Petra, but always to the Herodian family. The passage of Josephus itself also contains strong indications that Herod at this very time had possession of Machærus. How else could the wife of Herod have asked, or could he have consented, that she should visit Machærus? It is stated also that when she arrived at Machærus, *she set out for Arabia, παρῆν* (at Machærus), *καὶ ἀφορμᾶται εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν*. Machærus itself then was not part of Arabia. But further, John the Baptist was arrested shortly afterwards by Herod, and is expressly said by Josephus to have been imprisoned by Herod at Machærus, *Ant. xviii. 5, 2*; so that the fortress was unquestionably at that time under the dominion of Herod, and how could it have changed hands during the interval! The only solution attempted of this objection is, that when Herod was at Rome he might have contrived by his influence at court to obtain the cession of Machærus either in exchange for some of Julia's possessions (Archelais, Phasaelis, and Jamnia) to be granted to Aretas, or for part of Herod's own dominions about Gamala. But if the voyage was attended with this important result, how could Josephus have passed it over in silence! All the difficulty appears to have arisen from the mistake of the transcriber in writing *τότε* for *τάτε*. The sentence as it came from the pen of Josephus must have stood thus: *προαπεστάλκει γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα, τὰ τε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῆς*, i. e. she had laid the train of her escape by sending to the frontier castle of Machærus, *and to the parts beyond which were subject to her father's jurisdiction*, and then, by the measures of the officer charged with the plot, *πάντων ἡτοιμασμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ*, and by being passed on from one officer to another, *κομιδῆ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς*, she arrived in safety at her father's capital. If this change of a single letter be adopted, the narrative becomes consistent with itself, and the stumbling block which has caused so much perplexity is removed.

**1216.** John the Baptist, as soon as Herod's compact with Herodias becomes public, expostulates with Herod in the hope of averting the marriage, when Herod, stimulated by Herodias and fearing the consequences of John's influence with the people, takes John prisoner by treach-

ery, *Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη*, *Matt. iv. 14*; *Mark, i. 14*; and casts him into prison. *Matt. xiv. 3*. *Mark, vi. 17*. *Luke, iii. 19*. *Ant. viii. 5, 1* (see the passage from Josephus cited *A. D. 31, no. 1290*). John was kept in prison for some time, for Herod often sent for him and conversed with him (as Felix afterwards sent for Paul, his prisoner, and conversed with him, *Acts, xxiv. 24-26*). *Καὶ συνετήρει αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἐποίει, καὶ ἡδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουε*. *Mark, vi. 20*.

**1217.** The general character of Herod induces us to think that John's imprisonment, as afterwards his death, was owing more particularly to the malice and revengeful temper of Herodias. The same headstrong disposition and disregard of consequences in Herodias led eventually to the dethronement of Herod by Caligula (see *A. D. 40, no. 1592*). Herod feared John, and, if left to himself, would not have dared to use violence; and now, when the Baptist was imprisoned by the instrumentality of Herodias, Herod appears to have softened the matter as much as possible by frequent interviews with him, and a semblance of respect.

**1218.** At what period Herod became bold enough, in defiance of Jewish prejudices, to marry Herodias, is nowhere said, but probably not until some little time after Herod's return from Rome. The expression of the Evangelists at this period is *οὐκ ἔστι σοι ἔχειν αὐτήν*, *Matt. xiv. 4*; *Mark, vi. 18*; from which we should infer that Herod was not then married (see the use of *ἔχειν* in *1 Cor. v. 1*). The admonition of the Baptist is rather that of a person seeking to prevent an intended outrage than the rebuke of an offence already perpetrated. Certainly, Mark employs the expression *ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν*, *Mark, vi. 17*; but this may be a statement of what afterwards followed, or, if not so, the force of the language is much diminished when we remember that the Jews applied the word *γαμεῖν* not only to actual marriage, but also to the marriage contract. Thus, Josephus tells us that Herod the Great had married Marianne, *Bell. i. 12, 3* and *17, 8*; *Ant. xiv. 12, 1* and *13, 7*; *xiv. 15, 14*; *xix. 5, 1*; though at that time the marriage contract only existed, and the nuptials were not celebrated until many years afterwards.

**1219.** The Pharisees of Jerusalem, hearing of the success of Jesus in making converts in



Judæa, lay plots against Him, which coming to the knowledge of Jesus, He retires into Galilee. This is the reason assigned by John's Gospel for Our Lord's retreat from Judæa, and is no doubt the correct one. Ὡς οὖν ἔγνω ὁ Κύριος ὅτι ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι, ὅτι πλείονας μαθητὰς ποιεῖ, καὶ βαπτίζει, ἢ Ἰωάννης . . . ἀφῆκε τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. John, iv. 1. According to Matthew, Our Lord's retreat into Galilee may be attributed to his hearing of the imprisonment of John. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρέτ, ἔλθων κατόκησεν εἰς Καπερναοὺμ τὴν παραθαλασσίαν . . . ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς κηρῶσειν. Matt. iv. 12. However, the cause assigned by John and that assigned by Matthew are not inconsistent. The Baptist was the forerunner of Our Lord, and Jesus was baptized by him, and the disciples of John became the disciples of Jesus, and, from this intimate connection between the two, when Herod Antipas began the persecution of the Baptist's sect in his dominions by the imprisonment of John, the Pharisees may have followed it up in Judæa by active proceedings against Jesus. But the language of Matthew does not necessarily imply that the arrest of the Baptist was the cause of Our Lord's retreat into Galilee; for why, it may be asked, if Our Lord was apprehensive of Herod, should He seek Herod's dominions? The word ἀκούσας in Matthew, instead of being referred to what immediately follows, viz. the retreat into Galilee, may be referred to the more remote sequel in the same sentence; viz. that on Our Lord's hearing of John's captivity, He fixed His residence at Capernaum as offering, from the proximity of the lake, the greatest security; or the word ἀκούσας may even be carried on to the still more remote statement as to the commencement of Jesus's preaching, so that Matthew's meaning may be, that, from the time of Our Lord's hearing of the imprisonment of John, He began to preach. Ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο, etc. Mark states that Jesus retired into Galilee after the imprisonment of John, but does not assign the imprisonment of the Baptist as the cause of the retirement. Mark, i. 14. Luke, who writes with greater precision and grammatical accuracy than either Matthew or Mark, does not connect Our Lord's return into Galilee with John the Baptist at all. Καὶ ὑπέ-

στρεψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Luke, iv. 14.

**1220.** The arrest of John forms an important epoch in the history of Our Lord. Hitherto Jesus had wrought miracles, and preached, and baptized, but had not yet made any circuits. So marked indeed is the distinction between the ministry of Our Lord before and after John's imprisonment, that, according to the three first Gospels, His ministry commenced from the imprisonment of John, see Matt. iv. 12; Mark, i. 14; Luke, iv. 14; and lest it might be thought that Mark and Luke merely followed the account of Matthew in this particular, without any independent authority, we find the same fact more than once asserted incidentally in the Acts of the Apostles. Thus, in the address of Peter, ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ἀνελήφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Acts, i. 22. This passage, if it stood alone, might be considered ambiguous, as meaning either that Jesus began from the baptism of Himself by John, or from the close of John's ministry; but that the latter is the true interpretation is established indisputably by the following passage in another address of Peter: ὑμεῖς οἴδατε τὸ γεγόμενον ῥῆμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐκήρυσεν Ἰωάννης. Acts, x. 37; and see Acts, xiii. 24, 25.

**1221.** Jesus passes on His way from Judæa into Galilee through Sychar, a city forty miles from Jerusalem, on the high road to Galilee. *Civitas Neapoli . . . Inde millia xxviii. euntibus Hierusalem in parte sinistra est villa, quæ dicitur Bethar . . . Inde Hierusalem mil. xii.* Anton. Itin. It was also called Shechem, Sychem, or Sicima, all modifications of the same word. The route from Judæa to Galilee in this part passes through a valley running from south to north, and on the left another valley branches off to the west, having Mount Ebal on the north or right hand, and Mount Gerizim on the south or left hand. Sychar was on Gerizim, the southern mount, and on the northern slope of it. *Σίκιμα . . . κειμένην πρὸς τῷ Γαριζεῖν ὄρει . . . Τὸ ὄρος Γαριζεῖν ὑπερκεῖται δὲ τῆς Σικίμων πόλεως.* Jos. Ant. xi. 8, 6; v. 7, 2. As you enter the side valley which runs off northward from the main valley to the city of Sychar, Jacob's well, protected by a raised wall round the mouth, is on the right hand. It is 120 feet

deep, with 15 feet water, according to some, Bib. Cyclop. artic. 'Water;' but according to others 75 or 80 feet deep, and dry. See Robinson's Palest., 1852, p. 132, and Robinson's Palest., 1838, ii. 283. The absence or presence of water in the well depends probably upon the season of the year.

**1222.** Our Lord arrives at Jacob's well at the sixth hour, or 12 o'clock, and being weary with His journey, sits on the well's mouth. Ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοπορίας ἐκαθέζετο οὕτως ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. John, iv. 6. The weariness of Our Lord at noon from the heat of the journey would indicate the summer or autumn; and the same inference is suggested by the circumstance that the Samaritan woman came thither to draw water, the cause of which was no doubt the drought at the time, so that the springs nearer home were exhausted.

**1223.** In the course of conversation with His disciples at the well, Our Lord uses this remarkable language. Οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἔτι τετράμηνόν ἐστι καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται; ἴδον λέγω ὑμῖν, Ἐπάρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ θεάσασθε τὰς χώρας ὅτι λευκαὶ εἰσι πρὸς θερισμὸν ἤδη, καὶ ὁ θερίζων μισθὸν λαμβάνει καὶ συνάγει καρπὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. John, iv. 35. Commentators, from a natural anxiety to discover any circumstance that would serve to fix a date in the history of Our Lord, have wrested this passage in opposite directions. Some, as Wieseler, place the scene in mid-winter, and render the words οὐχ ὑμεῖς, etc., 'Say ye not, that *from the present time* to the harvest is yet four months?' and as the harvest was in April at the earliest, the discourse would thus be held in the month of December, and great stress is laid by those who support this view upon the word ἔτι, 'it is *yet* four months.' The hypothesis, however, that the journey of Our Lord was in midwinter is at variance with the whole context. The weariness of Our Lord, and the fact of the woman coming from a distance to draw water both imply a season of heat and drought. As for the word ἔτι, it is easily referrible, not to the time of the speaker's address, but to the time of sowing, whenever it might be. 'Are ye not wont to say *when ye sow*, It is *yet* four months before we can reap?' Others, as Greswell, argue that the discourse of Our Lord was delivered at a time when harvest was still going on, and rely on the words θεάσασθε τὰς

χώρας ὅτι λευκαὶ εἰσι πρὸς θερισμὸν ἤδη. This interpretation would place the journey of Our Lord a little before midsummer, when the corn is dead ripe, and, as travellers describe it, 'white' for the harvest. The language, however, appears to be throughout purely metaphorical, and though it was no doubt suggested by the surrounding scene (for the valley in which Jacob's well lay was one great cornfield, Stanley's Palest. 229), it does not follow that the corn was then actually standing. If the harvest was meant to be taken literally, then so were the reapers; but the latter part of the passage is clearly figurative, καὶ ὁ θερίζων μισθὸν λαμβάνει καὶ συνάγει καρπὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Our Lord was holding out to His disciples a matter of wonder, but to point to the ripe cornfields, a fact obvious to any one who had eyes, would be but a tame and trite remark.

**1224.** The drift of the whole discourse is this. The disciples had gone into Sychar to buy bread. During their absence, Our Lord entered into conversation with the Samaritan woman, and at the close of the interview she hurried away to Sychar with such a marvellous tale, that the Shechemites in great multitudes poured out in their white gabardines to the well to see the newly found Messiah. Meanwhile the disciples had arrived, and invited Our Saviour to eat; and he answers, ἐγὼ βρῶσιν ἔχω φαγεῖν, ἣν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε. John, iv. 35. The disciples did not understand this, and Our Lord proceeds, ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν, ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με, καὶ τελειώσω αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον, iv. 34, 'that *His* food was not bread, but to do the will of His Father,' viz. to carry out the good work which He had begun: and then addressing His disciples, He adds, 'Are ye not wont to say when ye sow, It is yet four months before we can reap?' but (pointing to the approaching multitudes), 'Lo! the seed which I have sown,' viz. the discourse with the Samaritan woman, 'has ripened to the harvest already;' and He then exhorts His disciples to join with Him in gathering in the harvest, for 'he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal,' etc., vv. 36-38. Our Lord's language, therefore, neither leads to the inference that it was seed time, as Wieseler supposes, nor harvest, as Greswell supposes. The whole discourse is metaphorical, and grew naturally



enough out of the surrounding corn lands and the invitation of the disciples to eat bread. The figure of speech may appear hyperbolic to European minds, but the metaphor of God's word producing an instantaneous harvest white for the sickle is not stronger than the representation of the Christian doctrine, on the same occasion, as a well of water of which he who drank should never thirst again. The corn-field was a favourite illustration with Our Lord, and He refers to it in a similar way in the mission of the Twelve, Matt. ix. 37, and again of the Seventy. Luke, x. 2. We should place the journey of Our Lord through Samaria after midsummer, but the exact time must be matter of conjecture.

**1225.** Jesus sojourns two days at Sychar, *ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ δύο ἡμέρας*, John, iv. 40; and then passes on to Cana of Galilee, where at the beginning of the year He had wrought the miracle of converting the water into wine. *Μετὰ δὲ τὰς δύο ἡμέρας ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι προφήτης ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι (Judæa) τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει . . . ἦλθεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*. John, iv. 43-46. The words *τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι* in this passage are generally referred to Nazareth, the city where He had been brought up, and which lay on or near the road from Sychar to Cana of Galilee; but the words may be referred with greater propriety to Judæa, of which Jesus, as born at Bethlehem, was a native, but from which He had been driven by persecution. In either case the supplemental character of John's Gospel is manifest, as the birth of Christ had not been placed by him at Bethlehem, nor His education at Nazareth, though the former fact is tacitly assumed by John, vii. 42, and the latter is in harmony with all that appears in his Gospel.

The labours of Our Lord in Judæa, except at certain public festivals, were now for a time concluded, and for the next two years He exercised His ministry in Galilee.

**1226.** On the entry of Jesus into Galilee, the Galileans receive Him gladly from the miracles which they had witnessed at 'the feast,' i. e. the last feast of the Passover at Jerusalem. *"Ὅτε οὖν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, πάντα ἑωρακότες, ἃ ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ*. John, iv. 45. The return of Jesus, therefore, was

within a year (it was only a few months) from the Passover of A.D. 29. This reception of Jesus by the Galileans is also corroborative of the fact that Our Lord had not hitherto opened His ministry in Galilee, else the Galileans would have welcomed Him, not from the miracles which they had witnessed at Jerusalem, but from the display of His supernatural powers (had such been the case) in Galilee itself.

**1227.** While Jesus is at Cana of Galilee, the courtier (*βασιλικός*) of Capernaum, hearing of Jesus's arrival in Galilee, sends to Him to heal his son, which is done. John, iv. 46. This was the *second* miracle in Galilee, and is another proof that Jesus was now commencing His ministry there for the first time. *Τοῦτο πάλιν δεύτερον σημεῖον ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἔλθων ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*. John, iv. 54. The *βασιλικός*, or courtier, was, perhaps, Chuzas, the procurator of Herod Antipas, and whose wife Joanna was a convert. Luke, viii. 3. The miracle was performed at 1 o'clock in the afternoon; for as the *βασιλικός* was returning, his servants met him with the intelligence. *"Ὅτι χθὲς ὤραν ἐβδόμην, etc.* John, iv. 52. Cana of Galilee was about a day's journey from Capernaum.

**1228.** Hitherto we have drawn our materials from John's Gospel, which alone contains any account of Our Lord's labours in Judæa at the commencement of His ministry. From this time forward we derive our information from the three first, called the synoptic Gospels, with only supplemental matter occasionally found in the fourth Gospel. As regards chronological order, Luke is followed, who professes the intention, and must have had the means, of recording events from the first with accuracy and regularity. *"Ἀνωθεν . . . ἀκριβῶς . . . καθεξῆς*. Luke, i. 3. Mark may be said, in every material respect, to coincide with Luke. The aim of Matthew, on the contrary, was not to write a chronological narrative, but to group together events and discourses according to their subject and bearing. As a proof that Matthew himself did not regard his Gospel as chronologically disposed, we may mention that, with the exception of those events which follow in Matthew in the same order as in Mark and Luke, there are no connectives indicating any sequence of events, but the matters related are independent of each other, and are introduced by such general formularies as *τότε, ἐν ἐκείναις*

ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐμέρῃ, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, καὶ ἰδοὺ, etc.; or with a participle, as Ἴδὼν τοὺς ὄχλους, Καὶ ἐλθὼν, etc. Indeed, the Gospel of Matthew might be re-arranged by a transposition of the several parts so as to harmonize with Mark and Luke, and no one would discover from the language that the Gospel had ever been written in a different order.

**1229.** From Cana of Galilee Our Lord passes on to Capernaum-on-the-Sea. Matt. iv. 13. Capernaum, from its position on the Lake of Tiberias, offered the greatest security, and was henceforth the *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* of Our Lord's various circuits. He had no house of His own, even at Capernaum (for He had not where to lay His head), but He found an asylum in the house of Peter and his partners. That Capernaum was regarded as the domicile of Our Lord we may collect from the words of Matthew, ἐλθὼν κατόκησεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ, Matt. iv. 13; and it was here that the collectors of the corban, or poll-tax for the Temple, applied to Our Lord for His contribution. Matt. xvii. 24.

**1230.** Capernaum was properly Capharnahum, or Nahum's Town, and is now by abbreviation called Tell-hum, or Hum's-heap. It stood midway between the northern corner of the plain of Gennesaret and the mouth of the Jordan, being three miles from each. The lake there makes a bend to the east, so that the town had the lake on the south, and an acclivity running up for a mile or more at the back or north. In the time of Our Lord the suburbs, no doubt, extended a good way up the hill, whence Our Lord's apostrophe, καὶ συ Καπερναοὺμ ἡ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψώθεισα, ἕως Ἄδου καταβιβασθήσῃ. Luke, x. 15. Matt. xi. 23. Capernaum was not a πόλις or city, for it had no walls; and yet it was larger than a mere κώμη or village, and was what was called a κωμόπολις, i. e. a village grown to the dimensions of a city.

At the northern point of the triangular plain of Gennesaret is a spring called Ain-et-Tin, or the Fig-tree Spring. The herbage just about this spot is luxuriant, whence the erroneous tradition in early ages that the Five Thousand were here seated upon the grass when they were miraculously fed. It was also once currently believed that Christ appeared here to His disciples, as they were fishing, after His resurrection. Close to the spring on the north the mountain comes

down to the lake, but beyond this on the north a beach winds along the base of the mountains; and three miles to the north-east was the city of Capernaum on the sea-shore. The best account of its situation is from Arculphus, who visited the neighbourhood in the seventh century. The road to it he describes as follows: *Qui ab Hierosolymis descendentes Capernaum adire cupiunt, per Tiberiadem viâ vadunt rectâ: deinde secus lacum Galilææ* (along the Lake of Gennesaret), *locumque superius memoratæ benedictionis* (the feeding of the Five Thousand, supposed to be at Ain-et-Tin) *pervium habent, a quo per marginem ejusdem stagni non longo circuitu* (three miles) *Capharnaum perveniunt Maritimam*. Adamnanus, ii. 25, cited Robins B. R. iii. 355. Arculphus did not go to Capernaum, but after reaching the grass-plot, the traditional locality of the feeding of the Five Thousand, at Ain-et-Tin, which he calls Fonticulus (Adamnanus, ii. 24), viz. as compared with the great fountain, now called the Round Fountain, on the west of the plain, he ascended the mountain on the north of Ain-et-Tin, and thence had a view of Capernaum, which he thus describes: *Quæ* (Capernaum) *ut Arculphus refert qui eam de monte vicino prospexit, murum non habens, angusto inter montem et stagnum coartata spatio, per illam maritimam oram longo tramite protenditur, montem ab aquilonali plagâ, lacum vero ab australi habens, ab occasu in ortum extensa dirigitur*. Adamn. ii. 25, cited Rob. B. R. iii. 355. Arculphus calls the town *Capernaum Maritimam*, as Matthew calls it Καπερναοὺμ παραθαλασσίαν. Matt. iv. 13. It would seem that the fountain of Capernaum was in the plain of Gennesaret, being identical with that now called the Round Fountain, the only one which can answer Josephus's description of fertilizing the whole plain, Bell. iii. 10, 8; and there may have been then a village about the Round Fountain called also Capernaum, and the town on the seaside, therefore, in order to distinguish it from the village in the plain, may have been called Capernaum-super-mare; or Capernaum may have been so called to distinguish it from some other Capernaum not mentioned in history, as towns of the same name were as frequent in that as in the present age.

In the thirteenth century Capernaum had dwindled to a few huts; for Brocardus, after speaking of a fountain which passed for a vein of the Nile (apparently Ain-et-Tin, at the



northern point of the Lake of Gennesaret), proceeds thus: *Ab hoc fonte si ieris per viginti passus supra mare Galilææ, est locus ubi Christus, etc.* (where Christ presented Himself to His disciples after His resurrection). *Ab eo loco orientem versus per unam leucam* (three miles) *est Capernaum, civitas quondam gloriosa, sed nunc vicus humilis, vix septem habens casas piscatorum.* Brocardus, ch. iv. p. 173, cited Rob. B. R. iii. 357.

The site of Capernaum is, at the present day, a heap (Tell) of ruins. The only striking remnant is the wreck of the vast synagogue, of a style neither Grecian nor Roman, but essentially Jewish; once adorned with a portico with a double row of columns, and everywhere decorated with a profusion of elaborate sculpture (see a sketch of the style in Bonar's Land of Promise, p. 444). The edifice, which is 105 feet on the northern side, by 80 feet on the western, surpasses in size everything of the kind to be found elsewhere, and proves incontestably that on this spot was once collected the population of a great city. It was in this very synagogue, perhaps, that Our Lord preached the sermon recorded by John. *Ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν συναγωγῇ διδασκῶν ἐν Καπερναούμ.* John, vi. 59. See Robinson's Palest. ii. 407.

**1231.** In the neighbourhood of Capernaum were (*semble*) two Bethsaidas, or rather two wings of one extended Bethsaida, viz. Bethsaida West—at the mouth of the Jordan, on the western side of the river, a little to the north-east of Capernaum—and Bethsaida East, at the mouth of the Jordan, on the eastern side, and called Julias. Bethsaida West was a fishing village (*κώμη*), as the name imports. That it lay to the north of Capernaum, we learn from a traveller of the eighth century. *Et inde* (a Tiberiade) *ibant circa mare et pergebant secus vicum Magdalene* (Magdala), *et veniebant ad illum vicum Capernaum . . . et inde pergebant ad Bethsaidam, et illic manentes unam noctem mane pergebant, etc.* Vita Sancti Willibaldi, sects. 16, 17, cited Rob. B. R. iii. 356. That Bethsaida West was not far from Capernaum appears from Epiphanius. *Οὐ μακρὰν ὄντων τῶν τόπων τούτων* (Capernaum and Bethsaida) *τῷ διαστήματι.* Epiph. adv. Hæres. lib. ii. 437. Bethsaida East—or, as it was otherwise called, Julias—was not a *κώμη*, but a city (*πόλις*) of some importance in the tetrarchy of Herod Philip, by whom it had

been greatly improved, and called Julias, in honour of the daughter of Augustus (see B. C. 4, no. 953).

**1232.** Chorazin, which is coupled with Bethsaida, Matt. xi. 21; Luke, x. 13, was not on the lake itself. From Capernaum a valley runs off in a north-westerly direction; and at a distance of nearly three miles from Capernaum, a smaller valley strikes off to the north-east; and at the opening of this second valley, on the western side, was Chorazin. It is still called Kerâzeh. The words of Jerome, *Lacum Genesareth, in cuius litore Capernaum et Tiberias et Bethsaida et Chorazin sitæ sint* (Hieron. in Esai. ix. 1, 83, ed. Mart., cited Rob. B. R. 360), must, as regards Chorazin, not be taken literally, though the place was in the immediate vicinity of the lake. See Robinson's Palest. 1852, p. 346.

**1233.** Whether Jesus, during His present sojourn at Capernaum, before making a circuit, wrought any miracles there may be questioned. The affirmative would seem to be implied by the language afterwards used at Nazareth. *Ὅσα ἠκούσαμεν γενόμενα ἐν τῇ Καπερναούμ, ποιήσον καὶ ὧδε ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου.* Luke, iv. 23. But to this it may be answered, that reference may here be made only to the cure of the son of the βασιλικός at Capernaum, while Our Lord himself was still at Cana in Galilee, John, iv. 46; and that John records this event for the purpose of explaining the passage in Luke. We may conclude, with some reason, that at least Jesus did not now display His supernatural powers over unclean spirits at Capernaum; for when Our Lord, on His return to Capernaum, wrought the cure in the synagogue, they exclaimed, *Τίς ἢ διδάχῃ, ἡ καινὴ αὐτῆ, ὅτι κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτάσσει καὶ ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ.* Mark, i. 27.

**1234.** Jesus, in the latter part of this year, commences His first circuit in Galilee. Matt. iv. 17. Mark, i. 14. Luke, iv. 14.

**1235.** Peter and Andrew, and James and John (now that their master, the Baptist, was in captivity), are called to be Our Lord's disciples permanently. Mark, i. 16. Matt. iv. 18. As they were engaged at the time in their ordinary occupation of fishing, the scene of the call was no doubt in the immediate neighbourhood of Capernaum. The call of these four disciples is omitted by Luke, to avoid the appearance of repetition, as it so nearly

resembles the miracle of the Draught of Fishes subsequently recorded by Luke, v. 4. Matthew and Mark, for the like reason, record one only of Our Lord's two visits to Nazareth, Matt. xiii. 54; Mark, vi. 1; and Luke the other, Luke, iv. 16. The call of Peter and Andrew, and James and John, however, though omitted by Luke in its proper place, is implied and tacitly assumed by Luke himself, for even in *his* Gospel we find Peter in constant attendance on Our Lord from this time, and before the mention by Luke of the miraculous draught of fishes. Luke, iv. 38; and compare Luke, iv. 42; Mark, i. 36.

**1236.** Jesus, in the course of this circuit, visits His own city (by which is meant that in which He had been brought up, viz. Nazareth), when they seek to cast Him headlong from the brow of the mountain on which the city stood. *Τῆς ὄψρῆος τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ᾧ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ᾤκοδόμητο.* Luke, iv. 29. At the south-west of the city, the mountain breaks off abruptly with a fall of forty or fifty feet. This probably was the 'Tarpeian rock' of Nazareth, from which Our Lord's fellow-countrymen sought to cast Him headlong. The traditional spot, or Mount of Precipitation, which is two miles off to the south, and overlooks the valley of Esdraelon or Jezreel, can have no real claim to the name it bears. See Robinson's *Palest.* ii. 335; and Stanley's *Sinai and Palest.* p. 362. Jesus had been occupied some time on His circuit before He reached Nazareth, for it is said that He attended the synagogue at Nazareth on the Sabbath, *as he was wont.* Several weeks, therefore, had already elapsed. *Καὶ εἰσῆλθε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν, καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι.* Luke, iv. 16. The words *κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς* refer apparently to the preaching in the synagogues of Galilee, mentioned in the preceding verse. *Καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν,* v. 15. It is quite possible, however, that the Evangelist may here allude to Our Lord's general custom.

**1237.** The portion of Scripture read by Our Lord was the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah, Luke, iv. 18; and if, as is likely, this was the Lesson or Hapthoroth for the day, it enables us to fix the time of year when the sermon was delivered, for the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah was the appointed lesson of the daily service about the Feast of Tabernacles, which this year was

11 October. That Our Lord read the lesson of the day we should infer from the circumstance that the Book of *Isaiah* only, and not of the Pentateuch or Prophets generally, was delivered to Him. *Καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ βιβλίον Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου.* Luke, iv. 17. See *Gresw. Diss.* ii. 251.

**1238.** Jesus compares Himself at Nazareth to Elias, who had been sent to the house of Israel for three years and six months. *Ὅτε ἐκλείσθη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ὡς ἐγένετο λιμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.* Luke, iv. 25. The ministry of Our Lord in *Galilee*, commencing from the imprisonment of John (the only part of the ministry recorded by the three first Evangelists), lasted just about three years and six months, viz. from the autumn of A. D. 29 to the Passover A. D. 33.

**1239.** Jesus, at the conclusion of the circuit, returns to Capernaum. *Καὶ εἰσπορεύεται εἰς Καπερναοῦμ.* Mark, i. 21. *Καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς Καπερναοῦμ.* Luke, iv. 31. The first circuit was a short one, and may have occupied about two months; and Our Lord's return to Capernaum must be placed in the last quarter of the year.

**1240.** Jesus cures the demoniac, on the Sabbath day, in the synagogue of Capernaum. This was the first Sabbath after Our Lord's return; but it is not said that He had returned on a Sabbath, and that He entered forthwith into the synagogue. The language rather implies that the day of his arrival was not on a Sabbath. *Καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καπερναοῦμ, καὶ ἐυθέως τοῖς σάββασιν,* etc. Mark, i. 21.

**1241.** The same day (*εὐθέως ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς*, Mark, i. 29; Luke, iv. 38), Jesus cures Peter's wife's mother of a fever. It was now the sickly autumnal season, when fevers are rife.

**1242.** The same day, when the Sabbath was over, i. e. after sunset, *δύνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου.* Luke, iv. 40; *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδν ὁ ἥλιος,* Mark, i. 32; the sick folk are brought to Jesus, and are healed; but the unclean spirits are forbidden to proclaim Him as the Messiah. *Καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν οὐκ εἶα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν, ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.* Mark, i. 34. As the general notion of the Messiah was that of a temporal Prince, who should free the Jews from the Roman yoke, the declaration of Jesus as the Messiah might have led to a breach of the peace. Besides, Herod Antipas had, a little before, arrested the Baptist; and Our



Lord, if recognised as the leader of a new sect, would soon share a similar fate. This will partly account for the rapid succession of Our Lord's circuits; for had He remained long in any one place, the people would have taken Him by force, and made him King. By the prudence of Our Lord's conduct, the attention of Herod was not seriously attracted to Our Lord until the death of John the Baptist, at the beginning of A.D. 31 (see no. 1297).

**1243.** The next morning after the Sabbath, Jesus retires to a desert place to pray, before entering on another circuit, the *second*. Γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἔρημον τόπον. Luke, iv. 42. Καὶ πρῶτ' ἔννυχον λίαν ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς ἔρημον τόπον, κἀκεῖ προσήχετο. Mark, i. 35. Here, as in other texts, as Capernaum was Our Lord's home (so far as He had any), the commencement of a new circuit is expressed by the word ἐξῆλθεν. In this instance it may be collected from the context that Jesus was at Capernaum; but ἐξῆλθεν is elsewhere used simply for the commencement of a new circuit, when, but for the technical use of the word, the whereabouts of Our Lord at the time would not be known. Others, however, read the word ἐξῆλθεν in the above passages as meaning Our Lord's exit, not from Capernaum, but from the house of Peter, where He had been lodging.

**1244.** The people of Capernaum seek to retain Jesus amongst them, but He declares the necessity of visiting the other cities. Ταῖς ἐτέραις πόλεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι με δεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Luke, iv. 43. Jesus, therefore, was now about to preach in the *cities* of Galilee, which, as the winter was approaching, would be the natural course.

**1245.** Jesus, during this circuit, traverses the *whole* of Galilee. Εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Mark, i. 39. Περιῆγεν ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Matt. iv. 23. Luke, iv. 44. As Galilee, according to Josephus, contained 204 villages and cities, Jos. Vit. 45, the least of which had a population of 15,000 inhabitants, Bell. iii. 3, 2, the circuit of Our Lord through Galilee, even if we allow for great exaggeration by Josephus, must have occupied a considerable time. Supposing it to have commenced late in the autumn of A.D. 29, and to have lasted four or five months, the return of Jesus to Capernaum would be in the spring of A.D. 30; and that His absence was a lengthened one is expressly asserted

by Mark. Καὶ πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καπερναοὺμ δε' ἡμερῶν. Mark, ii. 1. It will be seen hereafter that Our Lord was engaged upon the circuit next after this (i.e. the *third*) at the time of harvest, when the disciples rubbed the ears of corn in their hands on the δεινεροπρωτον σάββατον (22 April, A.D. 30; see that year, no. 1254); and to allow time for Our Lord to visit the cities of *all* Galilee, in the course of His second circuit, He must have commenced it in A.D. 29. As stress is laid by Mark and Matthew on the extent of this the second circuit, viz. through the *whole* of Galilee, the previous one had inferentially been only a partial circuit.

**1246.** In the course of this the second circuit occurs the miracle of the Draught of Fishes, Luke, v. 1, a distinct transaction from the call of Peter and Andrew, and James and John, though many of the circumstances are similar. Mark, i. 16. Matt. iv. 18.

**1247.** In the same circuit is wrought the Cure of the Leper; and the way in which this miracle is treated by the three first Evangelists deserves particular notice. From Matthew we learn only that the miracle was wrought. Καὶ ἰδοὺ λεπρός, etc. Matt. viii. 2. The narrative of Mark goes further, and implies, but only indirectly, that the miracle took place in a city. Ὡστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι φανερώς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν. Mark, i. 45. Luke, writing historically and carefully, with the Gospels of Matthew and Mark before him, begins by stating what Mark had only implied. Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων, etc. Luke, v. 12. Who can doubt that the three first Gospels were written in the order in which we find them? Matthew unquestionably wrote first; and Mark must have preceded Luke, for the latter might well have improved upon the former, but the former could not purposely have obscured the latter.

**1248.** Our Lord, in the desire of avoiding notoriety, had strictly charged the leper not to publish the cure, ὅρα, μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἶπῃς, Mark, i. 44; Matt. viii. 4; but the fame of the miracle, notwithstanding, was such, that Our Lord was obliged for a time to retire from public view, and withdraw into desert places, but whither the multitudes still followed Him. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑποχωρῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις. Luke, v. 16. Mark, i. 45.

(N.B. The occurrences during Our Lord's

second circuit fall partly under this year, and partly under the next; but we should in vain attempt to distinguish the line of demarcation.)

**1249.** There is extant a coin of Herod Antipas, thus described by Eckhel. *Ηρωδου Τετραρχου Ramus palmæ In areâ L. ΔΓ.*; and on the reverse, *Τιβεριας intra lauream*. It was therefore struck at Tiberias, and ΛΓ. i. e. in the thirty-third year of the reign of Herod Antipas, or A. D. 29. Eckhel, iii. 486.

**1250.** Also a coin of Herod Philip. On the obverse, *Καισαρος Σεβασου. Caput Augusti laureatum + Φιλίππου Τετραρχου. Templum 4 columnarum intra quas L. ΔΓ.* i. e. in the thirty-third year of his reign, or A. D. 29. Eckhel, iii. 490.

**1250 a.** Coin of Tiberius.

*Tr. Pot. xxxi.* Eckhel, vi. 196.

Coin of Rhescuporis, King of Bosphorus.

*Ba. P. ζΚΤ.* or in the year 326, dating from u. c. 457 (see B. C. 2, no. 966 a).

*Id.* ii. 375.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 16.

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11.

**A. D. 30. U. C. 783. Olymp. 202, 2.**

M. VINICIUS QUARTINUS, i.

L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Quos exceperunt C. Cassius Longinus, L. Nævius Surdinus.

TIBERII XVII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXXII.

FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. COS. DESIG V. PONT.

MAX. IMP. VIII.

Thirty-fourth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and of Herod Philip.

**1251.** Jesus having concluded his *second* circuit, which, as it was through all Galilee, had occupied four or five months, returns after a long absence to Capernaum in the spring. *Και πάλιν εισήλθεν εις Καπερναούμ δι' ἡμερῶν, και ἠκούσθη ὅτι εις οἶκόν ἐστι.* Mark, ii. 1. The house was probably that of Peter and his partners, mentioned Mark, i. 29. It was not the house in which the mother and brethren of Jesus resided, for on His return home on a subsequent occasion, *εις οἶκον*, Mark, iii. 20, they

*heard* of it and came to Him. Mark, iii. 21 and 31.

ABOUT THIS TIME, VIZ. THE PASSOVER, A. D. 30 (5 APRIL), COMMENCES THE SECOND YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

**1252.** Jesus now enters upon another (being his *third*) circuit. *Και ἐξῆλθε πάλιν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν.* Mark, ii. 13. *Και μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθε.* Luke, v, 27. We have already observed that the word *ἐξῆλθε* is a technical one, and usually denotes a departure from Capernaum. It would appear from the words *παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν*, 'by the sea-shore,' that the route of Our Lord was now southward, and so along the plain of Gennesaret toward Tiberias.

**1253.** Matthew the publican is called at the receipt of custom. Mark, ii. 14. Matt. ix. 9. He had probably been one of the *τελῶναι* who were disciples of the Baptist. Luke, iii. 12. Tiberias, the capital of Galilee, now lay in the direct route of Our Lord; and the *τελώνιον*, or receipt of custom, at which Matthew sat, may have been the octroi at the gate of Tiberias to levy imposts on all commodities introduced into the city. If Our Lord now visited Tiberias, it was a solitary instance: at least we have no record of His having entered the city on any other occasion. One reason for avoiding Tiberias may have been that it was built on an ancient burial-ground, a site so repulsive to the feelings of the Jews that they could not be induced to reside there. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 3. The chief part of the inhabitants consisted therefore of a mixed Greek and Roman and Syrian population; and as 'salvation was of the Jews,' Our Lord would naturally prefer other places where His own countrymen would be found in greater numbers. By sojourning also at Tiberias, He would immediately have drawn upon Himself the jealousy of the unprincipled Herod, who made that his principal residence.

**1254.** Jesus passes through the cornfields on the second-first Sabbath. *Ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ.* Luke, vi. 1. Mark, ii. 23. Matt. xii. 1. Various interpretations have been offered of this compound *δευτεροπρωτον*. 1. In the opinion of some after Scaliger it signifies the *first* of the seven Sabbaths after the *second* day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, from which the fifty days to the Pentecost, or Feast of Weeks, were counted.



2. Another hypothesis is that the first Sabbath of the civil year, which commenced from the autumnal equinox, was the *πρῶτον σάββατον*, and that the first Sabbath of the sacred year, which began at the vernal equinox, was the *δευτεροπρῶτον*, or second-first Sabbath. But from a passage in Clem. Strom. vi. 5, 760, the first Sabbath of the *sacred*, and not the first Sabbath of the *civil* year, was called the *πρῶτον σάββατον*, for *καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σελήνη φανῇ, σάββατον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, οὔτε ἄζυμα, οὔτε ἑορτήν, οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν*.

3. Others think that *δευτεροπρῶτον* refers to the Sabbatic cycle of seven years, the first Sabbath of the first year being called the *πρῶτον σάββατον*, and the first Sabbath of the second year the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον*, and so on. This ingenious theory would place the Sabbath in question in the spring of A. D. 29, the second year of the Sabbatic cycle, which the chronology of the life of Our Saviour will by no means allow. But if, as is likely, the corn which the disciples rubbed in their hands was wheat, all these hypotheses are open to the objection that at the several times suggested the corn was not ripe. It is a mistake to suppose, as is commonly assumed, that the wheat was ripe in Judæa at the Passover. Philo tells us expressly that the *unleavened* bread at the Passover represented the *unripe* corn, as the leavened loaves at the Pentecost represented the *ripe* corn. *Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον (λέγω δὲ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ὥραν ἐν ἣ συμβαίνει τὴν ἑορτὴν (the Passover) ἄγεσθαι), ὁ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς ἀτελής ἐστι, τῶν πεδίων σταχυοφορούντων καὶ μήπω καιρὸν ἐχόντων εἰς ἄμητον· ἐδικαίωσεν ἐξ ὁμοιώσεως τὴν ἄζυμον τροφήν, ἀτελής γὰρ ἐστι καὶ αὕτη πρὸς ἐλπίδα χρηστῆς ὑπομνήσεως*. Philo de Septen. 19. "Ἄρτοι δὲ εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ σίτος, ἡ ἀπαρχὴ (at the Pentecost) διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν εἶναι τῶν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν τροφῆς αὐτοῦ γεγονότος. Philo de Septen. 21. The most probable meaning of the word *δευτεροπρῶτον* is the *first* Sabbath of the *second* Jewish month, i. e. Ijar, when the corn would be ripe. The first Sabbath of every month was a *πρῶτον σάββατον*; but to distinguish one from the other, the first Sabbath of the first month was called simply *πρῶτον*, the first Sabbath of the second month *δευτεροπρῶτον*, the first Sabbath of the third month *τριτο-πρῶτον*, and so on.

Robinson mentions incidentally, under the dates of 9 and 10 May, that the Arab at-

tendants, as they went through the cornfields in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, plucked the ears of corn and rubbed them in their hands, and pleaded ancient custom in their justification. Robins. Palest. i. 493, 499.

**1255.** Jesus goes up to Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost. *Μετὰ ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, etc.* John, v. 1. It is a common opinion that the feast here referred to by John was the Passover; and this hypothesis was in the first instance adopted by the Author, but he afterwards came to the conclusion, for various reasons, that it was the Pentecost. If it was the Passover, it could be only the Passover of the second year of Our Lord's ministry, i. e. of A. D. 30; but we know that very soon after the Passover of A. D. 30 Jesus was engaged on a circuit, and passed through the cornfields on the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον*, Luke, vi. 1; and though it is not expressly stated that Our Lord at the time of the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον* was in Galilee, yet the narrative of the Gospels leads strongly to that result; and assuming it to be so, these consequences would follow:—If the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον* indicated the first Sabbath from the second day of Unleavened Bread, i. e. from the Sheaf-offering, from which the seven weeks to Pentecost were counted, it is clear that Jesus, if He attended the Passover—if *ἑορτή* be that feast—could not have been prosecuting His circuit on the *δευτεροπρῶτον* Sabbath in Galilee, for the Passover itself did not end until the fifth day after the Sheaf-offering. But even assuming the *δευτεροπρῶτον* to mean the first Sabbath of the second Jewish month, Ijar (which would place it as late as possible), it is not likely that Jesus and His disciples should so soon have passed through the cornfields in Galilee. The Passover would end on 21 Nisan, or 12 April; and supposing Our Lord to have attended it, we must allow a week for His return to Capernaum, so that He would arrive there on 28 Nisan, or 19 April. Ijar, according to Greswell (see Prolegomena), would begin on 20 April, and the first Sabbath, or Saturday, in Ijar would be on the third of that month, or 22 April. See De Morgan's Book of Almanacks. Thus there would be only three days for Our Lord's sojourn at Capernaum, the commencement of another circuit, the call of Matthew in the course of it, Luke, v. 27; Mark, ii. 13, and then the incident in the cornfields on the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον*. This

is possible, but not probable. The Author, therefore, was led to conjecture that the feast, *ἑορτή*, recorded John, v. 1, did not precede, but followed the *δευτεροπρωτον πάββατον*, and that this feast was in fact the Pentecost. Such was the opinion of Cyril, Chrysostom, Theophylact, and others (see Anger, pp. 24–36, and Bengel, *ad loc.*); and on a nearer examination of the passage in John, there are not wanting several confirmations of this view. The introductory words are *μετὰ ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, and had the Passover been intended, the article would surely have been prefixed (*ἡ ἑορτή*) as elsewhere by the same Evangelist. See John, vi. 4; iv. 45. It is also stated that the sick folk lay at the Pool of Bethesda, waiting for the moving of the waters; from which the deduction may fairly be made that the sick folk were thus congregated at a feast, and that the feast was for one day only. We can hardly suppose that the descent of the angel would be ascribed to a feast of more days than one, or to any day not having the sanctity of a feast, or that the sick folk would be placed about the pool for a week together while a feast of that duration lasted. The Feasts of the Passover, Tabernacles, and Dedication were all of them eight days, and the Feast of Purim was for three days, but the Feast of Pentecost was for one day only. On this day, therefore, the angel might well be believed to visit the pool, and the sick folk might well be gathered about it. It is remarkable that John mentions all the feasts by name with the exception of this one; and the reason may be that the others were feasts of several days, but the Pentecost being for one day only would be properly designated by John as *ἑορτή*, a *feast day*. But further, John tells us that the miracle at the Pool of Bethesda was wrought on a Sabbath, or Saturday. *Ἦν δὲ σάββατον ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, v. 9. And if it should appear that the day of Pentecost in A.D. 30 fell on a Saturday, the evidence in support of our hypothesis acquires additional weight. We find in Pingré's Tables that there was an eclipse of the moon on 4 June, A.D. 30, at 11 A.M. The preceding full moon would therefore be on 5 May, and the full moon before that (being the first after the vernal equinox) on 6 April. This 6 April would therefore be the 15 Nisan, and the Passover would begin the day before, viz. on 5 April. This calculation from Pingré's Tables agrees

with Greswell (see his Prolegomena). The 16 Nisan, or Sheaf-offering, would therefore be on 7 April; and if we reckon forward from 7 April exclusive, the fiftieth day, or Pentecost, would fall on 27 May; and on turning to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks we find that 27 May in A.D. 30 was a Saturday, or Sabbath.

In the narrative of John, this feast (v. 1) precedes the *Passover* of A.D. 31, when the Five Thousand were fed, John, vi. 4; and it was therefore certainly some feast in A.D. 30. And again, at the approach of the Feast of *Tabernacles* A.D. 31, Our Lord's brethren taunted Him with His retirement to Galilee, and challenged Him to go up with them to the Feast of *Tabernacles* at Jerusalem, John, vii. 3; and Our Lord could scarcely have given rise to these remarks unless more than a year had elapsed since His last attendance at a feast; but the language would be natural enough if Jesus had visited Jerusalem for the last time previously at the Feast of Pentecost A.D. 30.

The assumption that this *ἑορτή* was a Pentecost of course harmonizes with the fact that the sick folk were waiting in the open air, and on the moving of the water were plunged into the pool; for in May the temperature of both the air and the water would be warm and genial. Such a custom could scarcely have prevailed at any feast during the winter, as, for example, at the Feast of Dedication, or *Ἐγκαίνια*.

**1256.** Jesus, at this feast, which we have concluded to be the Pentecost, cures the poor cripple at the Pool of Bethesda, by the Sheepgate, on the Sabbath. *Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ ἡ ἐπιλεγόμενη Ἐβραϊστὶ Βηθεσδὰ πέντε στοῶς ἔχουσα*. John, v. 2.

**1257.** From the use of the word *ἔστι* in the present tense it has been argued with some force that Jerusalem was still standing at the publication of John's Gospel; and if this be so, then, as John afterwards refers to the crucifixion of Peter, xxi. 19, the date of the Gospel would be some time between A.D. 65, when Peter was crucified (see no. 1980), and A.D. 70, when Jerusalem was destroyed.

**1258.** The position of the Sheepgate appears from Nehemiah, iii. 1. It lay at the north of the Temple platform, and was either at the north-east corner of the Haram esh Sherif at the present gate Sobât, or about half way along the northern wall of the Haram at the present



gate Hotta. In either case it was by the Pool of Bethesda, still so called, which lies between those two gates.

The western end of the Pool may have been occupied by five arches or porches, of which two only, the most southern, now remain. These two have been traced westward for 100 feet, and perhaps reach much farther. They are parallel to each other, and are, therefore, aptly called by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and by Eusebius and Jerome, the Twin Pools, and were even then known by the name of Bethesda. These authors speak of the water as having a red tinge from the blood of the Temple victims which were once washed there; and this circumstance probably conferred the sanctity which gave rise to the legend of the descent of the angel. *Interius vero civitatis sunt piscinæ gemellares quinque porticus habentes quæ appellantur Betsaida. Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur. Aquam autem habent eæ piscinæ in modum coccini turbatam.* Itiner. Hieros. Βηζαθά, κολυμβήθρα ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἡ προβατικὴ τὸ πάλαιον πέντε στοῶς ἔχουσα, καὶ νῦν δεικνύται ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ λίμναις διδύμοις, ὧν ἑκάτερα μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἔτος ὑετῶν πληροῦται, θατέρα δὲ παραδόξως πεφοινιγμένον δεικνύσι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἵχνος, ὡς φασι, φέρουσα τῶν πάλαι καθαιρομένων ἐν αὐτῇ ἱερίων. *Bethesda, Piscina in Jerusalem quæ vocabatur Προβατικὴ et a nobis interpretari potest Pecualis. Hæc quinque quondam porticus habuit, ostendunturque gemini lacus quorum unus hybernis pluviis impleri solet, alter mirum in modum rubens quasi cruentis aquis antiqui in se operis signa testatur, nam hostias in eo lavari a sacerdotibus ferunt.* Eusebii Onomasticon. The pool is called by John κολυμβήθρα, or a 'swimming pool;' and as great multitudes were collected in the five porches, the pool was of large dimensions, and the spacious arches at the western end of the present pool, called Bethesda, would well answer to this description.

**1259.** In consequence of the supposed breach of the law, in having wrought the miraculous cure of the cripple at the Pool of Bethesda on the Sabbath, the Jews seek to take the life of Jesus. John, v. 16.

**1260.** Jesus for nearly a year and a half after this did not visit Jerusalem, even at the public festivals, and the attempt made upon His life at this Feast of Pentecost may be assumed as the cause of this lengthened absence. In

speaking of the interval between the Feast of Pentecost A.D. 30 and the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 31, when our Lord was again at Jerusalem, the evangelist John observes, καὶ περιεπάτει ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, οὐ γὰρ ἤθελεν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περιπατεῖν, ὅτι ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτεῖναι. John, vii. 1. At the time of the next Passover (A.D. 31) it is expressly mentioned that Jesus was in Philip's tetrarchy. John, vi. 4.

**1261.** Jesus, at this Pentecost, refers to the testimony of John the Baptist given at Bethabara on Our Lord's return from the forty days' temptation; and the testimony, therefore, had been sufficiently recent to be still in the recollection of Our Lord's hearers. Ὑμεῖς ἀπεστάλκατε πρὸς Ἰωάννην, καὶ μεμαρτύρηκε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. John, v. 33. The testimony of John had been delivered about a year before, viz. in the spring of A.D. 29. John the Baptist at this time was still in prison, for his ministry is spoken of as past. Ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ λύχνος ὁ καίμενος. John, v. 35.

**1262.** After keeping the feast (Pentecost, A.D. 30) Jesus returns from Jerusalem to Galilee, and in the course of His ministry there restores the withered hand in one of the synagogues on a Sabbath-day, when the Pharisees with the Herodians conspire against His life. Ἐξελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι εὐθέως μετὰ τῶν Ἡρωδιανῶν συμβούλιον ἐποίουν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν. Mark, iii. 6. Matt. xii. 14. The Pharisees seem to have been jealously watching Our Lord at this time, from having witnessed His violation of the Sabbath by the cure of the cripple at the Pool of Bethesda not long before at the Feast of Pentecost, which they as well as Jesus had attended. The Herodians here mentioned were either the partisans of Herod Antipas, in whose dominions Our Lord now was, or the term Herodians may denote the Sadducees, the party opposed to the Pharisees, and called sometimes Herodians. Thus, the leaven of the Sadducees, Matt. xvi. 6, is called by Mark, viii. 15, the leaven of Herod. The Pharisees believed in a resurrection, which the Sadducees did not; and thus, in a religious point of view, the Pharisees and the Sadducees were the antagonistic sects. But the Pharisees were also the great champions of the Law of Moses and the traditions, while the partisans of the Herods relied on the support of the Romans, and were innovators; and thus politi-

cally the *Pharisees* and the *Herodians* were opposed. It will be observed that Matthew speaks of the Pharisees only as plotting against Jesus, and Mark accordingly does not say that the Pharisees and Herodians indifferently, but that the Pharisees *with* the Herodians, conspired; so that the Pharisees were evidently the active parties, and took the Herodians as their accomplices.

The miracle of the Withered Hand appears to have been wrought in the interior parts of Galilee, and Jesus, to avoid the machinations of His enemies, now withdraws to the neighbourhood of the Lake of Gennesaret, *καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέχωρησε μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν*, Mark, iii. 7; *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς γνοὺς ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκεῖθεν*, Matt. xii. 15; the vicinity of the lake affording the ready means of escape from the tetrarchy of Herod into the dominions of his brother Philip.

**1263.** Jesus at this time is attended by a vast concourse of people from Galilee, and Judæa, and Jerusalem, and Idumæa, and Peræa, and Tyre and Sidon. Mark, iii. 7. Those from Tyre and Sidon had only heard of Him, *ἀκούσαντες ὅσα ἐποίησε*, Mark, iii. 8; and the Idumeans must have been those who had come to the feast at Jerusalem, for we can scarcely suppose that Our Lord, in the absence of all notice of it, ever visited Idumæa personally. Those from Galilee, Judæa, Peræa, and Jerusalem, had been collected about Our Lord during His late visit to Jerusalem and the subsequent circuit. Matthew adds to the list the people of Decapolis also, who may have followed Our Lord from the feast, or have joined Our Lord on His way from Jerusalem to Galilee along the valley of the Jordan. *Καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ Δεκαπόλεως καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*. Matt. iv. 25. A boat attends upon Our Lord while He is by the sea of Galilee, in order that He may at any time avoid the pressure of the multitude or retire to a distant part. Mark, iii. 9.

**1264.** Jesus, to avert the sensation that would be created by the announcement of Himself as the Messiah, commands the unclean spirits that they should not make Him known. Mark, iii. 12 (see Lachmann's Edition).

**1265.** Jesus, while He is by the sea, retires up a mountain privately, and passes the night in prayer. *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις,*

*etc.* Luke, vi. 12. From the opening words of the Evangelist (a formula of transition) we may infer that Luke is here entering upon a new subject, and entirely disconnected from the preceding narrative, so that Our Lord might well, during the interim between the events previously related by Luke and what now follows, have gone up to the Feast of Pentecost at Jerusalem, a journey related by John but omitted by Luke.

**1266.** Our Lord, while on the mount, calls up to Him whom He would from the multitude of the disciples, and ordains twelve to be Apostles. Luke, vi. 14. Mark, iii. 13. Matthew omits the solemn ordination of the Apostles, but assumes the fact, and afterwards records the mission of them. Matt. x. 1.

**1267.** Jesus, on this occasion, delivers the sermon recorded by Luke, vi. 20, identical with the Sermon on the Mount, given by Matthew, v. 1. On comparing the parallel passages, respecting the accompanying multitudes, in Matt. iv. 25, and Mark, iii. 7, and Luke, vi. 17, and the parallel passages addressed to these multitudes in the two accounts of Matthew and Luke, little doubt can be entertained that the sermon in Luke was delivered to the same concourse of people and at the same time as the sermon in Matthew. The description of the multitudes in Matthew, which was meant to be introductory to the sermon, has injudiciously in the authorized version been placed at the very end of the fourth chapter, and so kept distinct from, and made to appear independent of, the sermon itself, which begins the fifth chapter. The order of the historical narrative not unfrequently suffers from the arbitrary way in which the Gospels have been divided into chapters.

From this time forward, the Apostles are called *οἱ δώδεκα*. It is also remarkable that Simon, who had hitherto been called by his original name, is henceforth invariably designated as Peter. The passage in John, *Σὺ εἶ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωνᾶ· σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς*, John, i. 43, is proleptic, and the name of Cephas, or Peter, was not given until the ordination. John says: 'Thou *art* Simon, Thou *shalt* be called Peter.' There was a good reason why a new name should be assigned at the time of the ordination, *viz.* to distinguish him from the other Simon, who was also chosen an Apostle, *viz.* Simon the Cananite, or Zelotes.



**1268.** The scene of Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount is placed by tradition at Karṓn Hattīn, the Horns of Hattin, commonly called the Mount of Beatitudes. At the south of the plain of Gennesaret, there runs off from Majdee, or Magdala, a wady, or valley, in a south-westerly direction, and at the head of the valley is Irbid, or Arbela. Here begins the plain of Hattin, and on the south of it rises a long high ridge, the only conspicuous mountain from the shores of the lake with the exception of Tabor. On the top of this ridge is a broad platform, or table-land, and out of it spring two eminences, or knolls, one east and the other west, called the Horns of Hattin from the village at the base of the mountain on the north. These features tally exactly with the account in the Gospel, for Our Lord ascends *the mountain* with a great multitude, *ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος*, Matt. v. 1; and they remain on *the platform*, *τόπος πεδινός*, Luke, vi. 17, while Our Lord retires up one of the knolls to pray in private. *Ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύεσθαι*. Luke, vi. 12. At the conclusion of His devotions, He calls up to Him certain select disciples, and ordains them as the twelve Apostles. *καὶ ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ προσκαλεῖται, οὓς ἠθέληεν αὐτός, καὶ ἀπῆλθον πρὸς αὐτόν*. Mark, iii. 13. The ordination ended, He descends to the lower ground, the platform, and there delivers the sermon to the assembled multitude. *καὶ καταβὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἕστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινού, καὶ ὄχλος μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ*, etc. Luke, vi. 17. *Τόπος πεδινός* means not a plain, but a level space upon the mountain. See Robinson's Palestine, 1852, iii. 342; Stanley's Palest. p. 369.

**1269.** This mountain is of easy access and only a few minutes' walk from the lake of Gennesaret, to which Our Lord had retired, and commands a full view of Mount Tabor on the south, and of the remarkable eminence on the summit of which stands the city of Safed, on the north. It may have been to the fortified crown of Tabor, on the south, or to the turrets of Safed, on the hill-top to the north, that Our Lord pointed when He spake the words: 'A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.' Matt. v. 14.

**1270.** Many have been led to suppose that the discourse related by Matthew, v. 1, immediately preceded the cure of the leper, Matt. viii. 2; and, therefore, that the discourse in

Matthew must be a different one from that in Luke, vi. 2. But here again the confusion arises from the unfortunate manner in which the New Testament has been divided into chapters. Thus, the eighth chapter of Matthew begins, v. 1: *Καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί*, v. 2; *καὶ ἰδοὺ λεπρὸς ἐλθὼν προσεκύνη αὐτῷ*, etc.; as if the leper had been one of the crowd and the miracle performed at the time of Our Lord's descent from the mountain: whereas the notice of the multitude belongs to the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount, while the cure of the leper, as we know from Luke's Gospel, took place in one of the cities. *Ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων*. Luke, v. 12. The eighth chapter should properly have begun with *καὶ ἰδοὺ λεπρὸς*, etc., v. 2; for the Evangelist is evidently, from these introductory words, passing on to a new subject wholly disconnected from the preceding discourse. In Lachmann's edition, the paragraphs are rightly divided.

**1271.** At the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus, with the Twelve, enters into Capernaum, *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπλήρωσε πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ . . . εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καπερναούμ*, Luke, vii. 1; when the elders of the Jews at Capernaum apply to Jesus, on behalf of a centurion of Capernaum, to come and heal his servant. *Ἀκούσας δὲ (the centurion) περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρους τῶν Ἰουδαίων*. Luke, vii. 3. It would seem from this that Our Lord had not been in Capernaum for some time previously, otherwise the centurion would have heard of it before. This centurion was a Gentile, and quartered with his company at Capernaum, and as he had ingratiated himself with the inhabitants by building them a synagogue, we should infer that he was a proselyte.

**1272.** The day after the cure of the centurion's servant, Jesus commences His *fourth* circuit, and proceeds to Nain, where He raises to life the young man who was being carried to his grave. *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑξῆς*, etc. Luke, vii. 11. It appears that on this as on some other occasions Jesus made no stay at Capernaum. The excitement of the people at this time may not have permitted it, and Our Lord may also have been anxious to exercise in the ministry the twelve Apostles whom He had just appointed for the purpose. He was accompanied on this circuit by the Twelve, who are

now so called, *καὶ οἱ δώδεκα σὺν αὐτῷ*, Luke, viii. 1; and many other disciples and a great multitude were also now with Jesus, Luke, vii. 11; and many women waited upon Him. Luke, viii. 2.

**1273.** Nain was a city on the northern slope of Little Hermon, which rises out of the plain of Esdraelon, the valley which divides Galilee from Samaria. Nain has only one approach, viz. by the ascent up the narrow defile on the north. Our Lord, therefore, must have been going up this steep path when He met the funeral of the young man moving slowly down from the gate of the city. See Stanley's *Palest.* pp. 352 and 363.

**1274.** John the Baptist, who was still a prisoner at Machærus, hearing of the miracles of Jesus, sends two of his disciples to Him to ask if He were the Messiah. *Matt.* xi. 2. Luke, vii. 18. From the words of Our Lord, *μακάριός ἐστιν, ὅς ἐάν μὴ σκανδαλισθῆ ἔν ἐμοί*, *Matt.* xi. 6; Luke, vii. 23, it would seem that either John or his disciples had some misgivings as to Our Lord's Messiahship. As the more active ministry of Jesus began after the imprisonment of the Baptist, in A. D. 29, neither John nor his disciples had witnessed personally, but had only heard of, the wonderful works of Jesus. It may also have been matter of surprise that Jesus should not hitherto have openly assumed the character of Messiah. However, even on this occasion, when challenged to declare Himself, Our Lord refrained from doing so, and appealed only to the miracles which He was daily performing.

**1275.** Our Lord makes a progress through the cities and villages of Galilee. *Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, καὶ αὐτὸς διώδενε κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κώμην, κηρύσσων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Luke, viii. 1.

**1276.** Jesus returns, apparently in the autumn, to Capernaum. *Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς οἶκον.* Mark, iii. 20. The expression *εἰς οἶκον*, or home, shows that Capernaum was regarded as Our Lord's residence, so far as He had one.

**1277.** On Our Lord arriving at Capernaum, it is given out by some that He is beside Himself, and they seek to lay hold of Him. *Καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτὸν, ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη.* Mark, iii. 21. At verse 31, Mark proceeds, *ἔρχονται οὖν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ*; and from the re-

ferential word *οὖν*, it would seem that by *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* were meant the mother and brethren of Jesus. This, however, does not necessarily follow, as Mark may have intended a contrast between those who were the friends of Jesus, and those who were His enemies. His well-wishers, *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*, said that he was a fanatic; while His enemies, the Scribes from Jerusalem, *οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες*, Mark, iii. 22, gave out that He was possessed by Beelzebub.

Some MSS. have the reading, *Ἴδὸν ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ σου [καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ σου] ἔξω ζητοῦσί σε*, Mark, iii. 32; but the words in brackets, though supported by considerable authority, must be rejected. The sisters of Our Lord were married and settled at Nazareth (see A. D. 29, no. 1197), and are never found in Our Lord's company. The mother and brethren of Our Lord now resided at Capernaum; but His brethren were as yet in a state of unbelief, and, indeed, were so until after the Resurrection. See John, vii. 5. Acts, i. 14. The Scribes who had come from Jerusalem, and now disputed with Our Lord, Mark, iii. 22, may have arrived after the Feast of Tabernacles, for a long interval appears to have elapsed since the Feast of Pentecost of this year, when our Lord was at Jerusalem.

**1278.** Jesus, while at Capernaum, teaches the multitudes from a boat on the Lake of Tiberias. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, etc.* *Matt.* xiii. 1. Mark, iv. 1. Luke, viii. 4. The expression of Matthew, *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ*, does not mean the very same day, but is a mere formula of transition. Matthew often uses these phrases of time as mere connectives, without reference to chronological arrangement. Our Lord, on this occasion, delivers the parable of the Sower, prompted, perhaps, by the time of year, as it was now autumn, and husbandmen, scattering the seed, may have been actually in sight. The land of Gennesaret was one great cornfield, and the usual seed-time was when the autumnal rains began.

**1279.** In the evening Jesus, being oppressed by the multitudes (*ιδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πολλοὺς ὄχλους περὶ αὐτὸν*, *Matt.* viii. 18), passes over by ship to Gergesa, which lay on the eastern side of the lake, and is overtaken on the way by a storm. *Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὀψίας γενομένης, etc.* Mark, iv. 35; and



see Luke, viii. 26. Here also the very same day is not necessarily meant, though it was probably the case. It was now late in the year, when storms would be prevalent.

In the received text, the country to which Our Lord sailed is called Gergesa; and in Matthew and Luke, Gadara; but in all the Gospels the reading is uncertain; and in some MSS. it is Gergesa, in others Gerasa, and in others Gadara. This variety is as old as Origen, whose comments are worth transcribing. Ἡ περὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων κατακρημνιζομένους, καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ συμπινομένους, χοίρους οἰκονομία ἀναγράφεται ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Γερασηῶν. Γέρασα δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐστὶ πόλις, οὔτε θάλασσαν οὔτε λίμνην πλησίαν ἔχουσα, καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὕτως προφανῆς ψεῦδος καὶ ἐνέλεγκτοί οἱ εὐαγγελισταὶ ἐφήκεσαν, ἄνδρες ἐπιμελῶς γινώσκοντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ὀλίγοις εὔρομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαδαρηῶν, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο λεκτέον. Γάδαρα γὰρ πόλις μὲν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, περὶ ἣν τὰ διαβόητα θερμὰ τύχχανει, λίμνη δὲ κρημνοῖς παρακειμένη οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ θαλάσῃ. Ἀλλὰ Γέργεσα, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι (Jos. Ant. i. 6, 2) πόλις ἀρχαία περὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Τιβεριάδα λίμνην, περὶ ἣν κρημνὸς παρακείμενος τῇ λίμνῃ, ἀφ' οὗ δεικνύνται τοὺς χοίρους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καταβεβλησθαι. Origen, Op. tom. iv. 140. It does not appear whether there was actually in Origen's day such a city as Gergesa, or whether there had been one in old time (πόλις ἀρχαία), but his view that the country of the Gergesenes must be meant is probably correct. Gerasa was far away to the east, and Gadara was six or seven miles to the south of Tiberias, beyond the river Hieromax; whereas it is evident from the Gospel narrative that the city in question was near to the lake, for, καὶ ἐξελθόντι αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθέως ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν μνημείων, etc., Mark, v. 2; and the corresponding passage in Luke is, ἐξελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Luke, viii. 27. And the herd of swine was in the same place, for ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, Mark, v. 11; and though Matthew says, ἦν δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, etc., Matt. viii. 29, the distance could not have been great, as the herd rushed down the mountain into the lake. It has been thrown out by some that the name of Gergesa was an invention of Origen, but Kuinoel justly remarks that the word is found in so many MSS. that this could not be. The arguments in favour of Gadara,

though not sufficient, are plausible, for the mountain on which it stands is honeycombed with tombs, see *Biblic. Cyclop.*; and Gadara was one of the cities of Decapolis, *Plin. N. H. v. 16*, and we read in Mark that the demoniac, when cured, ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν, ἐν τῇ Δεκαπόλει. Mark, v. 20.

The scene of the miracle is placed by Stanley at the central ravine, or Wady Fik, cutting the mountains on the eastern side, and terminating at the lake. On the height at the top of the ravine are still seen the remains of an ancient city (*semble* Gergesa); and by the side of the road, running down to the lake, are numerous tombs, hewn out of the rock, in one of which the demoniac might have harboured. The 2000 swine were feeding on the sides of the mountains sloping down to the lake. Stanley's *Sinai and Palest.* p. 376.

Thomson thinks he has identified Gergesa with a prostrate town at the mouth of Wady Semak, about half way down the eastern side of the lake, and still called Gersa or Chersa. It is within a few rods from the shore, and a high mountain rises above it, in which are ancient tombs; and the lake is so near the base of the mountain that swine rushing madly down could not stop, but would be hurried into the water and drowned. He adds that this part is still *ploughed up* by wild hogs in search of esculent roots, and which are as fierce as if they were still *possessed*. *The Land and the Book*, 375.

That the inhabitants thereabouts were principally Gentiles we should infer from the possession of the herd of swine, forbidden to the Jews; and the Latin name of the demoniac, 'Legion,' savours of a Gentile population. Some suggest, however, that the destruction of the swine was a punishment of the Jewish proprietor for the unlawfulness of his calling.

As the herd of swine was feeding at the time, we may infer that the miracle was wrought at a season when the mountain was clothed with grass; and Barclay observes of the month of December, 'the earth is fully clothed with rich verdure.' *City of Great King*, p. 421.

**1280.** Jesus, being now in the tetrarchy of Herod Philip, who was an amiable prince, feels Himself in comparative security; and instead of enjoining secrecy on the subject of His miracle, in the cure of the demoniac, rather

encourages publicity. *Διηγοῦ ὅσα ἐποίησέ σοι ὁ θεός.* Luke, viii. 39. Mark, v. 19.

**1281.** Being rejected by the inhabitants of Gergesa, Jesus returns to Capernaum. *Ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον διεπέρασε, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν.* Matt. ix. 1; and see Mark, v. 21; Luke, viii. 40.

**1282.** About this time, the disciples of John and the Pharisees are fasting, *ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων νηστεύοντες,* Mark, ii. 18, and cavil at Our Lord's disciples for not doing the like. Matt. ix. 14. Luke, v. 33. This fast (if any special fast be referred to) must have been that on 10 Tebeth, the anniversary of the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. See Zechar. viii. 19; 2 Kings, xxv. 1. The 10th Tebeth fell, this year, on 21 December. The great Fast, or Day of Atonement, was much earlier, viz. on 25 September. See Greswell's *Prolegomena*. Mark and Luke place Our Lord's discourse on the subject of the *Fasting* just after the discourse at the *Feast* in the house of Levi. But this was evidently done from the connection of ideas between feasting and fasting. All the four Evangelists occasionally introduce fragments of Our Lord's discourses out of their strict order in point of time, when it is convenient from the connection of the subject. That Our Lord's justification of Himself for not observing the fast immediately preceded the miracle on the daughter of Jairus (see *infra*, no. 1283) is evinced by the language of Matthew, who relates that, during the discourse on fasting (*ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς*, Matt. ix. 18), word was brought of the death of the daughter of Jairus.

**1283.** The woman with the issue of blood is healed of her malady, Matt. ix. 20; Mark, v. 25; Luke, xv. 25; and immediately afterwards the daughter of Jairus is raised from the dead. Luke, viii. 41. Matt. ix. 18. Mark, v. 22. Jesus being now once more in the dominions of Herod Antipas, again observes secrecy. *Ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἰπεῖν τὸ γεγονός.* Luke, viii. 56. Mark, v. 43.

**1284.** Coin of Tiberius.

*Tr. Pot. xxxvii.* Eckhel, vi. 196.

Coin of Herod Antipas.

The obverse *Ἡρώδου Τετραρχου. Remus palmae.*  
*In areā L. ΔΔ.,* and on the reverse *Τιβεριας*

*intra lauream.* It was therefore struck at Tiberias ΔΔ. i. e. in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Herod Antipas.

Eckhel, iii. 486.

Inscription.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Aug. Pontif. Max. Trib. Pot. xxxvii. Refecit et restituit* (Nemausi).

Muratori, iv. 2006, 4; Gruter, 153, 6.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, September 30.

**A.D. 31. U.C. 784. Olymp. 202, 3.**

TIB. CÆSAR AUG. V.  
LUCIUS ÆLIUS SEJANUS.  
ex vii. Id. Mai,  
C. MEMMIUS REGULUS.  
L. FULCINIUS TRIO.

Or, according to Muratori,  
FAUSTUS CORNELIUS SULLA.  
SEXTEDIUS CATULLINUS.

TIBERII XVIII. FROM 19 AUGUST. TRIB. POT.  
XXXIII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. V. PONT. MAX.  
IMP. VIII.

Thirty-fifth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1285.** Tiberius is consul for the last time, and, according to Suetonius, up to 15 May. *Nec amplius quam omnino tres consulatus* (after he was Emperor), *unum* (A.D. 18) *paucis diebus, alterum* (A.D. 21) *tribus mensibus, tertium* (A.D. 31) *absens usque in Idus Maias gessit.* Suet. Tib. 26. Tiberius altogether, including the consulships before his elevation to the Empire, enjoyed five consulships, which are thus marked by Dion. *Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ὅστις τῶν ὑπατευσάντων ποτὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ οὐ βιαίως ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν Οὐάρου ὁ Κοιντίλιος* (B.C. 13), *τοῦτο δὲ Πείσων ὁ Γνάϊος* (B.C. 7), *ὁ τε Γερμανικὸς αὐτὸς* (A.D. 18) *βιαίως καὶ κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. Τοιοῦτον τι, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ βίου δαίμονι συγκεκρικλήρωτο. Ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος τότε . . .* (A.D. 21), *καὶ ὁ Σηϊανὸς μετὰ ταῦτα* (A.D. 31), *συνάρξαντες οἱ, διεφθάρησαν.* Dion, lviii. 20.

**1286.** Jesus sets out from Capernaum on another circuit, and a second time visits Nazareth. As the circumstances of the two visits



to Nazareth are not very dissimilar, no Evangelist relates both. Luke records the first, and Matthew and Mark now relate the second. Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν (from Capernaum) καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ. See Mark, vi. 1. Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς παραβολὰς ταύτας, μετῆρην ἐκεῖθεν. Καὶ ἔλθων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς, etc. Matt. xiii. 53. The words καὶ ἔλθων, in the latter passage, begin a new subject, and are not to be connected with the preceding verse, as the day of the parables to which Matthew refers was at a different time. A participle is a common formulary by which Matthew passes on to a different matter.

**1287.** Jesus preaches in the neighbouring cities and villages, καὶ περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν, Matt. ix. 35; Mark, vi. 6; and returns to Capernaum. This circuit was apparently a short one, and in the earlier months of the new year.

**1288.** Jesus had opened His ministry in A. D. 29 with a few followers, and in A. D. 30 had appointed the twelve Apostles and taken them with Him on His circuits; and now, in the spring of A. D. 31, He advances another step, and sends the Apostles by themselves to preach in Galilee, but not to go northward among the Gentiles, or southward into Samaria. Εἰς ὁδὸν ἔθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε, καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σαμαρειτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε. Matt. x. 5. Mark, vi. 7. Luke, ix. 1. This mission of the Twelve was certainly in the first quarter of the year, for the Apostles had returned to Our Lord before the feeding of the Five Thousand, which was just before the Passover (April 24). John, vi. 4.

**1289.** The Apostles proceed to preach and work miracles in the villages round about, Mark, vi. 13; Luke, ix. 6; and Jesus at the same time is engaged in teaching and preaching Himself. Matt. xi. 1.

**1290.** Herod Antipas, at the instance of Herodias and her daughter, puts John the Baptist to death. The account of this event is given both by the Evangelists and by Josephus, and they vary only as might be expected from writers who regarded the same transaction from opposite points of view. The narrative of Matthew is contained Matt. xiv. 3-12; that of Mark will be found Mark, vi. 17-28, and is to the same effect as Matthew's,

except that he adds, ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐφοβεῖτο τὸν Ἰωάννην εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἅγιον, καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἐποίει, καὶ ἠδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουσε. Mark, vi. 20. Luke is more brief, and relates only the imprisonment of the Baptist, and not his execution, Luke, iii. 19, 20; but assumes the decapitation of John as a well-known fact. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἡρώδης Ἰωάννην ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα. Luke, ix. 9. As Luke wrote after Matthew and Mark, who had given a full account of the matter, he may have thought any further explanation unnecessary, another argument that Luke followed Matthew and Mark. The passage in Josephus relating to the death of John runs thus: Κτείνει γὰρ τοῦτον (John) Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κελεύσαντα, ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦντας καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖα χρωμένους, βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι, οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τίνων ἀμαρτῶν παρατήσῃ χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνεία τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεξεκεθαρμένης. Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων (καὶ γὰρ ἤρθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκρόασει τῶν λόγων), δεῖσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τὸσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τιμὴν φέροι (πάντα γὰρ ἐφέκεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράζοντες) πολὺν κρείττον ἡγείναι, πρὶν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀναιρεῖν, ἢ, μεταβολῆς γενομένης, εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἐμπεσῶν μετανοεῖν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν (John) ὑποψιά τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεῖς, τὸ προεξημένον φρούριον, ταύτη κτίννται. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 2.

**1291.** According to the Evangelists, the death of John was owing to the malice of Herodias, but Josephus, as we have seen, writing as a philosophical historian, ascribes the death of John to political causes, viz., the apprehension by Herod that the sect of John, which had become so numerous, might eventually be dangerous to his throne.

**1292.** We may acquiesce unhesitatingly in the account of Josephus that John was put to death at Machærus, the castle on the borders of Herod's dominions in Peræa, towards Arabia, which must therefore have belonged at this time to Herod, and not to Aretas, king of Petra (see A. D. 29, no. 1215).

**1293.** The ruins of Machærus are supposed to be those still called M'kauer, on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, at the north end of Jebel Attârât, high above the southern bank of

the stream Zerka Main. Robinson's Palest. i. 570.

**1294.** The Gospel narrative states that the decapitation of John occurred at the celebration of Herod's γενέσια. Some make a distinction between γενέσια and γενέθλια, and consider the latter as denoting properly a birthday, but the former an anniversary, more particularly that of an accession to the throne. See Wieseler's Chronol. Synop. p. 292. If Antipas celebrated his accession on the anniversary of Herod's death, the time of year would agree very well, as Herod died at the beginning of April, and John the Baptist was beheaded a little before the Passover, which in A.D. 31 was on 24 April. It is more likely, however, that the word γενέσια means strictly a birthday, and if so, the birth of Herod Antipas must have occurred in the spring of the year.

**1295.** It is implied, from the way in which the order for John's execution was immediately carried out, that the place of his confinement was near to the scene of Herod's banquet. We should conjecture, therefore, that Herod was feasting his nobles at Julias, otherwise Livias, the capital of Peræa, which was in the vicinity of Machærus. We know that Herod had a palace at Betharamath, near the Jordan. Τὰ πλησίον Ἰορδάνου βασιλεία κατὰ Βηθαράμαθον. Jos. Bell. ii. 4, 2. And Betharamath would appear to be identical with Julias. Βηθαραμφθᾶ δὲ (πόλις ἦν καὶ αὕτη) τείχει περιλαβὼν (Herod Antipas) Ἰουλιὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ἀγορεύει τῆς γυναικός. Ant. xviii. 2, 1.

**1296.** Of this daughter of Herodias, who desired the head of John the Baptist, we have some particulars from Josephus. Her name was Salome, and she married first Herod Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, and on his demise, A.D. 33, Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis. Ἡ δὲ θυγατὴρ αὐτῆς (of Herodias) Σαλώμη Φιλίππῳ γαμῆται, Ἡρώδου παιδί, τῷ Τετράρχῃ τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος· καὶ, ἀπαιδοῦς τελευτήσαντος, Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὴν ἄγειται, Ἡρώδου παῖς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφοῦ. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 4. Salome, at the death of John the Baptist, was probably about fourteen, for Matthew and Mark both describe her as κοράσιον, a lass. Fourteen was the usual age of marriage in Judæa, and Salome must have married Philip soon after this, for Herod Philip died at the close of A.D. 33 (see that year, no. 1454).

**1297.** Herod Antipas, on the death of John the Baptist, hears of the miracles of Jesus, and, being conscience-stricken, takes Him for John risen from the dead. Matt. xiv. 1. Luke, ix. 7. It may appear singular that Herod had not received long previously exact intelligence of Our Lord as a distinct teacher; but in A.D. 29 Herod had been at Rome, and on his return had been occupied about his marriage contract with Herodias, and had perhaps not spent much time in Galilee, but either at Julias, the capital of Peræa, the scene of his birthday-banquet, or at Tyre, where we find him presently quarrelling with Agrippa (see A.D. 32, no. 1369). Our Lord, also, had studiously endeavoured to avoid attracting personal notoriety, and had moved constantly from place to place, and on every occasion in Galilee had charged those on whom His miracles were wrought not to blazon them abroad. It would seem that not only Herod, but even the people generally had not learnt, in the Baptist's lifetime, to distinguish Jesus as an independent preacher, for on the death of the Baptist, the people as well as Herod took Jesus for John risen from the dead. Luke, ix. 19. Matt. xvi. 14. Mark, viii. 28.

**1298.** Luke remarks that Herod now sought to see Jesus. Καὶ ἐζήτει ἰδεῖν αὐτόν. Luke, ix. 9. This was not improbably with some sinister design, for Jesus, from this time forward, had evidently grounds for shunning Galilee. It would seem that Herod himself sailed later in the year to Rome, and was there in the summer or autumn, for Agrippa afterwards accused him of being privy to the conspiracy of Sejanus against the emperor, Jos. Ant. xviii. 7, 2; and we cannot suppose that such a charge would have been brought unless Herod had been personally present in Italy at the time when the conspiracy was in agitation, which would be in the latter half of the year, for the death of Sejanus for these treasonable practices was on 18 October, A.D. 31. If Herod Antipas left Herodias to govern in Galilee during his absence, Our Lord had much more to fear from the recklessness of this unprincipled woman than from the wily but cautious conduct of her artful husband.

**1299.** The disciples of John come to Jesus and tell Him of the Baptist's death, Matt. xiv. 12; Mark, vi. 29; and the twelve Apostles, at the same time alarmed, perhaps, themselves at the death of John, return from the



circuit on which they had been sent. Mark, vi. 30. Luke, ix. 10. Jesus, at this time, was either at Capernaum or in the immediate neighbourhood.

**1300.** Jesus crosses the Lake of Gennesaret by the boat that constantly waited upon Him to a desert place on the east of Julias, otherwise Bethsaida, in Philip's tetrarchy, and at the north of the sea of Galilee. Ὑπεχώρησε κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαϊδά. Luke, ix. 10.

**1301.** From the account of Matthew it would seem that the death of John the Baptist was the cause of Our Lord's withdrawal from Herod's dominions. Καὶ ἀκούσας (the death of John) ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχώρησεν, etc. Matt. xiv. 13. But Mark seems to assign as the reason that the twelve Apostles had just returned from a laborious mission, and that Our Lord withdrew into a desert place to give them rest. Δεῦτε ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς ἔρημον τόπον, καὶ ἀναπαύσθε ὀλίγον· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ὑπάγοντες πολλοὶ, καὶ οὐδὲ φαγεῖν ἠκαίρουν. Mark, vi. 31. Both motives may have operated, as Our Lord may have sought to sorrow in private, and the disciples after their fatigues may have needed repose.

**1302.** The Lake of Gennesaret being only five miles wide, and Jesus having taken His departure in the daytime, the multitude, who watched His course across the lake, follow Him round the shore, and again congregate about Him, when He has compassion upon their weariness and hunger, and feeds the Five Thousand with the five loaves and two fishes. Matt. xiv. 14. Mark, vi. 34. Luke, ix. 12. John, vi. 1. *This miracle was just before the Passover (24 April).* Ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. John, vi. 4. The same thing is implied in the remark that there was much grass in the place, ἦν δὲ χόρτος πολὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, John, vi. 10; for at midsummer the herbage in Judæa is parched and withered. The scene of the miracle was the south-east corner of the plain of Butaiha, which lies westward of the Jordan. 'The mountain shoots down upon the lake bleak and barren. It was doubtless desert then as now, for it is not capable of cultivation. In this little cove the ships (boats) were anchored. On this beautiful green sward at the base of the rocky hill the people were seated.' The Land and the Book, p. 372.

**1303.** The multitudes, in consequence of the miracle of feeding the Five Thousand, seek to take Jesus by force and make Him king. Ἰησοῦς οὖν γινούς ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἔρχεσθαι, καὶ ἄρπάξαι αὐτὸν, ἵνα ποιήσωσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα, etc. John, vi. 15.

**1304.** The miracle of feeding the Five Thousand is recorded by all the Evangelists; but the Gospel of John still preserves here, as elsewhere, its supplemental character, as alone mentioning the date of the event, viz. a little before the Passover, and adding the important fact omitted by the other Evangelists, that the people would fain have made Jesus king. This attempt of the people was a new element of danger. The charge for which Our Lord eventually suffered was treason, or an infraction of the Julian laws by assuming to be King of the Jews; and had He been now proclaimed by that title, He would at once have become amenable to capital punishment.

**1305.** Jesus, to appease the popular excitement, sends away the disciples by boat, and retires Himself up the mountain. Καὶ εὐθέως ἠνάγκασε τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ προάγειν εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαϊδάν. Mark, vi. 45. The disciples, perhaps, with their temporal views, were willing enough to see Jesus made king; but He compelled them (ἠνάγκασε) to withdraw from the scene, by taking boat across the lake.

**1306.** The disciples had to row against the wind, which at this time, therefore, was from the south-west. Ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἄνεμος ἐναντίος αὐτοῖς. Mark, vi. 48. Matt. xiv. 24.

**1307.** The wind, so adverse to a voyage from Bethsaida in Decapolis to Gennesaret, would be favourable to those coming from Tiberias to the place where the Five Thousand were fed; and, accordingly, John mentions incidentally that vessels came thither from Tiberias. Ἄλλα δὲ ἦλθε πλοίαρμα ἐκ Τιβεριάδος ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου, ὅπου ἔφαγον τὸν ἄρτον. John, vi. 23.

**1308.** Our Lord, at three o'clock in the morning, is seen walking on the sea. Τετάρτη φυλακῆ τῆς νυκτός. Matt. xiv. 25. Mark, vi. 48. It has been already stated that this was just before the Passover, and the moon therefore would be nearly at the full, and Our Lord would be distinctly visible by moonlight.

**1309.** At the command of Jesus, the wind ceases, and the boat which carried the disciples

arrives at land. Καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν γῆν Γεννησαρέτ. Matt. xiv. 34. Mark, vi. 53. Εἰς Καπερναοῦμ. John, vi. 17, 21.

**1310.** The adverse wind having ceased at Our Lord's bidding, the multitudes who had been miraculously fed take advantage of the vessels which had come from Tiberias, and also cross the lake to the opposite side, to seek Jesus. Ἐνέβησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Καπερναοῦμ. . . . Ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν συναγωγῇ διδάσκων ἐν Καπερναοῦμ. John, vi. 24, 59.

**1311.** Thus, according to John, Jesus *arrived* at Capernaum; but Mark tells us that Jesus, when the multitudes had been fed, commanded His disciples to go before Him *towards* Bethsaida. Προάγειν εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαϊδάν. Mark, vi. 45. The two statements may be thus reconciled: Capernaum lay on the seashore, where it trends to the north-east, and extended from west to east. Bethsaida in Galilee (or Fishingdon, as the word signifies) was also on the seashore, a little to the north-east (see A.D. 29, no. 1229). Thus Bethsaida and Capernaum were both of them in the same line from the desert on the north-east of the lake, and the course of the vessel might be correctly described as in the direction either of Bethsaida in Galilee or Capernaum. The latter was the ultimate object of Our Lord; but Peter, Andrew, James, and John, were all fishermen, and their boats may have been kept at Bethsaida, and they might therefore have run the vessel for that place, and, after hauling her on shore (καὶ προσωρμίθησαν, Mark, vi. 53), might have walked into Capernaum, where Peter, Andrew, James, and John had their abode. Mark, i. 29.

**1312.** According to Matthew, they came to Gennesaret. Ἦλθον εἰς τὴν γῆν Γεννησαρέτ. Matt. xiv. 34. But we must not understand by this the plain of Gennesaret, for neither Capernaum nor Bethsaida was *in* the plain; but all the western shore of the lake passed by the name of Gennesaret, in opposition to the eastern coast, called the *τὸ πέραν*.

**1313.** Sick folk are brought to Jesus from all the parts round about. Ὅλην τὴν περίχωρον ἐκείνην. Mark, vii. 55. Matt. xiv. 34. This occurred *immediately* on Our Lord's landing. But He is soon overtaken by the multitudes who had followed Him across the lake. Καὶ εὐρόντες αὐτὸν πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης. John, vi.

25. And He preaches to them in the synagogue. Ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν συναγωγῇ διδάσκων ἐν Καπερναοῦμ. John, vi. 59.

**1314.** On what day was this sermon delivered? It was the custom of the Jews on 10 Nisan to make preparation for the Passover by the choice of the Paschal lamb; and on Saturday, the 28 March, A.D. 33, which was 10 Nisan before the Passover of the year when Our Lord suffered, a supper, to which numerous guests were invited, was furnished in the house of Simon the Leper. John, xii. 2. May it be inferred from this that 10 Nisan was kept by the Jews as a feast? If so, the feeding of the Five Thousand may have taken place on 10 Nisan; and this would account for the remark that the Passover was near. The Passover, or day of Paschal sacrifices, in A.D. 31 was from 6 P.M. on Monday, 23 April, to 6 P.M. on Tuesday, 24 April. The 10 Nisan, therefore, would be from 6 P.M. on Thursday, 19 April, to 6 P.M. on Friday, 20 April; and as the feeding of the Five Thousand was in the evening, the miracle, if wrought on 10 Nisan, would be on Thursday, 19 April; and on the next day, Friday, 20 April, at 6 P.M., the Sabbath would begin. This would account for Our Lord's presence in the synagogue at Capernaum, that is, He was attending the usual service on the Sabbath, and, as was His custom, delivered a sermon. He must have preached in the evening, after 6 P.M., when the Sabbath began, for the multitudes had time to convey themselves from Bethsaida to Capernaum. We may also assume that the Sabbath had not begun before 6 P.M. on that day, as otherwise neither Jesus nor the people could have come from Bethsaida to Capernaum, as the observance of the Sabbath would have been an interdict upon the transit.

**1315.** Numerous desertions at this time take place from the ranks of Our Lord's followers. John, vi. 66. The day before, the multitude had wished to make him a king, and now Our Lord was under some apprehension lest even the Twelve would desert Him. 'Will ye also go away?' John, vi. 67. It was the vehement assurance of Peter to the contrary that drew from Jesus the prediction of His own sufferings at Jerusalem, through the treachery of one of His own disciples, Judas Iscariot. The hardness of the doctrines enunciated by Our Lord in the synagogue at Capernaum was the avowed



cause of this backsliding; but the danger at this period of joining the new sect (just after the Baptist's death, and when the attention of Herod was called to it) no doubt also operated, and Jesus Himself found it necessary soon after to take refuge in more distant regions.

ABOUT THIS TIME (VIZ. THE PASSOVER, A. D. 31) COMMENCES THE THIRD YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

**1316.** The Pharisees, who had returned from Jerusalem, after the Feast of Passover, encounter Jesus, and He discourses with them on the subject of eating with unwashed hands. *Καὶ συνάγονται πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ τινες τῶν γραμματέων ἑλθόντες ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων.* Mark, vii. 1. Jesus afterwards, in the house, explains to His disciples privately the subject of His discourse with the Pharisees in public. *Καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου, etc.* Mark, vii. 17. Matt. xv. 15.

**1317.** Jesus makes His way through Galilee, towards the north, and is everywhere solicited to heal the sick. *Καὶ, ὅπου ἂν εἰσπορευέτο εἰς κώμας, ἢ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς, ἐν ἀγοραῖς ἐτίθουν τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας, etc.* Mark, vi. 55. For the next twelve months from this time, Jesus did not exercise His ministry in Galilee (though He once entered it), but either in Philip's tetrarchy or in Judæa, and apparently with great caution in both parts.

**1318.** Jesus reaches the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and would not that His presence should be known, but He cannot be hid. *Καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὰ μεθόρια Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος, καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον οὐδένα ἤθελε γνῶναι.* Mark, vii. 24. The cause of this departure from Galilee was probably the fear of Herod, whose jealousy had now been awakened, or of Herodias, who had procured the death of the Baptist. Our Lord's avoidance of notoriety on this occasion shows that He was not without apprehension of danger, even beyond the limits of Herod's jurisdiction.

**1319.** It has been much disputed whether Our Lord did, or did not, *pass* the frontiers of Tyre and Sidon; but the word *μεθόρια*, in Luke, leads to the inference that He did not. In Matthew, the corresponding word is *μέρη*; but this term is used in the Septuagint as equivalent to *μεθόρια*. See Exod. xvi. 35. Our Lord would scarcely have said to the

Syro-Phœnician woman, *οὐκ ἀπεσάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ*, Matt. xv. 24, if He had been exercising His ministry at the very time in the heathen countries of Tyre and Sidon. He was apparently now in Paneas, part of Herod Philip's dominions, and which was bounded on the west by the territories of Tyre and Sidon, and on the north by that of Sidon, for the latter reached eastward till it joined the territory of the Damascenes, between whom and the Sidonians a quarrel arose, in A. D. 33, about the boundary line (see A. D. 33, no. 1424). The dominions of Herod Philip, a just and mild prince, were a comparatively safe asylum from the persecution of Our Lord's enemies.

**1320.** Jesus again departs from the vicinity of Tyre and Sidon, and travels in an easterly direction, and descends southwards through the midst of Decapolis to the Sea of Tiberias, and is therefore still in the tetrarchy of Herod Philip. *Καὶ πάλιν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος ἦλθε πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρίων Δεκαπόλεως.* Mark, vii. 31. Matt. xv. 29.

**1321.** Jesus cures a deaf and dumb man, and charges those about Him not to make it known. *Καὶ διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴδενὶ εἴπωσιν.* Mark, vii. 36. As Jesus thought it prudent to shun publicity, we may presume that He still felt Himself in peril even in this remote district.

**1322.** The Four Thousand are miraculously fed while Our Lord is on the eastern shore of the lake. Matt. xv. 32. Mark, viii. 1. The feeding of the Five Thousand and the feeding of the Four Thousand are *both* recorded by Matthew and Mark. Had these two Evangelists related only the miracle of feeding the Four Thousand, and Luke and John related only the feeding of the Five Thousand, it might have been said that there was but one miracle, and that the two first Evangelists were at variance with the two last as to the circumstances. This should teach us not lightly to confound together any two transactions bearing a certain resemblance, such as the two visits of Our Lord to Nazareth, the call of the four disciples, Peter, Andrew, James, and John, and the subsequent miracle of the Draught of Fishes.

**1323.** The multitudes that were fed by Jesus had been with him for three days. "Ἦδη

ἡμέρας τρεῖς προσμένουσί μοι. Mark viii. 2. It is evident, therefore, that Our Lord was now prosecuting His ministry in Decapolis, as He had before done, first in Judæa, and then in Galilee, and then on the confines of Tyre and Sidon.

**1324.** At the feeding of the Five Thousand the people sat down upon the grass; but at the feeding of the Four Thousand, it is said only that the people sat down, without reference to the grass; and this would be accurate, for the feeding of the Five Thousand was in the spring, at the Passover, when the grass was abundant, but the feeding of the Four Thousand was in the summer when the grass had disappeared.

**1325.** Jesus passes by ship to the parts of Dalmanutha, ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά, Mark, viii. 10; in the borders of Magadan. ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄρια Μαγαδάν. Matt. xv. 39. The received text has Μάγδαλα, but Lachmann, on the authority of the best MSS., has adopted Μαγαδάν; and such was the reading in the time of Eusebius, for in his Onomasticon he writes, Μαγεδάν, εἰς τὰ ὄρια Μαγεδάν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπεδήμησεν . . . καὶ ἐστὶ νῦν ἡ Μαγαδηνή περὶ τὴν Γερασάν. Euseb. Onomast. Magdala lay on the western side of the lake, whereas Magadan, or the place visited by Our Saviour, was evidently on the eastern side, for Mark tells us that He afterwards crossed εἰς τὸ πέραν, Mark, viii. 13, and came to Bethsaida, meaning Bethsaida of Galilee. Burckhardt speaks of a ruin called Medjeifera, on the east side of the lake, which Thomson would identify with the warm springs at Mizferah, where a Roman road comes from the east and runs along the edge of the lake to the south. The Land and the Book, 378.

**1326.** The Pharisees and Sadducees ask for a sign, when Our Lord answers: ὀψίας γενομένης λέγετε, Εὐδία, πύρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ πρῶτ', Σήμερον χειμῶν, πύρράζει γὰρ στυγνάζων ὁ οὐρανός. Matt. xvi. 2. This was spoken in the autumn about the Equinox, when the weather begins to break. The same observation is found in Pliny. *Prædicat idem (Sol) ventos cum ante exorientem eum nubes rubescunt . . . Sin circa occidentem rubescunt nubes, serenitatem futuræ diei spondent.* Plin. N. H. xviii. 78.

**1327.** Jesus again crosses the lake to the western side. Καὶ ἀφεῖς αὐτοὺς, ἐμβὰς πάλιν

εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πέραν, καὶ ἐπελάθοντο λαβεῖν ἄρτους, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἓνα ἄρτον οὐκ εἶχον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ. Mark, viii. 13. Matt. xvi. 5. From the disciples not having provided themselves with bread, Our Lord's departure from Dalmanutha was apparently a hurried one. Jesus being now about to enter once more the dominions of Herod Antipas, cautions His disciples by the way to beware of the leaven of Herod. Ὁρᾶτε, βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων, καὶ τῆς ζύμης Ἑρώδου. Mark, viii. 15. The corresponding passage in Matthew is the leaven of the Sadducees. Ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων. Matt. xvi. 6. The Herodians, or Romanising party, were, therefore, the Sadducees, while the strict observers of the law were the Pharisees. The warning given by our Lord to beware of the leaven of Herod may have referred not only to spiritual but also to temporal matters, as the danger of the times required that the disciples should not give unnecessary offence.

**1328.** Jesus reaches the western shore and lands at Bethsaida, not that in Philip's tetrarchy, the πόλις, but the village, or κώμη, of Galilee, a little to the north-east of Capernaum. Καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς Βηθσαιδάν. Mark, viii. 22. The Bethsaida in the passage of Mark cannot be a different Bethsaida from that mentioned a little before by the same Evangelist, Mark. vi. 45; and the latter was certainly Bethsaida in Galilee. It should not escape notice that, although Bethsaida was a mere village, and close to Capernaum, a great city, Our Lord on this occasion, in order to avoid publicity, appears not to have entered Capernaum.

**1329.** Jesus restores sight to a blind man of Bethsaida, but still observing caution, *leads him out of the village*, and after curing him charges him to tell no man. Ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς κώμης . . . μὴδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσελθῆς, μὴδὲ εἶπης τινὶ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ. Mark, viii. 23, 26.

**1330.** It was nearly a year and a half since Our Lord had attended a festival at Jerusalem, and His brethren, who resided at Capernaum, now taunt Him on His seclusion, and challenge Him to accompany them to Jerusalem at the approaching Feast of Tabernacles (20 September), and to exercise His ministry openly in Jewry itself. But Jesus, though intending to go up to Jerusalem, declines from prudential motives to join the general caravan thither.



Ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία. Εἶπον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, Μετάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ σου θεωρήσωσι τὰ ἔργα ἃ ποιεῖς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν κρυπτῷ τι ποιεῖ, καὶ ζητεῖ αὐτὸς ἐν παρρησίᾳ εἶναι. Εἰ ταῦτα ποιεῖς, φανέρωσον σεαυτὸν τῷ κόσμῳ. John, vii. 1.

**1331.** Jesus remains in Galilee until His brethren had gone up to Jerusalem, and then proceeds thither Himself with as much privacy as possible. Ὡς δὲ ἀνέβησαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν, οὐ φανερώς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν κρυπτῷ. John, vii. 10.

**1332.** Since the Feast of Pentecost in the preceding year, the Pharisees had lost much of their influence in the Sanhedrim, and Nicodemus, a Pharisee, and Joseph of Arimathea, both members of the Sanhedrim, with many others of the rulers, had embraced the Gospel in secret, and would, of course, oppose any attempt to suppress it. John, xii. 42; xix. 38; iii. 1; xix. 39. Matt. xxvii. 57. Mark, xv. 42. Luke, xxiii. 50. Jesus must have been well informed of what was passing at Jerusalem, for at least one of His disciples was on familiar terms with the high-priest. John, xviii. 15. And under these circumstances Jesus may have felt Himself justified in again making an effort for the conversion of His countrymen at the capital. It would seem that for at least three months from this time Jesus sojourned either at Jerusalem or in Judæa, or on the borders of it, at Bethabara, on the Jordan.

**1333.** Jesus reaches Jerusalem when the feast is half over (and therefore about 23 September). Ἦδη δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς μεσοῦσης ἀνέβη ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἐδίδασκε. John, vii. 14.

**1334.** Our Lord now alludes to the miracle which He had performed at the Pool of Bethesda, at the Pentecost A.D. 30, and the designs then formed by the Jews against His life. Τί με ζητεῖτε ἀποκτεῖναι; John, vii. 19 (as they had done after the miracle at Bethesda, John, v. 16; vii. 1). Ἐν ἔργον ἐποίησα, καὶ πάντες θαυμάζετε, etc. John, vii. 20. We may conclude, therefore, that Our Lord had not been at Jerusalem during the interval between the Pentecost A.D. 30 and the Tabernacles A.D. 31. We know that He was not there at the Passover A.D. 31, when the Five Thousand were fed. John, vi. 4.

**1335.** The Pharisees, though desirous of

arresting Jesus and putting Him to death, are unable from His popularity to take Him by force. Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ζητοῦσιν ἀποκτεῖναι; Καὶ ἶδε παρρησίᾳ λέγει καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ λέγουσι. John, vii. 25. Ἐζήτουν οὖν αὐτὸν πιάσαι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν χεῖρα. John, vii. 30.

**1336.** Afterwards, however, being alarmed at the numbers that were daily embracing the Gospel, the Pharisees become desperate, and commission their officers to arrest Him at whatever risk. Καὶ ἀπέστειλαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑπηρέτας ἵνα πιάσωσιν αὐτόν. John, vii. 32.

**1337.** Jesus is at Jerusalem on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (27 September). Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς, εἰστήκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἔκραξε λέγων, Ἐάν τις διψᾷ ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. John, vii. 37. Allusion is here made to the ceremonies observed at the Feast of Tabernacles—when water was drawn from the fountain of Shiloh or Siloam, and, after a procession of priests and Levites carrying branches of palm and citron, and a recitation, with music, of Isaiah xii. 3, 'With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation,' a solemn libation was poured upon the altar of burnt-offering. See Gresw. Diss. ii. 434. It does not appear in what part of Jerusalem Jesus delivered these words. It is merely said, εἰστήκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς· and He may have been standing by the Pool of Siloam while the holy water for the Temple was being drawn.

**1338.** The officers sent by the Pharisees are afraid to arrest Jesus, there being a division amongst the people, and His friends protecting Him from violence. Σχίσμα οὖν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἐγένετο δι' αὐτόν· τινὲς δὲ ἤθελον ἐξ αὐτῶν πιάσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐπέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτόν τὰς χεῖρας. John, vii. 43.

**1339.** The officers report this to the authorities, when Nicodemus opposes the designs of the Pharisees, John, vii. 50; and no violent measure can be carried. John, vii. 53. The character of Nicodemus in thus withstanding the bigotry of the Pharisaical party is deserving of all praise; and we may conclude that he did not stand alone, but was aided by Joseph of Arimathea, another member of the Sanhedrim, βουλευτῆς ὑπάρχων, Luke, xxiii. 50; as by many others who were converts, John, xii. 42; and perhaps also by the liberal-minded

and amiable Gamaliel, who after the death of Jesus interposed his authority in favour of the Apostles. Acts, v. 34.

**1340.** John, after relating the deliberations of the Pharisees consequent upon the miscarriage of their officers to arrest Jesus on the last day of the feast, continues, according to the received text: Καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἕκαστος (of the Pharisees) εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. Ὁρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. John, vii. 53; viii. 1. But these words and the following verses to the end of viii. 11 have been rejected by Lachmann and Tischendorf as an interpolation, and the English school has acquiesced in this criticism. See Alford *ad loc.* Not that this portion is apocryphal, for it is probably a fragment of Apostolical teaching; but in some MSS. it is found in Luke, and in others in John, and according to the best evidence is attributable to Luke. We must therefore disregard the passage cited above as part of John's Gospel, and must argue upon the footing of its omission in this place.

**1341.** The paragraph in Lachmann and Tischendorf which follows the account of the last day of the Feast is this: πάλιν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησε λέγων, Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, etc. John, viii. 12. And at the end of Our Lord's discourse the Evangelist adds that it was delivered in the Treasury. Ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακίῳ. John, viii. 20. From the word πάλιν, and the mention of a new *locus in quo*, viz. the Treasury, we should infer that this passed on another day, viz. the day next after the feast, which is to be borne in mind. As to the words of Our Lord that He was the 'Light of the World,' it will be remembered that at the Feast of Tabernacles the great candelabra was lighted in the Temple, and Our Lord here refers, no doubt, to the solemn ceremony which had been so recently witnessed.

**1342.** The Evangelist proceeds: Εἶπεν οὖν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἐγὼ ὑπάγω, etc. John, viii. 21. And this new discourse was also spoken in the Temple, see John, viii. 59, but it is not said in the Treasury; so that here again the scene shifts, and John apparently gives the details of another day, which would therefore be the second day after the feast.

**1343.** At this time the Jews said to Him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old.' Πεντήκοντα

ἔτη οὐκ ἔχεις. John, viii. 57. In fact, Jesus was now thirty-six only, but the hardship of His life may have given the appearance of much greater age.

**1344.** The Jews, irritated at the supposed blasphemy of Our Lord's assertion of His existence before the time of Abraham, seek to stone Him, when He eludes them, and on His way out of the Temple cures the man who had been born blind by spitting and making clay, and anointing his eyes, and sending him to wash in the Pool of Siloam. This man must have been placed at one of the *outer* gates of the Temple, for *within* the Temple it was not lawful to spit; and as the courts were paved with stone, there would be little means of making clay. The Pool of Siloam was not far from the Temple, and was more particularly at the Feast of Tabernacles regarded with peculiar sanctity from the solemnity of drawing water from it. Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διελθὼν διὰ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ παρήγεν οὕτως. Καὶ παράγων εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον τυφλὸν ἐκ γενετῆς, etc. John, viii. 59; ix. 1.

**1345.** From the close connection between the words παρήγεν and παράγων in this passage, καὶ παρήγεν οὕτως καὶ παράγων εἶδεν, etc., the cure of the blind man was evidently wrought by Our Lord on the same day on which He went out of the Temple, and as He was going out; and it harmonizes with this view that the blind and the lame were commonly placed at the gates of the Temple, more particularly on a Sabbath. Matt. xxi. 14. The words καὶ παράγων can scarcely, therefore, be supposed to begin a new subject, and on a different day. In many MSS., however, the words διελθὼν διὰ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ παρήγεν οὕτως are not found; but even without them we cannot suppose that John, who is so particular in his dates, would enter upon another day without some note of warning, as by the word πάλιν. Now John tells us that the day on which the miracle was performed, that is, the second day after the feast, was a Sabbath. Ἦν δὲ σάββατον ὅτε τὸν πηλὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἀνέφξεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. John, ix. 14. On what day, then, did the Feast of Tabernacles fall in this year? The full moon in April of this year was at Paris, on 25 April, at 9 P.M., for there was an eclipse of the moon at that time. The preceding full moon would therefore fall about 27 March at 9



A.M. at Paris, i. e. at 11° 12' A.M. at Jerusalem, and the 26 March would be the day of Paschal Sacrifices, or 14 Nisan. The seventh full moon from this (both inclusive), that is, the 15th Tisri, or first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, would fall in the latter half of September; and, according to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, the full moon was on 19 September. There was an eclipse of the moon, and therefore it was full moon, on 19 October at 4 A.M. for the meridian of Paris, i. e. at 6° 12' A.M. for the meridian of Jerusalem. The preceding full moon would, therefore, fall about 6° 12' P.M., or after sunset, at Jerusalem on 19 September, and the Feast of Tabernacles would begin at sunset on 19 September, and, being a feast of eight days, would end at sunset on 27 September. The last day of the feast, or 27 September, was, according to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, a *Thursday*, and the second day after it (on which the miracle in question was performed) would consequently be, as John states it, a Saturday or Sabbath. This coincidence confirms the hypothesis that the Feast of Tabernacles recorded by John (vii. 2) must be assigned to the present year A.D. 31.

**1346.** We are brought to the same conclusion as to the year of this feast by another process. As the mention of this feast occurs in John *after* the feeding of the Five Thousand, which was at the Passover A.D. 31, the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, must of course be referred either to A.D. 31, a year and a half before the Crucifixion, or to A.D. 32, six months before the Crucifixion; and the question is to which of these two years it properly belongs. Supposing it to be placed in A.D. 32, we are met by this difficulty. If the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, was in A.D. 32, then so also was the *Ἐγκαίνια*, or Feast of Dedication, John, x. 22, which followed after the Tabernacles. Now the Feast of Dedication was observed on 25 Chisleu, which in A.D. 32 was on 16 December (see Greswell's Prolegomena). As the festival lasted eight days, it would end on 23 December. Our Lord then withdrew to Bethabara, and sojourned there, *καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ*, John, x. 40; and we cannot well allow less for this journey and the abode at Bethabara than a fortnight, which would bring us to 6 January, A.D. 33. He then returned to Bethany, and, after raising Lazarus, retired to Ephraim, John, xi. 54; and for this must be

reckoned another week, which takes us to 13 January, A.D. 33. Our Lord then made His abode at Ephraim *κἀκεῖ διέτριβε*, John, xi. 54, for which would be required, say a fortnight, and so ending on 27 January. The Passover in A.D. 33 was on 2 April, and Our Lord arrived at Bethany six days before it, John, xii. 1, viz. on 27 March; and from 27 January to 27 March would thus be an interval of two months only.

Before drawing any inference from these facts, but bearing them in mind, let us advert to the long journey of Our Lord recorded by Luke from ix. 51 to xviii. 14, both inclusive. That this narrative describes one single journey of Our Lord, and that one the last, is evident from the following considerations: Luke premises at the very outset that it was *Ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ*, ix. 51; i. e. when Our Lord's Assumption was being accomplished, a remark altogether out of place and inaccurate unless this was His final departure from Galilee. The Evangelist then proceeds to recount a series of incidents and discourses, but ever and anon reminds the reader that it was still the journey up to Jerusalem. *Τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν παρεύμενον εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.* ix. 53. *Πορείαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.* xiii. 22. *Ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.* xvii. 11. *Ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.* xix. 31. But further, Our Lord was warned on the road to flee out of Galilee, as Herod Antipas was seeking His life, when Jesus answered that He must travel from day to day, as no prophet could perish out of Jerusalem, xiii. 31; and what other conclusion can be drawn from this than that Our Lord was going up to His death at Jerusalem, and would not again return to Galilee.

Assuming, then, that this journey in Luke can apply only to one, and that one the last journey of Our Lord from Galilee to Jerusalem, how are we to place it with regard to the Feast of Tabernacles referred to John, vii. 2? Supposing this feast to be placed (as in the Tables) in A.D. 31, no difficulty arises, as the feast in A.D. 31 and the Crucifixion in A.D. 33 would then be separated by a sufficient interval to allow the journey in question to intervene. But on the hypothesis that the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, was that next before the Crucifixion, and therefore in A.D. 32, the journey in Luke presents insurmountable obstacles. Thus the journey must either have

preceded the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 32, or have intervened between that and the Feast of Dedication A.D. 32, John, x. 22, or have followed the Feast of Dedication. What are the characteristics of this journey in Luke? *First*, it was made in the most public manner, and Our Lord was constantly attended by great multitudes. *Secondly*, the journey must have occupied some months at least, for we find Our Lord sending messengers before Him into Samaria, or its vicinity, Luke, ix. 52; then diverging to the east, and dispatching seventy disciples, two and two, to make ready for Him, Luke, x. 1; so that He evidently contemplated visiting thirty-five different localities. Then He preached by the way in the cities and villages of Galilee, xiii. 22; teaching (*inter alia*) in a synagogue on one Sabbath, xiii. 10, and eating bread with a Pharisee on another Sabbath, xiv. 1. *Thirdly*, while Our Lord was on the road, there occurred a feast of the Jews at Jerusalem, for such is the necessary implication from the incident recorded by Luke, that, during Our Lord's progress, Pilate mingled the blood of some Galileans with their sacrifices, Luke, xiii. 1; which could only have taken place at one of the great feasts, when Pilate would be present, and when only the Galileans, who resided at a distance, would be found at Jerusalem.

Let us now apply these facts to the question whether the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, can belong to the year next before the Crucifixion, i. e. to A.D. 32. The journey in Luke could not have preceded the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, and have been the journey up to it; for Luke tells us that Jesus commenced the journey recorded by Luke with the utmost publicity; whereas John, on the contrary, with reference to the Feast of Tabernacles mentioned by him, relates that Our Lord went up to Jerusalem in secret, ἐν κρυπτῷ, vii. 10. Neither could the journey in Luke have occurred after His return from the Feast of Tabernacles, and have been His journey to the Feast of Dedication, A.D. 32, for the interval was two months only, and the events recorded in the course of the journey in Luke are far too numerous to be crowded into so small a space; and besides, no public festival at which the Galileans were slain could then have happened while Jesus was on the road. Neither could the journey in Luke have followed after His return from the Feast of Dedication, if

placed in A.D. 32, for we have seen that between Our Lord's sojourn at Ephraim and the Passover of A.D. 33 was an interval only of two months, and from this the deduction of another week would be required, to allow time for Our Lord's return from the Feast of Dedication into Galilee; so that seven weeks only would be left available, within the compass of which time the various occurrences related by Luke could not with any reason be made to fall. It is a still more conclusive argument against placing the journey of Luke between the Feast of Dedication A.D. 32 and the Passover A.D. 33, that no feast of the Jews at which it is at all likely that the Galileans could have been massacred could in that case have been celebrated. The Feast of Purim did indeed intervene; but it is highly improbable that the massacre should have taken place at that feast, as it was not of sacred institution, but of a subordinate character, and was observed, not at Jerusalem, but at every man's own house, so that the Galileans would not be found at Jerusalem. The Purim also fell in the middle of the month Adar (Esther, ix. 17, 21), just a month before the Passover; and as Jesus reached Bethany a week before the Passover, there would remain but three weeks for the following events related by Luke subsequently to the news of the Galilean bloodshed—viz. a discourse by Jesus on one Sabbath, Luke, xiii. 10; an exercise of His ministry in various cities and villages, xiii. 22; a meal with a Pharisee on another Sabbath, xiv. 1; a progress along the borders of Samaria and Galilee, xvii. 11; and a passage across the Jordan into Peræa, where Our Lord continued His wonted ministry, Mark, x. 1. All this looks like a protracted journey, and one occupying not three weeks only, but as many months.

Upon the whole, then, we should conclude that the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, cannot be referred to A.D. 32, but must be placed in A.D. 31; or, to adopt a more general formula, the feast in question cannot be that which immediately preceded the Passover of the Crucifixion, to whatever year the latter Passover be assigned, but must have occurred a year earlier.

**1347.** The Pharisees, at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 31, finding themselves unable to carry out violent measures against Jesus Himself, vent their wrath upon the blind man upon



whom the miracle had been wrought, and excommunicate him. Καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω. John, ix. 35. This was in accordance with a resolution which Our Lord's enemies had, some time before, contrived to extort from the Sanhedrim. Ἦδη γὰρ συνετέθειντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὅτι εἰάν τις ὁμολογήσῃ αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται. John, ix. 22.

At the close of the Feast of Tabernacles, Our Lord retires from Jerusalem, but it is not mentioned whither. We should conjecture to Bethabara. His brethren had challenged Him to transfer His ministry from Galilee to Judæa; and when the renewed plots of His enemies rendered it unsafe for Him to remain at Jerusalem, He may well have fixed upon Bethabara, as the nearest point to Jerusalem beyond Jewry, and whence (as it lay on the borders of both Judæa and Peræa) He could easily, at any moment of danger, pass into another jurisdiction. The same motives that induced John the Baptist to preach at Bethabara would also influence Our Lord. We can scarcely suppose that Jesus returned to Galilee, for He had lately avoided it, from fear of Herod, and his unprincipled paramour, Herodias.

**1348.** Jesus, shortly afterwards, at the Feast of Dedication, again visits Jerusalem. John, x. 22. This was the anniversary of the Purification of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus, in B.C. 170, from the defilements of Antiochus Epiphanes. It was celebrated on 25 Chisleu, and lasted eight days. See Jos. Ant. xii. 7, 7; 2 Maccab. x. 1-8. As the Feast of Tabernacles, or 15 Tisri, was this year on 20 September, the 25 Chisleu would begin on 28 November, and end on 5 December, which harmonises with the statement of John that it was winter. Ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ Ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ χειμῶν ἦν, καὶ περιεπάτει ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τοῦ Σολομῶνος. John, x. 22.

**1349.** Jesus, in answer to the enquiry of the multitudes, confesses Himself to be the Son of God, John, x. 36; and tells them that He and His Father were one, John, x. 30; when they take up stones to stone Him for blasphemy, John, x. 31. Jesus expostulates with them, and they try to take Him; but He makes His escape. Ἐζήτουν οὖν πάλιν αὐτὸν πιάσαι, καὶ ἐξήλθεν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν. John, x. 39.

**1350.** At the close of the Feast of Dedic-

tion A.D. 31, which would be on 5 December, Jesus returns to Bethabara, beyond Jordan, and abides there. Καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ. John, x. 40.

**1351.** The words of John, in speaking of Our Lord's departure after the Feast of Dedication, are, καὶ ἀπῆλθε πάλιν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης τὸ πρῶτον βαπτίζων. John, x. 40. As Our Lord had, after the Temptation of Forty Days, visited John at Bethabara, it is certainly possible that πάλιν, in the above passage, may refer to that interview; but the more natural meaning is that, after the Feast of Dedication, Our Lord returned *back again* to Bethabara, the place from which He had come to Jerusalem. And that He resorted to Bethabara at the close of the Feast of Tabernacles may be inferred also from the fact that Our Lord, after the Feast of Tabernacles, attended the Feast of Dedication; for, as the latter was an inferior festival, it can hardly be supposed that Our Lord would have come to it from a distance, as from Galilee, but it was natural enough that He should go up to the feast, if He were already in the neighbourhood, at Bethabara.

**1352.** We have placed the Feast of Dedication in A.D. 31 upon the following grounds:—  
1. If the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, has been rightly assigned to the year A.D. 31, then it is at least probable that the Feast of Dedication was in the same year, for at the latter feast Our Lord and His hearers make familiar allusion to the conversation which had passed between them at the Feast of Tabernacles. Thus, at the Feast of Tabernacles, Our Lord had called Himself, figuratively, the Light of the World, John, viii. 12; the Living Water, John, vii. 37; the Door, John, x. 9; the Good Shepherd, John, x. 11, etc.; and the Jews, at the Feast of Dedication, refer to this enigmatical language, and press Jesus to speak out, and tell them *plainly* whether He were the Messiah. Ἔως ποτὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν αἶρεις; Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς, εἶπε ἡμῖν παρῶρα. John, x. 24. At the previous Feast of Tabernacles, Our Lord had also spoken of His sheep as knowing Him, and following Him, John, x. 3, 14; and now, at the Feast of Dedication, He makes allusion to this. Ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετε, οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ἐκ τῶν προβάτων τῶν ἐμῶν, καθὼς εἶπον ὑμῖν. John, x. 26. These references imply that Our Lord had not been at Jeru-

salem since the Feast of Tabernacles, and that no long interval had since elapsed. 2. At the raising of Lazarus, which occurred soon after the close of the Feast of Dedication, the bystanders still refer to the cure of the blind man at the Feast of Tabernacles as a recent event; and the two feasts, therefore, must have been near to each other. John, xi. 37. 3. If this Feast of Dedication be not referrible to A. D. 31, there remains no alternative but to place it in A. D. 32; and if so, it would end on 23 December, A. D. 32, from which time to Our Lord's arrival at Bethany, six days before the Passover of A. D. 33, would be a period of about three months, an interval too short to comprise the sojourn of Our Lord at Bethabara, John, x. 40; a sojourn at Ephraim, John, xii. 54; and the lengthened journey recorded by Luke from ix. 51, to xviii. 14.

The only arguments that can be suggested in favour of placing the Feast of Dedication in A. D. 32 appear to be the following: 1. Jesus came six days before the Passover to Bethany, where, it is said, was Lazarus, whom He had raised from the dead; and hence it may be urged that, as Lazarus was still there, the miracle, which followed immediately after the Feast of Dedication, had occurred not long before the Passover A. D. 33. "Οπου ἦν Λάζαρος ὁ τεθνηκώς, ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν. John, xii. 1. But the words ὅπου ought to be rendered not 'where,' but 'of which place' was Lazarus whom He had raised from the dead. The same word ὅπου had been used in the same sense by the same Evangelist a little before. Βηθλεὲμ τῆς κώμης ὅπου ἦν Δαβίδ. John, vii. 42. However, there is no improbability in the supposition that after a lapse of more than a year Lazarus should still be found at Bethany, for even had he changed his usual residence after the miracle, he may have returned thither again, by appointment, for the express purpose of meeting Our Lord. 2. Just before the Passover, A. D. 33, the multitude went from Jerusalem to Bethany that they might see Lazarus, and therefore it may be said that the miracle must have been performed only a little before. Ἄλλ' ἴνα καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον ἴδωσιν ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν. John, xii. 9. But does it follow from this that Lazarus had only been just raised? It is observable that the supper at Bethany was not in the house of Lazarus, but of Simon the Leper, Matt. xxvi. 6; Mark,

xiv. 3; and after more than a year, and under the protection afforded by a great festival, Jesus and Lazarus may now have presented themselves for the first time after the miracle, and then the inhabitants of Jerusalem would naturally walk over to Bethany to see Jesus and also Lazarus. 3. It is asserted that when Our Lord, at the Passover A. D. 33, entered Jerusalem, the multitude, who had witnessed the raising of Lazarus, bore testimony to the miracle. Ἐμαρτύρει οὖν ὁ ὄχλος ὁ ὢν μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅτε τὸν Λάζαρον ἐφώνησε ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου, καὶ ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. John, xii. 17. This argument, if the data were correct, would carry some weight with it, but the whole force of it depends on the reading ὁ ὢν μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅτε, etc., and it is now universally admitted that the received text in this respect is erroneous, and that the true reading is not ὅτε, but ὅτι, which at once removes all the difficulty, and, in fact, furnishes an argument the other way. The text should stand thus: 'The people, therefore, that were with him bare record that he had called Lazarus out of his grave, and raised him from the dead.' The multitude had not themselves witnessed the miracle, as we are informed by John himself, ὅτι ἤκουσε τοῦτο αὐτὸν πεποικέναι τὸ σημεῖον. John, xii. 18. 4. It may be argued that at the raising of Lazarus Caiaphas is described as high-priest 'that year,' ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου, John, xi. 49; and that at the Passover, A. D. 33, Caiaphas is again said to be high-priest 'that year,' ὃς ἦν ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου, John, xviii. 13; and, therefore, that the raising of Lazarus and the Passover of A. D. 33 were both in the same year. But in fact Caiaphas was high-priest for many years together, and John, instead of implying that the raising of Lazarus and the Passover of A. D. 33 were both in the same year, seems from another passage to suggest the contrary, for in speaking of the arraignment of Jesus before Caiaphas, at the Passover A. D. 33, he adds that it was the same Caiaphas who had advised the death of Christ after the raising of Lazarus. Ἦν δὲ Καϊάφας ὁ συμβουλευσας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὅτι συμφέρεי ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ. John, xviii. 14. Had John meant that both matters fell within the same year of the high-priesthood of Caiaphas, it would have been quite superfluous to observe that it was the same Caiaphas. Besides, if John treated the high-priesthood as an annual office, the facts



still most remarkably bear out our hypothesis, for if, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Annas and Caiaphas were high-priests, i. e. Annas till 1 Nisan, A.D. 29, and then Caiaphas from 1 Nisan, A.D. 29, to 1 Nisan, A.D. 30, Caiaphas would be again high-priest from 1 Nisan, A.D. 31, to 1 Nisan, A.D. 32, during which occurred the raising of Lazarus, and again from 1 Nisan, A.D. 33, to 1 Nisan, A.D. 34, during which occurred the Passover when Our Lord was tried before Caiaphas. 5. Jesus, in discoursing with the disciples at the Passover A.D. 33, John, xiii. 33, refers to a conversation held by Him at the Feast of Tabernacles, John, viii. 21; and hence it may be argued that this Feast of Tabernacles, and consequently the Feast of Dedication, must have been next before the Passover A.D. 33. The circumstance, however, is too slight of itself to lead to such a conclusion. An interval of six months must, on every hypothesis, have elapsed since the Feast of Tabernacles; and if allusion could be made to it after six months, why not, if the conversation had been a striking one, after a period of a year and six months? With the exception of the solitary reference to the Feast of Tabernacles, contained in the passage John, xiii. 33, there is nothing related by John at the Passover A.D. 33 which tends in the least degree to show a proximity in point of time to the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, or the Feast of Dedication, John, x. 22.

**1353.** Sejanus, the prefect of the Prætorium, is discovered to have formed a conspiracy against the Emperor, and is put to death on 18 October. *Eodem die defunctum* (Agrippam) *quo biennio ante Sejanus pœnas huiusset. . . Actæ ob id grates, decretumque ut quintumdecimum Kalendaras Novembris, utriusque necis die, per omnes annos Jovi sacraretur.* Tac. Ann. vi. 25. Dion, lviii. 9. Suet. Tib. 65. This was eight years from the death of Drusus, in A.D. 23 (see no. 1146); *id* (venenum) *Druso datum per Lygdum spadonem, ut octo post annos cognitum est,* Tac. Ann. iv. 8; and six years before the death of Tiberius, in A.D. 37 (see no. 1500). *Cæde ejus* (Sejani) *patratâ, sex postea annos pari secreto conjunxit.* Tac. Ann. iv. 57. Sejanus had been sixteen years in power. *Nec, P. C. ultimum Sejani diem, sed sedecim annos cogitaveritis.* Tac. Ann. vi. 8. He had been a bitter enemy of the Jews. "Ἐγνων γὰρ (Tiberius) εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν ἐλείων τελευτήν, ὅτι τὰ κατη-

γορηθέντα τῶν φηκόντων τὴν Ῥώμην Ἰουδαίων ψευδεῖς ἦσαν διαβολαὶ, πλάσματα Σηϊάνου τὸ ἔθνος ἀναρπάσαι θέλοντος. Philo Leg. s. 24.

**1354.** Pallas, the celebrated freedman, was at the time of Sejanus's conspiracy the slave of Antonia, the mother of Claudius, for Pallas conveyed to Tiberius her letter informing him of the plot of Sejanus. Γράφει (Antonia) πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς, καὶ Πάλλαντι ἐπιδοῦσα τὰ γράμματα τῷ πιστοτάτῳ τῶν δούλων αὐτῆς, ἐκπέμπει πρὸς Τιβέριον εἰς τὰς Καπρέας. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 6.

**1355.** Herod Antipas was afterwards charged by Agrippa with being concerned in the plot of Sejanus (see *ante*, no. 1353), and he had therefore been at Rome when it was in agitation, but had sailed from Italy in the autumn of this year, a little before the actual detection of these treasonable practices.

**1356.** Tiberius continues at Capræa for nine months after the death of Sejanus, or until July, A.D. 32. *Oppressâ conjuratione Sejani, nihilo securior aut constantior per novem proximos menses non egressus est villâ quæ vocatur Jovis.* Suet. Tib. 65.

**1357.** Macro is appointed to succeed Sejanus as prefect of the Prætorium. Tac. Ann. vi. 15, 29. Suet. Calig. 12. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 6. (See A.D. 14, no. 1058; A.D. 38, no. 1530.)

**1358.** Tiberius discovers for the first time, on the death of Sejanus, through Apicata, the wife of the latter, that Drusus, in A.D. 23, had been poisoned by the artifices of Sejanus. Dion, lviii. 11 (see no. 1146). Tiberius now grieves for the loss of Drusus as much as he had before been indifferent. *Auxit intenditque sævitiam, exacerbatus indicio de morte filii sui Drusi, quem quum morbo et intemperantiâ periisse existimaret, ut tandem veneno interemptum fraude Livillæ uxoris atque Sejani cognovit, neque tormentis neque supplicio cujusquam percipit.* Suet. Tib. 62.

**1359.** Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod, and who had been the intimate friend of Drusus, is now banished, as recalling by his presence the memory of Drusus. Καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ υἱέως τετελευκότος ἀπειπῶν φοιτᾶν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ ἀνερθεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μνημονεύων τοῦ παιδὸς θεωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 1 (see A.D. 32, no. 1369).

**1360.** Agrippa returns to the East, and

resides at Malatha, in Idumæa. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 2.

**1361.** Poppæus Sabinus is prefect of Achaia and Macedonia. *Is (Poppæus Sabinus) Macedonia tum intentus, Achaiam quoque curabat.* Tac. Ann. v. 10.

**1361 a.** Coin of Tiberius.

*Head of Tiberius + Mun. Augusta Bilbilis. Ti. Cæsare v. L. Ælio Sejano Cos.*  
Eckhel. vi. 196.

Coin of Alexandria.

Τιβεριος Καίσαρ Σεβαστος L. IH. (i. e. in the eighteenth year of Tiberius) + Θεος Σεβαστος. Id. iv. 50.

Inscriptions.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Avg. Pontif. Max. Trib. Pot. xxxiii. Refecit et Restituit* (In agro Nemausensi). Muratori, i. 443, 5.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Aug. Pont. Maxim. Trib. Potest. xxviii. P. P. Restituit et Refecit* (Ampuriis in Provincia). Id. i. 443, 6.

*Ti. Kaisari Aug. F. Divi Julii N. Augusto Pont. Max. Cos. v. Imp. viii. Tribunic. Potest. xviii. (lege xxviii.) Pontifices Albani.*

*Q. Julius Q. F. Fab. Rufus.*

*C. Julius C. F. Sca. Bassus.*

*T. Julius Tib. F. Fab. Mervia.*

*M. Julius C. F. Fab. Senecio* (at Allia).—

Gruter, 235, 8. It was the eighteenth year of his reign, which led to the mistake of its being the eighteenth year of his *tribunician* power.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 25.

Pentecost, May 15.

Tabernacles, September 19.

} See ante,  
no. 1345.

**A.D. 32. U.C. 785. Olymp. 202, 4.**

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

FURIUS CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS. Cui mortuo suffectus est A. Vitellius.

TIBERII XIX. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXXIV.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. V. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Thirty-sixth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1362.** Tiberius quits Capreae, and sails along the coast of Campania, making frequent disembarkations, and proceeds up the Tiber as far as the gardens near the Naumachia. *Cnæus Domitius et Camillus Scribonianus consulatum*

*inierant, cum Cæsar . . . aditis juxta Tiberim hortis, saxa rursum et solitudinem maris repetiit.* Tac. Ann. vi. 1. Suet. Tib. 72.

**1363.** Junius Gallio, brother of Seneca, is banished, but is afterwards recalled, and kept under surveillance at Rome (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. vi. 3.

**1364.** Prosecutions are still on foot against the adherents of Sejanus (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. vi. 8.

**1365.** Death of Piso, prefect of the city, after a twenty years' tenure of office. *Per idem tempus* (*his coss.*), *L. Piso Pontifex . . . fato obiit . . . viginti per annos pariter probatus.* Tac. Ann. vi. 10, 11. Dion, lviii. 19. He was succeeded, as prefect of the city, by L. Ælius Lamia, the nominal prefect of Syria. *Qui* (L. Ælius Lamia) *administrandæ Syriæ imagine tandem exsolutus, urbi præfuerat.* Tac. Ann. vi. 27. *Καὶ Λούκιον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ (Pisonis), Λαμίαν ἀνθελίετο.* Dion, lviii. 19 (see A.D. 13, no. 1050; A.D. 33, no. 1455).

**1366.** Death of Geminius, for treason, at the close of the year. *Fine anni Geminius . . . cecidit, conjurationis crimine* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. vi. 14. *Τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, ὧν καὶ Γάϊος Ροῦφος Γεμίνιος, ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ἐγκληθεῖς, etc.* Dion, lviii. 4. These passages are cited to show how rigidly the laws of treason (the Julian laws) were at this time enforced at Rome. It was a few months after, viz. at the beginning of A.D. 33, that Our Lord was put to death at Jerusalem by one of the Emperor's procurators on a similar charge.

**1367.** Dion describes the Emperor's practice, at this time, in the appointment of consuls and prætors. Dion, lviii. 20 (see A.D. 14, no. 1057; A.D. 38, no. 1529).

**1368.** Severus, the procurator of Egypt, dies, and is succeeded by Flaccus, who held office for six years, and was removed in A.D. 38. *Ὁ Φλάκκος οὗτος . . . μετὰ τὴν Σεβήρου τελευτήν, ὃς ἐπετέτραπτο Αἴγυπτον, καθίσταται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος . . . Ἐξαετίαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπικρατείαν λαβὼν, πέντε μὲν ἔτη ταπρῶτα, ζῶντος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τήντε εἰρήνην διεφύλαξε, etc.* *Τῷ δὲ ὑστάτῳ, Τιβερίου μὲν τελευτήσαντος, Γαίῳ δὲ ἀποδεχθέντος αὐτοκράτορος, etc.* Philo in Flacc. 1, 3. *Αἴγυπτον ἐπ' ἔξαετίαν ἐπιτραπέις.* Philo in Flacc. 19 (see B.C. 24, no. 687; A.D. 38, nos. 1530, 1538). Flaccus proceeds to Egypt by way of Brun-



disium, and across the Isthmus of Corinth. Philo in Flacc. 18 and 19. It was, therefore, late in the year. This was not the usual time for a prefect's departure from Rome, but a vacancy had occurred by death. In Dion, under the year A. D. 32, we read, *κἄν τούτω, Οὐητρασίου Πωλίωνος τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντος τελευτήσαντος Ἰβήρω τινὶ Καισαρείῳ χρόνον τινὰ τὸ ἔθνος (Tiberius) ἐπέτρεψε*. Dion, lviii. 19. For Ἰβήρω should be read Σεβήρω, the predecessor, for a short time, of Flaccus. The order of succession would then be, 1. Vetradius Pollio; 2. Severus; 3. Flaccus.

**1369.** About the same time also Herod Agrippa, through the influence of his sister Herodias, now living with Herod Antipas, is appointed by him ædile of Tiberias; but he soon after quarrels with Herod Antipas at Tyre, and repairs to the court of Flaccus, prefect of Syria. *Διαπέμπεται δὲ (Cyprus, the wife of Agrippa) καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδα, Ἡρώδῃ τῷ Τετάρτῳ συνοικοῦσαν, . . . Οἱ δὲ μεταπέψαντες αὐτὸν, οἰκητήριον ἀπέδειξαν Τιβεριάδα, καὶ τι καὶ ἀργύριον ὤρισαν εἰς τὴν δαίταν, ἀγορανομία τε τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἐτίμησαν. Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖον γε Ἡρώδης ἐνέμεινε τοῖς δεδουγμένοις . . . ἐν γὰρ Τύρῳ παρὰ συνοσίαν, ὑπὸ οἴνου τε γενομένων αὐτοῖς λοιδορίων . . . ὡς Φλάκκον τὸν ὑπατικὸν εἰσεῖσι, φίλον ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γεγενότα πρότερον, Συρίαν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε διεῖπεν, καὶ δεξαμένον Φλάκκου, παρὰ τούτῳ διῆγεν*. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 2 (see A. D. 31, no. 1359; A. D. 33, no. 1424). Herod and Agrippa had both been at Rome at the time of the conspiracy of Sejanus, in the autumn of A. D. 31 (see that year, nos. 1355, 1359). Herod had returned, we may suppose, in the third quarter of A. D. 31; and Agrippa was ordered from Rome shortly after 18 October, A. D. 31, the day of the death of Sejanus. As Agrippa on his quarrel with Herod withdrew to the court of Flaccus in Syria, who died in the latter half of A. D. 33, Agrippa must have held the ædileship of Tiberias in A. D. 32.

**1370.** Jesus, who a few days after the close of the Feast of Dedication, on 5 December, A. D. 31, had retired to Bethabara (see A. D. 31, no. 1350), tarries there long enough to make many disciples. *Καὶ ἐπίστευσαν πολλοὶ ἐκεῖ εἰς αὐτόν*. John, x. 42.

Mary and Martha send word from Bethany to Jesus of the sickness of Lazarus. Ἦν δὲ τις

*ἀσθενῶν Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας ἐκ τῆς κόμης Μαρίας καὶ Μάρθας, etc.* John, xi. 1.

Greswell argues that ἀπὸ and ἐκ in this passage signify different things, the former denoting the domicile for the time being, and the latter the place of nativity; that Martha and Mary were not natives of Bethany, but of some village in Galilee, for that when Our Lord was in Galilee *Μάρθα ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς*, Luke, x. 38; while the house in Bethany where Martha and Mary and Lazarus their brother were present at Our Lord's supper there, John, xii. 1, was not the house of any one of them, but of Simon the Leper. Mark, xiv. 3. This distinction between ἀπὸ and ἐκ appears to be somewhat fanciful. Bethany was apparently the native place of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary (*ὅπου ἦν Λάζαρος*, John, xii. 1, 'of which place was Lazarus,' see John vii. 42); but Martha had perhaps married and settled in Galilee, which would account for the expression *τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς* in Galilee, and Mary may have married Simon the Leper, who resided in Bethany; and it is observable that the Jews who came to Bethany are said to have visited the *house of Mary*, for so we should read the words *οἱ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὴν Μαρίαν*. John, xi. 45. Another opinion is that Simon the Leper was the father of Lazarus and his sisters, and then Mary might be the unmarried daughter who remained at home.

**1371.** Bethany signifies the house of dates, for though no palm-trees now remain there, it is clear that there were such in Our Saviour's time, for the multitudes that went out to meet Him cut down branches from the palm-trees. *Ἐλαβον τὰ βαῖα τῶν φοινίκων*. John, xii. 13. Bethany was about fifteen stades, or a little less than two miles, from Jerusalem. Ἦν δὲ ἡ Βηθανία ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκάπεντε. John, xi. 18. John guards himself as to the exact distance by using the word ὡς, or about. But suppose John had said fifteen stades, and that upon measurement the distance of Bethany from Jerusalem had been found to be sixteen stades, could it therefore be argued that John was not inspired? or are not the Evangelists still human instruments, and inspired only in the promulgation of religious truth?

**1372.** Jesus after receiving intelligence of Lazarus's sickness, abides two days at Bethabara, and then announces His intention of

returning to Bethany. Ὡς οὖν ἤκουσεν ὅτι ἀσθενεῖ, τότε μὲν ἐμεινεν ἐν ᾧ ἦν τόσῳ δύο ἡμέρας. John xi. 6.

**1373.** The disciples, on learning Our Lord's intention of visiting Bethany, are alarmed at the idea of approaching so near to Jerusalem, where the Jews had sought so lately at the Feast of Dedication A.D. 31 to stone Jesus. Ῥαββί, νῦν ἐξήτουν σε λιθάσαι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ πάλιν ὑπάγεις ἐκεῖ. John, xi. 8. Ἄγωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἵνα ἀποθάνωμεθα μετ' αὐτοῦ. John, xi. 16. Had it been the season of a festival, the disciples would have felt less fear, as during the celebration of the great feasts immunity, except in special cases, was allowed to all. See Jos. Bell. i. 2, 1, cited A.D. 30; and A.D. 32, no. 1412.

**1374.** Jesus returns to Bethany, and raises Lazarus from the dead. John, xi. 17. Lazarus was raised on the fourth day after his burial (i.e. after his death, for it was the custom, as in the case of Our Saviour, to bury on the day of the death). Τεταρταῖος γάρ ἐστι. John xi. 39. As Bethany was a day's journey from Bethabara to a swift messenger, and a two days' journey to an ordinary traveller, and Jesus tarried two days before He set out, the interval between the dispatch of the messenger by the sisters of Lazarus and the return of Jesus to Bethany must have been about five days; and as Lazarus had been four days in the tomb, his death must have occurred on the day following the dispatch of the messenger. Lazarus is the abbreviated form of Eleazar, and was a common Jewish name of that day.

**1375.** The raising of Lazarus caused many to believe in Jesus, πολλοὶ οὖν . . . ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτόν, John, xi. 45; and the Pharisees thereupon call a Sanhedrim. Συνῆγον οὖν οἱ Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι συνέδριον. John, xi. 47. And Caiaphas, the Sadducee high-priest, advises the death of Jesus. Συμφέρει ἡμῖν ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ. John, xi. 50. And a resolution to that effect is carried. Ἀπὸ ἐκείνης οὖν τῆς ὥρας συνεβούλευσαν ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν. John, xi. 53. Annas, or Ananus, and his five sons (all of whom were at one time or other high-priests), and his son-in-law Caiaphas were Sadducees, and therefore in general opposed to the Pharisees. But the Sadducee section of the Sanhedrim was now induced to act in concert with the Pharisees; and the argument by which the Sadducees of the Sanhedrim were

won over by the Pharisees was adapted to the Romanising policy of the Sadducees. Ἐὰν ἀφῶμεν αὐτόν οὕτω, πάντες πιστεύσουσιν εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ ἔλευσονται οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀροῦσιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. John xi. 48. When the Sadducees once aimed at any object, they had no scruples about the means, Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1; Bell. ii. 8, 14; and accordingly we find Caiaphas on this occasion proposing at once the death of Jesus. This cold-blooded counsel of Caiaphas may have been one reason why Our Lord, when brought before him at the Passover, A.D. 33, declined to answer his questions, Matt. xxvi. 63; for defence would be useless where there was a foregone conclusion.

**1376.** Jesus, on receiving intelligence of the proceedings in the Sanhedrim, retires to the village of Ephraim, Ἰησοῦς οὖν οὐκέτι παρήρησιν περιεπάτει ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλ' ἀπήλθεν ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐγγυὸς τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς Ἐφραῖμ λεγομένην πόλιν, John, xii. 54; and sojourns there for some time. Κάκει διέτριβε μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ. Ἦν δὲ ἐγγυὸς τὸ Πάσχα, etc. John, xi. 54. The words Ἦν δὲ ἐγγυὸς τὸ Πάσχα should have commenced a new chapter, as opening an entirely new subject and one separated by an interval of more than a year. John's Gospel, being supplementary, abounds in abrupt transitions, and supposes the reader to be acquainted with the intervening transactions furnished by the three synoptic Gospels.

**1377.** Ephraim lay to the north of Jerusalem, and was, as John describes it, on the borders of the desert, the Aulon or Ghor, the valley of the Jordan. It is noticed by several writers. Συνοδεύσαντός μοι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Βαιθῆλ καὶ Ἐφραῖμ ἐπὶ τὴν ὄρεινὴν ἀνερχομένην ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰεριχῶς. Epiphanius. adv. Hæres. i. 133. Ἐφραῖμ, ἐγγυὸς τῆς ἐρήμου. Ephraim *juxta desertum*. Euseb. Onom. Ἐφρών, φυλῆς Ἰουδα καὶ ἐστὶ νῦν κώμη Ἐφραῖμ μεγίστη περὶ τὰ ὄρια Αἰλίας ὡς ἀπὸ σημείων κ'. Ephron in tribu Juda. Est et villa prægrandis, Ephraea nomine, contra septentrionem in vicesimo ab Ælia milliario. Euseb. Onom. Wieseler suggests that the word *vicesimo*, in Jerome's version, is a translation of κ' (20), written or read in Euseb. Onom. by mistake for ἦ (8), and that Ephraim was not twenty miles, but only eight miles from Jerusalem. Wieseler. Chronol. p. 318. But if Ephraim was near the desert, it could not



have been eight miles only, but must have been twenty miles from Jerusalem. Nor is it likely that Our Lord would have retired to so short a distance as eight miles for security from persecution. Ephraim is also mentioned by Josephus in close connection with Bethel. Ἐφραΐμ δὲ (Vespasian) εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν αἰφεῖ δύο τοπαρχίας τὴν τε Γοφνιτικὴν καὶ Ἀκραβατηνὴν καλουμένην, μεθ' ἧς Βηθλὴλ τε καὶ Ἐφραΐμ, οἷς φρούρους ἐγκαταστήσας μέχρις Ἱεροσολύμων ἰπτάζετο. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 9. Robinson considers Taiyibeh, the ruins of which are a little to the north-east of Beitin, or Bethel, to be the Ophrah of the tribe of Benjamin, and Ephraim of the New Testament. Eusebius states the distance of Ephraim from Bethel to be five miles, Ἀφρὰ, κλήρου Βενιαμίν, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ κώμη Ἀφρὴλ ἀπὸ . . . Ἀφρα, in tribu Benjamin. Est et hodie vicus Effrem in quinto miliario Bethelis ad orientem respiciens, Euseb. Onom.; which agrees with the situation of Taiyibeh. Robinson's Palest. i. 447. Bethel was twelve miles from Jerusalem, Βαθὴλ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ κώμη Αἰλίας ἀπὸθεν σημεῖος ἰβ', Euseb. Onom.; and as Ephraim was five miles further, the whole distance of Ephraim from Jerusalem would be seventeen miles, which again makes it probable that Eusebius stated Ephraim to be twenty and not eight miles from Jerusalem.

**1378.** While Our Lord is at Ephraim, the Sanhedrim issue a warrant for His apprehension. Δεδώκεισαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐντολὴν, ἵνα ἐάν τις γνῶ πού ἐστι μὴνύση ὅπως πιάσωσιν αὐτόν. John, xi. 57.

**1379.** Jesus, hearing of this step of the Sanhedrim, retires to a distance into the tetrarchy of Herod Philip, and again makes His way, probably along the eastern shore of the lake of Tiberias, to the regions of Cæsarea Philippi, the capital of Philip's tetrarchy. Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς κώμας Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου. Mark, viii. 27. Εἰς τὰ μέρη Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου. Matt. xvi. 13. Luke, who had omitted the journey to the borders of Tyre and Sidon and Decapolis, and to the Feasts of Tabernacles and the Dedication, again joins Matthew and Mark at this point, though Luke does not mention Cæsarea Philippi by name. Luke, ix. 18.

From this time forth Our Lord prepares the minds of His disciples for the approaching close of His ministry by His death.

**1380.** On reaching Cæsarea Philippi, ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὰ μέρη, etc., Matt. xvi. 13 (but see Mark, viii. 27); and after private prayer, προσευχόμενον καταμόνας, Luke, ix. 18; Jesus questions His disciples whom they took Him to be; and when Peter, in the name of them all, answers, the Christ or Messiah, Jesus charges them not to publish it abroad. This appeal of Jesus to His disciples touching His Messiahship was to test their faith in Him at a time when it was subjected to the severest trial. The Pharisees and Sadducees had now both avowedly combined against Him, and Jesus had sought refuge from the storm by retreating to the extreme borders of Palestine, about Cæsarea Philippi. He was naturally solicitous about the constancy of His disciples; and when Peter, in the name of the rest, declared their unshaken belief in Him as the Messiah, Jesus manifests His satisfaction by saying that on the Apostles (represented by Peter) He would found His Church, and that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it. At the same time, that they might not be misled as to the nature of His kingdom, He informs them that He must suffer death at Jerusalem, and that, if any one would be His disciple, he must take up his cross and follow Him. Ἀπὸ τότε (observes Matthew emphatically) ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς δεικνύειν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, etc. Matt. xvi. 21. Peter, still swelling with the notion of a temporal kingdom, deprecated so disastrous an issue, but was at once rebuked. Matt. xvi. 21. Mark, viii. 31. Luke, ix. 22.

The words of the angel to the women at the sepulchre, μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὡν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, λέγων, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθῆναι, etc., Luke, xxiv. 6, may refer to this solemn warning by Our Lord of His death, as Mark particularly notices that He spake of it, παρῶσις, publicly, Mark, viii. 32. If so, Galilee, in the above passage, is not to be taken as meaning exclusively the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, but as comprising also Galilee of the Gentiles, the tetrarchy of Herod Philip. However, Our Lord subsequently forewarned His disciples (μαθητὰς) in Galilee proper of His approaching Passion, Mark, ix. 31; Matt. xvii. 22; Luke, ix. 44; and the attendant women, who afterwards visited the sepulchre, may have been included under the general term of μαθητὰς.



**1381.** The Transfiguration occurs six days after this mournful announcement of Our Lord's death. *Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἕξ, etc.* Matt. xvii. 1. Mark, ix. 2. *Ὡσεὶ ἡμέραι ὀκτώ.* Luke, ix. 28. The word *ὡσεὶ ὀκτώ*, or about eight, is here equivalent to six, so that the word *ὡσεὶ* is used by Luke with some latitude, which serves to explain the expression of Luke as to the age of Jesus when He began His ministry, *ὡσεὶ ἑτῶν τριάκοντα*, Luke, iii. 23, when Jesus was in fact thirty-three years old.

The scene of the Transfiguration is commonly supposed to have been Mons Itabyrius, or Mount Tabor. But this cannot be; for the mount of Transfiguration was certainly somewhere to the north of Capernaum, whereas Mount Tabor was on the south-west. Others take it to be Mount Hermon, but that is too far to the north-east of Capernaum. The mount of Transfiguration is said to have been a high one, *ὄρος ὑψηλόν*, Matt. xvii. 1; Mark, ix. 2; and yet the disciples slumbered upon it, *βεβαρημένοι ὑπνῷ*, Luke, ix. 32; and we should infer, therefore, that the scene occurred when the temperature of the air had become genial. We cannot suppose it, for instance, to have occurred in January. We should place it not earlier than March or April.

The witnesses to the Transfiguration, Peter, James, and John, were probably selected as the most intelligent of Our Lord's disciples. The object of the Transfiguration was to set forth the true nature of the Messiah's kingdom, viz. as a spiritual one in succession to the Law under Moses, and to the Prophets represented by Elias. In the vision, Moses and Elias vanish, and the heavenly voice pronounces of the Son, 'Hear ye *Him!*' So dull, however, were even the Apostles at this time that two of them, James and John, not long after preferred a request that, when Jesus came to His kingdom (meaning a temporal kingdom), they might sit the one on His right hand and the other on His left.

**1382.** Jesus charges the disciples who had witnessed the Transfiguration not to make it known until after His death and resurrection. Matt. xvii. 9. Mark, ix. 9. Luke, ix. 36. This resurrection from the dead was unintelligible to them. Their imagination had pictured the Messiah as a victorious and triumphant Prince, and how then could Jesus speak of His death and rising again! They could not reconcile

their own self-drawn idea of the Messiah with the reality. *Συζητούντες τί ἐστὶ το ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι.* Mark, ix. 10.

**1383.** Our Lord takes the road to Capernaum, and again by the way forewarns the disciples of His approaching sufferings. *Θέσθε ὑμεῖς εἰς τὰ ὅτα ὑμῶν τοὺς λόγους τούτους, etc.* Luke, ix. 44. Matt. xvii. 22. Mark tells us that the journey was a private one for the very purpose of again instilling into the disciples His betrayal and death and resurrection. *Καὶ ἐκέϊθεν ἐξεληθόντες παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις γινῶ· ἐδίδασκε γὰρ τοὺς μαθητὰς, etc.* Mark, ix. 30. The disciples were very sorry, *ἐλπηθήσαν σφόδρα*, Matt. xvii. 23; but at the same time could not understand how it could be, and were afraid to ask. *Ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι.* Mark, ix. 32. They, perhaps, thought that Our Lord, after passing through this ordeal of His passion, would rise again and then assume His temporal kingdom, for at the very time that Our Lord, on His way to Capernaum, was foreshowing His humiliation and death, the disciples were secretly harbouring schemes of their own aggrandisement under His temporal kingdom. Mark, ix. 34. Matt. xviii. 1. Luke, ix. 46.

**1384.** Jesus arrives at Capernaum, and is applied to by the collectors of the corban to pay the tax of a didrachm, or half a stater, for the maintenance of the Temple. *Ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς Καπερναοὺμ προσῆλθον οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες, etc.* Matt. xvii. 24. Matthew in general is not very regular in the arrangement of his narrative, but this demand of the Temple-tax is unquestionably related in its proper place, for Mark tells us that on the road from Cæsarea Philippi to Capernaum the disciples disputed who should be the greatest, *διελέχθησαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τίς μείζων*, Mark, ix. 33; and, after the incident of the Temple-tax, Matthew proceeds: *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ προσῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λέγοντες, Τίς ἄρα μείζων;* etc. xviii. 1. The dispute about precedence, and the arrival at Capernaum, and then the rebuke of the disciples by Our Lord, are thus so intimately knit together that the entry into Capernaum cannot without great violence be transferred to any other part of Our Lord's life. It may be remarked that the application was made to Our Lord through Peter, and apparently because the latter was the owner or principal proprietor of the house in which Our



Lord was considered a resident, or at least of which He was registered as an inmate.

**1385.** This Temple-tax of two drachmas, or half a stater, a head was of ancient institution. *Τότε πλῆθος ἀθροίσας, πάλιν εἰσφορὰν αὐτὸ προσέταξεν εἰσφέρειν σίκλου τὸ ἥμισυ καθ' ἕκαστον.* Jos. Ant. iii. 8, 2. (*Siclus, id est, stater habet drachmas quatuor.* Hieron. in Ezekiel. Oper. iii. 722.) *Ἰουδαῖοι . . . τὸ τε δίδραχμον τῷ θεῷ καταβάλλειν, ὃ ἐκάστοις πάτριον, ταύτην κατετίθεντο.* Ant. xviii. 9, 1. Nehem. x. 32. Exod. xxx. 13. 2 Chron. xxiv. 9. See Gresw. Dissert. ii. 341. It originated from the command in the Law that all the males should go up to Jerusalem at the three great feasts, and never empty handed, but with an offering from each according to his ability, Deut. xvi. 16, 17; Exod. xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 23; the practical interpretation put upon which was that every Jew should attend one of the great festivals in each year, and pay an annual Temple-tax.

**1386.** Some hazard the hypothesis that the Roman tribute is intended by the didrachm, and refer to Matthew. *Ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου. Οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον.* Matt. xxii. 19. But this would rather show that the poll-tax was not two drachmas but one drachma, the drachma and denarius being equivalent. *Drachma Attica . . . denarii argentei habet pondus.* Plin. N. H. xxi. 109. See Wieseler Chronol. 265.

**1387.** The Temple-tax (for evidently this is meant) was usually collected in the month Adar, at the close of the Jewish sacred year, and a little before the Passover. *xv. Adar ubique sederunt nummularii extra Hierosolymam, et placide a quovis semisiclum expetiverunt, nec tamen vi adegerunt qui tunc nondum obtulerat. A die xv. vero cum in urbe sancta sedissent tamdiu quemvis urgebant donec tradidisset, et si longas moras novisset nec dedisset, in pignus vel veste retentâ oppignerabant.* Tractat. Talmud. Schekalim. See Kuinoel on Matt. xvii. 24. Wieseler Chronol. 265. If, then, Our Lord paid the tax at the most usual period, the incident would fall in the spring of the year, and the spring in question could only be that of A.D. 32. It could scarcely have been that of A.D. 31, for Matthew relates it after the feeding of the Five Thousand, which was at the Passover of A.D. 31, John, vi. 4; and as Jesus returned to Capernaum imme-

diately after the miracle of the Five Thousand, He would at that time, if not before, have paid the tax for that year. Nor would the didrachm have been demanded of Our Lord in A.D. 33, for the interval between 15 Adar, when it became due, and 8 Nisan, the sixth day before the Passover, when Our Lord arrived at Bethany, would be much too short a space for Our Lord's last journey from Capernaum to Jerusalem.

**1388.** It appears, however, from the Mishna that the remanets, or arrears, of the Temple-tax were also collected before each of the three great feasts, for *Ter in anno curant de conclavi: in spatio semestri ante Pascha, in spatio semestri ante Pentecosten, et in spatio semestri ante Scenopegiam.* Mishna de Siclis, c. 3. Upon which Maimonides comments: *Tempore festi Paschatis publicabatur adducendam oblationem primam de loco propinquiore; et illi qui remotiores erant adducerent tempore Fasti Pentecostis; et illi qui remotissimi erant adducerent tempore Tabernaculorum.* Maimon. in locum.

**1389.** After all, however, Our Lord may not have paid the Temple-tax at any of the usual periods, for supposing Our Lord not to have visited Capernaum, or at least not openly, since the last collection, the tribute would be demanded of Him as soon as His presence at Capernaum became known. This might be one month, or two months, or any longer interval after the tax became due; and the form of the question put to Peter may be thought to countenance the notion that the tribute was in arrear, *ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν οὐ τελεῖ τὰ δίδραχμα;* Matt. xvii. 24; as if the delay in payment had created a doubt as to Our Lord's intentions.

AT THE PASSOVER A. D. 32 COMMENCES THE FOURTH AND LAST YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

**1390.** Jesus, intending to enter upon His last circuit, which was to terminate at Jerusalem, sends messengers before Him to prepare the way. *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐστήριξε τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ· καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, etc.* Luke, ix. 51. For the force of the words *συμπληροῦσθαι* and *ἀναλήψεως*, see the use of them by the same Evangelist, Acts, i. 2; ii. 1. The Atonement of Our Lord upon the cross did not occur till after a year's interval from this time; but Luke makes the remark here that the days of His assumption

were being accomplished, as Capernaum was Our Lord's known domicile, and the *terminus a quo* of all His circuits, and He was now bidding a final adieu to it. The statement that He 'set His face steadfastly to go up to Jerusalem' is full of meaning, for His enemies there had determined upon His death, and it required a fixed resolution to brave their hostility.

**1391.** The portion of Luke upon which we are now entering, from Luke ix. 51 to xviii. 15, comprising the last great circuit of Our Lord up to Jerusalem, is peculiar to this Evangelist, and various opinions have been entertained as to its true chronological place. The opinion adopted in the Tables is that Luke is here giving an account of one, and that the last, journey to Jerusalem. Many German critics, on the contrary, have attempted to break the narrative into three distinct journeys. The words *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ, etc.*, Luke ix. 51, they would refer to Our Lord's visit to the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2; and the subsequent passage, *καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πορείαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, Luke, xiii. 22, to Our Lord's visit to Jerusalem at the Feast of Dedication, related John, x. 22; and the notice, *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσου Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας*, Luke xvii. 11, to Our Lord's last journey from Galilee to the Feast of the Passover, at which He suffered. This theory, plausible and ingenious as it is, will not bear examination. Thus, at the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, Jesus did not go up in public with His brethren, but remained behind for a while in Galilee, and then went up with the strictest privacy. Ἐν κρυπτῷ. John, vii. 10. How, then, can Luke have had this journey in mind when he tells us (ix. 51) that Jesus from the first set His face to go up to Jerusalem, and sent messengers before Him to prepare the way? So that, instead of observing privacy, Our Lord made His progress to Jerusalem in the most public manner. Again, how can it be said that in the passage *καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας, etc.*, Luke, xiii. 22, Luke is describing Our Lord's ascent to the capital at the Feast of Dedication, John, x. 22, for the hypothesis is that Jesus attended that festival, and then returned to Galilee? but Luke presently after informs us that Jesus was warned by some Pharisees that

Herod was seeking His life, and Our Lord replied that He must travel that day, and the next, and the day after. Why? because no prophet could perish out of Jerusalem. Luke, xiii. 31. And what can this mean but that it was Our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem; and if so, how can it be said that He was then on His way to the Feast of Dedication, with the intention of again returning to Galilee?

**1392.** This lengthened and public circuit of Our Lord from Capernaum to Jerusalem is apparently referred to in the charge afterwards made against Him by the Jews at the Passover of the Crucifixion. "Ὅτι ἀνασείει τὸν λαὸν διδάσκων καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας . . . ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἕως ὧδε. Luke, xxiii. 5. It may seem strange that Herod, through whose dominions Our Lord was passing, should not have interposed to prevent His progress through the tetrarchy; but, anxious as Herod was to eject Jesus (and we shall see presently what artifices he practised to effect his object), he did not dare to offer open violence, for fear of the people.

**1393.** It is not said what direction Our Lord took on departing from Capernaum, except that He set His face to go to Jerusalem (a Hebraism signifying only a *fixed intention* of visiting the capital); but, from subsequent occurrences, it would seem that His course was somewhat circuitous, viz. first westward, into the valley of Esdraelion or Jezreel; then eastward, along the borders of Samaria to the Jordan; and then down the left bank, through Peræa; and then westward again to Jerusalem.

**1394.** Our Lord, on this circuit, is attended by the twelve Apostles, and many holy women, who ministered to Him, and also by a great multitude of disciples; and on approaching the borders of Samaria, Our Lord encounters opposition from a Samaritan village, when James and John (called the sons of Thunder, from their inconsiderate zeal) would fain have called down fire from heaven, as Elias had done, when assaulted in the same neighbourhood; but the two disciples are at once rebuked, and Jesus passes on to another village. Καὶ πορευθέντες (οἱ ἄγγελοι) εἰσῆλθον εἰς κώμην Σαμαρειτῶν, ὥστε ἐποιμάσαι αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐκ ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν, ὅτι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορευόμενον εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, etc. Luke, ix. 52. Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς ἑτέραν κώμην, ix. 56.

**1395.** This approach of Our Lord to a



Samaritan village may be variously explained. *First*, it may be thought that Our Lord was now crossing Samaria by the direct road to Jerusalem, with the view of attending one of the great festivals. If so, Our Lord would have reached Jerusalem in two or three days; and then the feast which he proposed to attend could not have been the Passover at which He suffered (and which, according to Luke, did not arrive till after a considerable interval), but must have been either the Pentecost or Tabernacles of the year preceding; and Our Lord, on meeting with this repulse, must have abandoned His original intention, and have postponed His visit to Jerusalem to a subsequent occasion. But, *secondly*, it may be suggested that Our Lord did not enter Samaria at all, but that the village in question was an outlying one, peopled with Samaritans, to which Our Lord came accidentally, in His progress along the great plain of Esdraelon, bounded on the south by Samaria, and on the north by Galilee. In support of this view, it may be observed that the expression is *κώμην Σαμαρειτῶν*, a village of Samaritans, and not *κώμην τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν*, a village of the Samaritans or Samaria. The objection in the way of this theory is, that if Our Lord was merely travelling along the plain of Esdraelon, and His preconcerted plans were not interrupted, it is difficult to account for the dispatch by Our Lord, immediately afterwards, and apparently *in consequence of this repulse*, of the seventy disciples round Samaria, upon the road which He was then, on a change of plan, obliged to adopt. *Thirdly*, it may be conjectured that Our Lord was approaching Samaria, not with the intention of merely crossing it on the direct road to Jerusalem, but that He purposed to publish the Gospel throughout the length and breadth of Samaria, and for that purpose to spend some weeks or months in that quarter. He had long since evangelised all Galilee, and had subsequently preached up to the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and Cæsarea Philippi on the *north*, and in Decapolis on the *east*, and might well now devote the remnant of His ministry to the conversion of Samaria on the *south*. If such was His object, it was defeated by the determined opposition of the Samaritans, who obliged Him to exercise His ministry instead along the southern parts of Galilee, and then through

Peræa, by the ordinary road of the Galileans to Jerusalem.

Whatever theory be adopted, the inference may be fairly drawn that the hatred of the Samaritans at this particular juncture was more particularly called forth by the celebration at Jerusalem of one of the great festivals, and, as we should surmise, the Feast of Pentecost (3 June) A.D. 32.

**1396.** This animosity of the Samaritans against the Galileans is illustrated by many passages in Josephus, and particularly by an outrage in A.D. 51 (see that year, no. 1759), when there was, in consequence, much bloodshed, and almost a general rebellion of the Jews. The latter occurrence took place at Ginea, now Jenin, at the mouth of a valley on the northern border of Samaria, and opening into the plain of Esdraelon where Our Lord was now journeying. See Robinson's Palestine, ii. 315.

**1397.** Jesus, having been frustrated in His designs as to Samaria, and being under the necessity of changing His route, selects seventy disciples from amongst His followers, to go before Him, two and two, to prepare the way. The *ἄγγελοι* from Capernaum had been sent forward to provide accommodation only; but the seventy were invested with higher powers, and even enabled to work miracles. When, therefore, Luke tells us, *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀπέδειξεν ὁ Κύριος καὶ ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα*, Luke, x. 1, we must understand the word *ἑτέρους* to refer, not to the *ἄγγελοι* mentioned just before, but rather to the mission of the Twelve related at the commencement of the preceding chapter. It is possible, but this is mere conjecture, that some hasty zeal on the part of the *ἄγγελοι*, or messengers sent from Capernaum, had called forth the opposition of the Samaritans, and so may have suggested the necessity of selecting a chosen number, on whose discretion greater reliance could be placed. The appointment of the Seventy is recorded by Luke only, and the reason is, that they were not ordained to a permanent office, but for a mere temporary purpose; and as the three first Evangelists do not give an account of this circuit, it did not fall within their province to notice the appointment of the Seventy.

**1398.** It is a common opinion, and seems likely, that the Seventy were not sent forth all at once, but by two and two, from time to

time, as their services were required on nearing any city or village. The words of Luke, *ἰπέστρεψαν δὲ οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα μετὰ χαρᾶς*, Luke, x. 17, do not necessarily mean that the Seventy returned in a body, but at intervals, as circumstances permitted. Our Lord could scarcely, before commencing His journey, have fixed beforehand on the thirty-five different places intended to be visited by so many couples; nor could the Seventy, however perfect the arrangement, have met together again about Our Lord at any one particular moment. The number of seventy was no doubt chosen in analogy to the constitution of the Jewish Sanhedrim.

**1399.** In the charge delivered to the Seventy, Our Lord apostrophises Chorazin and Bethsaida and Capernaum, Luke, x. 13; and these reflections were apparently suggested by Our Lord's farewell to Galilee, and confirm the hypothesis that He was now on His way to Jerusalem never more to return.

**1400.** In the mission of the Seventy (as previously of the Twelve, Matt. ix. 37), Our Lord addresses them as labourers in God's harvest. *Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἔργαται ὀλίγοι*. Luke, x. 2. The plain of Esdraelon was one great harvest field.

**1401.** Our Lord delivers at this time the parable of the Jew who fell amongst Thieves, on his way from Jerusalem to Jericho, the road which Jesus Himself was about to take. The character of the charitable Samaritan is appropriately introduced, as Our Lord was now on the borders of Samaria, and an instance had very recently occurred of the general ill-feeling of the Samaritans against the Jews.

**1402.** In the course of His progress, Our Lord visits the village of Martha (not Bethany, but some village of Galilee, on the skirts of Samaria). Luke, x. 38. (For the explanation of the domicile of Martha, see A. D. 32, no. 1370.)

**1403.** Jesus cures the dumb man. Luke, xi. 14. This appears to be the same miracle as the cure of the dumb and blind recorded by Matthew, xii. 22; and if so, it is a solitary instance of an account in Matthew by anticipation of one incident of Our Lord's last journey from Galilee to Judæa, fully described by Luke, but otherwise passed over in silence by Matthew.

**1404.** The parable of the foolish man who would fain be building new barns for his crops when his soul was to be required of him the same night is spoken by Our Lord when still in the great cornfield of Esdraelon, and perhaps just at the close of harvest. Luke, xii. 16.

**1405.** Our Lord alludes to the lilies of the field. *Τὰ κρίνα*. Luke, xii. 27. It is remarked by Stanley that he saw no lilies in Palestine, and he thinks that the word *κρίνα* means flowers of the tulip and amaryllis kind, which appear in the autumn, and the red and golden hues of which would suggest a comparison with the gorgeous robes of Solomon. Stanley's Palest. 426. However, in Barclay's City of the Great King, p. 422, lilies are enumerated amongst the ordinary flowers of Palestine.

**1406.** About the time of the autumnal equinox the rains commence in Judæa, but at first intermittently. Barclay's City of the Great King, p. 419. Robinson's Palest. i. 429. The earliest indication of a fall of rain is the well-known cloud rising from the western sea. 1 Kings, xviii. 44. After two or three days the wind commonly shifts to the south, and then the heat returns. It can scarcely be doubted that Our Lord alludes to this phenomenon in the following commencement of His discourse: *Ὅταν ἴδῃτε τὴν νεφέλην ἀνατέλλουσαν ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, εὐθὺς λέγετε "Ὀμβροσ ἔρχεται, καὶ γίνεται οὕτω" καὶ ὅταν νότον πνέοντα, λέγετε ὅτι καύσων ἔσται καὶ γίνεται*. Luke, xii. 54. The words were spoken about the time of year when the settled weather breaks, and they may have been delivered by Our Lord while standing on or near the rocky plateau bounding the plain of Esdraelon on the south, whence Elijah saw the cloud rising from the west like a man's hand. See Stanley's Palestine, 349. In a recent Book of Travels under the date of 17 September, will be found an instance of this cloud from the west growing suddenly into a storm: 'The clouds spread and fell in a tremendous torrent; the ships looked as if they would break from their anchors, and loud peals of thunder made the casemented rooms in which we sat tremble violently.' Domestic Life in Palestine, p. 69, by M. E. Rogers. 1862.

**1407.** In the course of this circuit intelligence is brought to Jesus of the slaughter by Pilate of some Galileans when engaged upon their sacrifices. *Παρήσαν δὲ τινες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ*



καρῶ ἀπαγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ὧν τὸ αἷμα Πιλάτος ἔμιξε μετὰ τῶν θουσιῶν αὐτῶν. Luke, xiii. 1. We have no historical account of this massacre, but we may collect the nature of it from some scattered notices. At the Passover A.D. 33 Barabbas, the bandit, was still in prison for a sedition in Jerusalem, which had been attended with bloodshed. "Ὅστις ἦν διὰ στάσιν τινὰ γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόρον βεβλημένος εἰς φυλακὴν. Luke, xxiii. 19. Τὸν διὰ στάσιν καὶ φόρον βεβλημένον εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν. Luke, xxiii. 25. Ἦν δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν συστασιαστῶν δεδεμένος, οἵτινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φόρον πεποιήκεισαν. Mark, xv. 7. And Herod and Pilate were at the Passover A.D. 33, on unfriendly terms from some recent quarrel. Προῦπῆρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ὄντες πρὸς ἑαυτούς. Luke, xxiii. 12. It would seem, therefore, that in his haste to put down the movement of Barabbas and his accomplices (συστασιαστάς), Pilate had committed an indiscriminate slaughter in the Temple (where disturbances usually began, and for the suppression of which the Roman soldiery were always posted at the feasts on the western cloister), and that some Galileans, the subjects of Herod, had, whether deservedly or not, and during their sacrifices, fallen victims to the onslaught. Herod, as Tetrarch of Galilee, had resented this, and a coolness ensued. The outbreak of Barabbas, therefore, had not long preceded the Passover A.D. 33; and, as we cannot doubt that it occurred at some feast when both Pilate, who usually resided at Cæsarea, would be present at Jerusalem to keep the peace, and when the Galileans would also be assembled there to offer their sacrifices, the transaction referred to may be assigned to the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 32 (8 October), the last great feast next before the Passover A.D. 33.

**1408.** At the same time that Our Lord comments on the slaughter of the Galileans as a warning to the inhabitants of Galilee, He refers to the fall of the Tower of Siloam\* as a

\* In Josephus's description of the siege of Jerusalem is the following passage: Παραχορῆμα μὲν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Σιλωᾶμ καταφύγουσαν. Αὐθις δὲ ὀλίγον ἀνακύψαντες ἐκ τοῦ δέουσι ὄρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆδε περιτείχισμα, etc., Bell. vi. 8, 5, which leads Robinson to conclude that there was 'a wall or fortification round that fountain.' Rob. B. R. i. 311. As Robinson writes in general with so much accuracy,

warning to the dwellers in Jerusalem. Ἡ ἐκείνοι οἱ δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ, ἐφ' οὓς ἔπεσεν ὁ πύργος ἐν τῷ Σιλωᾶμ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, δοκεῖτε ὅτι οὗτοι ὀφειλέται ἐγένοντο παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Luke, xiii. 4. The difference of the language with reference to the two events cannot fail to strike the reader. The slaughter of the Galileans had evidently but just occurred, but the fall of the tower is spoken of as a past event at an indefinite time. From the number of those who perished on the latter occasion, it may reasonably be presumed that there was at the moment some extraordinary assemblage about Siloam; and this would be the case at the Feast of Tabernacles when water was drawn with great solemnity from the pool and carried to the Temple, and there, after a solemn procession of the priests and Levites, poured upon the altar of burnt offerings. The accident had, perhaps, been witnessed by Our Lord and His disciples personally when present at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 31.

**1409.** Our Lord is at this time employed upon the fourth year of His ministry, as appears from the parable of the fig-tree, where the Vine-dresser (i.e. Our Lord) speaks of the fourth year as now current. Ἐτη τρία ἔρχομαι ζητῶν καρπὸν, etc. Κύριε, ἄφες αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος ἕως ὅτου σκάψω περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ βάλω κοπρίαν, etc. Luke, xiii. 7, 8. The fourth year of Our Lord's ministry began at the Passover A.D. 32.

**1410.** Jesus preaches in a synagogue on a Sabbath day. Ἦν δὲ διδάσκων ἐν μιᾷ τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι. Luke, xiii. 10.

**1411.** He teaches in the cities and villages of Galilee, but is still on His way to Jerusalem. Καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πορείαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Luke, xiii. 22.

**1412.** Jesus is warned to flee out of Galilee, as Herod was seeking His life. Luke, xiii. 31. The answer of Our Lord is: Πορευθέντες εἵπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ, Ἰδοὺ ἐκβάλλω δαιμόνια καὶ ἰάσεις ἐπιτελῶ σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ τελειούμαι· πλὴν δεῖ με σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ

it may be as well to correct the error into which he has here fallen. The περιτείχισμα was not a fortification about the fountain, but the wall of circumvallation which Titus had drawn round the city. Whiston has rendered it correctly as 'that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side.'

τῇ ἐχομένῃ πορεύεσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολέσθαι ἔξω Ἱερουσαλήμ . . . Ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυνάξαι τὰ τέκνα, *etc.* Luke, xiii. 34. The three days here referred to are of course not to be interpreted literally, but the definite is used for the indefinite (see Hos. vi. 2). Our Lord here apparently refers to the three days' grace allowed to pilgrims on their way to the Feast. 'The three days before the Feast and the three after the Feast shall be all days of immunity and freedom for all the Jews in every realm.' 1 Macc. x. 34. The word *ποσάκις*, applied to Our Lord's repeated and earnest endeavours to work the conversion of Jerusalem, is very appropriate, as we have already noticed four recorded visits of Jesus, at the risk of His life, to the capital of Judæa—viz. at the Passover A.D. 29, Pentecost A.D. 30, Tabernacles A.D. 31, and Feast of Dedication A.D. 31. It is added: *Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἴδητέ με, ἕως ἂν εἴπητε Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.* Luke, xiii. 35. And as at His last entry into Jerusalem the attendant multitude shouted, *Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου*, John, xii. 13; Luke, xix. 38; Mark, xi. 9; Matt. xxi. 9, it has been argued that Our Lord at this time alludes proleptically to the exclamation of the people at the next Passover, and therefore means that He should not again visit Jerusalem, until He did so in triumph just before His death. But this application of the passage, however ingenious, can carry no weight as an argument, for Our Lord was evidently referring not to His triumphant entry into Jerusalem, but to His coming again at the end of the world. This is shown conclusively from Matt. xxiii. 39, where Our Lord uses the same prophetic language *after His actual arrival* at Jerusalem, at the Passover A.D. 33. It is clear, however, from Our Lord's allusion to His travelling from day to day, until He should reach Jerusalem, where He was to lay down His life, that this was His *last* journey; and the sound interpretation of the passage is: I am now on My way to Jerusalem for the last time, and after this visit you shall see Me no more until I appear in glory at the end of the world.

Herod Antipas is here termed 'that fox' from the cunning that ever marked his character. Thus, at one time, he had so supplanted his brother Archelaus in his father's affections as to have been nominated successor to the

kingdom of Judæa (see B.C. 5, no. 901); he was charged with having had a hand in the conspiracy of Sejanus (see A.D. 36, no. 1482); was accused of carrying on clandestinely a correspondence with the king of Parthia (see A.D. 36, no. 1482); entered into a secret compact with Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, for her elopement (see A.D. 29, no. 1178); made John the Baptist his prisoner by treachery (see A.D. 29, no. 1216); and, when on the banks of the Euphrates with Vitellius, sent off a private dispatch to Tiberius of the peace with Parthia (see A.D. 36, no. 1489). The conduct of Herod towards Our Lord was from first to last of a piece with this character. He dared not, from fear of the people, offer any open violence, but tried to get rid of Jesus from his dominions by employing the Pharisees as his emissaries, who should pretend a regard for His safety and endeavour by artifice to compass His departure from Galilee. Herod preserved the same duplicity to the last, for, when Pilate sent Jesus to Herod on the ground that Jesus belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, the latter affected to find no fault with Jesus, and sent Him back to Pilate, Luke, xxiii. 15; but secretly he used his influence with the procurator to procure His death warrant. Acts, iv. 27.

**1413.** Jesus takes His meal with a Pharisee on a Sabbath day. *Σαββάτω.* Luke, xiv. 1.

**1414.** In warning the disciples to calculate the cost beforehand of embracing Christianity, Jesus makes use of this pointed language. \**Ἡ τις βασιλεὺς πορευόμενος συμβαλεῖν ἕτερω βασιλεὶ εἰς πόλεμον, οὐχὶ καθίσας πρῶτον βουλευέται, εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ μετὰ εἴκοσι χιλιάδων ἐρχομένῳ ἐπ' αὐτὸν, etc.* Luke, xiv. 31. As Our Lord was frequently inculcating practical precepts by a reference to surrounding objects or current events, it is not unlikely that He here alludes to the open hostilities which about this time broke out between Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, and Aretas, king of Petra. In A.D. 29, Herod, as we have seen, divorced his wife, the daughter of Aretas, and hence a misunderstanding between the two princes. Afterwards a further dispute arose about the boundary line of their dominions, at Gamala, and eventually their generals took the field, and Herod's army sustained a signal defeat. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 1. It is difficult to fix the exact date of this war. It was some considerable time after the divorce of Aretas's



daughter, in A. D. 29, for that was only the *beginning* of the quarrel. Ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας. Ib. And it was after the death of John the Baptist, in the spring of A. D. 31, for Herod's disaster was imputed as a judgment upon him for the death of the Baptist. Τις δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατόν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μάλα δίκαιως τινομένου κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου βαπτιστοῦ. Ant. xviii. 5, 2. On the other hand, Vitellius heard of the death of Tiberius (16 March, A. D. 37) when he was at Jerusalem, at the Feast of Pentecost (9 May) A. D. 37, and was then on his way against the king of Petra, to avenge Herod for Aretas's victory over him; and Herod had previously written to Tiberius, γράφει πρὸς Τιβέριον, Ant. xviii. 5, 1; and then Tiberius had sent a dispatch to Vitellius, γράφει πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον, Ib.; and then Vitellius had made his preparations, παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς πόλεμον, Ant. xviii. 5, 3; and finally marched against Petra; so that, making allowance for these intermediate transactions, the war between Herod and Aretas could not have broken out *later* than in A. D. 36. But further, it is said that the overthrow of Herod's army was owing to the treachery of some exiles from Herod Philip's tetrarchy, προδοσίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φυγάδων, οἱ ὄντες ἐκ τῆς Φιλιππου Τετραρχίας Ἡρώδῃ συνεστράτου, Ant. xviii. 5, 1; and if, as seems to be implied, Philip was still living, the battle must have taken place at least before 19 August, A. D. 34, as Herod Philip died in the twentieth year of Tiberius, i. e. some time between 19 August, A. D. 33, and 19 August, A. D. 34. Thus the date of the battle lies somewhere between the two extremes A. D. 31 and A. D. 34; and we are disposed to place it in A. D. 32, when the ascription of the defeat to divine vengeance for the death of the Baptist in the preceding year would be the most natural. It may appear an objection that no measures should have been taken by Tiberius to avenge Herod until the sending of a dispatch in A. D. 36; but the dilatory habits of the Emperor are well known, and besides there may have been good reasons for the delay in the present case from the alarm created by the Parthians. In A. D. 33, or A. D. 34, died Artaxias, the Roman king of Armenia, when Artabanus, king of Parthia, seized the opportunity of placing his own son, Arsaces, on the vacant throne. This bold step of Artabanus excited the fears of Tiberius, who

prepared to resist the Parthian encroachment, and, opportunely enough, at the very beginning of A. D. 35 an embassy from a Parthian faction, which had become disaffected through the insolence of Artabanus, arrived at Rome, soliciting support to their views, when Tiberius immediately sent off Phraates, one of the Parthian hostages, to contest the throne of Parthia with Artabanus. At the same time, Tiberius bribed the Iberi to invade Armenia and drive out Arsaces. These troubles continued till A. D. 36, when peace was concluded with Parthia; and then it was that Tiberius sent orders to Vitellius to take up the quarrel of Herod Antipas against Aretas (see A. D. 34, no. 1461; A. D. 35, no. 1472; A. D. 36, no. 1483; A. D. 37, no. 1498). If the defeat of Herod Antipas by the king of Petra occurred in the spring or summer of A. D. 32, the event would of course be fresh in every one's mind at the close of the year, and Our Lord could not have illustrated His subject more forcibly than by referring to the folly of the tetrarch in provoking hostilities without having the sinews of war to maintain the conflict.

**1415.** Jesus, in the course of His journey, uses the expression, εἰ εἴχετε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, ἐλέγετε ἂν τῇ συκαμίνῳ ταύτῃ, etc. Luke, xvii. 6. It is said that the sycamine is to be found only in Lower Galilee, and that, in fact, the line of demarcation between Upper and Lower Galilee was where the sycamine began to grow. Mishna, i. 189, 2, cited 2 Gresw. Diss. 473; and see 1 Kings, x. 27; 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. Our Lord, at this time, therefore, would be in Lower Galilee, where He probably passed the winter months.

**1415 a.** Inscription.

*Saluti Perpetuæ Augustæ Libertatiq; publicæ  
Populi Romani + Genio Municipi Anno post  
Intramnam Conditam DCCLIII, ad Cn. Domi-  
tium Ænobarbum . . . Cos + Providentiæ Fi.  
Cæsaris Augusti Nati ad æternitatem Romani  
nominis Sublato hoste perniciosissimo P. R.  
Faustus Titius Liberalis vi. vir Aug. Iter. P. S.  
F. C.*  
Gruter, 113, 2.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

**A.D. 33. U.C. 786. Olymp. 203, 1.**

SERV. SULPICIVS GALBA.  
L. CORNEL. SULLA FELIX.  
Ex Kal. Jul.  
L. SALVIUS OTHO.

TIBERII XX. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXXV.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. V. PONT. MAX. IMP.  
VIII.

Thirty-seventh year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas and Herod Philip.

**1416.** Tiberius comes within three or four miles of Rome, but does not enter it. Dion, lviii. 21. Tac. Ann. vi. 15.

**1417.** The Laws of Treason, or disaffection to government, are still rigorously enforced. *Dein redeunt priores metus, postulato Majestatis Consilio Proculo.* Tac. Ann. vi. 18. It was under colour of these laws that Our Lord was this year nailed to the cross (see A.D. 15, no. 1065; A.D. 19, no. 1106). From this morbid sensibility, Tiberius orders all who had been arrested as implicated in Sejanus's conspiracy to be put to death. *Cunctos qui carere adtinebantur accusati societatis cum Sejano necari jubet* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. vi. 19.

**1418.** Tiberius, without having entered Rome, returns to Capreae, and Caius Cæsar (Caligula) accompanies him. *C. Cæsar, discedenti Capreas avo comes, Claudiam M. Siliani filiam conjugio accepit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. vi. 20. The marriage was celebrated in A.D. 35. Caius at this time was twenty, i. e. he had completed his twentieth year on 31 August, A.D. 32 (see A.D. 12, no. 1045), and had been brought up hitherto, first by his mother, Agrippina, and then by Livia, and on her death, in A.D. 29, by Antonia. *Comitatus est (Caius) patrem et in Syriacâ expeditione, unde reversus primum in matris, deinde, eâ relegatâ, in Liviæ Augustæ proavia suæ contubernio mansit; quam defunctam prætextatus etiam pro rostris laudavit, transiitque ad Antoniam aviam, et inde vicesimo ætatis anno accitus Capreas a Tiberio uno atque eodem die togam sumpsit barbâque posuit.* Suet. Calig. 10. As Caius was educated under the auspices of Antonia from A.D. 29 to A.D. 33, this will account for the intimacy between Agrippa, afterwards king of Judæa, and Caius, for Bernice, the mother of Agrippa, was a very dear friend of Antonia. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 1.

Agrippa would be often in the company of Caius, at the house of Antonia, if, as we have supposed, Agrippa did not leave Rome until A.D. 31 (see that year, no. 1359).

**1419.** Tiberius, at this time, is deeply superstitious, and devoted to astrology (his coss.). Tac. Ann. vi. 21.

**1420.** Drusus, the son of Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, is put to death. *Drusus deinde exstinguitur* (his coss.) Tac. Ann. vi. 23.

**1421.** Agrippina herself dies, the victim of severe treatment at Pandataria. Her death was on 18 October. *Actæ ob id grates, decretumque ut quintum decimum Kalendas Novembris, utriusque (Sejani et Agrippinæ) necis die, per omnes annos donum Jovi sacraretur* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. vi. 25. Dion, lviii. 22. Suet. Tib. 53.

**1422.** Tiberius appoints C. Cæsar (Caligula) quæstor, and looks upon him as his successor. *Καὶ τὸν Γάϊον ταμίαν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπέδειξεν . . . τῷ δὲ δὴ Γαίῳ ὡς καὶ μοναρχήσοντι προσεῖχε* (his coss.). Dion, lviii. 23.

**1423.** It is mentioned under this year that, from accumulated deaths, there was such a lack of prefects for the People's or Senate's provinces that the consular prefects (viz. of Asia and Libya) were continued for six years together, and the prætorian prefects for three years. *Τοσοῦτον γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀπώλετο, ὥστε τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς κληρωτοὺς, τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγηκότας ἔπι τρία, τοὺς δ' ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ ἕξ ἔτη τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀπορία τῶν διαδεχομένων αὐτοὺς, σχεῖν. Τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἔχοι τοὺς αἰρετοὺς ὀνομάζειν, οἷς καὶ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄρχειν εἶδιδον.* Dion, lviii. 23.

**1424.** The Damascenes and Sidonians have a controversy before Flaccus, governor of Syria, when Agrippa (see A.D. 32, no. 1369; A.D. 38, no. 1533), being convicted of having taken a bribe from the Damascenes, is ordered out of the province. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 3. Sidon, in B. C. 20 (see that year, no. 726), had been deprived of its liberty, and annexed to Syria; and as both Sidonians and Damascenes appeared before the prefect of Syria, it is evident that Damascus, at this time, also belonged to Syria. The controversy was between the Sidonians and Damascenes, and not between the Sidonians and the ruler of Damascus; the latter city, therefore, had not yet



fallen under the dominion of Aretas, king of Petra.

**1425.** Our Lord, in the spring, resumes His circuit, and continues His progress toward Jerusalem. His course is now from west to east, along the borders of Samaria and Galilee, in the direction of Peræa. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσου Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας. Luke, xvii. 11. The remark is apparently introduced to explain how it happened that one of the ten lepers, whose cure is related immediately afterwards, was a Samaritan. Some, as Greswell, understand Luke to say by these words that Our Lord passed through the midst of Samaria, and then through the midst of Galilee, and that Our Lord had, consequently, His back turned to Jerusalem when Luke tells us that He had steadfastly set His face towards it, Luke, ix. 53; but this interpretation cannot be thought of, as διὰ μέσον clearly means along the borders of Samaria and Galilee, i.e. between the two.

**1426.** Jesus arrives at the Jordan, and crosses it from west to east, i.e. from Galilee into Peræa. Μετῆρην ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. Matt. xix. 1. Κάκειθεν ἀναστὰς ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας [διὰ τοῦ] πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. Mark, x. 1.

The expression τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας may mean either the parts of Peræa on the confines of Judæa, or the parts of Judæa itself; but we have seen that τὰ ὄρια of Tyre and Sidon were probably the parts of Galilee of the Gentiles on the confines of Tyre and Sidon, and the same words may be rendered in a similar sense here—'the parts of Peræa on the borders of Judæa.' The *textus receptus* of Mark, indeed, offers a difficulty by saying that Jesus came to τὰ ὄρια of Judæa *by way of Peræa*. But, according to the best MSS., the words διὰ τοῦ, before πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, should be omitted, and have accordingly been rejected by Lachmann. We should infer, both from Matthew and Mark, that Our Lord not merely passed through Peræa, but remained in it for some time. Had they intended only to express that Our Lord arrived in Judæa, they would have said *simpliciter* that He came to Judæa, and not that He came to the borders of Judæa. The part of Herod's tetrarchy called Peræa was bounded, on the north by Pella, on the

south by Machærus, on the west by the Jordan, and on the east by Philadelphia. Jos. Bell. iii. 3, 3.

**1427.** At this point, Matthew and Mark, who omit the last journey of Our Lord through Galilee, again join Luke in their narratives, the next incident, that of Blessing the Infant Children, being recorded by all the three synoptic Evangelists. Matt. xix. 13. Mark, x. 13. Luke, xviii. 15. The Blessing of the Children was apparently in some house where Our Lord was lodging, for Mark adds, καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς ὁδόν. Mark, x. 17.

**1428.** Our Lord, while in Peræa, is attended by great multitudes, and works miracles. Καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ καὶ ἰθεράπευσεν αὐτούς ἐκεῖ. Matt. xix. 2. And exercises His ministry in His wonted manner. Καὶ συμπορεύονται πάλιν ὄχλοι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς εἰώθει πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. Mark, x. 1.

**1429.** The Pharisees try to entrap Jesus, while in Peræa, by addressing to Him the insidious question whether a man might lawfully put away his wife. As Jesus was in the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, who had divorced his wife, the daughter of Aretas, and married Herodias, the question was one of great delicacy. Matt. xix. 3. Mark, x. 2. In public, Our Lord gave a discreet answer; but in private, He told the disciples plainly that to put away a wife, and marry another, was adultery. Καὶ ἐν οἰκίᾳ πάλιν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, etc. Mark, x. 10.

**1430.** Peter, after Our Lord's discourse upon riches, observes, Ἰδοὺ, ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι. Mark, x. 28. Matt. xx. 27. Luke, xviii. 28. This declaration was peculiarly appropriate at the present time when Our Lord had just bid farewell for ever to Galilee, the native country of the disciples; and in the following passage Our Lord probably alludes to the house and wife and children which Peter had left behind at Capernaum. Οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὃς ἀφήκεν οἰκίαν ἢ ἀδελφούς ἢ ἀδελφάς ἢ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ τέκνα, ἢ ἀγρούς, etc. Mark, x. 29. Luke, xviii. 29.

**1431.** The parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard is now delivered by Our Lord, Matt. xxi. 1, and was prompted, perhaps, by the vineyards which abounded in Peræa, Jos. Bell. iii. 3, 3; but were not found to the west of the Jordan.

**1432.** Jesus crosses the Jordan from Peræa into Judæa, and takes the road to Jerusalem, and by the way communicates privately to the disciples (being the third warning of the kind) that He was about to suffer at Jerusalem. Matt. xx. 17. Mark, x. 32. Luke, xviii. 31 (see A.D. 32, no. 1380). The two previous warnings had been given in Galilee to the whole body of believers, and were expressed generally that He must close His life upon the cross; but Jesus now imparts to the Twelve exclusively that the time had arrived, and that He should suffer at the approaching Passover. Notwithstanding this the disciples did not comprehend it, and they still imagined from their preconceived idea of the Messiah's character that after passing through this ordeal, He would take possession of His visible kingdom. Accordingly, James and John, through their mother, immediately afterwards prefer a request that they might sit the one on His right hand and the other on His left in His kingdom. Matt. xx. 20. Mark, x. 35.

It may be asked what pretensions had James and John to take precedence of the other disciples, and how could their mother presume to solicit such a distinction? The scene is natural enough if we consider the relationship of James and John. The mother of James and John was Salome, the sister of Mary, Our Lord's mother (see A.D. 29, no. 1198), and James and John, therefore, being Our Lord's cousins, rested their claims on consanguinity; and Salome, as the aunt of Our Lord, according to the flesh, might well in that character take a liberty which in a stranger would have been presumption.

**1433.** Jesus arrives at Jericho, Luke, xviii. 35; Matt. xx. 29; Mark, x. 46; and as He is passing through Jericho, Zacchæus ascends a sycamore tree that he might see Jesus. Luke, xix. 1. The English translation is, 'And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho, and behold,' etc., as if the incident had occurred when Our Lord left Jericho; but the Greek is 'And Our Lord entered and was passing through Jericho, and behold,' etc. The sycamore grows in the plain only, and the incident, therefore, occurred in Jericho, and before Our Lord had entered the mountain pass. Jesus lodges for the night at Jericho in the house of Zacchæus. *Σήμερον γὰρ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου δεῖ με μείναι.* Luke, xix. 6.

**1434.** Jesus arrives at Bethany six days

before the Passover. Ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς πρὸς ἕξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν. John, xii. 1. The Passover was on 14 Xanthicus, or Nisan, and the sixth day before exclusive would be 8 Xanthicus, or Nisan. That the Jews usually assembled at Jerusalem on that day appears from Josephus. Ἀθροισζομένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν, ὀγδόη δ' ἦν Ξανθικοῦ μηνός, etc. Bell. vi. 5, 3. The day of the Passover or Paschal sacrifices was from sunset on Wednesday, 1 April, to sunset on Thursday, 2 April, the full moon occurring at 5° 12' P.M. on Friday, 3 April; for Pingré places an eclipse of the moon on that day at 3 P.M. for the meridian of Paris, i.e. at 5° 12' P.M. for the meridian of Jerusalem. The Paschal sacrifices were slain in the afternoon on the day next before that on which the moon came to the full, and therefore, on this occasion, between noon and sunset on Thursday, 2 April. The sixth day before was thus Friday, 27 March, but commencing from sunset of the evening before. Jesus then arrived at Bethany on Friday, 27 March, but before sunset, when the Sabbath began.

**1435.** Jesus rests at Bethany during the Sabbath, or Saturday, 28 March. On the same Saturday, after 6 P.M., when the Sabbath ended, Jesus sups at Bethany, in the house of Simon the Leper, Matt. xxvi. 6; Mark, xiv. 3; and Lazarus and Martha and Mary are all present. John, xii. 2.

**1436.** The next day, Sunday, 29 March (since called Palm-Sunday), Jesus rides triumphantly upon an ass from Bethany, or Bethphage, into Jerusalem. The route taken was probably the ordinary one for travellers from Jericho, viz. along the southern slope of Mount Olivet. Just as the descent begins, a partial view of the city is presented; and it was probably at this first glimpse of the holy places, ἐγγιζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἤδη πρὸς τῇ καταβάσει, Luke, xix. 37, that the multitudes, carrying branches of palm cut from the gardens on their road, shouted, *Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου,* etc. Matt. xxi. 9. Mark, xi. 10. Luke, xix. 38. A little further on the whole city bursts suddenly into sight; and it was here that Our Lord, as He gazed upon Jerusalem, shed tears over the melancholy catastrophe which was impending. *Καὶ ὡς ἤγγισεν ἰδὼν τὴν πόλιν ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ.* Luke, xix. 41. See Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, 187-190.



Jesus enters the Temple and looks around Him, and in the evening returns to Bethany to lodge. *Καὶ περιβλεψάμενος πάντα, ὀψίας ἤδη οὔσης τῆς ὥρας, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα.* Mark, xi. 11.

**1437. Monday, 30 March,** Jesus, on His road from Bethany to Jerusalem, causes the fig-tree to wither away. *Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξεληθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Βηθανίας ἐπέειπεν, καὶ ἰδὼν συκῆν, etc.* Mark, xi. 12. *Πρωίας δὲ ἐπανάγων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, etc.* Matt. xxi. 18. This act was emblematical. Jesus had before delivered a parable in which the Jewish nation had been represented as a fig-tree barren for three years, but which the husbandman was to dress for another, being the fourth year; and if it still bore no fruit, the fig-tree was to be cut down. Luke, xiii. 6. Jesus at the Passover A.D. 33 had completed the fourth year of His ministry without having brought the Jews to repentance, and from this time the Jewish polity was delivered over to its doom.

Jesus enters the Temple and expels the money-changers, or those whose occupation in the outer temple was to change at a profit the heathen coinage of the various countries into Jewish money, which could alone be received into the Corban, or Temple treasury. Mark, xi. 15. Matthew and Luke relate this without any note of time, Matt. xxi. 12; Luke, xix. 45; and if these two Gospels stood alone, it might be thought to have occurred on the Sunday; but it appears from Mark to have happened on the Monday.

In the evening Jesus again returns to Bethany. *Καὶ ὅτε ὀψὲ ἐγένετο ἐξεπορεύετο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως.* Mark, xi. 19. *Καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς Βηθανίαν καὶ ἠύλισθη ἐκεῖ.* Matt. xxi. 17.

**1438. Tuesday, 31 March.** Jesus returns from Bethany to Jerusalem, and teaches in the Temple. *Καὶ πρῶτ' παραπορευόμενοι, etc.* Mark, xi. 20. *Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, etc.* Matt. xxii. 23. *Καὶ ἦν διδάσκων τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.* Luke, xix. 47. The disciples point out the magnificence of the Temple to Our Lord, when He predicts its utter destruction. *Καὶ τινῶν λεγόντων περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὅτι λίθοις κάλοις καὶ ἀναθήμασι κεκόσμηται, εἶπε, etc.* Luke, 21, 5. Matt. xxiv. 1. Mark, xiii. 1. This reference to the costly stones of the Temple, as also to the rich offerings sent from all parts of the world, and hung round the cloisters in

which Our Saviour walked, is remarkably true to history. See Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 3; xix. 6, 1; Philo Leg. ad Cai. 36, 40; Judith, xvi. 19; 2 Maccab. v. 16; ix. 16.

On this day, being two days before the Passover, i. e. before the day of Paschal sacrifices, the Sanhedrim meet at the house of Caiaphas, the high-priest, on the subject of Jesus, and concert His death; but are afraid to arrest Him during the feast, lest there should be an outbreak of the people. *Οἴδατε ὅτι μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας τὸ πάσχα γίνεται.* Matt. xxvi. 2. *Ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα, καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, etc.* Mark, xiv. 1. *Ἦγγιζε δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ λεγομένη πάσχα.* Luke, xxii. 1. *Μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα μὴ θόρυβος γένηται ἐν τῷ λαῷ.* Matt. xxvi. 5.

The rulers of the Jews are relieved from their embarrassment how to take Jesus by the offer of Judas Iscariot to betray Him into their hands without tumult. Matt. xxvi. 14. Mark, xiv. 10. Luke, xxii. 3. Our Lord quits His residence at Bethany and passes the night on the Mount of Olives. Luke, xxi. 37. The reason for avoiding Bethany, where He had sojourned hitherto, was no doubt lest the emissaries of the Sanhedrim, now in league with Judas, should lay hold of Him when not protected by the people.

**1439. Wednesday, 1 April.** Jesus remains in privacy, to avoid the machinations of the Jewish rulers; but some Hellenists (Ἕλληνες, see John, vii. 35), through the intervention of Philip and Andrew, seek an interview with Him, when Jesus discourses with them. John, xii. 20. Why Philip and Andrew in particular should have been appealed to does not appear; but we may surmise that these Hellenists were from Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Philip, or from its neighbourhood.

At the conclusion of the discourse Jesus again secretes Himself. *Ταῦτα ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐκρύβη.* John, xii. 36.

Jesus passes the night on the Mount of Olives. *Καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.* Luke, xxii. 39.

**1440. Thursday, 2 April.** On this day the Paschal sacrifices were, by the custom of the Jews, to be slain between noon and sunset, and the Paschal lamb was to be eaten before the next morning. Jesus therefore sends Peter and John to Jerusalem to prepare the Passover; but that Judas, the traitor, might not know the place, Jesus tells them that they

should meet a man with a pitcher, to whose house they should go. Ἦλθε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων ἐν ἧ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα, καὶ ἀπέστειλε Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, etc. Luke, xxii. 7. Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων προσήλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ, etc. Matt. xxvi. 17. Καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθνον, etc. Mark, xiv. 12.

When it was the hour, viz. the usual hour, for eating the Passover, Jesus reclines with the disciples at the table. Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα, ἀνέπεσε καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ. Luke, xxii. 14. Ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης ἀνέκειτο μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα. Matt. xxvi. 20. Καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα, etc. Mark, xiv. 17.

Before eating the Paschal lamb (πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα), and when supper was ready (καὶ δείπνον γενομένου), Jesus rises from table (ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου) and washes the disciples' feet. John, xiii. 1. The expression πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα must be taken to mean not generally before the *festival*, but immediately before eating the *Paschal supper*; and δείπνον γενομένου should unquestionably be rendered, not, as in the authorized version, 'supper being ended,' but 'when it was supper,' i. e. when it was supper-time. So γενομένης ὀψίας in the above passages from Matthew and Mark does not signify when the evening was past, but when it was come. That the supper was not over at the time of washing the disciples' feet appears from the subsequent expression ἀναπεσὼν πάλιν, John, xiii. 12, and from the declaration afterwards made by Our Lord that one of them should betray Him, John, xiii. 21; for both Matthew and Mark expressly state this to have been said during the meal. Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν, etc. Matt. xxvi. 21. Mark, xiv. 18. The same conclusion would also follow from the circumstance that Jesus, after washing the disciples' feet, gave the sop to Judas, John, xiii. 26; for this was done in the course of the supper to mark the traitor without exciting observation. The ceremony of washing the head, and hands, and feet was one of the preliminaries observed by the Jews before eating the Passover (see Philo de Septen., s. 18); and Our Lord, to inculcate humility, discharged the most menial of these offices, viz. washing the feet.

Jesus institutes the Eucharist. Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark, xiv. 22. Luke, xxii. 17.

Judas, on some pretext, leaves the room,

with a bidding from Our Lord not to stay long, John, xiii. 27; but Judas, instead of returning, conceals his treachery with the rulers of the Jews. It was now night. Ἦν δὲ νύξ ὅτε οὖν ἐξῆλθεν. John xiii. 30. Our Lord utters a solemn prayer, John, xvii. 1, and He and His disciples then sing a hymn. Mark, xiv. 26. Matt. xxvi. 30. That the Feast of the Passover was celebrated with prayer and hymns appears from Philo: Μετ' εὐχῆς τε καὶ ὕμνων. De Septen. s. 18.

Jesus withdraws to the Mount of Olives, to the Garden of Gethsemane, beyond the Brook Kedron, at the foot of the mount. John, xviii. 1. Luke, xxii. 39. Mark, xiv. 32. Matt. xxvi. 30, 36. Gethsemane was so called from the oil-presses in that part,  $\text{גתשמן}$ , *torcular olei*. See Kuinoel on Matt. xxvi. 36. The ground now pointed out as Gethsemane is remarkable for the aged olive-trees which stand there; but they cannot be the same as in Our Saviour's time, as, at the siege of Jerusalem by Titus every tree in the vicinity for twelve miles round was cut down to form the military works. The Garden of Gethsemane had been one of Our Lord's resorts, and Judas guided the conspirators thither in the hope of finding Our Lord there. Ἦιδει δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας τὸν τόπον, ὅτι πολλάκις συνήχθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ. John, xviii. 2.

Our Lord is arrested by the chief priests and officers of the Temple, ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ στρατηγούς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, Luke, xxii. 52; with a company of soldiers and constables, under the direction of the chief priests. Ἦ οὖν σπεῖρα καὶ ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν Ἰουδαίων. John, xviii. 12. The band are armed, some (the soldiers) with swords, and some (the constables) with staves. Ὁχλος πολὺς μετὰ μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων παρὰ τῶν Ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Mark, xiv. 43. Matt. xxvi. 47. The arrest of Jesus was without any intervention on the part of the Romans. The company of soldiers was not part of the Roman guard, but of the Jewish guard of the Temple. The Jewish Sanhedrim had the power of death, in case of any violation of the Temple, even against the Romans themselves; and the first charge brought against Our Lord was desecration of the Temple, in saying that He would destroy the Temple, and build it again in three days.



Peter draws a sword, and cuts off the right ear of one of the servants of the high-priest. Matt. xxvi. 51. Mark, xiv. 47. Luke, xxii. 50. The three first Evangelists suppress the name of the servant, from an apprehension, perhaps, of the consequences; but John, who wrote so long after the occurrence, states the name to have been Malchus. John, xviii. 10. Or perhaps John, who was personally acquainted with the high-priest (John, xviii. 15), had information which the other Evangelists did not possess. The violent assault of Peter upon the high-priest's servant may have been one of the causes that induced Peter, out of regard to his own safety, to deny Our Lord in the high-priest's house.

Jesus is bound, and led first to the house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, the high-priest. Καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀνναν πρῶτον, ἦν γὰρ πενθερὸς τοῦ Καϊάφου ὃς ἦν Ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου. John, xviii. 13. This was probably a compliment paid to the aged patriarch, who had himself been high-priest, and all whose sons, at one time or other, attained the same dignity.

Thence Jesus is taken bound to the palace of Caiaphas, the actual high-priest. Οἱ δὲ κρατήσαντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήγαγον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν Ἀρχιερέα. Matt. xxvi. 57. Mark, xiv. 53. Luke, xxii. 54. Ἀπέσειλεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀννας δεδεμένον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν Ἀρχιερέα. John, xviii. 24.

Peter and John follow Our Lord, at a distance, from Gethsemane to the palace of Caiaphas; and John, who was acquainted with the high-priest, is admitted into the palace, but Peter is excluded. However, John afterwards speaks to the porteress, and Peter also is then let in. John, xviii. 15.

Those who held Our Lord in the high-priest's palace mock Him, by bandaging His eyes, and buffeting Him, and telling Him to prophesy who smote Him. Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ συνέχοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐνέπαιζον αὐτῷ, etc. Luke, xxii. 63. Luke places this before the trial of Our Lord by the Sanhedrim; and as this Evangelist is the most methodical, he is here followed. In Matthew the words are τότε (after the trial) ἐνέπτυσαν, etc. Matt. xxvi. 67; and see Mark, xiv. 65. But τότε and similar expressions in Matthew are mere transitives, without denoting any regular sequence of events. It is, however, highly probable that Our Lord was thus mocked both before and after the trial.

As Peter is warming himself at the fire, in the open court of the high-priest's palace, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς αὐλῆς, Luke, xxii. 55, he is charged with being a comrade of Our Lord, and denies Him. He then retires, to avoid notice, into the vestibule, εἰς τὸ προαύλιον, Mark, xiv. 68; εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα, Matt. xxvi. 71; and on being questioned, again denies Our Lord. And an hour after, διαστάσης ὥστε ὄρας μιᾶς, Luke, xxii. 59, denies Him a third time, when the cock crows. If the cock crew at the time called the cock-crowing, it would be now about 3 A.M. Καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔτι λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐφώνησεν ὁ ἀλέκτωρ. Luke, xxii. 60. Matt. xxvi. 74. Mark, xiv. 72. John, xviii. 27.

Our Lord turns round, and looks upon Peter. Καὶ στραφεὶς ὁ Κύριος ἐνέβλεψε τῷ Πέτρῳ. Luke, xxii. 61. As Peter, at this time, was in the high-priest's palace, and Our Lord had Peter in sight, Jesus evidently had not yet been brought before the Sanhedrim, which sat in the council-house.

1441. Friday, 3 April.—At break of day, Our Lord is led up from the high-priest's palace to the Sanhedrim, where the chief-priests and scribes and elders are assembled. Καὶ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡμέρα συνήχθη τὸ πρεσβύτεριον τοῦ λαοῦ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ γραμματεῖς, καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Συνέδριον ἑαυτῶν. Luke, xxii. 66. Matt. xxvii. 1. Mark, xv. 1. It was contrary to law for the Sanhedrim to hold its sittings by night. The council, therefore, would meet about 6 A.M. Our Lord was led up to the Sanhedrim, ἀνήγαγον. The Βουλευτήριον, or council-chamber, where the Sanhedrim met, was contiguous to the western wall of the Temple, and may have occupied the site of the present Mekhimeh, or Town Hall; and the high-priest's palace would seem to have stood just below it.

At first, the Sanhedrim cannot find any tangible ground of accusation against Jesus, ἐζήτουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν . . . καὶ οὐχ εὑρον, Matt. xxvi. 59; Mark, xiv. 55; the testimony of the witnesses not agreeing. Καὶ ἴσαι αἱ μαρτύρια οὐκ ἦσαν. Mark, xiv. 56.

A charge of profaneness is now brought by two witnesses against Jesus, in having said that He could destroy the Temple, and build it again in three days. Matt. xxvi. 61. Mark, xiv. 57. But these witnesses also vary in their evidence, and the charge falls to the ground. Καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἴση ἦν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτῶν. Mark, xiv. 59.

Jesus is now solemnly adjured by the high-priest to say whether He were the Christ, the Son of God; and on His declaring Himself to be the Messiah, the high-priest rends his clothes, and pronounces that, with such open blasphemy, there was no need of further witnesses, and puts the question to the Sanhedrim, How think ye? when the Sanhedrim return a verdict of death. *Τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ; οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἶπον, "Ἐνοχος θανάτου ἐστί. Matt. xxvi. 66. Οἱ δὲ πάντες κατέκριναν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔνοχον θανάτου. Mark, xiv. 64. Luke, xxii. 70. By οἱ πάντες must be meant the whole council as bound by the voice of the majority, for the Sanhedrim were not unanimous, Joseph of Arimathea being a dissentient. Οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συγκαταθεμιμένος τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν. Luke, xxiii. 50. And Nicodemus, and some others, no doubt voted with him.*

The Sanhedrim had passed sentence of death, but the law did not allow them to execute a malefactor during the feast; and yet, if the matter were delayed, there might be an outbreak of the people. Besides, if the chief priests and scribes put Jesus to death, they themselves would incur the obloquy. Their object, therefore, was to extort, if possible, the death of Jesus, and that immediately, from the Roman Governor. The council adjourn in a body with Jesus to the prætorium, late the palace of Herod the Great, and call upon Pilate to order the death of the malefactor. *Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὅ ἐστι πραιτώριον. Mark, xv. 16. Καὶ ἀναστὰν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πιλάτον. Luke, xxiii. 1. "Ἀγούσιν οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον. John xviii. 28. As Jesus was led to Pilate from the *Sanhedrim*, which John here expresses by saying that He was led from the *house of Caiaphas*, it would appear, as is likely, that the house of the high-priest was contiguous to and communicated with the council-room. Or, perhaps, at the close of the proceedings, Jesus had been led back from the Sanhedrim to the house of Caiaphas.*

The prætorium is commonly thought to be identical with what is called the house of Pilate at the north-west corner of the Haram or Temple close. But never was any locality fixed upon with less reason or more in contradiction to the voice of history. The prætorium was unquestionably the palace of Herod in the Upper City, at the north-west corner of the hill now

known as Sion, and on the site now occupied by the castle of David, close to the Jaffa gate.

The Jews themselves do not enter the prætorium lest they should be defiled during the feast, which had begun the day before. *Ἦν δὲ πρωΐα· καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ἵνα μὴ μianθῶσιν ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα. John, xviii. 28. The argument urged by some, that the words ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα imply that the Passover had not yet been eaten, has little weight. The whole festival of eight days was called the Passover, the first day being the day of Paschal sacrifices, and the seven other days the days of unleavened bread; and as unleavened cakes were used from beginning to end of the seven days of unleavened bread, to 'eat the Passover' was to 'keep the feast of unleavened bread,' which had now begun. See 2 Chron. xxx. 22.*

Pilate, in deference to the prejudices of the Sanhedrim, comes forth from the prætorium when the Jews call upon him to put Jesus to death as a convicted malefactor. *Εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος κακοποιός, οὐκ ἄν σοι παρέδώκαμεν αὐτόν. John, xviii. 30. When Pilate replies, 'If He be a malefactor by your law, proceed against Him by your law.' Κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν κρίνατε αὐτόν. John, xviii. 31.*

The Jews answer that their law did not allow them to put any man to death, i. e. during the Passover. *Ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα. John, xviii. 31. The meaning cannot be that the Jews had no power to inflict capital punishment, or Pilate, when they clamoured for the death of Jesus, would not have told them just before to deal with Him by their law. Nor, if the Romans only could put a man to death, would there be any sense in Our Lord's prediction by what death He should die, viz. not by stoning at the hands of the Jews, but by crucifixion at the hands of the Romans. Nor could the Jews intend to say that they were prohibited from putting any man to death without the fiat of the Roman governor, for Pilate gave them his full permission. John, xviii. 31. But this would not answer their purpose, the object of the Sanhedrim being to make the death of Jesus the act, not of themselves but of the Romans. The only consistent interpretation is that the Jews could not by their law proceed to execution during the feast. The Jews said themselves, 'Not on the feast-day lest there be an uproar of the people,'*



Mark, xiv. 2; viz. from such an infraction of the Jewish law. We meet with a similar instance eleven years after, when Agrippa at the Passover of A.D. 44 arrested Peter and put him in prison, but could not bring him forth to the people, i. e. could not proceed to execution, until *after* the Passover. *Βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ.* Acts, xii. 4.

Pilate refuses to order the execution of any one by *Roman* hands unless a criminal by the *Roman* law; just as Festus afterwards, when the Jews asked the life of Paul, refused compliance unless he were first tried. Acts, xxv. 16. The Jews now attempt to set up an offence against the Roman law, viz. that Jesus had held Himself out as King, when Pilate, returning into the prætorium, calls for Jesus and examines Him upon this head. *Εἰσηλθεν οὖν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον πάλιν ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἐφώνησε τὸν Ἰησοῦν.* John, xviii. 33. And on Our Lord explaining that He was a King, not of this world, but of the Truth, Pilate comes forth again from the prætorium, and pronounces that He could find no fault in the man. *Ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὗρισκω ἐν αὐτῷ.* John, xviii. 38.

The Jews now accuse Jesus of having stirred up a tumult amongst the people all the way from Galilee to Judæa. *Ἀνασειεί τὸν λαὸν διδάσκων καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἕως ὧδε.* Luke, xxiii. 5. This alludes to Our Lord's last circuit from Galilee to Judæa, which He had made in the most public manner and during which He had been constantly attended by great crowds.

Pilate, hearing of Galilee, asks if the man were a Galilean, and learning that His domicile was in Galilee, sends Jesus to Herod Antipas, who was then at Jerusalem, and who, as tetrarch of Galilee, had jurisdiction over the case. *Πιλάτος δὲ ἀκούσας Γαλιλαίαν ἐπηρώτησεν εἰ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Γαλιλαῖός ἐστι· καὶ ἐπιγινούσας ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἰεσοῦσας Ἡρώδου ἐστίν, ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἡρώδη, ὄντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις.* Luke, xxiii. 6. This compliment paid to Herod put an end to the quarrel which had previously existed between Herod and Pilate from the massacre by the latter of some Galileans, subjects of Herod, over their sacrifices at the last Feast of Tabernacles. *Ἐγένοντο δὲ φίλοι ὅτε Πιλάτος καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετ' ἀλλήλων.* Luke, xxiii. 12. (See A.D. 32, no. 1407.)

The chief priests and scribes now seek to

extort the death of Jesus from *Herod*, as they had attempted to do before from *Pilate*, by clamour; but the wily tetrarch, unwilling to mix himself up with an unpopular movement, exercises his jurisdiction *pro formâ*, and then clothing Jesus in mockery with a *white* robe (the emblem of royalty with the *Jews*), remits Him to Pilate. *Ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίξας, περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πιλάτῳ.* Luke, xxiii. 11. These *στρατεύματα* were perhaps with Herod to prevent such another outbreak as that which had occurred at the sedition of Barabbas, when some subjects of Herod had been slain; or perhaps, as Herod and Aretas, king of Petra, were now at open war, Herod had brought a strong escort with him in passing to Jerusalem through Peræa, which was part of his dominions bordering on Arabia.

On Jesus being remitted by Herod to the prætorium, Pilate informs the chief priests and elders that neither he nor Herod could discover any capital offence in Jesus, and that at the utmost He was punishable by scourging only for having called Himself a king, not in a political but in a mystic sense. *Οὐδὲν εὔρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ αἰτίων ὧν κατηγορεῖτε κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης . . . Παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω.* Luke, xxiii. 14.

Pilate, as it was customary at the Passover to grant a pardon of some one prisoner, offers to release Jesus. *Πάλιν ἐξῆλθε πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ λέγει, etc.* John, xviii. 38. But the chief priests and elders persuade the multitude to ask the release of Barabbas instead. *Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεισαν τοὺς ὄχλους ἵνα αἰτήσωνται τὸν Βαραββᾶν, etc.* Matt. xxvii. 20. Barabbas, as the leader of an insurrection against the Roman government, was of course highly popular with the multitude, so that they could be easily prevailed upon to give him the preference.

Pilate, on the refusal of the people to accept the release of Jesus, enters again into the prætorium, and causes Jesus to be scourged and then to be mocked by the soldiery as a king with a crown of thorns, and a purple robe the emblem of royalty with the Romans. John, xix. 1. This *scourging* is illustrated by many passages in ancient authors, *μαστιγῇ προαικισάμενος ἀνεσταύρωσεν*, Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 9; ὁ γὰρ μηδεὶς πρότερος, Φλώρος ἐτόλμησεν ἀνδρὰς ἰππικῆς τάγματος *μαστιγῶσαι* πρὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ

σταυρῶ προσηλωσαι, Bell. ii. 14, 9, etc.; and the *mocking* of Jesus as a king is illustrated by a similar mockery of Agrippa at Alexandria (see A. D. 38, no. 1536).

Pilate comes forth to the Jews with Jesus wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe, and tells the Jews again that he could find no capital offence in Jesus, ἐξῆλθεν οὖν πάλιν ἔξω ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, "Ἴδε, ἄγω ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἔξω, ἵνα γινώτε, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὐρίσκω," John, xix. 4; and Pilate, now pointing to Jesus, uses the memorable words *Behold the Man!* xix. 5.

The Jews, on this appeal to their compassion, clamour for His crucifixion, when Pilate tells them to crucify Him themselves, for that he could discover nothing worthy of death, John, xix. 6; when the Jews reply that their law was recognised by the Romans, and that by *their* law He was guilty of death in having made Himself the Son of God. 'Ἡμεῖς νόμον ἔχομεν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἡμῶν ὀφείλει ἀποθάνειν, etc. John, xix. 7.

Pilate, on hearing that Jesus assumed to be the Son of God, is the more afraid, and returns with Jesus into the prætorium, and again questions Him. "Ὅτε οὖν ἤκουσεν ὁ Πιλάτος τοῦτον τὸν λόγον μᾶλλον ἐφοβήθη, καὶ εἰσηλθεν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον πάλιν. John, xix. 8.

Pilate, leaving Jesus in the prætorium, comes forth to the Jews and once more seeks to release Jesus, but the Jews press the charge of treason against Jesus in asserting Himself to be a king, and threaten that Pilate, if he let Jesus go, would not be the friend of Cæsar. 'Ἐὰν τοῦτον ἀπολύσῃς, οὐκ εἶ φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος. John, xix. 12. This seems to have touched Pilate to the quick, and to have at last overcome all his scruples. From the jealous temper of the gloomy tyrant Tiberius, and the rigour with which the laws against treason were now enforced, Pilate became apprehensive of compromising his own safety, should he resist further. He, therefore, *pro formâ* orders Jesus to be brought forth, and takes his seat on the bema, or tribunal, on the Gabbatha, or tessellated pavement, in front of the prætorium, to try Jesus on the charge of treason. 'Ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος ἀκούσας τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἤγαγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθᾶ, etc. John, xix. 13. This is illustrated by a passage in the time of Florus, one of Pilate's

successors, who came forth in like manner from the prætorium to occupy the same tribunal. Φλώρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις (the prætorium, or palace) ἀνλίζεταί, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν θέμενος καθίζεταί. Bell. ii. 14, 8.

While Pilate is sitting in judgment, his wife, who had been disturbed at break of day by the tumultuous uproar of the Jews to procure the death of Jesus, is terrified by a dream about Jesus, and sends to Pilate to do Him no harm. Καθήμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, etc. Matt. xxvii. 19.

According to John, it was now about the sixth hour. Ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ Πάσχα, ὥρα δὲ ὡσεὶ ἕκτη. John, xix. 14. This, if John reckoned from midnight, would be about 6 A.M.; and there is no doubt that such a mode of reckoning was adopted by astronomers. Plin. N. H. ii. 79. Gellius, N. A. iii. 2. See Wieseler, Chronol. p. 410. At the same time, the common mode of reckoning the hours was from 6 A.M. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. vii. 30; ix. 26; iv. 12. Plin. N. H. ii. 79. Jos. Vit. 54. Senec. Apocol. Censorinus, c. 23, etc. And as the other Evangelists reckon invariably in this way, it is more reasonable to conclude that John does so likewise. The word ὡσεὶ ἕκτη, *about* the sixth hour, or *about* noon, allows a considerable degree of latitude, and is therefore not inconsistent with the statement of Mark that the Crucifixion was at the third hour, or 9 A.M., Mark, xv. 25; and the long series of transactions above enumerated precludes the supposition that they could all have occurred before 6 A.M.

The words ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, in the passage cited above from John have been often misunderstood as meaning the preparation for the Passover, and that the Passover, therefore, had not yet arrived. But παρασκευή, or the preparation, had a purely technical meaning and denoted the day before, or the prelude to, the Sabbath. Thus, we read in Josephus, ἐν σάββασιν ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης Παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐννάτης, Ant. xvi. 2; and in Mark, Παρασκευῇ, ὃ ἐστὶ Προσάββατον, Mark, xvi. 42. The Παρασκευῇ τοῦ Πάσχα, or the preparation of, not for, the Passover, means therefore the preparation for the Sabbath in the Paschal week; and that John uses it in this sense is evident from the subsequent passage, ἐπεὶ Παρασκευῇ ἦν, ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ Σαββάτου; for the preparation for that Sabbath



was a *High day*, John, xix. 31; viz. as being the second day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, i. e. the sheaf-offering.

Pilate, having once more offered to release Jesus, but without effect, passes sentence of death upon Jesus, and releases Barabbas, Luke, xxiii. 24; Mark, xv. 15; Matt. xxvii. 24; John, xix. 16; having first washed his hands before the multitude, to signify that the blood of Jesus was on their heads. Matt. xxvii. 24. *Κρίναντος εκείνου* (Pilate) *ἀπολύειν*. Acts, iii. 13.

Our Lord is now led into the prætorium, and is again mocked, wearing the crown of thorns and a purple robe. Matt. xxvii. 27. Mark, xv. 16. He is then made to resume His own raiment, and is delivered over to a company of soldiers and led out of the city, *ἔξω τῆς πόλης ἔπαθε*, Heb. xiii. 12; probably by the gate next the prætorium and called Gennath, or the garden gate, as leading from the hill now called Sion down to the gardens on the north of the wall of Sion, and to the west of the second wall, which ran off northward from the middle of the northern wall of Sion. See Jos. Bell. v. 4, 2.

Jesus is taken to Golgotha, described as a place nigh to the city (Simon the Cyrenian bearing the cross), and is there crucified between two bandits. *Ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Κρανίου τόπον, ὃς λέγεται Ἑβραϊστί Γολγοθᾶ*. John, xix. 17. Matt. xxvii. 33. Mark, xv. 22. Luke, xxiii. 26. The Crucifixion is said to have been at 9 o'clock A.M. *Ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη, καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν*. Mark, xv. 25. But the Evangelist need not be taken to mean that hour exactly; it was probably somewhat later. Golgotha, or Calvary, which is now within the city of Jerusalem, agrees very well with the few *indicia* mentioned in the New Testament. That part of the city, though inclosed by the wall of Agrippa, begun in A.D. 43, and completed in A.D. 66–70, was in the time of Our Lord not comprised within either of the two old walls, for it had been very thinly inhabited, and numerous gardens lay interspersed. *Ταύτη γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρμα χθαμαλότερον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν, ἀμελησάντων, καθ' ἃ μὴ λίαν ἡ καινὴ πόλις συνῴκιστο, τειχίζειν*. Jos. Bell. v. 6, 2.

The two *λησταί*, or bandits, were probably two of the accomplices of Barabbas in the insurrection which had taken place at the preceding Feast of Tabernacles. The execution of Barabbas and his companions may have been

purposely reserved till the next Feast for greater public notoriety. *Non occiditur a iudicibus civitatis suæ, sed ad summum senatum Hierosolytam deducitur atque istic in custodiâ asservatur usque ad festum, et in festo occiditur*. Mishna, Sanhedr. x. 4.

**1442.** From 12 o'clock at noon to 3 o'clock P.M. a supernatural darkness prevails. *Γενομένης δὲ ὥρας ἕκτης σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἑνάτης*. Mark, xv. 33. *Ἀπὸ δὲ ἕκτης ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἑνάτης*. Matt. xxvii. 45. *Ἦν δὲ ὥσει ὥρα ἕκτη καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἑνάτης*. Luke, xxiii. 44.

This supernatural darkness, recorded by the three first Evangelists, is confirmed by heathen writers. The testimony of Phlegon of Tralles, the author of the Olympiads, who lived in the reign of Adrian, is cited by Eusebius in his Chronicon, but unfortunately the Latin version only of Eusebius's work is now extant. The passage from the Latin version is as follows: *Jesus unctus Dei [filius] Dominus noster, secundum prophetias de eo prolatus decimo nono regnantis Tiberii anno (A.D. 33) venit ad Passionem. Quod quidem circa tempus etiam in aliis Græcorum memoriis hæc ad verbum narrata reperimus, 'Solem videlicet defecisse, Bithyniam terræ motu esse concussam, maximamque Nicææ partem prostratam.'* *Atque hæc profecto cum iis congruunt, quæ in Vivifici nostri Passione acciderunt. Quin adeo Phlegon, Olympiadum scriptor, hæc ipsâ de re tertio decimo libro sic loquitur, 'Ducentesimæ tertiæ Olympiadis anno quarto (A.D. 33) tanta fuit solis defectio quantam nemo antea cognoverat: sextâ quippe diei horâ nox adeo offusa est ut in cælo stellæ viserentur. Magnus quoque terræ motus in Bithyniâ fuit, Nicææque pars magna ruit.'* *Sic prædictus vir ait.* Euseb. Chron. ad Olymp. 203, 1. Syncellus, however, the chronologer, who had, it is presumed, the original Greek text of the Chronicon before him, gives the passage in Greek. *Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προφητείας, ἐπὶ τὸ Πάθος προήει ἔτους ιθ' τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας. Καθ' ὃν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εὑρομεν ἱστορούμενα κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα. 'Ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπεν· Βιθυνία ἐσεισθη· Νικαίας τὰ πολλὰ ἔπεσεν· ἃ καὶ συνάδει τοῖς περὶ τὸ Πάθος τῷ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν συνβεβηκόσι. Γράφει δὲ καὶ Φλέγων ὁ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας (συναγαγὼν) περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν*



τῷ ἰγ' ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τάδε· 'Τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς σβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἔκλειψις ἡλίου μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωρισμένων πρότερον, καὶ νύξ ὥρα ἕκτη τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φαῖναι· σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιθυνίαν τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας κατεστρέψατο.' Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ. Syncellus. Müller's Frag. Græc. Hist. iii. 607. The fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad began at Midsummer A. D. 32, and ended at Midsummer A. D. 33; and during that interval there was no natural eclipse of the sun, as may be seen by referring to the tables of eclipses in Pingré's *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*. The passage in Phlegon, therefore, can only refer to the supernatural darkness from 12 to 3 P. M., recorded by the Evangelists at the Passover A. D. 33. The moon being then at the full, an eclipse of the sun by the intervention of the moon was of course impossible. We need scarcely observe that the testimony of Phlegon determines the year of the Crucifixion, for the only Passover in the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad was the Passover of A. D. 33.

**1443.** Our Lord expires upon the cross at 3 o'clock, P. M., on Friday, 3 April, A. D. 33. Καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῇ ἐννάτῃ ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, etc. Mark, xv. 34.

**1444.** The death of Our Lord at the Passover A. D. 33 fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel, that at the end of seventy weeks, or 499 years, 'from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to rebuild *Jerusalem*,' the Messiah should 'be cut off.' Daniel, ix. 24. There were altogether *three* decrees: the first, of Cyrus, to rebuild the *Temple*, Ezra, i. 2; the second, of Darius the Mede, to the same effect, Ezra, vi. 1; and the third, of Artaxerxes, to restore the nationality of the Jews. Ezra, vii. 25. The last is the one referred to by the prophet, as appears from the terms of the prediction itself. Artaxerxes died, as we know from the testimony of Thucydides, his contemporary, in the autumn of B. C. 425, Thucyd. iv. 49, 50; and as Artaxerxes reigned forty years, Diod. Sic. xi. 69; xii. 64, he began to reign in the autumn of B. C. 465. The decree in question was issued on 1 Nisan, Ezra, vii. 9, in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes. Ezra, vii. 7. The seventh year began in the autumn of B. C. 459, and the 1 Nisan of the seventh year would therefore be the 1 Nisan of B. C. 458. This 1 Nisan fell,

according to Greswell's *Prolegomena*, on 6 April, B. C. 458, and counting 490 years from that day, we arrive at 6 April, A. D. 33. Our Lord was crucified on 3 April, A. D. 33; so that the prophecy received its accomplishment in the exact number of years, and almost on the very day of the year when the period expired.

**1445.** Jesus is buried by Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Sanhedrim, *βουλευτῆς ὑπάρχων*, Luke, xxiii. 50; the same evening. Ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης, etc. Matt. xxvii. 57. John, xix. 38; and before the Sabbath, which commenced at sunset. Καὶ ἡδὴ ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευὴ, ὃ ἐστὶ προσάβατον, etc. Mark, xv. 42. Καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευὴ καὶ σάβατον ἐπέφωσκε. Luke, xxiii. 54. That persons crucified were usually buried before sunset the same evening we have the testimony of Josephus. *Τοσαύτην Ἰουδαίων περὶ τὰς ταφὰς πρόνοιαν ποιουμένων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ καταδίκης ἀνασταυρουμένους πρὸ δύντοσ ἡλίου καθελῖν τε καὶ θάπτειν*. Jos. Bell. iv. 5, 2.

The Jewish chief-priests and Pharisees set a watch about the sepulchre of Jesus. Matt. xxvii. 66.

**1446.** Golgotha was nigh to the city; and *in* Golgotha itself was a garden, and *in* the garden a new tomb; and as nothing could be done after sunset, when the Sabbath began, the body was laid in all haste in the tomb close at hand in the garden. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη, κήπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον καινόν, ἐν ᾧ οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἐτέθη. Ἐκεῖ οὖν διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὗτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον, ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν. John, xix. 41. The place of the Crucifixion and the tomb were thus close together, so that the sites of the Crucifixion and of the tomb as now shown at Jerusalem are not open to any objection on the ground of proximity. That the wealthy (and Our Lord was buried in the tomb of one) were interred in this angle just without the city, having the northern wall of Sion on the south, and the western limb of the second wall on the east, is confirmed incidentally by Josephus, who speaks of the tomb of the high-priest John in the same place. Jos. Bell. v. 6, 2. The spot was probably called Golgotha, or the place of the skull, from the public executions enacted there, and from the interments in the vicinity. See Krafft, 28, 158. This part was afterwards inclosed by the wall of Agrippa, which was begun in A. D. 43,



and completed A.D. 66-70; and when Jerusalem was rebuilt by Adrian, under the name of Ælia, the wall of Adrian occupied the line of Agrippa's wall; so that in the time of Eusebius Golgotha was (as it still is) within the city, a little to the north of Sion. Γολγοθά, Κρανίου τόπος, ἔνθα ὁ Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη, δε καὶ νῦν δέικνυται ἐν Αἰλίᾳ πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις τοῦ Σιών ὄρους. Euseb. Onomast.

**1447.** *Saturday*, 4 April, the Jewish Sabbath. This being the second day of the seven days' Feast of Unleavened Bread, which followed the Passover, was also the day of the Sheaf-offering, from which (exclusive) the fiftieth day (inclusive) was the Pentecost. Hence John calls this Sabbath a *high day*. Ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου. John, xix. 31.

**1448.** *Sunday*, 5 April, the Resurrection. Early in the morning Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, and Joanna, and others visit the tomb, and find that Jesus had risen. Καὶ λίαν πρῶτὴ τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων, etc. Mark, xvi. 2. Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βάθεος, etc. Luke, xxiv. 1. Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων . . . πρῶτὴ σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης, etc. John, xx. 1. Ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων. Matt. xxviii. 1.

They tell the apostles, when Peter and John run to the sepulchre. John, xx. 3. Luke, xxiv. 12.

Jesus appears to Mary Magdalene, Mark, xvi. 9; John, xx. 11; and the other women, Matt. xxviii. 8.

Jesus appears to two of the disciples on their way to Emmaus. Mark, xvi. 12. Luke, xxiv. 13. The site of Emmaus has not been ascertained. According to Luke, it was a *κώμη*, or village, sixty stades, or seven miles and a half, from Jerusalem. Luke, xxiv. 13. Josephus also speaks of a place of that name sixty stades from Jerusalem. Jos. Bell. vii. 6, 6. Robinson thinks that both in Luke and Josephus sixty is a mistake for one hundred and sixty, and would identify Emmaus with Amwās, or Nicopolis, which the Itin. Hieros. places twenty-two miles west of Jerusalem; but the distance appears too great to allow the disciples to return to Jerusalem, as they did, the same day.

Jesus appears to Peter. Καὶ ὅτι ὠφθη Κηφᾶ. 1 Cor. xv. 5.

The same evening (Sunday) Jesus appears to the Apostles (with the exception of Thomas)

when assembled with closed doors. John, xx. 19. Luke, xxiv. 36.

The next Sunday He appears to all the Apostles, including Thomas. John, xx. 26. 1 Cor. xv. 5. Mark xvi. 14.

He shows Himself in Galilee to above 500 disciples. Ἐπειτα ὠφθη ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐφαπάξ, ἐξ ὧν οἱ πλείους μένουσιν ἕως ἄρτι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν. 1 Cor. xv. 6. Matt. xxviii. 16. Compare Matt. xxviii. 10; Mark, xvi. 7.

Jesus appears to certain of His disciples at the Sea of Galilee. John, xxi. 1.

Then to James. Ἐπειτα ὠφθη Ἰακώβῳ. 1 Cor. xv. 7.

Then to all the apostles. Ἐπειτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν. 1 Cor. xv. 7.

Jesus leads the Apostles out to Bethany, where they witness the Ascension. Luke, xxiv. 50. Mark, xvi. 19.

This took place forty days after the Resurrection. Οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὄπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς, καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. Acts, i. 3. The Ascension, therefore, was on Thursday, 14 May, A.D. 33. The last words of Our Saviour before He ascended mark the successive circles of the extension of the Gospel. Ἀλλὰ λήψεσθε δύναμιν, ἐπελθόντος τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος (at the Pentecost) καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες, ἔντε Ἱεροσολύμοις (up to the martyrdom of Stephen) καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ (on the dispersion that followed the death of Stephen) καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς (after the call of Cornelius). Acts, i. 8.

**1449.** At this time the disciples hold their meetings in an upper room. Καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθον, ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶν, οὗ ἦσαν καταμένοντες, ὃ τε Πέτρος, καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, καὶ Ἀνδρέας, Φίλιππος καὶ Θωμᾶς, Βαρθολομαῖος καὶ Ματθαῖος, Ἰακώβος Ἀλφαιῶν καὶ Σίμων ὁ Ζηλωτής, καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβων . . . σὺν γυναῖξὶ καὶ Μαρίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ. Acts, i. 13. It would appear from this that Joseph was no longer living, and that the brethren of Jesus were not of the number of the Twelve, but that they now believed on Our Lord's divine mission. At the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 31 they had been still in unbelief. John, vii. 5. Their conversion, therefore, had occurred in the interval, and perhaps during the last great circuit of Our

Lord in Galilee, or it may have been the result of Our Lord's resurrection.

**1450.** Matthias is appointed an Apostle in the place of Judas Iscariot. Acts, i. 26. As this was after the Ascension and before the Pentecost, it was sometime between 14 May and 24 May.

The number of the disciples assembled about Peter is 120. Ὡς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. Acts, i. 15.

**1451.** The descent of the Holy Ghost on Sunday, 24 May, the day of Pentecost, Acts, ii. 1; and not long after the Ascension. Ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας. Acts, i. 5. The descent was at the third hour of the day, or 9 o'clock, A.M., the first season of prayer. Ἔστι γὰρ ὥρα τρίτη τῆς ἡμέρας. Acts, ii. 15. 3,000 converts are made. Ψυχαὶ ὡσεὶ τρισχίλια. Acts, ii. 41.

**1452.** Peter and John, on their way into the Temple at 3 o'clock, P.M., one of the usual hours of prayer, cure the cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐννάτην, etc., Acts, iii. 1; and 5000 converts are made on this occasion by Peter's preaching in Solomon's Porch. Ὡσεὶ χιλιάδες πέντε. Acts, iv. 4.

As to the Beautiful Gate, the Temple proper, or Inner Temple according to Josephus, had ten gates: four on the north, four on the south, one on the east from the Outer Temple into the court of the women, and one opposite to it leading from the court of the women into the court of the Israelites. All the gates but the outer eastern were gilt or plated, but the outer eastern was of Corinthian brass, and far exceeded the rest in proportions and general magnificence. Μία δ' ἡ ἕξωθεν τοῦ νεῶ Κορινθίου χαλκοῦ, πολὺ τῇ τιμῇ τὰς καταργήρους καὶ περιχρύσους ὑπεράγουσα . . . Ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Γυναικωνίτιδος ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνοιγομένη, τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πύλης ἀντικρὺ, πολὺ μείζων. Jos. Bell. v. 5, 3; vi. 5, 3. This Corinthian gate was, no doubt, identical with the Beautiful Gate, and the poor and crippled would naturally here solicit charity from those entering the court of the women, the place of prayer. Solomon's Porch, to which the Apostles and the people adjourned, was just opposite to, and only a few yards from, the Beautiful Gate, and formed the eastern cloister of the Outer Temple.

**1453.** The Sadducees (the party of Annas and

Caiaphas who had put Jesus to death), being distressed at the doctrine of the resurrection, lay hold of Peter and John and bring them before the Sanhedrim, when they are reprimanded and dismissed. Ἐπέστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ Σαδδουκαῖοι . . . Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐριον συναχθῆναι αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ γραμματεῖς εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ Ἄνναν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Καϊάφαν καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ, etc. Acts, iv. 1, 2, 5. This occurred when Herod Antipas was still tetrarch, and Pilate was still in office; for the disciples said in their prayer, συνήχθησαν γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παιδᾶ σου Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ἔχρισας, Ἡρώδης τε καὶ Πόντιος Πιλάτος . . . καὶ τὰ νῦν, Κύριε, ἐπίδω ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν. Acts, iv. 27, 29.

**1454.** Herod Philip dies in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and in the twentieth year of Tiberius, when the tetrarchy is attached to Syria. Τότε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος (Ἡρώδου δὲ ἦν ἀδελφός) τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον, εἰκοστῷ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου ἀρχῆς (from 19 August, A.D. 33, to 19 August, A.D. 34), ἡγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα τῆς Τραχωνίτιδος, καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος, καὶ τοῦ Βαταναίων ἔθνους πρὸς αὐτοῖς. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 6. The commencement of his reign was probably dated, as in the case of his brother Archelaus, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan, B.C. 4 (see A.D. 6, no. 1011), and then the thirty-seventh year of his reign would coincide with A.D. 33, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan; and as his death was also in the twentieth year of Tiberius, it was on some day after 19 August of this year, on which day the twentieth year began.

**1455.** Towards the close of the year dies L. Ælius Lamia, who had been for some years the nominal prefect of Syria, and was then actual prefect of the city. *Extremo anni mors Ælii Lamiae funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandæ Syriae imagine tandem exsolutus, urbi praeferat* (his *cons.*). Tac. Ann. vi. 27. He is succeeded as prefect of the city by Cossus. Senec. Ep. 83 (see A.D. 32, no. 1365; A.D. 39, no. 1549).

**1456.** Still later in the year intelligence reaches Rome of the death of Pomponius Flaccus, Prefect of Syria. *Exin Flacco Pomponio Syriae Proprætore defuncto, recitantur literæ Cæsaris*, etc. (his *cons.*). Tac. Ann. vi. 27 (see A.D. 20, no. 1128; A.D. 34, no. 1462). That Flaccus was prefect of Syria till near the close



of this year appears from a coin of Antioch struck by him in this year (see *infra*, no. 1457 a.).

At this time L. Arruntius, the nominal prefect of Spain, is in detention at Rome from his province for the tenth year current. His appointment, therefore, would be dated in A.D. 24. *Oblitus Arruntium, ne in Hispaniam pergeret, decimum jam annum adtineri* (His *cos.*). Tac. Ann. vi. 27.

**1457.** The wife of Anilæus removes Asinæus by poison, when Anilæus succeeds to the sole authority in the tetrarchy of Babylonia. Jos. Ant. xviii. 9, 5. After this Anilæus ravages the possessions of Mithridates, the son of Artabanus, and takes Mithridates prisoner, but releases him. Subsequently Mithridates is induced to take the field against Anilæus, and a battle ensues. Ant. xviii. 9, 6. All this must have occupied at least a year (compare this date with the years A.D. 18, no. 1105; A.D. 34, no. 1464).

**1457 a.** Coin of Antioch.

Τιβεριος Καίσαρ Σεβαστος + Επι Φλακκου ΒΠ. The letters ΒΠ (82) refer to the Era of Antioch, and the coin was therefore struck between

1 Nov. A.D. 33, and 1 Nov. A.D. 34 (see A.D. 6, no. 1016 a.).

Eckhel, iii. 279.

Coin of Alexandria.

Τιβεριος Καίσαρ Σεβαστος L.K. (i. e. in the twentieth year of Tiberius) + Θεος Σεβαστος. Id. iv. 50.

Inscriptions.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Div. Jul. N. Trib. Pot. xxxv. Imp. iix. Cos. v. A. Pisoraca* (Juxta Herream opp. Hisp. in Vaccæorum Regione). Gruter, 153, 7.

*Ossa Agrippinæ F. M. Agrippæ Divi Aug. Neptis Uxoris Germanici Cæsaris matris C. Cæsaris Aug. Germanici Principis* (Romæ). Id. 237, 4.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 24.

Tabernacles, September 27.

**1458.** The following Table for the Passovers of the years A.D. 31, A.D. 32, and A.D. 33, is taken from Anger, p. 37. The important facts are the times of the new moons, and the week days on which they fell:—

A.D.	New moon	1 Nisan	14 Nisan	Day of week	15 Nisan	Day of week
31	Ordinary 12 March, at 12 h. 56 m. A.M.	13, 14, 15 March.	26, 27, 28 Mar.	2, 3, 4.	27, 28, 29 Mar.	3, 4, 5.
	Intercalary 10 April, at 2 h. 0 m. P.M.	12, 13, 14 April.	25, 26, 27 Apr.	4, 5, 6.	26, 27, 28 Apr.	5, 6, 7.
32	Ordinary 29 March, at 10 h. 57 m. P.M.	31 March, 1, 2 April.	13, 14, 15 Apr.	1, 2, 3.	14, 15, 16 Apr.	2, 3, 4.
	Intercalary 28 April, at 9 h. 15 m. A.M.	30 April, 1 May.	13, 14 May.	3, 4.	14, 15 May.	4, 5.
33	Ordinary 19 March, at 1 h. 16 m. P.M.	21, 22, 23 March.	3, 4, 5 April.	6, 7, 1.	4, 5, 6 April.	7, 1, 2.
	Intercalary 17 April, at 9 h. 30 m. P.M.	19, 20, 21 April.	2, 3, 4 May.	7, 1, 2.	3, 4, 5 May.	1, 2, 3.

The following Table of Paschal full moons for the years A.D. 28–33, both inclusive, is taken from Browne's *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 55.

The hours are reckoned astronomically from midnight, and the week days are those on which the 14 Nisan (after midnight) fell:—

A.D.	Paschal full moon	14 Nisan	Week day
28	h. m. s. 29 March 5 26 19	28 March	Sunday
29	{ 18 March 21 15 52 17 April 3 7 45	18 March	Friday
		16 April	Saturday
30	6 April 22 0 52	6 April	Thursday
31	27 March 13 18 13	26 March	Monday
32	14 April 11 11 29	13 April	Sunday
33	3 April 16 2 50	2 April	Thursday

**A.D. 34. U.C. 787. Olymp. 203, 2.**

L. VITELLIUS I.

P. FABIVS PERSICVS.

TIBERII XXI. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXXVI.  
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. V. PONT. MAX. IMP.  
VIII.

Thirty-eighth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas.

**1459.** Tiberius visits Albanum and Tusculum, but does not enter Rome (*his coss.*). Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιστάντος, αὐτὸς μὲν, καίτοι περὶ τε τὸ Ἄλβανὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ Τούσκουλον διατρίβων, οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Dion, lviii. 24.

**1460.** Pomponius Labeo, who had for eight years been prefect of Mœsia, is driven to commit suicide at Rome. *At Romæ, cæde continuâ, Pomponius Labeo, quem præfuisse Mœsiæ retulî, per abruptas venas sanguinem effudit* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. vi. 29. "Ἄλλοι τε οὖν, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν δημίωv, οἱ δὲ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀπέθανον, καὶ Πομπώνιος Λαβεῶν· καὶ οὗτος μὲν τῆς τε Μυσίας πότε ὀκτῶ ἔτεσιν μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρξας, καὶ δῶρων μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς γραφεὶς ἐθέλοντῆς σὺν αὐτῇ διεφθάρη. Dion, lviii. 24 (see A.D. 35, no. 1479).

**1461.** Artabanus, king of Parthia, on the death of Artaxias, the Roman king of Armenia (see A.D. 18, no. 1102; A.D. 35, no. 1474), appoints his own son Arsaces to the vacant throne (see A.D. 42, no. 1648). Dion and Tacitus record the event as follows:—"Ἦπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Πάρθος, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἀρτάξου, τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Ἀρσάκῃ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱεὶ ἔδωκε· καὶ ἐπὶ μηδεμίᾳ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τιμωρία παρὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐγένετο, τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἐπέειρα, καὶ ὑπερηφανώτερον καὶ τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐχρῆτο. Ἀποστάντες οὖν τινες αὐτοῦ (viz. Sinnaces and Abdus) ἐπρεσβεύσαντο (*ineunti vere*, A.D. 35, as appears from Tacitus) πρὸς τὸν Τιβερίον βασιλέα σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ὀμηρευόντων (*the sons of Phraates*) αὐτοῦντες. Dion, lviii. 26. *C. Cestio M. Servilio coss.* (A.D. 35) *nobiles Parthi in urbem venere, ignaro rege Artabano. Is . . . superbiam in nos, sævitiam in populares sumpsit, fretus bellis quæ secunda adversum circumjectas nationes exercuerat, et senectutem Tiberii ut inermem despiciens, avidisque Armenia, cui, defuncto rege Artaxidæ, Arsacem liberorum suorum veterimum, imposit.* Tac.

Ann. vi. 31. Thus in the passage from Dion we have the following sequence of events:—  
1. The death of Artaxias. 2. The occupation of Armenia by Arsaces, the son of Artabanus. 3. An interval of inactivity on the part of Tiberius. 4. An attempt in consequence by Artabanus on Cappadocia. 5. The insolence of Artabanus towards his own subjects. 6. A sedition in Parthia. 7. An embassy to Rome, which arrived soon after New Year's-day, A.D. 35. If we make due allowance for all these intervening occurrences, it is evident that the death of Artaxias must be carried back at least as far as the first half of A.D. 34, and perhaps to the latter half of A.D. 33.

**1462.** Lucius Vitellius, who was consul this year, is appointed prefect of Syria (see A.D. 33, no. 1456; A.D. 39, no. 1554). That the appointment was in this year may be inferred with almost certainty from the fact that Pomponius Flaccus had died at the close of the preceding year (A.D. 33, see no. 1456), as it cannot be supposed that so important a province as Syria would remain long without a prefect. Suetonius remarks, *Lucius* (Vitelius) *ex consulatu Syriæ præpositus*. Suet. Vitell. 2. And hence it has been argued that Vitellius was not sent to Syria until *after* his consulship, and therefore after A.D. 34. But this does not follow, for consuls at this time were frequently designated for fragments of years, and particularly for the half year; so that Vitellius might well have been consul on 1 January, A.D. 34, and yet at the end of his consulship, in the course of the year, as on 1 July, have proceeded to Syria. The historian, however, may be taken to mean, not that Vitellius went to Syria *after* his consulship, *post consulatum*, which would be a commonplace observation, but that, from the urgency of the occasion, by the death of Pomponius Flaccus, he was, out of the common routine, taken from the consulship itself, *ex consulatu*, and transferred to Syria. Glabrio, while consul, had been sent to the East in the same way (see B.C. 67, no. 26). If this be so, it at once fixes the prefecture in question to the year A.D. 34, the year of Vitellius's consulship.

**1463.** It may be thought at first sight that Tacitus assigns the mission of Vitellius to the year A.D. 35 by saying that Tiberius in A.D. 35 set up Tiridates as a competitor for the Parthian throne, and stimulated the Iberians



to an invasion of Armenia, and that *Tiberius cunctis quæ apud orientem parabantur* L. *Vitellium præfecit*, Tac. Ann. vi. 32 (see the passage cited at large under A.D. 35, no. 1473); but the Annalist does not say that Vitellius was then appointed to the province of Syria, but that in so delicate a crisis the command of all the East was committed to him, an authority which might well have been conferred by a dispatch to him in Syria. Indeed, we learn from Josephus that this was actually the case, for Josephus writes, *πέμπει δὲ καὶ Τιβέριος ὡς Οὐιτέλλιον γράμματα . . . ταῦτα δὲ γράφων Τιβέριος πρὸς τὸν Οὐιτέλλιον, μεγάλων δόσεων χρημάτων πείθει καὶ τὸν Ἰβήρων καὶ τὸν Ἀλβάνων βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀρταβάνῳ μηδὲν ἐνδοίασαι*. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 4. Vitellius, therefore, was already in Syria before the intrigues of Tiberius with the Iberi and Albani; and as the invasion of Armenia by this people was soon after midsummer A.D. 35, and some interval would be required for the assemblage of their forces and for the previous transmission of the Emperor's largesses, we may conclude that Vitellius was in Syria, at all events, very early in A.D. 35, if not in A.D. 34. As to Vitellius, see further, Tac. Ann. vi. 32; Plin. N. H. xv. 21, 24.

**1464.** A battle takes place between Anilæus, the Jew, and Mithridates, the son-in-law of Artabanus, when Anilæus is slain. Jos. Ant. xviii. 9, 7. Artabanus was still on the throne, for Anilæus had been afraid of his avenging Mithridates, should he suffer a defeat. *Πανθόντος* (Mithridate) *τι ἀνίκηστον οὐκ ἀρρημίσειν βασιλέα* (Artabanum). Ant. xviii. 9, 6. A general insurrection against the Jews follows, now that their champion is dead, and great numbers of them fly from Babylonia to Seleucia, and remain there in safety for five years. *Ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἀπαθείς κακῶν ἦσαν*. Ant. xviii. 9, 8 (see A.D. 33, no. 1457; A.D. 40, no. 1603).

**1465.** Death of Ananias and Sapphira. Acts, v. 1.

**1466.** The disciples are now so numerous that their meetings are held, not as before in the *ὑπερῶν*, Acts, i. 13, but in Solomon's Porch, the eastern cloister of the Temple. *Καὶ ἦσαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντες ἐν τῇ στοᾷ Σολομῶνος*. Acts, v. 12.

**1467.** The Sadducees (the party of Annas and Caiaphas, who had procured the Crucifixion

of Our Lord) arrest the Apostles, and put them in ward. *Ἀναστάς δὲ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς* (Caiaphas) *καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἡ οὐσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου, etc.* Acts, v. 17. *"Ο,τε Ἱερεῖς, καὶ ὁ Στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ Ἀρχιερεῖς, etc.*, v. 24. The Sadducees were apprehensive that the preaching of the Apostles would lead to an insurrection of the people against them for the death of Jesus. *Καὶ ἰδοὺ πεπληρώκατε τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ τῆς διδαχῆς ὑμῶν, καὶ βούλεσθε ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀθρόπου τούτου*. Acts, v. 28.

**1468.** The Apostles are miraculously delivered, and, in the morning, preach as before in the Temple. Acts, v. 19.

**1469.** They are again brought before the Sanhedrim, when the Sadducees would have put them to death. Acts, v. 33. But Gamaliel, the leader of the sect of the Pharisees, advises milder measures, and they are scourged, and dismissed. *Ἀναστάς δὲ τις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Φαρισαῖος ὀνόματι Γαμαλιήλ, νομοδιδάσκαλος τίμιος παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, etc.* . . . *Πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θεουδᾶς, λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτόν. . . Μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰουδᾶς ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς*. Acts, v. 34. The Theudas referred to by Gamaliel was probably Judas the Rabbin, the coadjutor of Matthias in cutting down the Roman eagle (see B.C. 4, no. 903). Others think that the Theudas of Gamaliel was Judas the insurgent, who rose up in Galilee shortly after the death of Herod (see B.C. 4, no. 933). As for Judas the Galilean referred to by Gamaliel, he was a well-known patriot in the days of Cyrenius (see A.D. 6, no. 1016).

**1469 a.** Coins of Tiberius.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. August. P. M. Tr. Pot. xxxvi. S. C.* with a temple. As to this temple, see Tac. Ann. vi. 45. The temple is found on other coins of Tiberius, with the inscription *Tr. Pot. xxxvii. or xxxix.*, so that some of the coins must have been struck while the temple was building, and before its completion in A.D. 36. Eckhel, vi. 197.

Coin of Rhescuporis, king of Bosphorus.

*Ba. P. AAT + Head of Tiberius*, i. e. in the year 331, dating from U.C. 457 (see A.D. 2, no. 986). Id. ii. 375.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

**A.D. 35. U.C. 788. Olymp. 203, 3.**

C. CESTIUS GALLUS.

M. SERVILIUS NONIANUS.

TIBERII XXII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT.  
XXXVII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. V. PONT.  
MAX. IMP. VIII.

Thirty-ninth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas.

**1470.** Tiberius, in the spring, is at Antium, where he celebrates the marriage of Caius to Claudia, the daughter of M. Silanus. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Γάιος μὲν Γάλλος καὶ Μάρκος Σερούϊλιος ἵπάτευσαν, Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν Ἀντίῳ τοὺς τοῦ Γαίου γάμους ἐώρταζεν, ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐδὲ δὲ ἐκείνους ἀπελθεῖν ἠθέλησεν. Dion, lviii. 25; and see Tac. Ann. vi. 20. The marriage was not long after Caius's residence at Capreae (see A.D. 33, no. 1418). *Non ita multo post Juniam Claudillam M. Silani, nobilissimi viri, filiam duxit (Caligula) uxorem.* Suet. Calig. 12.

**1471.** Tiberius was also at some time this year in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. *Hæc (the proceedings at Rome) Tiberius non mari, ut olim, divisus, neque per longinquos nuntios accipiebat, sed urbem juxta, eodem ut die vel noctis interjectu literis consulum rescriberet (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. vi. 39.

**1472.** At the very beginning of the year, a secret embassy from Parthia, sent by Sinnaces and Abdus, who wished to dethrone Artabanus, arrives at Rome, with a request that one of the sons of Phraates might be sent to Parthia as king. Tac. Ann. vi. 31. Dion, lviii. 26 (see the passages cited A.D. 34, no. 1461).

**1473.** Tiberius sends Phraates, the son of Phraates; and on his death by the way in Syria, Tiberius sends Tiridates, another son of Phraates. *Ornat (Tiberius) Phraatem accingitque paternum ad fastigium . . . et Phraates apud Syriam . . . morbo absumptus est. Sed non Tiberius omisit incepta. Tiridatem sanguinis ejusdem æmulum Artabano, recipendamque Armeniæ Iberum Mithridatem deligit, conciliatque fratri Pharasmani, qui gentile imperium obtinebat, et cunctis quæ apud Orientem parabantur L. Vitellium præfecit.* Tac. Ann. vi. 32. Καὶ αὐτοῖς τότε μὲν Φραάτην τὸν Φραάτου, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, Τηριδάτην ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικῆ καὶ αὐτὸν γένους ὄντα ἐπεμψε. Dion, lviii. 26.

**1474.** Tiberius, in order to embarrass Arta-

banus, nominates Mithridates, the brother of Pharasmanes, king of the Iberi, to the throne of Armenia (see A.D. 34, no. 1461; A.D. 42, no. 1651), and negotiates an invasion of Armenia by the Iberi (*his coss.*). Dion, lviii. 26. Tac. Ann. vi. 32. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 4. But Tiberius is under so much alarm from the successes of Artabanus, that he writes to Vitellius to establish friendly relations with him if only he could prevail on Artabanus to give hostages. Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Τιβέριος ὡς Οὐιτέλλιον γράμματα, κελεύων αὐτῷ πρᾶσσειν φιλιαν πρὸς Ἀρταβανον . . . πιστεύειν δὲ τῇ φιλιᾷ μόνως ὁμίρων αὐτῷ διδομένων, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου υἱός. Ant. xviii. 4, 4.

**1475.** The Iberi invade Armenia, and take possession of Artaxata, the capital; and Artabanus sends an army under his son Orodes to encounter them. The advance of Orodes was late in the summer, and at the time of the Etesiaæ, which blow in July and August. *At qui Parthis adventabant facile arcebantur, cum alios incessus hostis clausisset, unum reliquum mare inter et extremos Albanorum montes æstas impediret, quia flatibus Etesiarum implentur vada, hibernus auster revolvit fluctus, pulsoque introversus freto, brevina littorum mudantur (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. vi. 33. Οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖ (the Iberi) ἀντειχον, Σκύθας δὲ, διόδοον αὐτοῖς δίδοντες διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς Κασπίας ἀνοίξαντες, ἐπάγουσι τῷ Ἀρταβάνῳ, etc. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 4; and see Dion, lviii. 26.

**1476.** Orodes is defeated and slain. Καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τούτων τῶν μαχῶν ἔπεσε μετὰ πολλῶν στρατοῦ μυριάδων. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 4. But, according to Tacitus, he was wounded only. Tac. Ann. vi. 35.

**1477.** Artabanus is about to bring succour, but is prevented by his fears of a Roman war, Vitellius threatening an invasion of Mesopotamia. *Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultimum . . . nec ideo abscedebat, ni contractis legionibus, Vitellius, et subdito rumore, tanquam Mesopotamiam invasurus, metum Romani belli fecisset.* Tac. Ann. vi. 36.

**1478.** The conspiracy in Parthia gains strength from Artabanus's ill-success, and he is obliged to fly to Hyrcania. Tac. Ann. vi. 36. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 4.

**1479.** Poppæus Sabinus, the prefect of Macedonia and Mæsia (see A.D. 34, no. 1411), dies *his coss.* Ποππαῖος δὲ Σαβίνος τῆς τε Μυσίας ἐκατέρας (see A.D. 20, no. 1128) καὶ προσέτι καὶ



τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου παρὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἶπεν τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου ἀρχὴν ἡγεμονεύσας, ἥδιστα προσηλλάγη πρὶν τινα αἰτίαν λαβεῖν. Dion, lviii. 25. According to Tacitus, Poppæus had been prefect of the most important provinces for twenty-four years. *Fine anni* (A.D. 35) *Poppæus Sabinus concessit vitâ, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulum ac triumphale decus adeptus, maximisque provinciis per quatuor et viginti annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat.* Tac. Ann. vi. 39.

**1480.** The Hellenists, or Jews of the dispersion who had embraced Christianity, complain of an undue preference being given to the widows of Hebrews, or Jews of Judæa, in the distribution of alms, and seven deacons are appointed in consequence to superintend the alms. The widows and orphans of poor Jews were supported from the Corban, or Temple treasury, 2 Maccab. iii. 10; and of course the Sadducees and Pharisees took care to exclude the widows and orphans of Christian converts (or apostates, as they would be called) from all participation in this bounty, and hence the necessity of an eleemosynary subscription amongst the Christians themselves. The deacons would appear, from their names, to have been chiefly Hellenists, a choice intended to obviate more effectually the suspicion of any undue leaning towards the Hebrews. Καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον . . . καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Πρόχορον καὶ Νικάνορα καὶ Τίμωνα καὶ Παρμενᾶν καὶ Νικόλαον προσήλυτον Ἀντιοχέα. Acts, vi. 5.

**1481.** The number of disciples had now greatly increased, but still the Church was confined to Jerusalem. Ἐπληθύνετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα. Acts, vi. 7.

#### Inscription.

*Ti. Caesar Divi Augusti F. Divi Juli Nepos Augustus Pont. Max. xxi. Cos. v. Imp. Trib. Potest. xxxvii. Ab Jano Augusto qui est ad Bætum usque ad Oceanum lxxviii.* (Cordubæ). Gruter, 153, 4.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

**A.D. 36. U.C. 789. Olymp. 203, 4.**

SEXT. PAPINIUS ALLENIUS.

Q. PLAUTUS

ex Kal. Jul.

P. PETRONIUS.

TIBERII XXIII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXXVIII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. V. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Fortieth year of the reign of Herod Antipas.

**1482.** Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod, sails to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius, which occurred on 16 March, A.D. 37. Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸς ἐνιαντῶ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβέριον, ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνεισι, πράξων τι παρὰ τῷ Αὐτοκράτορι, δυνάμειως τινὸς αὐτῷ παραγενομένης. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3 (see A.D. 33, no. 1424; A.D. 37, no. 1503). Agrippa sailed from Anthedon; and Erennius Capito was at this time procurator of Jamnia, which had formerly belonged to Salome, who had left it by will to Julia, or Livia, the mother of Tiberius. Καὶ γνούς Ἐρέννιος Καπίτων ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνίας ἐπίτροπος, πέμπει στρατιώτας, etc. Ant. xviii. 6, 3. Agrippa sailed by way of Alexandria, Ant. xviii. 5, 3; and arrived at Puteoli when Tiberius was at Capreæ. Ἀγρίππας δὲ εἰς Ποιολοὺς παραβαλὼν, ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Τιβέριον Καίσαρα γράφει διαιτώμενον ἐν Καπρέαις. Ant. xviii. 6, 4. Josephus adds that Agrippa from this time became the daily companion of Caius or Caligula. Ἀθθίς δὲ αὐτῷ (Agrippæ) Τιβέριος ὁ Καῖσαρ συνίστησιν υἱῶν τὸν αὐτοῦ, κελεύων τὰ πάντα αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐξοδαῖς παρατηχεῖν. Ant. xviii. 6, 4. This agrees with the statement of Tacitus, that Tiberius had taken Caius with him to Capreæ, toward the close of A.D. 33 (see that year, no. 1418). Agrippa appears to have come to Capreæ under the plea of having some charge to make against Herod Antipas; but Tiberius favoured Antipas, and would not listen to it. Κἂν τούτῳ κατηγορὸς Ἡρώδου τοῦ Τετραρχοῦντος Ἀγρίππας υἱὸς Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃν ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρώδης ἀπεκτόνει, παραγίνεται πρὸς Τιβέριον, τοῦ δὲ μὴ προσδεξαμένου τὴν κατηγορίαν, μένων ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τούς τε ἄλλους τῶν γνωρίμων ἐθεράπευε καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Γερμανικοῦ παῖδα Γάϊον, ιδιώτην ἔτι ὄντα. Bell. ii. 9, 5. The accusation was probably the same that Agrippa afterwards brought against Antipas before Caligula, viz. that Antipas had been

privity to Sejanus's conspiracy, and had a secret understanding with the Parthians. *Ant.* xviii. 7, 2. As Caligula disliked Antipas, and favoured Agrippa, the charge on the latter occasion was more successful (see A.D. 39, no. 1561).

**1483.** Vitellius, in the spring, accompanies Tiridates (who, on the death of Phraates, had been sent from Rome to contest the throne of Parthia) as far as the Euphrates. *At Vitellius, profugus Artabano, et flexis ad novam regem popularium animis, hortatus Tiridatem, parata capessere, robur legionum sociorumque* (including Herod Antipas) *ripam ad Euphratis ducit.* *Tac. Ann.* vi. 37. This was very early in the year, for the rainy season was not over; and it was remarked as a phenomenon that the Euphrates was overflowing, though there had been no great amount of rain. *Euphratem nullâ imbrum vi, sponte et immensum adtolli.* *Tac. Ann.* vi. 37.

**1484.** From the Euphrates Vitellius sends Tiridates forward, and returns himself to Antioch. *Exin cum legionibus in Syriam remeavit.* *Tac. Ann.* vi. 37. Tacitus, after relating the embassy of the Parthians at the beginning of A.D. 35, and bringing down his narrative to the return of Vitellius from the Euphrates, adds: *Quæ duabus ætastibus (A.D. 35 and A.D. 36) gesta conjunxi, quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis.* *Tac. Ann.* vi. 38. The return of Vitellius to Antioch was therefore in A.D. 36, but it must have been in the first half of it.

**1485.** The Clitæ, a people of Cilicia Aspera, who had been the subjects of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (see B.C. 25, no. 675), rebel, and Vitellius sends 4,000 legionaries, with auxiliaries, under M. Trebellius, to reduce them. *M. Trebellius legatus a Vitellio præside Syriæ cum quatuor millibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, etc.* (his *co.*). *Tac. Ann.* vi. 41.

**1486.** Tiridates, having parted from Vitellius at the Euphrates, advances on his way to Parthia, and is crowned at Seleucia, which revolts from Artabanus, *Tac. Ann.* vi. 42; but soon afterwards Artabanus advances at the head of an army of Dahæ and Sacæ and repels Tiridates, who returns to Syria. *Nec ultra moratus (Artabanus) quam dum Scytharum auxilia conciret, pergit properus, et præveniens inimicorum astus, amicorum prænitentiam, etc.*

*Tiridates cum paucis in Syriam revectus.* *Tac. Ann.* vi. 44. Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁ Τηριδάτης ἐβασίλευσεν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάβανος Σκύθας προσλαβὼν, οὐ χαλεπῶς αὐτὸν ἐξήλασε (his *co.*). *Dion.* lviii. 26. Καὶ πολλὴν μετὰ ταῦτα στρατιάν ἀθροίσας Δαῶν τε καὶ Σακῶν καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας, κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχήν. *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 4, 4. Seleucia held out against the king of Parthia for seven years after this, and was taken at last by Vardanes at the close of A.D. 42 or early in A.D. 43 (see A.D. 42, no. 1652).

**1487.** Intelligence reaches Rome that Artabanus had expelled Tiridates and recovered possession of Parthia, when Tiberius sends orders to Vitellius to come to an arrangement with him; and Artabanus is ready to meet the overtures. *Ταῦτα* (the return of Artabanus) *ἀκούσας ὁ Τιβέριος, ἤξιον φιλίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον.* *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 4, 5. It is not improbable, however, that Vitellius, without any further dispatch from Rome, may have acted on the orders given him in the previous year (see A.D. 35, no. 1474) to arrange a peace if practicable.

**1488.** Vitellius and Artabanus have a meeting (at which Herod Antipas, as an ally of Vitellius, is also present) on the Euphrates, and peace is concluded, Artabanus giving his son Darius as a hostage. *Ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην παρήσαν, ὅτε Ἀρτάβανος καὶ ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος . . . καὶ Ἀρτάβανος μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμπει Τιβερίῳ ἡμνον Δαρεῖον τὸν υἱόν.* *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 4, 5. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ αὐτῷ (Caligulæ) πολλὰ, ὡς καὶ λάφυρα συνηκολούθησε, καὶ Δαρεῖος, ἀνήρ Ἀρσακίδης, ἐν τοῖς ὡμηρέουσι τότε τῶν Πάρθων ὢν. *Dion.* lix. 17. *Præ se ferens (Caligula) Dariûm puerum ex Parthorum obsidibus.* *Suet. Calig.* 19.

**1489.** At the conclusion of the treaty, Vitellius and Artabanus are feasted by Herod Antipas, who, at the same time, clandestinely sends off a dispatch with the news to Tiberius; and as this dispatch reached Tiberius before that of Vitellius, the latter took offence, and avenged himself upon Herod the following year for the affront. *Καὶ λόγων αὐτοῖς συμβατικῶν γενομένων Ἡρώδης ὁ Τετράρχης εἰστίασεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον σκηνίδα ἐπισκηψάμενος τῷ πόρῳ πολυτελεῖ . . . Ἡρώδης δὲ βουλόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ πρόπον γενέσθαι ὕστιν Καίσαρι τῶν ὡμῶν τῆς λήψεως, ἐκπέμπει γραμματαφόρους τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς γράφας εἰς*



ἐπιστολὴν καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιλειπόμενος ἐπὶ μηνύσει τῷ ὑπατικῷ. Πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον δὲ ἐκεμεμφθειῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπισημήναντος πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς δῆλα αὐτῷ γένοιτο, πρότερον πύστιν περὶ αὐτῶν Ἡρώδου προτεθεικότος, ταραχθεὶς ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος μεγάλως, καὶ πεπονθέναι τὴν μείζονως ἢ ἐπέπρακτο ὑπολαμβάνων, ἄδηλον τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐκρυπτεν ὀργὴν, μέχρι δὴ καὶ μετῆλθε Γαίου τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 5.

This anxiety of Antipas to send the first news of the conclusion of peace may be well accounted for. In A. D. 32 his army had been defeated by Aretas, and he had written to Tiberius, his patron, to give him redress. From that time to the present Tiberius had been obliged to watch and counteract the designs of Artabanus; and, instead of ordering Vitellius to lead his army in support of Antipas against the king of Petra, had commanded Antipas to join Vitellius in the war against the Parthians. Tiberius no doubt promised that, at the conclusion of the war, vengeance should be taken upon the king of Petra. Herod Antipas, in compliance with this mandate, had been amongst the allies of Vitellius at the beginning of the year, and afterwards accompanied him to the Euphrates, Tac. Ann. vi. 37; and his services, in now sending the first intelligence to the emperor, were rewarded by Tiberius's immediately ordering Vitellius to march against the king of Petra (see A. D. 37, no. 1498).

**1490.** At the termination of the hostilities between Vitellius and Artabanus, the former returns to Antioch, and the latter to Parthia. Ἐπὶ τούτοις Οὐιτέλλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἦει, Ἀρτάβανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 5. As Vitellius was at Jerusalem, on his way to Petra, at the Pentecost (9 May) A. D. 37 (an expedition which he would not have undertaken until hostilities had ceased with the Parthians, and orders to that effect had reached him from Tiberius), we must assume that during the interval a dispatch had been sent to Tiberius of the conclusion of peace, and that Tiberius had, in return, commanded Vitellius to make war upon Aretas; and several months, therefore, must have elapsed between the conclusion of peace on the Euphrates and the campaign of Vitellius against Petra. Vitellius was at Jerusalem at the Passover, 19 March, A. D. 37, and had not then received any orders to make war upon Aretas; but such a dispatch must have arrived

soon after, or he could not have been again at Jerusalem, on his way to Petra, at the Pentecost A. D. 37. A dispatch from the Euphrates to Rome, and a counter-dispatch from Rome to Antioch, would require about five months; and we may therefore place the meeting on the Euphrates about the beginning of October. Had it occurred later, the river, when swollen by rains, would scarcely have permitted an interview upon its waters.

**1491.** The Samaritans, in the course of the summer, meet in arms on Mount Gerizim, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄπλοις τε ἦσαν, etc., Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 1; ostensibly for a religious observance, but really for less peaceful purposes, as may be gathered from the subsequent defence of the Samaritans themselves, who, admitting this warlike attitude, endeavoured to explain it away. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαφυγῇ τῆς Πιλάτου ὑβρεως, εἰς τὴν Τιθαραβᾶ παραγενέσθαι. Ant. xviii. 4, 2. Pilate pours horse and foot upon them, and numbers are slain. Ant. xviii. 4, 1. It is likely that those who escaped became freebooters, and that Eleazar (the famous bandit of that day) was at the head of them, for he was ultimately taken in A. D. 56 (see that year, no. 1828), after a brigandage of twenty years, Bell. ii. 13, 2; which would place the commencement of his career in A. D. 36. In A. D. 51 (see that year, no. 1759), we find the same Eleazar heading a similar insurrection in Samaria, Ant. xx. 6, 1; which makes it the more likely that he had been engaged in the former outbreak in A. D. 36.

**1492.** The Samaritans lay a complaint against Pilate before Vitellius. Σαμαρείων ἡ βουλὴ παρὰ Οὐιτέλλιον ὑπατικὸν ἴασιν ἄνδρα, Συρίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα, καὶ Πιλάτου κατηγοροῦν ἐπὶ τῇ σφαγῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 2. And Pilate defends himself, and probably in person, at Antioch. Had Vitellius gone to Jerusalem, Josephus would have mentioned it. The historian also observes that Vitellius, in committing the care of Judæa to a friend of his own, as *locum tenens vice* Pilate, did not appoint him on the spot, but sent him, viz. from Antioch. Ἐκπέμψας ἐπιμελητήν. Ant. xviii. 4, 2. The hearing of Pilate before Vitellius may be placed about November, on the return of Vitellius from the Euphrates, after the conclusion of peace with the Parthians (see *supra*, no. 1490).

**1493.** At the close of the trial, Vitellius

deposes Pilate from his office, and orders him to Rome, to answer for his delinquencies before the emperor, and dispatches Marcellus to Judæa, to take charge of affairs until the appointment of a successor. Καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος Μάρκελλον τὸν αὐτοῦ φίλον ἐκπέμψας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενησόμενον. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 2 (see A. D. 26, no. 1160; A. D. 37, no. 1504). In connection with this removal of Pilate, Josephus notices two important facts: first, that Pilate had been at the time ten years in office; and secondly, that, though he hastened to Rome, he did not reach it until after the death of Tiberius, which occurred on 16 March, A. D. 37. Καὶ Πιλάτος δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, ταῖς Οὐιτελλίου πεθόμενος ἐντολαῖς, οὐκ ὄν ἀντειπεῖν· πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσχεῖν αὐτὸν φθάσει Τιβέριος μεταστάς. Ant. xviii. 4, 2. Pilate had assumed office in A. D. 26 (see that year, no. 1160), and the expiration of the ten years would therefore coincide with A. D. 36. The word ἠπείγετο implies haste; and there was also a general standing order that every prefect, on quitting office, should appear at Rome within the next three months. Ἐν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ μὴ ἐγχερορίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπαίνεσαι. Dion, liii. 15. As Pilate was on his way to Italy, but had not arrived at Rome by 16 March, A. D. 37, his removal must have taken place towards the end of A. D. 36; and it was after the Feast of Tabernacles, 24 September, A. D. 36, for Vitellius, to prevent any *émeute* in consequence of Pilate's dismissal, went up with a strong force to Jerusalem, at the Passover A. D. 37; and had Pilate been deposed before the Tabernacles A. D. 36, Vitellius would, for the same reason, have been present at the Tabernacles A. D. 36, instead of the Passover A. D. 37.

**1493 a.** Coin of Tiberius.

*Ti. Cæsar Divi Aug. F. Augustus + Tr. Pot.*  
xxviii. Eckhel, vi. 198.

Inscriptions.

*Virg. Ti. Cæsar Aug. Pontif. Maxim. Trib. Pot.*  
xxviii. Cos. v. Imp. viii. (Romæ).

Gruter, 176, 3.

*Ossa Tib. Cæsaris Divi Aug. F. Augusti Pontificis Maximi Trib. Pot. xxviii. Imp. viii.*  
Cos. v. (Romæ). Id. 236, 1.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

**A. D. 37. U. C. 790. Olymp. 204, 1.**

CN. ACERRONIVS PROCVLVS.

C. PONTIVS NIGRINVS.

ex Kal. Jul.

C. CÆSAR AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS, i.

TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS, i.

CALIGVLÆ I. FROM 16 MARCH. TRIB. POT. I.

FROM SAME DAY. PONT. MAX. GERMANICVS.

COS. I.

Forty-first year of the reign of Herod Antipas.

First year of the reign of Agrippa I. from  
1 April.

**1494.** Tiberius, after various changes of abode, retires to the Lucullan villa at Misenum. *Mutatisque sæpius locis, tandem apud promontorium Miseni consedit in villâ cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. vi. 50. Suet. Tib. 72, 73.

**1495.** Vitellius, in order to repress any outbreak of the Jews from Pilate's removal, is present at Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover (19 March). It was usual for the *procurators* of Judæa to attend at the festivals; and as Pilate, the procurator, had been deposed, and sent to Rome, Vitellius deemed it prudent to march thither himself with a considerable force to keep the peace. Vitellius, at the festival, confers various boons on the people, as by remitting some taxes, and committing the custody of the pontifical robes, before kept by the Romans in Antonia, to the care of the priests. The visit of Vitellius to Jerusalem is related by Josephus immediately after, and in close connection with, the removal of Pilate at the close of A. D. 36. Καὶ Οὐιτέλλιος Μάρκελλον τὸν αὐτοῦ φίλον ἐκπέμψας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενησόμενον, Πιλάτον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀπέναι πρὸς ἃ κατηγοροῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι διδάξοντα τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα. Καὶ Πιλάτος δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, ταῖς Οὐιτελλίου πεθόμενος ἐντολαῖς, οὐκ ὄν ἀντειπεῖν· πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσχεῖν αὐτὸν, φθάσει Τιβέριος μεταστάς. Οὐιτέλλιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀνέηκε καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴ Πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται· ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς Οὐιτέλ-



λιος, τὰ τέλη τῶν ὠνημένων καρπῶν ἀνήσιν εἰς τὸ πᾶν τοῖς ταύτην κατοικοῦσιν, καὶ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τὸν πάντα κόσμον συνεχώρησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κειμένην ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 2, 3. Vitellius is said incidentally, in another part of the Antiquities, to have written on the subject of the pontifical robes to Tiberius, who gave his permission that the Jews should have the custody of them. Οὐτιέλλιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμῶν ἐπιδημήσας τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις . . . ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσαν τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἔξουσίαν ἔχειν, ἔγραψε περὶ τούτων Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, κάκεῖνος ἐπέτρεψε. Ant. xv. 11, 4. But if Josephus means that *Vitellius* received the rescript from Tiberius, he has fallen into a slight error; for though Vitellius may very well have written to Tiberius upon the subject, yet, as Tiberius died on 16 March, A.D. 37, the rescript must have been sent by his successor.

**1496.** Vitellius, before quitting Jerusalem, removes Caiaphas from the pontificate, and appoints Jonathan, son of Ananus or Annas. Καὶ τὸν Ἀρχιερέα Ἰώσηπον, τὸν καὶ Καϊάφαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἀπαλλάξας τῆς Ἱερουσόνης, Ἰωνάθην καθίστησιν Ἀνάνου τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως υἱόν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 3 (see A.D. 17, no. 1096; and *infra*, no. 1506). The removal of Caiaphas may have been consequent on the degradation of Pilate, with whom Caiaphas had great influence, and in whose illegal proceedings he may have been implicated.

**1497.** Vitellius, at the close of the Feast of Passover, sets out on the road to Antioch. Ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας δὲ αὐθις ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁδόν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 3.

**1498.** Vitellius soon after, and apparently before reaching Antioch, though he had passed Acre, receives a dispatch from Tiberius commanding him to make war upon Aretas, king of Petra; when Vitellius, again collecting his forces—two legions, with some auxiliaries—marches to Acre. Οὐτιέλλιος δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀρέταν δυοὶ τάγμασιν ὀπλιτῶν, ὅσαι τε περὶ αὐτὰ ψιλοὶ καὶ ἰππεῖς συμμαχοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους βασιλείων ἀγόμενος, ἐπὶ τῆς Πέτρας ἤπειγεται καὶ ἔσχε Πτολεμαΐδα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3. At Acre he is met by an expostulation of the Jews not to carry the Roman standards bearing forbidden images through Judæa, when he sends his army round by the great plain of Esdraelon, lying between Samaria and Galilee;

and goes up himself, with Herod Antipas, to Jerusalem, at the feast, which, as appears from the sequel, was the Feast of Pentecost (9 May). Καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου κελεύσας χωρεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτός τε μετὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Τετράρχου καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνέειθύσων τῷ θεῷ, ἑορτῆς πατρῖου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνεστηκίαις. Ant. xviii. 5, 3 (see *post*, no. 1508).

**1499.** As Vitellius had only two legions with him, and some auxiliaries, the preparations for the war must have been brief; and Vitellius made all haste. Ἡπέλιγτο. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3. It need, therefore, occasion no surprise that this visit, on the way to Petra, was only fifty days after his former visit at the Passover of the same year. The visit at the Passover could not have occurred in the preceding year, A.D. 36, as Josephus relates it just *after*, and in connection with, the deposal of Pilate, which was certainly at the close of A.D. 36.

**1500.** The death of Tiberius, on 16 March, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. *xvii. Kal. Aprilis interclusâ animâ creditus est mortalitatem explevisse*, etc.; *sic Tiberius finivit octavo et septuagesimo ætatis anno*. Tac. Ann. vi. 50. *Obiit in villâ Lucullanâ octavo et septuagesimo ætatis anno, tertio et vicesimo imperii, septimo decimo Kalendas Aprilis, Cn. Acerranio Proculo C. Pontio Nigrino Coss.* Suet. Tib. 73. According to Dion, he died on 26 March. Μετήλλαξε τῇ ἑκτῇ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Μαρτίου ἡμέρας, ἐβίω δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἑνέα· ἀφ' ὧν ἔτη μὲν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι μῆνας δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ἐμονάρχησε. Dion, lvi. 28. Josephus differs from himself as to the length of the reign of Tiberius. Ἐθανε (Tiberius) σχῶν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ πέντε μῆνας πρὸς ἑνιαυτοῖν δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσι. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 10. Ἐτελεύτησεν ἡγεμονεύσας ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μῆσιν ἕξ. Bell. ii. 9, 5. Philo states the reign of Tiberius in round numbers at twenty-three years. Τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι ἔτη γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀναψάμενον τὸ κράτος. Philo Leg. 21. And so Cassiodorus *sub coss. Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio*. Clemens Alexand. computes the reign at twenty-six years, six months, and nineteen days. Strom. Lib. i. c. xxi. p. 406. Tiberius began to reign on 19 August, A.D. 14, and died on 16 March, A.D. 37; and he had therefore reigned twenty-two years, six months, and twenty-five days.

**1501.** Caligula succeeds to the empire in the twenty-fifth year of his age. Ἴγχε δὲ πέμπτου καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος, ἡμερῶν τεσσαρῶν καὶ μνηῶν πέντε ἐπίδεν. Dion, lix. 6. As Caligula was born on 31 August, A.D. 12 (*Caïus Cæsar natus est pridie Kalendas Septembris patre suo et Caïo Fonteio Capitone coss.*, Suet. Calig. 8; ἦν γὰρ (τὰ γενέθλια) ἡ τελευταία τοῦ Ἀυγούστου, Dion, lix. 7), Dion places the accession of Caligula, and the death of Tiberius, on the day fixed by himself, viz. the 26, and not the 16, March.

**1502.** Caligula is at Misenum on the death of Tiberius, and follows the body to Rome. *Itaque ut a Miseno movit, quamvis lugentis habitu et funus Tiberii prosequens, tamen inter altaria et victimas, ardentisque tædas, densissimo et lætissimo obviorum agmine incessit. Ingressoque urbem . . . tanta publicâ lætitiâ ut tribus proximis mensibus, ac ne totis quidem, supra centum sexaginta millia victimarum cæsa tradantur.* Suet. Calig. 13-14. The funeral oration is pronounced by Caligula. *Tiberio cum plurimis lacrymis pro concione laudato funeratoque amplissime.* Suet. Calig. 15.

**1503.** Agrippa is released from prison by Caligula, and is made king of Trachonitis, which had been Herod Philip's tetrarchy. According to Josephus, Caligula would have released Agrippa the very day of Caligula's arrival at Rome with the body of Tiberius, but was restrained by Antonia, who represented the indecency of such haste. However, the release of Agrippa was not delayed many days, and may therefore be placed about the beginning of April. Γάιος δ' ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥώμην παρῆν ἄγων τοῦ Τιβερίου τὸ σῶμα, ταφάς τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται πολυτελεῖς νόμοις τοῖς πατρίοις, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ αὐθημερὸν λύειν ὄντα πρόθυμον κώλυμα Ἀντωνία ἦν, οὗ τι μίσει τῷ πρὸς τὸν δεδεμένον, προμηθεῖα δὲ τοῦ Γαίου εὐπρεποῦς, μὴ δοῦσαν ἀπάγοιτο ἡδονῇ δεχομένου τὴν Τιβερίου μεταστάσιν, ἄνδρα ὑπ' ἐκείνου δεδεμένον λύων ἐκ τοῦ ὄψεως· διελευσῶν μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον . . . βασιλέα καθίστησιν αὐτὸν τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας, δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 10. The tetrarchy of Lysanias here mentioned was Abylene, of which Lysanias was tetrarch in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, as recorded by Luke, iii. 1 (see B.C. 4, no. 950; A.D. 41, no. 1620). However, Josephus here anticipates the time of the gift of this tetrarchy, as

it was not bestowed until four years later (see A.D. 41, no. 1619); and accordingly, in the Wars, mention is made at this time (A.D. 37) of Philip's tetrarchy only. Ἀποδειχθεὶς δὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀντήσι τε τῶν δεσμῶν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας· ἐτεθνήκει γὰρ οὗτος· καθίστησι βασιλέα. Bell. ii. 9, 6. And so Philo, Γάιος Καῖσαρ Ἀγρίππα τῷ Ἡρώδου βασιλείῳ υἱὸν ᾧ δίδωσι βασιλείαν τῆς παππῆας λήξεως τρίτην μοῖραν, ἦν Φίλιππος τετράρχης, θεῖος ὢν αὐτῷ, πρὸς πατρὸς ἑκαρποῦτο. Philo in Flacc. 5; and see Dion, lix. 8.

**1504.** Caligula, at the same time, sends Maryllus, with the title of Hipparch, to take charge of Judæa. Ἰπάρχηρην δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκπέμπει Μάρυλλον. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 10.

**1505.** Dion couples with the exaltation of Agrippa the appointment of Antiochus IV. to the kingdom of Commagene, with part of Cilicia. Ὁ γὰρ (Caligula) Ἀντιόχῳ τε τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Κομμαγενὴν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας δοῦς, καὶ Ἀγρίππαν τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἑγγονοῦ ἴσως τε (ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδέδετο), καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάππου ἀρχῇ προσταξίας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πατρῶων ἀπεστέρησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσφαξε. Dion, lix. 8. And Suetonius also alludes to the appointment of Antiochus. *Ac si quibus regna restituit, adjeicit et fructum omnem vectigaliorum et redditum mediū temporis, ut Antiocho Commageno sestertium millies confiscatum.* Suet. Calig. 16. Commagene had been made a Roman province in A.D. 18 (see that year, no. 1104; and A.D. 41, no. 1622). The part of Cilicia annexed to Commagene was Cilicia Aspera, as is evident from the fact that Troxoboris rebelled against Antiochus, and besieged *Anemurium*, which was in Cilicia Aspera. Tac. Ann. xii. 35. It also appears from coins that Elæusa or Sebaste, and Lacanata, cities of Cilicia Aspera, as well as Lycaonia, and Alexandria near Issus, were under the jurisdiction of Antiochus. The coins referred to run as follows:—

Βασιλεὺς Μεγάλος Ἀντιόχος + Λακανατων.

Βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχου + Σεβαστηνων.

Βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχος + Λυκαωνων.

A crowned head resembling that of Antiochus + Ἀλεξανδρεων Er. IP., i.e. in the 110th year, which would place it in A.D. 43, when Antiochus was still king.

Eckhel, iii. 255 (see A.D. 18, no. 1103; A.D. 41, no. 1622).



Antiochus IV. was afterwards deposed by Caligula, and again restored by Claudius (see A. D. 41, no. 1622), and reigned until A. D. 72. See Jos. Bell. vii. 7.

**1506.** Vitellius, at Jerusalem, at the Feast of Pentecost, does not hear of the death of Tiberius for the first three days; and during that time he removes Jonathan from the pontificate, and appoints his brother Theophilus. Τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας ταύτη διατριβὴν ποιεῖται, ἐν αἷς Ἰωνάθην τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος ἐγχειρίζει τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Θεοφίλῳ. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3 (see A. D. 37, no. 1496; A. D. 42, no. 1643).

**1507.** On the fourth day of Vitellius's sojourn at Jerusalem arrives the intelligence of the death of Tiberius, when Vitellius, resenting the affront which he had received the preceding year from Herod Antipas, at once disperses his army, under pretext that he could not march against Aretas without an order from the new emperor. Τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ καὶ γραμμάτων αὐτῷ παραγενομένων ἂ ἐδήλου τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτήν, ὄρκισεν τὴν πληθὺν ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Γαίου, ἀνεκάλεε δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία ἐκάστου χειμαδιῶντος, πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ εἰς Γάιον μεταπεπωκέναι τὰ πράγματα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3. The arrival of the news when Vitellius was at Jerusalem is confirmed by Philo. Γαῖψ παραλαβόντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρῶτοι τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπάντων ἡμεῖς (the Jews) συνήσθημεν, Οὐίτελλίου τότε, παρ' οὗ διεδέξω (Petronius) τὴν ἐπιτροπήν, ἐν τῇ πόλει διατριβόντος, ᾧ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐκομισθῆ γράμματα. Philo Leg. 32.

**1508.** The fact that Vitellius was present at Jerusalem at a feast when the news came of Tiberius's death furnishes some important data for ascertaining the rule by which the time of the Passover was regulated. Josephus does not mention the name of the feast, but it must clearly have been either the Passover or the Pentecost. As to the Passover, it is well known that this feast was observed at the full of the moon. There was a full moon on 20 March, and again on 18 April; and as Tiberius died on 16 March, the feast in question could not have been the Passover, whether celebrated on 20 March or 18 April, as even in the latter case the interval between the death and the feast would be only thirty-three days, and there is no instance of intelligence having ever travelled from Rome to Judæa in less than forty-seven days. The usual period was two

months. Supposing the day of Paschal sacrifices, or 14 Nisan, to have been on 19 March, the day before the full, the Pentecost, which was the fiftieth day from the Sheaf-offering, or 16 Nisan, would fall on 10 May; and if Vitellius was then at Jerusalem, the transmission of the news would have occupied just about two months. If, on the other hand, the day of Paschal sacrifices was on 17 April, the Pentecost would fall on 8 June, in which case the transmission of the news would have occupied about three months. This is inconceivable, as a dispatch of so much importance, and in the second quarter of the year, could not have been a month longer on the road than usual. It is evident, therefore, that the Passover this year must have been observed on 19 March. The vernal equinox was placed by the ancients on 25 March. *Æquinoctium verum a. d. viii. Kalendas Aprilis peragi videtur.* Plin. N. H. xviii. 66, 1. The Passover, therefore, which was notoriously governed by the vernal equinox, was in this case on the full moon next *before* the vernal equinox. On the other hand, in B. C. 4, the full moon was on 13 March, when was an eclipse, and yet the Passover was not celebrated until after the death of Herod, which was about 1 April; so that in this case the Passover was on the full moon next *after* the vernal equinox. According to Ægidius Bucherius, *De Paschali Judæorum Cyclo Doctrina Temp.*, 349, the Jews considered the equinox as arrived when the sun was in the first point of Aries; and the Paschal limits, as fixed by Bucherius, were 18 March, *before* which the Passover could not be celebrated, and 16 April, *after* which it could not be celebrated. See Greswell's Dissert. i. 265. This canon would reconcile the times of the various Passovers, and is probably well founded. It certainly tallies with the statement of Josephus that the Passover was celebrated when the sun was in Aries, Jos. Ant. iii. 10, 5; for the sun entered Aries, according to the ancient calendar, on 17 March, and entered Taurus on 17 April; and, excluding the two broken days, we have from 18 March inclusive to 16 April inclusive for the range of the Paschal feast.

**1509.** Vitellius, on quitting Jerusalem, returns to Antioch. Καὶ Οὐίτελλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀρτιοχείας ἀνεχώρησεν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3.

**1510.** About this time, viz. on the departure of Vitellius from Jerusalem for Antioch, may

be placed the martyrdom of St. Stephen. Acts, vi. 9. Peculiar facilities for the commission of the outrage now offered themselves. The Jews could not by law punish capitally without the fiat of the Roman governor. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1. Whenever, therefore, they were relieved from the pressure of the Roman power, they were ever ready to assert their ancient rights by deeds of violence. Such was the martyrdom of James the Just, in the interregnum between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus in A. D. 62 (see that year, no. 1931). At the present moment, Pilate had been deposed, and the jealous and gloomy emperor Tiberius was dead, and there was great confusion and comparative anarchy in consequence. Vitellius himself, on this pretence, had abruptly abandoned the expedition ordered by Tiberius against Petra. Theophilus, the high-priest, was the brother-in-law of Caiaphas, who had been so instrumental in the death of Christ, and would gladly avail himself of such a season of license to give full play to his hatred of the Christians; and all the attendant circumstances show that the martyrdom of Stephen was purely a Jewish proceeding, without any intervention of the Romans. Thus he was *stoned*, the punishment by the Law for blasphemy, Levit. xxiv. 16; and the execution was *without the city*, Levit. xxiv. 14; and the *witnesses* cast the *first stone*, Deut. xvii. 7. The arraignment of Stephen arose from the opposition of certain of the synagogue of Africa, and of those of Cilicia and Asia. Ἀνάστησαν δὲ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτίνων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας. Acts, vi. 9. It is quite possible that these disputants might have been domiciled at Jerusalem, but it is much more likely that they were attending some feast; and if so, as Pilate was deposed toward the close of A. D. 36, the feast in question must have been one of the great feasts in A. D. 37; and the license afforded by the death of Tiberius leads to the inference that this feast was the Pentecost.

**1511.** Stephen closes his address to the council, or Sanhedrim, as follows:—Τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγέιλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Δικαίου, οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδότες καὶ φονεῖς γεγενῆσθε, Acts, vii. 52; and this language suggests the idea that no long interval had elapsed since the death of Jesus,

in A. D. 33; and it was only four years. However, the νῦν may refer to the existing generation only, as opposed to their fathers.

**1512.** Saul, or Paul, is now a young man, and takes an active part in the death of Stephen. Καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες ἀπέθεον τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας νεανίου καλουμένου Σαύλου . . . Σαῦλος δὲ ἦν συννευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναιρέσει αὐτοῦ. Acts, vii. 58; viii. 1. The word *νεανίας* implies an age above twenty-one and under twenty-nine, and he was probably about twenty-eight (see A. D. 9, no. 1035). It would seem that Saul was even at this time a member of the Sanhedrim, and that he gave his vote for the death of Stephen. Ἀναιρουμένων τε αὐτῶν κατήνεγκα ψῆφον. Acts, xxvi. 10.

**1513.** The death of Stephen is followed by a general persecution of the Christians at Jerusalem, when Christianity, by the dispersion of the disciples, makes a second step in advance by spreading through Judæa and Samaria. Διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας, πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων. Acts, viii. 1. And Saul throughout was the most active in the persecution. Acts, viii. 3.

**1514.** Saul, soon after the outbreak against the Christians, applies to the high-priest and Sanhedrim for letters to the synagogues of Damascus, that if he found any followers of Jesus there, he might bring them to Jerusalem to be tried for blasphemy, and the conversion of Saul occurs on his way to Damascus. Ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος ἔτι ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόβου, etc. Acts, ix. 1. From the expression, *ἔτι ἐμπνέων*, it would seem that the mission of Saul to Damascus was a continuance of the persecution on the death of Stephen. The scene of the conversion was most likely at Kaukaba (the place of the Star), a village six miles to the south-west of Damascus, on the high road from Jerusalem to Damascus. The place now pointed out, but which was not the tradition a few centuries ago, is half a mile to the south-east of Damascus. See Porter's Damascus, i. 43.

**1515.** Paul, in his address to the Jews from the stairs of fort Antonia, in A. D. 58, makes a remarkable reference to this period of his life. Ὅς ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδίωξα ἄχρι θανάτου, δεσμεύων καὶ παραδίδους εἰς φυλακὰς ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς μαρτυρεῖ μοι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, παρ' ὧν καὶ ἐπιστολὰς δεξάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐπορεύομην, ἄξων καὶ τοὺς ἐκέισε



ὄντας δεδεμένους εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἵνα τιμωρηθῶ-  
σιν. Acts, xxii. 4.

One interpretation of this passage is that the high-priest from whom Paul had received his credentials to Damascus was still living in A.D. 58, and could testify to the truth of Paul's story; and if so, it may be thought to furnish a clue to the time of the conversion. From the Crucifixion, in A.D. 33, to A.D. 40 (and no one would place the conversion in any later year), there were only three high-priests, viz.—1. Caiaphas, who was deposed at the Passover A.D. 37 (see no. 1496); 2. Jonathan, who was removed at the Pentecost A.D. 37 (see no. 1506); and, 3. Theophilus, who succeeded Jonathan, and was displaced in A.D. 42 (see no. 1643). It is clear that, if the high-priest to whom Paul applied was living in A.D. 58, Paul could not have received his letters from Jonathan, as the latter was certainly assassinated before the arrival of Paul in Jerusalem in A.D. 58, as is evident from the fact that the 'Sicarii,' who took their name from the *sica* with which they stabbed Jonathan, are expressly referred to by Lysias in his conversation with Paul. Οὐκ ἄρα σιν εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἔξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν Σικαριῶν. Acts, xxi. 38. Paul, then, must have been commissioned either by Caiaphas or Theophilus. If the former, the conversion was before the Passover A.D. 37, when Caiaphas was removed; if the latter, it was after Pentecost A.D. 37, when Theophilus was appointed in the place of Jonathan. Caiaphas was high-priest in A.D. 17, and must therefore have been even then of a discreet age; and the presumption would lie against his being alive, after an interval of more than forty years, in A.D. 58. However, as his death is not mentioned, it is possible that he might have survived that period. Theophilus was one of the five sons of Ananus. The father was high-priest A.D. 7; and all the sons were high-priests in the following order, viz.—Eleazar, A.D. 15; Jonathan, A.D. 37; Theophilus, A.D. 37; Matthias, A.D. 42; and Ananus, A.D. 62. Jonathan came to a violent end A.D. 57; and Ananus (the son) in A.D. 67. Jos. Bell. iv. 5, 2. Theophilus, who came between his two brothers Jonathan and Ananus, was, as we have every reason to believe, still living in A.D. 58.

Another interpretation of the passage, ὡς

καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς μαρτυρεῖ μοι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον παρ' ὧν, etc., is that the person who was high-priest at the time when these words were spoken by Paul in A.D. 58 had been one of the Sanhedrim when the letters to Damascus were granted; and that he, as all the rest of the Sanhedrim, could confirm the truth of Paul's statement. If this meaning be considered the more probable, it implies only that when Paul was at Jerusalem, in A.D. 58, there was then a high-priest who had been a member of the Sanhedrim in A.D. 37. This assumes, however, that in A.D. 58 there was a high-priest, and contradicts the theory maintained by some that Jonathan, when assassinated, was actual high-priest, and that in A.D. 58 the office was vacant by his death. But that, in fact, Ananias held the office of high-priest in A.D. 58 may be collected from Josephus, who, in reckoning up the high-priests from the accession of Herod to the fall of Jerusalem, evidently assumes Ananias to have been invested with the office from A.D. 47 to A.D. 59 (see A.D. 57, no. 1834).

Upon the whole, we should place the mission of Paul to Damascus a little after Pentecost A.D. 37, in the time of Theophilus, who, as the son of Ananus, the bitter enemy of Christianity, would willingly grant the authority. That the conversion of Paul occurred some time between the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 36 and the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 37, we learn from Paul himself; for he was at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 53, and he tells us that he had been there fourteen years before, viz. at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 39, and that his conversion had occurred in the third year current before that, which would be the current year from the Tabernacles A.D. 36 to the Tabernacles A.D. 37. Ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν (A.D. 37) καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν. Ἐπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (at the Tabernacles A.D. 39). . . . Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (at the Tabernacles A.D. 53). Galat. i. 17; ii. 1. For the proof that the expression μετὰ ἔτη τρία means the third year current, and not three years complete, see A.D. 39, no. 1581.

**1516.** Paul, after his conversion, is led into Damascus, to the house of Judas, in Straight Street. Ἀναστὰς πορεύθητι ἐπὶ τὴν ῥύμην τὴν καλουμένην Εὐθείαν, etc. Acts, ix. 11. Straight Street is now called Sultaneh, or Queen Street.

It is about a mile long, and runs direct from the west gate, Bab el Jabyah, to the east gate, Bab Shurky. The street anciently was a most noble one, being 100 feet wide, and divided by Corinthian colonnades into three avenues—one grand central one, and two at the sides. The west and east gates had three portals, of which one only in each now remains, viz. the northern portal of the east gate, and the southern portal of the west gate, the other portals having been walled up. The house of Judas is a little within the west gate, on the right or south side of the street. See Porter's Damascus, i. 47.

**1517.** Paul remains blind for three days, when his sight is restored by Ananias. Καὶ ἦν ἡμέρας τρεῖς μὴ βλέπων. Acts, ix. 9. The traditional house of Ananias is a grotto or cellar in a side street leading northward from Straight Street, about 200 yards from the east gate. See Porter's Damascus, i. 56.

**1518.** Paul, after his conversion, retires for a short time into the adjacent parts of Arabia (a general name, which comprised Ituræa and other neighbouring regions), and then returns again to Damascus. Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ Θεὸς . . . ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι . . . ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν. Galat. i. 15. From the word εὐθέως following immediately after ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι, it has been thought by some that Paul preached in Arabia; but the context seems to imply that he did not preach in Arabia, but only received certain divine revelations there.

**1519.** Shortly after the return of Vitellius from Jerusalem to Antioch, Artabanus voluntarily crosses the Euphrates, and makes his submission to the new emperor. *Namque Artabanus Parthorum rex, odium semper contemptumque Tiberii præ se ferens, amicitiam ejus (Caligulæ) ultro petiit, venitque ad colloquium legati consularis, et transgressus Euphratem aquilas et signa Romana Cæsarumque imagines adoravit.* Suet. Calig. 14. *Lucius (Vitellius) ex consulatu Syriæ præpositus, Artabanum Parthorum regem summis artibus non modo ad colloquium suum, sed etiam ad veneranda legionum signa pellexit.* Suet. Vitell.

2. The treaty between Vitellius and Artabanus in A.D. 36, and the submission of Artabanus in A.D. 37, were distinct transactions,

but in the following incidental reference to Parthian affairs in Dion the two appear to be mixed up together. Καὶ τὸν Ἀρτάβανον καὶ ἐκείνη (Syriæ) ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ἐπειδὴ μηδεμίαν τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐδεδώκει, κατέπληξέ τε, ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἔξαπαναίως (Vitellius) περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤδη ὄντι (A.D. 36), καὶ ἔς τε λόγους αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ θῦσαι ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ τε Γαίου εἴκοσιν ἠνάγκασε (A.D. 37), σπονδὰς τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμφορον δὸς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὀμήρους λαβὼν (A.D. 36). Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Βιτέλλιος μετεπέμφθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου, ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος· ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν βασιλεῖα σφῶν ἐξήλασαν (not the expulsion in A.D. 35, but that in A.D. 41), ἐπὶ τούτου ἐκείνος αἰτίαν ἔσχε, μισηθεὶς τε ὑπὸ του φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου. Dion, lix. 27.

**1520.** At the end of six months from 1 January, Caligula and his uncle Claudius are consuls. Ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι (the consuls of the year) τὸν ἔκμηνον, ἔς ὃν ἀπεδεδείχθηεντο, διῆρξαν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάτευσε, τὸν Κλαύδιον τὸν θεῖον προσλαβὼν. Dion, lix. 6. Claudius at this time was forty-six years old. Τότε πρῶτον, καίπερ ἔξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βεβιωκῶς, καὶ ὑπάτευσεν ἅμα καὶ ἐβούλευσεν. Dion, lix. 6. Caligula was consul for two months and twelve days, and therefore his consulship expired on 12 September. Ταυθ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἔπραξε, δύο τε μηνὶ καὶ ἡμέραις δώδεκα αὐτὴν σχῶν· τὸν γὰρ λοιπὸν τῆς ἐξαμήνου χρόνον τοῖς προαποδεδειγμένοις ἐς αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκε. Dion, lix. 7. *Consulatus quatuor gessit, primum ex Kalendis Julis per duos menses.* Suet. Calig. 17. *Consulatum gessit (Claudius) una (cum Caio) per duos menses.* Suet. Claud. 7. This brief consulship was principally occupied in games and banquets, particularly during the Augustalia, the second day of which, 31 August, was Caligula's birthday. Τὰ τε γὰρ τῆς μουσικῆς ἐχόμενα ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἵπποι δύο ἡμέραις ἠγωνίσαντο, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ εἰκοσάκις, τῇ δ' ὑστέρᾳ καὶ τετράκις, διὰ τὸ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην εἶναι· ἦν γὰρ ἡ τελευταία τοῦ Αὐγούστου. Dion, lix. 7.

**1521.** Not long after the expiration of his consulship, and at the beginning of autumn, i. e. in October, Caligula suffers from illness. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο (the consulship) νοσήσας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέθανε. Dion, lix. 8. This was in the eighth month of his reign (October). Τῷ δὲ ὀγδόῳ (μηνὶ) κατασκήπτει βάρεια νόσος τῷ



Γαίφ. Philo Leg. 2. Διαγγελεύσεως οὖν τῆς ὅτι νοσεῖ φήμης, ἔτι πλοῖμων ὄντων—ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἦν μετοπώρον, etc. Philo Leg. 3.

**1522.** Death of Tiberius, son of Drusus, on a charge of having wished that Caligula's illness might be fatal. Dion, lix. 8. Suet. Calig. 23.

**1523.** Death of Antonia through ill-treatment by Caligula. Dion, lix. 3. Suet. Calig. 23.

**1524.** M. Silanus, the father-in-law of Caligula (see A.D. 35, no. 1470) is driven to despair by Caligula, and commits suicide. Dion, lix. 8. This was shortly after some voyage of Caligula, probably to or from Campania. *Silanium item socerum ad necem secandasque novaculâ fauces compulit, causatus . . . quod hic ingressum se turbatius mare non esset secutus.* Suet. Calig. 23.

**1525.** In the course of this year at the latest Izates succeeds his father Monobazus as king of Adiabene, for Izates reigned twenty-four years, and Monobazus, his son and successor, was on the throne early in A.D. 61 (see A.D. 62, no. 1936). Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον πεντηκοστὸν μὲν καὶ πέμπτον ἀπὸ γενεᾶς πληρώσας ἔτος, τέταρτον δὲ πρὸς εἰκοστὸν δυναστεύσας, θνήσκει (Izates). Jos. Ant. xx. 4, 3.

**1526.** At the end of this year Caligula, having repudiated or lost by death his wife Claudia, the daughter of M. Silanus, marries Cornelia Orestina. Dion, lix. 8. Suet. Calig. 25.

**1527.** Birth of Nero on 15 December of this year. *Nero natus est Antii, post nono mense quam Tiberius excessit, duodevicesimo Kalendas Januarii.* Suet. Nero, 6.

**1528.** Coins of Caligula.

C. *Cæsar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. Pot. + Divus Aug. Pater Patriæ.*

C. *Cæsar Aug. Germanicus P. M. Tr. Pot. Pietas + Divo Aug. S. C.*

C. *Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pon. M. Tr. Pot. + Agrippina, Drusilla, Julia* (the three sisters of Caligula).

C. *Cæsar Aug. Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. + Agrippina, Julia.*

C. *Cæsar Aug. Germanicus + Imperator Pont. Max. Aug. Tr. Pot.*

C. *Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pon. M. Tr. Pot. + Adlocut. Coh.,* with figure of Caligula on tribunal addressing the soldiery.

C. *Cæsar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. Pot. + S. P. Q. R. Ob C. S.,* i. e. *ob cives servatos.*

C. *Cæsar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. Pot. Cos.*

Eckhel, vi. 118.

A coin of Agrippa as king of Philip's tetrarchy, and in the time of Caligula, but without date, and therefore perhaps in Agrippa's first year. *Caput Caligulae + Kaisarēias Ασπιλον Αγριππα Βασιλευ. Vir togatus stans d. chartam involutam.* The *Καισαρεία Ασπιλος* is *Cæsarea Philippi.* Eckhel, iii. 491.

Inscription.

*Jovi Conservatori Sacr. C. Julius C. F. Quir. Arrius V. S. Dedic. xv. Kal. Martias Cn. Acernonio et Pontio Nigro Cos. (Romæ).*

Muratori, i. 303, 2.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 19.

Pentecost, May 9.

Tabernacles, September 13.

**A.D. 38. U.C. 791. Olymp. 204, 2.**

M. AQUILLIUS JULIANUS.

P. NONIUS ASPRENAS.

CALIGULÆ II. FROM 16 MARCH. TRIB. POT. II. FROM SAME DAY. COS. DESIG II. PONT. MAX. GERM.

Forty-second year of the reign of Herod Antipas.

Second year of the reign of Agrippa I. from 10 April.

**1529.** Caligula restores the old form of election of magistrates by the votes of the people. *Τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτι ὑπατοὶ Μάρκος τε Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Νώνιος ἐκ τῶν προποδεδειγμένων ἐγένοντο . . . Τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῷ τε δῆμῳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει ἀποδεδῶκε, λύσας ὅσα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Τιβερίος ὥρκει . . . τῷ μὲν φαύλῳ ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἔμφρονας ἐλύπησε, λογισσάμενους ὅτι, κὰν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἰθῆς γίνωνται, . . . πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συμβήσεται.* Dion, lix. 9. *Tentavit et, comitiorum more revocato, suffragia populo reddere.* Suet. Calig. 16 (see A.D. 32, no. 1367; A.D. 39, no. 1571).

**1530.** Macro, the prefect of the prætorian guard, is nominally appointed to the province of Egypt; but he and his wife Ennia Nævia are driven by Caligula to commit suicide. *Αἰτίαν εἶχε (Caligula), καὶ ὅτι τὸν Μάρκωνα μετὰ τῆς Ἐννίας . . . ἔξ τε ἐκούσιου δὴ θανάτου ἀνάγκην, καίπερ καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ προστάξας, . . . μετέστησε.* Dion, lix. 10. Suet. Calig. 12. Philo Leg. 9; in Flacc. 3 (see A.D. 31, no. 1357; A.D. 43, no. 1658).

**1531.** The death of Drusilla, the favourite sister of Caligula (*his coss.*). Dion, lix. 10.

Suet. Calig. 24. The death of Drusilla must have occurred about June (see *post*, no. 1537).

**1531 a.** Caligula, to divert his grief at the loss of his sister, makes a voyage to Sicily, sailing to Messina. *Peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi, irrisis multorum locorum miraculis, repente a Messaná noctu profugit, Ætnæi verticis fumo ac murmure pavefactus*, Suet. Calig. 51; and thence along the coast of Sicily (see Seneca Consol. ad Polyb. 36) to Syracuse, whence he returns hastily to Rome. *Mæroris impatiens, quum repente noctuque profugisset ab urbe, transcurrissetque Campaniam, Syracusas peritit. Rursusque inde propere rediit, barbâ capilloque promisso*. Suet. Calig. 24, and see 20.

**1532.** Caligula marries Lollia Paulina, but almost immediately afterwards divorces her. *Διαλιπὼν οὖν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας* (from the death of Drusilla) *ἔγρημε Δολλίαν Πανλίαν . . . καὶ εὐθύς γε καὶ ἐκείνην ἐξήλασεν* (his *co.*). Dion, lix. 12. *Lolliam Paulinam, C. Memmio consulari, exercitus regenti, nuptam . . . subito ex provinciâ evocavit ac perductam a marito conjunxit sibi, brevique missam fecit*. Suet. Calig. 25.

**1533.** Caligula makes a new distribution of some of the eastern provinces, and gives the kingdom of *Ituræa Libani* to Soemus (see B.C. 47, no. 286; A.D. 49, no. 1727), *Armenia Minor* and some parts of *Arabia* to Cotys (see B.C. 20, no. 727; A.D. 55, no. 1823), and what had been the dominions of Cotys, viz. part of *Thrace*, to Rumetalces (see A.D. 19, no. 1122), and *Pontus*, *Colchis* and *Bosphorus*, the kingdom of Polemo I., to Polemo II. (see B.C. 2, no. 966 a.; A.D. 41, no. 1623; A.D. 66, no. 1998). *Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Σοαίμῳ μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰτουραίων τῶν Ἀράβων, Κότυι δὲ τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν τὴν σμικροτέρην καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας τινά, τῷ τε Ῥυμηγάλῃ τὰ τοῦ Κότυος, καὶ Πολέμωνι, τῷ τοῦ Πολέμωνος υἱεῖ, τὴν παρῳάν ἀρχὴν, ψηφισαμένης δὴ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐχαρίσατο, ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν δίφρῳ μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπάτων καθεζόμενος, καὶ παραπετάσμασι σπρικοῖς, ὡς γέ τινές φασι, χρυσάμενος* (his *co.*). Dion, lix. 12. From the mention of the silken awning against the heat of the sun, the season must have been summer or autumn.

These changes may throw some light upon the annexation of Damascus to the kingdom of Petra under Aretas. Caligula was the friend of Agrippa, and Aretas through Agrippa may have obtained the emperor's favour. The Damascenes had been connected before with

an earlier Aretas, Jos. Ant. xiii. 15, 2; and Agrippa had been specially interested on their behalf, and had received a bribe from them to advocate their claims. Ant. xviii. 6, 3. It is, therefore, not unlikely that by the influence of Agrippa the Damascenes at their own request may have been now transferred from the province of Syria to the kingdom of Petra. The coin of Aretas referred to at the end of this year (if, as conjectured, it belongs to Damascus) may have been struck on this occasion; and the desire of Aretas to conciliate the Greek population of Damascus would account for the title of Φιλελλῆν upon the coin. It is remarkable that coins of Damascus have been found with the heads of Augustus and Tiberius, but none with the head of Caligula or Claudius. In the time of Nero the head of the emperor again appears (see Eckhel, iii. 331). The inference is, that Damascus during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius was annexed to Syria, but that in the time of Caligula it was severed from it and appropriated to some other jurisdiction until the reign of Nero. This would explain how Damascus came to have an ethnarch, or Jewish ruler, under Aretas in A.D. 39 (see that year, no. 1580). *Ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρέτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφφύρει τὴν Δαμασκηνῶν πόλιν*. 2 Cor. xi. 32. There is great improbability in the hypothesis commonly received that Aretas in the course of the war between him and Antipas took forcible possession of Damascus, which was no part of Herod's dominions, in defiance of the Romans. He would scarcely have dared to do this; and had he dared, the Romans must immediately have expelled him.

**1534.** Agrippa sets sail for Judæa in the second year of Caligula, and therefore after 16 March, A.D. 38. *Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας Ἀγρίππας ἤξίου συγχώρησιν αὐτῷ γειέσθαι πλεύσαντι, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰς δέον οἰκονομησάμενῳ ἐπανέικαι. Καὶ συγχωρῶντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παρήν, etc.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 11. Agrippa had intended to go by way of Greece, but Caligula induced him to wait for the Etesian winds, which begin to blow in July. *Μέλονται δ' ἀπαίρειν συνεβούλευσεν ὁ Γάιος τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ Βρεντεσιῶν καὶ μέχρι Συρίας πλοῦν, μακρὸν ὄντα καὶ καματηρὸν, παραιτήσασθαι, χρήσασθαι δ' ἐπιτόμῳ, τοὺς Ἐτησίους ἀναμείναντι, τῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. Philo in Flacc. 5.*



**1535.** When Agrippa quitted Italy, Caligula appears to have been at Rome, for Agrippa, after his interview with Caligula, is described as going from Rome to Puteoli. He had a prosperous voyage, and reached Alexandria in a few days. Καταβῆς δ' εἰς Δικαιαρχίαν, καὶ ναῦς ὑφόρους Ἀλεξανδρίδας ἰδὼν εὐπρεπεῖς πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν, ἐπιβῆς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, εὐπλοία χρησάμενος, ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἀνεπιφάτως καὶ ἀφωράτως κατάγεται. Philo in Flacc. 5. His arrival at Alexandria was some time in July or the beginning of August, for having waited for the Etesiae, he would of course set sail when they began to blow. That it was at the end of July or the beginning of August appears also from this, that it was before the outbreak against the Jews at Alexandria, which was at its height on the birthday of Caligula on 31 August (see *post*, no. 1537).

**1536.** Agrippa is mocked in effigy at Alexandria. Ἦν τις μεμνηὼς ὄνομα Καραβᾶς . . . ἄθρυμα νηπίων καὶ μερικίῳν σχολαζόντων. Συνελάσαντες τὸν ἄθλον ἄχρι τῶν γυμνασίων, καὶ στήσαντες μετέωρον ἵνα καθορῶτο πρὸς πάντων, βύβλον μὲν εὐρύναντες ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπιτιθέασιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, χαμαιστρώτῳ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβάλλουσιν ἀντὶ χλαμύδος, ἀντὶ δὲ σκήπτρου βραχὺ τι παπύρου τμημα τῆς ἐγχωρίου, καθ' ἰδὼν ἐρῶμμενον ἰδόντες, ἀναδιόδασιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις, τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλείας ἀνελήφει, καὶ διεκεκόσμητο εἰς βασιλεῖα, νεανίαί ράβδους ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες ἀντὶ λογχοφόρων ἐκατέρωθεν εἰστήκεισαν, μιμούμενοι δορυφόρους, εἶθ' ἕτεροι προσήσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀπασόμενοι, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐντευξόμενοι περὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων. Εἶτ' ἐκ περιεστώτος ἐν κυκλῶ πλήθους ἐξήχει βοή τις ἀτοπος Ἑμάριν ἀποκαλούντων. Οὕτως δὲ φασιν τὸν κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις. Philo in Flacc. 6. We have inserted the whole passage as a curious illustration of the mockery of Our Saviour at Jerusalem five years before (see A.D. 33, no. 1441). As Flaccus had broken his promise of forwarding to Caligula the congratulatory address of the Alexandrian Jews on his accession to the imperial purple, Agrippa now takes charge of the address, and dispatches it to Rome with explanations. Ἀγρίππας γὰρ ἐπιδημήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς διηγησαμένους ἡμῖν τὴν ἐκ Φλάκκου γενομένην ἐπιβουλήν ἐπανορθοῦται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ, ὑποσχόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα διαπέμψεσθαι λαβὼν, ὡς ἀκούομεν, ἔπεμψεν ἀπολογησάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου. Philo in Flacc. 12.

**1537.** The outbreak against the Jews begins at Alexandria soon afterwards. It was subsequent to the death of Tiberius, the son of Drusus (at the end of A.D. 37, see no. 1522). Ὡς δ' ἤκουσε (Flaccus) τὸν Τιβερίου μὲν νιωνόν, κοινῶν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀναιρεθέντα Γάτου κελύσαντος, etc., Philo in Flacc. 3; and after the death of Macron (at the beginning of A.D. 38, see no. 1530), ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτον (Macronem) ἔγνω προαηρημένον ὁ Φλάκκος, Philo in Flacc. 4; and after the harvest of A.D. 38, τοῦ μὲν ποτάμου ταῖς πλημμύραις τὰς ἀρούρας πλουσίως λιμνάσαντος, τῆς δὲ πεδιάδος, ὅση πυρήφορος, ἀφθοιώτατον ὑπεργονίας τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν ἀναγούσης, Philo in Flacc. 9; and after the death of Drusilla, for μηδενὸς δὲ κελύοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων, συγκεκλεισμένα διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Δρουσίλλῃ πένθος, ἀναρρήξαντες, ὅσα εὔρον (πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν) ἐξεφόρησαν, Philo in Flacc. 8 (as the mourning at Alexandria for Drusilla was after the arrival of Agrippa at the end of July or beginning of August (see no. 1540), and before the birthday of Caligula on 31 August, and the death of Drusilla must have occurred about June). In short, the insurrection against the Jews at Alexandria was raging on the birthday of Caligula, which was on 31 August. Ἐδει γὰρ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπολαῦσαι τινὸς χρηστοῦ γενεθλιακῆς αὐτοκράτορος. Philo in Flacc. 10.

**1538.** Flaccus is suddenly arrested by the order of the emperor at the Feast of Tabernacles (October 2); and this was while the chiefs of the Jews were still in ward, to which they had been committed during the insurrection. Ἐορτῇ μὲν γὰρ ἦν πάνδημος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν μεσοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν, ἐν ἣ διαγίνετο Ἰουδαίοις ἔθος ἐν σκηναῖς ὁὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐν εορτῇ συνόλως ἀπετελεῖτο, τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων ἔτι καθειργμένων μετὰ τὰς ἀνηκέστους καὶ ἀφορήτους αἰκίας καὶ ὕβρεις, τῶν δὲ ἰδιώτων τὰς τε κείνων συμφορὰς ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους κοινὰς νομίζοντων, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξαιρέτοις, ἅς ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος ὑπέμεινε, οὐ μετρίως κατηφιῶντων. Philo in Flacc. 14. Flaccus sets sail from Egypt immediately, notwithstanding the winter. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχθεὶς ἀνωχόμενος χειμῶνος (ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ φοβερῶν ἀπολαῦσαι, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς ἀσεβημάτων ἀναπλήσαντα) μυρία πονηθεῖς, μόλις ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. Philo in Flacc. 15. He had been in office for six years (see A.D. 32, no. 1368; A.D. 55, no. 1822).

**1539.** The Jews send to Rome an embassy consisting of Philo and four others (*ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ πέντε πρεσβευταῖς*, Philo Leg. 46, and see Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 1) to intercede with Caligula against the persecution at Alexandria. This was in the *midwinter* of A.D. 38–39. *Χειμῶνος μέσου διεπλεύσαμεν ἀγροοῦντες ὅσος χειμῶν ἐφεδρός ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ γῆν, ἀργαλεώτερος πολλῶ τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις αἰτία, διακρίνουσα τοὺς ἐτήσιους καιροὺς, . . . ἐκείνου δὲ ἄνθρωπος.* Philo Leg. 29. The departure of the embassy was, of course, after that of Flaccus, for the latter sailed *ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος*, and the former *χειμῶνος μέσου*. Besides, had Flaccus been still in office, he would not have allowed an embassy, as he had before prohibited an embassy of the Jews on the accession of Caligula. *Πρεσβείαν αἰτησαμένοις οὐκ ἂν ἐπετρέψεν.* Philo in Flacc. 12.

**1540.** When the embassy started, Agrippa had been at Alexandria not long before on his voyage from Rome to Judæa. *Ἦν δὲ σχεδὸν τοῦτο* (the petition to Caligula) *ἐπιτομή τις ἰκετείας μακροτέρας, ἣν ἐπετόμψομεν πρὸ ὀλίγου δι' Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλεῶς· ἐκ τύχης γὰρ ἐπεδήμησε τῇ πόλει (Alexandriæ) μέλλων εἰς Συρίαν κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν ἀπαίρειν.* Philo Leg. 28.

**1541.** Josephus is born at the beginning of this year, or was born towards the close of the preceding year. His birth was sometime between 16 March A.D. 37 and 16 March A.D. 38, for it was in the first year of Caligula's reign, which expired on 16 March, A.D. 38, *τούτου γίνεται Ἰώσηπος, ἐννάτῳ ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἀρχῆς, καὶ Ἰωσήπου Μαθθίας βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελαῶν τὸ δέκατον (A.D. 6), Μαθθία δὲ ἐγὼ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Γαῖου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας,* Jos. Vit. 1; and his birth was after 13 September, A.D. 37, for the thirteenth year of Domitian began on 13 September, A.D. 93, and Josephus was then in his fifty-sixth year. *Κἄν τὸ θεῖον ἐπιτρέπη, κατὰ περιδρομὴν ὑπομνήσω πάλιν τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἡμῖν μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας, ἥτις ἐστὶ τρισκαίδεκάτον μὲν ἔτους τῆς Δομετιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ γενέσεως πενηκστοῦ καὶ ἕκτου.* Ant. xx. 12.

**1542.** Paul is now preaching the Gospel at Damascus. *Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ἐκήρυσσε τὸν Χριστόν.* Acts, ix. 20 (see A.D. 37, no. 1518).

**1543.** The conversion to Christianity of a

city of Samaria by Philip the Deacon, who with other Christians had been driven out of Jerusalem, may be placed in this year. *Φίλιππος δὲ κατελθὼν εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας ἐκήρυσσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν.* Acts, viii. 5. The city was perhaps Gitton, for Simon Magus, who was of that city (Justin Mart. Apol. i. 26), was among the converts. Acts. viii. 25.

**1544.** The Apostles at Jerusalem, hearing of the conversion in Samaria, send Peter and John to confirm the disciples there. Acts, viii. 14.

**1545.** Peter and John evangelize many of the villages of Samaria, and return to Jerusalem. Acts, viii. 25.

**1546.** Philip converts the Ethiopian eunuch on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza. Acts, viii. 26. The eunuch was on his return from a feast. *Ὁς ἐηλύθει προσκυνήσων εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.* Acts, viii. 27. It is not said what feast it was, but we may infer that it was the Feast of Tabernacles, for he was reading Isaiah, Acts, viii. 30; and the lessons for the day in the Jewish ritual were taken at the season of the Feast of Tabernacles from Isaiah.

This was another step in advance of Christianity, for the eunuch appears to have been a proselyte of the gate. Deut. xxiii. 1. The Gospel had before been preached, first to the *Jews* and then to the *Samaritans*, and now the door was opened to *proselytes*.

**1547.** The angel had commanded Philip to take the road which led from Jerusalem to Gaza, and it is added *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος.* Acts. viii. 26. The word *αὕτη* here refers not to Gaza, but to the road. From Jerusalem to Gaza were at least three different routes, and the most southern was the one which led through the desert, i. e. a country devoid of villages or fixed habitations. In a wady or valley between Beit Sibrin (or Eleutheropolis) and Gaza Dr. Robinson observed standing water, which was not to be found along the whole road elsewhere. This, therefore, may have been the spot where the eunuch was baptized. Robinson's B. R. ii. 41; and note xxxii. p. 514. If the word *αὕτη* be thought to refer to Gaza the remark must be a parenthetical one of Luke himself, and his Gospel could not in that case have been published before A.D. 66, which was the year in which at the outbreak of the Jewish war Gaza was laid desolate (see that year, no. 2011).



**1548.** Coin of Caligula.

*C. Cæsar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. Pot. + S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob C. S. i. e. Pater Patriæ ob cives servatos.*

*C. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pon. M. Tr. Pot. + S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob cives servatos.*

*C. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus + P. M. Tr. Pot. Iter.*

(It appears from Dion, lix. 3, that Caligula, immediately on his accession, assumed all the titles bestowed on Augustus, except that of Pater Patriæ, and that he assumed the last not long after his accession; and it will be seen from the above coins that he took the title of Pater Patriæ in the first year of his tribunitian power, i. e. before 16 March of this year.)

## Coin of Sinope.

*An. lxxviii. Caligula, i. e. in the eighty-third year dating from u.c. 709.*

Eckhel, ii. 392.

A coin apparently of Damascus, under the rule of Aretas, Βασιλεὺς Ἀρεταῦ Φιλλήνου, with the date AP, or 101. The era here used is thought to be that of Pompey, which was adopted in many cities of the East, and commenced in the autumn of B.C. 63. Damascus, as having been liberated from Tigranes by Pompey, might well adopt the Æra Pompeiana out of compliment to their deliverer. Pompey was at Damascus in B.C. 64 (see no. 61), and again in B.C. 63 (see no. 70), and on the latter occasion he made some stay there. Supposing AP to date from the Æra Pompeiana, the 101 year would be from autumn A.D. 37 to autumn A.D. 38. See Mionnet, and Wieseler's Chronol. p. 174, and Ideler's Handbuch, i. 458. Aretas was certainly the sovereign of Damascus in A.D. 39 (see that year, no. 1580), and had probably received Damascus from Caligula in A.D. 38, on which occasion the medal may have been struck (see *supra*, no. 1533).

## Inscription.

..... *Germanici Cæ. . . . Divi Aug. Pronep. Divi Juli Abn. Aug. Pater Patriæ Cos. ii. Imp. Trib Potestate ii. Pontifex Max. A. Bæte et Jano Augusto ad Oceanum lxxviii. (Cordubæ).*

Muratori, i. 444, 2.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 7.

Pentecost, May 28.

Tabernacles, October 2.

**A.D. 39. U.C. 792. Olymp. 204, 3.**

*C. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS, ii. Qui abdic. et eum excepit prid. Kal. Feb. Sanguinius Maximus.*

*L. APRONIUS CÆSIANUS. Qui abdic. et eum excepit Kal. Jul. Cn. Domitius Corbulo.*

*ex Kal. Sept.*

*SEXT. DOMITIUS AFER.*

*Q. CURTIUS RUFUS.*

*CALIGULÆ III. FROM 16 MARCH. TRIB. POT. III.*

*FROM SAME DAY. COS. II. COS. DESIG. III.*

*PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR.*

Forty-third year of the reign of Herod Antipas.

Third year of the reign of Agrippa I. from  
1 April.

**1549.** Caligula is consul for thirty days only, when he resigns in favour of Sanguinius Maximus, the prefect of the city. *Consulatus quatuor gessit . . . secundum ex Kalendis Januariis per triginta dies.* Suet. Calig. 17. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπατεύσας αἰθῆς . . . τριάκοντα δὲ δὴ ἡμέρας ἤρξε, καίτοι Λουκίῳ Ἀπρωνίῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι ἕξ μῆνας ἐπιτέρας· καὶ αὐτὸν Σαγκούτιος Μάξιμος πολιαρχῶν διεδέξατο. Dion, lix. 13. Sanguinius Maximus, the prefect of the city, was probably successor to Cossus. See A.D. 33, no. 1455; A.D. 61, no. 1908.

**1550.** Caligula, before the expiration of his consulship, retires to Campania, but returns on the birthday of Drusilla. Προστάξας δὲ ἑτέροις τισὶ τοῦς ἀγῶνας ποιεῖν ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀπῆρε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὰ τῆς Δρουσίλλης γενέσια, etc. Dion, lix. 13.

**1551.** The Alexandrian embassy (see A.D. 38, no. 1539) are admitted to the presence of Caligula at Rome, and are promised another audience at a future day. Δεξιωσάμενος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τυβέριε πεδίῳ τὸ πρῶτον (ἔτυχε δὲ οὐκ τῶν μητρώων ἐξίῳν κήπων) ἀντιπροσηγόρευσε . . . Αὐτὸς, ἔφη, τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑποθέσεως ἀκούσομαι προσευκαιρήσας. Philo Leg. 28. As the hearing was postponed until it suited the emperor's convenience, it may be readily supposed (as was the case) that a long interval occurred (see A.D. 40, no. 1600).

**1552.** Caligula utters a tirade against the servile senate in their presence, and then turns his back upon the city. Ἐγ τε τὸ προαστεῖον αὐθημερὸν ἐξώρμησεν. Dion, lix. 16.

**1553.** Erennius Capito, at Jamnia, seeks a quarrel with the Jews, and the Syrian inhabitants erect an altar to Caligula, which the Jews demolish. Capito writes word of it to Caligula early in the year. Φόρων ἐκλογεύς ὁ

Καπίτων ἐστὶν τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας· ἔχει δὲ πῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγχωρίους ἐγκότως . . . Ἑρμαιον δὲ εὐρηκεῖν νομίσας, ὅπερ ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνεζήτει, γράφει Γαῖῳ διαίρων τὰ πράγματα καὶ μετεωρίζων. Philo Leg. 30. In Josephus Capito is designated as Ἐρέννιος Καπίτων ὁ τῆς Ἰαμνίας ἐπίτροπος. Ant. xviii. 6, 3. He was procurator of Jamnia and the adjoining district given by the will of Herod to Salome, Ant. xvii. 11, 5; and by her bequeathed to Julia, Livia, or Augusta, the wife of Augustus. Bell. ii. 9, 1 (see A.D. 10, no. 1038).

**1554.** P. Petronius Turpilianus is appointed prefect of Syria in the place of Vitellius, who is recalled. Οὗτος μὲν ὁ Βιτέλλιος μετεπέμθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος· ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐξήλασαν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκείνος τὴν αἰτίαν ἔσχε, μισηθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου. Dion, lix. 27. Josephus ascribes the appointment of Petronius to Caligula's design of erecting his statue in the Temple of Jerusalem. Γαίος δὲ ἐν δεινῷ φέρων εἰς τοσονδε ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων περιώφθαι μόνων, πρεσβευτὴν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐκπέμπει Πετρώνιον διάδοχον Οὐίτελλίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. Ant. xviii. 8, 2. But Philo speaks of Petronius at that time as already in office. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιστολὴ γράφεται . . . περιεσκεμμένως εἰς ἀσφαλείαν· κελεύει γὰρ Πετρωνίῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἀπάσης ὑπάρχω, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐγεγράφει, etc. Philo Leg. 31. And Josephus himself afterwards hints that Petronius had been sent for a different purpose than the erection of the statue; for Caligula, in recalling his orders, writes: Τὸν τε στρατόν διάλυε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἃ τὸ πρῶτόν σε ἔσπειλα ἀπιθι. Ant. xviii. 8, 8 (see A.D. 34, no. 1462; A.D. 42, no. 1647).

**1555.** Herod Antipas and Herodias being jealous of Agrippa, who had now arrived in the East as *king*, while Herod was only a *tetrarch*, set sail for Rome to solicit from Caligula an exaltation to the same dignity. Jos. Ant. xviii. 7, 2; Bell. ii. 9, 6.

**1556.** Caligula visits Mevania in Umbria, where he conceives the design of an expedition against Germany and Britain, and makes immediate preparations. *Quum ad visendum nemus flumenque Clitumni Mevaniam processisset . . . expeditionis Germanicæ impetum cepit; neque distulit sed legionibus et auxiliis undique excitis, delectibus undique acerbissime actis, contracto et omnis generis comœatu quanto nun-*

*quam antea, iter ingressus est.* Suet. Calig. 43. That there was a royal palace at Mevania appears from Phlegon. Ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν Μηουανίᾳ, πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν Ἀγριππίνης τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἐπαύλει ἀνδρόγονος. Phleg. Mir. Müll. Frag. Græc. Hist. iii. 619.

**1557.** Caligula retires to Campania, and the Alexandrian embassy come thither from Rome, and expect a hearing daily. Ἀφίγμεθα μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν ἐπακολουθοῦντες Γαῖῳ· κατεληλύθει δὲ ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ διέτριβε περὶ τὸν κόλπον, ἀμείβων τὰς ἰδίας ἐπαύλει πολλὰς καὶ πολυτελῶς ἡσκημένας . . . αἶε γὰρ κληθήσεσθαι προσεδοκῶμεν. Philo Leg. 29 (see *ante*, no. 1551).

**1558.** The dispatch of Erennius Capito reaches Italy, and Caligula is enraged at the affront offered at Jamnia, and resolves to erect his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem, and writes to that effect to Petronius. Philo Leg. 31. This agrees with the statement of Josephus, who observes that Caligula exercised some moderation for the first two years of his reign, which would end on 16 March of this year, and that he arrogated divine honours in his third year. Γαίος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς πάνν μεγαλοφρόνως ἐχρητο τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ μέτριον παρέχων αὐτὸν εἰς εὐνοίαν προύχωρει . . . πρῶτον δ' ἐξίστατο τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φρονεῖν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 7, 2.

**1559.** While the Alexandrian embassy are at Puteoli they are apprised of Caligula's dispatch to Petronius in answer to Capito's letter. Φροντίζουσι δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς ὑποθέσεως (αἶε γὰρ κληθήσεσθαι προσεδοκῶμεν) προσέρχεται τις . . . Ἠκούσατε, ἔφη, τὰ καινὰ; Philo Leg. 29. And Philo then proceeds to relate the circumstances that occurred in Judæa during his stay in Italy.

**1560.** Caligula constructs a bridge across the sea from Baulos to Puteoli. Suet. Calig. 19. Dion, lix. 17. Amongst the causes assigned for this extraordinary undertaking one was that he might terrify Germany and Britain, against whom he had planned an expedition. *Scio plerosque existimasse talem a Caio pontem excogitatum æmulatione Xerxis . . . alios ut Germaniam et Britanniam, quibus imminabat, alicujus immensi operis famâ territaret.* Suet. Calig. 19.

**1561.** Herod Antipas (see *ante*, no. 1555) and Fortunatus (an envoy from Agrippa to oppose Herod) arrive at Puteoli, and have an audience before Caligula at Baia. Καὶ



προσέπλευσαν ἀμφότεροι (Antipas and Fortunatus) Δικαιαρχία, καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐν Βαίαις λαμβάνουσι. Jos. Ant. xviii. 7, 2.

Josephus gives two accounts, at variance with each other, how Herod Antipas was deprived of his tetrarchy and sent into banishment. In the Wars he writes: Τούτοις ἀναπεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἦκε πρὸς Γάιον, ὃς τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιτιμᾶται φυγῇ εἰς Ἰσπανίαν, ἠκολούθησε γὰρ αὐτῷ κατήγορος Ἀγρίππας, ὃς καὶ τὴν τετραρχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου προσέθηκε Γάιος. Καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ, συμφυγούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναῖκος, τελευτᾷ. Bell. ii. 9, 6. But in the Antiquities: Πιστὰ ἠγούμενος (Caligula) εἶναι τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει κατηγορούμενα, τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν, προσθήκην τῇ Ἀγρίππα βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖται, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀγρίππα δίδωσιν, αὐτὸν τε φυγῇ αἰδιδυξήμιωσεν, ἀποδείξας οἰκητήριον αὐτοῦ Δούγδουνον πόλιν τῆς Γαλλίας. Ant. xviii. 7, 2. It would seem at first sight that the banishment of Herod Antipas was decreed at Baïæ; and if so, the event must have taken place before 31 August of this year, for on that day Caligula was at Rome, and went thence, or from one of the suburbs, to Gaul, and did not return till 31 August, A.D. 40; and appears never again to have visited Baïæ, though he may possibly have done so. If he did, it must have been some time between 31 August, A.D. 40, and 1 January, A.D. 41, which would place the banishment of Antipas, if then decreed at Baïæ, too late. It will be observed, however, that Josephus does not say expressly that Herod Antipas was banished at Baïæ. In the Antiquities, on the contrary, he couples together the banishment of Herod and the annexation of his tetrarchy to the dominions of Agrippa as contemporaneous events. Τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν προσθήκην τῇ Ἀγρίππα βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖται. And the acquisition of Herod's tetrarchy by Agrippa was in the fourth year of Agrippa's reign over Philip's tetrarchy (see A.D. 37, no. 1503), and therefore in A.D. 40. Τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας (A.D. 37-40) τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ (A.D. 40) καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς. Ant. xix. 8, 2. In the Wars also the banishment of Herod is attributed to the presence of Agrippa. Ἠκολούθησε γὰρ αὐτῷ κατήγορος Ἀγρίππας. And Agrippa, who had sent forward an envoy to Baïæ, did not arrive himself until A.D. 40, when he joined Caligula in Gaul. If Herod

was banished not at Baïæ in A.D. 39, but in Gaul in A.D. 40, it explains the coins of Herod which were seen by Vaillant and Galland, and bore the inscription MΔ, or 44, i.e. in the forty-fourth year of his reign (see Eckhel, iii. 486); for if Agrippa was king on 1 April, A.D. 37, the forty-fourth year would commence on 1 April, A.D. 40. The probability is that, as was commonly the case in audiences before Caligula (as in the instance of Philo, see *ante*, no. 1551; A.D. 40, no. 1600), there were two hearings, one at Baïæ, when Agrippa's envoy was present, and when the trial was adjourned from the absence of Agrippa; and a second and final hearing in Gaul, in the presence of Agrippa himself, who had by that time arrived. It confirms this view that at the beginning of A.D. 40 there was a rumour at Rome that Agrippa and Antiochus, for which we should read Antipas, were with Caligula in Gaul. Ἐπυθάνοντο τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον (lege Ἀντίπαν) τοὺς βασιλείας, ὥσπερ τινὰς τυραννο-διδασκάλους συνεῖναι. Dion, lix. 24. This explains also how Josephus fell into the inconsistency of saying in the Antiquities that Herod was banished to Lyons, and in the Wars that he was banished to Spain. The trial having been adjourned from Baïæ, where the case was opened, to Lyons, where sentence was passed, the historian in the Antiquities wrote by mistake the place of condemnation, Lyons, for the place of banishment, Spain.

**1562.** Dion, perhaps, had in view the first hearing of Herod Antipas at Baïæ, when, after relating the construction of the bridge at Puteoli, he adds: Ἐδίδαξε δὲ (Caligula) καὶ ἰδίᾳ (at Puteoli) καὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς γερονσίας (i. e. at Rome). Dion, lix. 18. He also alludes to the ultimate fate of Herod Antipas in the following passage: Ἀγρίππαν τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἔγγονον λύσας τε (Caligula) . . . καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάππου ἀρχῇ προστάξας . . . τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν (viz. Herod Antipas) οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πατρῶων ἀπεστέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσφαξε. It would seem from this that Herod Antipas came eventually to a violent end, and indeed Caligula is charged with having subsequently put all his exiles to death. *Opinans sibi quoque exules suos mortem imprecari, misit circum insulas qui universos trucidarent.* Suet. Calig. 28. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ἐξελαυνομένοις ἀσφάλεια ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνων πολλοὶ ἦτοι κατ' ὄδον, ἢ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ διεφθίροντο. Dion, lix. 18.



**1563.** Petronius, on receipt, late in the autumn, of the emperor's dispatch ordering the erection of the statue at Jerusalem, is in perplexity. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πετρώνιος τὰ ἐπιστάλιντα διαναγνοὺς ἐν ἀμηχανίῳ ἦν, οὔτε ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνάμενος διὰ φόβον, ἤδει γὰρ ἀφόρητον, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν τὰ κελευσθέντα μὴ πραξάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν μὴ εὐθὺς οὔτε ἐγγχεῖσθαι ἐνμαρῶς. Philo Leg. 31. And his deliberations are assisted by the council of Syria. Συνελάμβανον δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ πολλοὶ τῶν συνδιεπόντων τὰ κατὰ Συρίαν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων. Ib.

**1564.** Petronius proceeds ostensibly to execute the commands of Caligula, and collects a force, and marches from Antioch to Acre, where he proposes to winter. Καὶ Πετρώνιος, Συρίαν παραλαβὼν, ἠπέιγετο διακοινῆσθαι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, συμμαχίαν δὲ πλείστην ὄσπην ἠδύνατο ἀθροίσας, καὶ τάγματα δύο τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἄγων, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδος παρῆν, αὐτόθι χειμάζων, ὡς πρὸς ἔαρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 2; Bell. ii. 10, 1.

**1565.** No statue having been sent from Rome, Petronius, to gain time, gives orders to the Sidonians to make one, and sends for the chiefs of the Jewish nation to come to him. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σιδῶνι εἰργάζοντο. Μεταπίμπεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας. Philo Leg. 31.

**1566.** Petronius writes word of his plans to the emperor, who tells him to proceed with vigour. Καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔγραφε (Petronius) περὶ τῶν ἐπεγνωσμένων, ὃ δὲ ἐπήγει τῆς προθυμίας αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκέλευε μὴ ἀνιέναι, πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις ἐντεταμένως. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 2.

**1567.** The Jewish nation, having learnt from their chiefs the intentions of Petronius, assemble in vast multitudes before him at Acre. Πυθόμενοι δὲ . . . μὰ ῥύμῃ συνέεινον εἰς Φοινίκην· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὦν ἐτύγγαθεν ὁ Πετρώνιος. Philo Leg. 32. Ἰουδαίων δὲ πολλὰ μυριάδες παρῆσαν ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον εἰς Πτολεμαίδα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 2; Bell. ii. 10, 1.

Petronius deliberates with his council, and it is agreed to waste time in making the statue. Ἐπεξανάστας δὲ μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων ἐβουλεύετο τὰ πρακτέα. . . . Τίνας οὖν ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι; μὴ κατεπέγειν τοὺς δημιουργοὺς, etc. Philo Leg. 33.

**1568.** Petronius, leaving his army at Acre, proceeds with some friends to Tiberias, for the

purpose of testing the firmness of the Jews, when they again assemble about him in vast numbers. Καὶ ὁ Πετρώνιος . . . ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδος ἠπέιγετο . . . Αἴθις πολλὰ μυριάδες ὑπηντίαζον Πετρώνιον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα γενόμενον. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 3; Bell. ii. 10, 3. This was at seedtime, and therefore toward the close of the year. Ταῦτα (the gatherings of the Jews about Tiberias) ἐπράσσετο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν ἀπερίοπτοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ὥρας οὔσης πρὸς σόρῳ. Ant. xviii. 8, 3. Πρὸς δὲ μηδεμίαν πείραν ἐνδιδόντων (the Jews), ὡς ἔωρα (Petronius) καὶ τὴν ὥραν κινδυνεύουσαν ἄσπορον μείναι, κατὰ γὰρ ὥραν σπόρου πενήκοντα ἡμέρας ἀργὰ διέτριβεν αὐτῶν τὰ πλήθη, etc. Bell. ii. 10, 5.

**1569.** Aristobulus and others of the Agrippa family intercede also with Petronius in favour of the Jews. Ἐν τοιοῦτοις δὲ ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων, Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς, καὶ Ἐλκίας ὁ μέγας, ἄλλοι τε οἱ κράτιστοι τῆσδε τῆς οἰκίας καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι συν αὐτοῖς εἰσίσαι ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν, etc. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 4. Agrippa himself was not in Judæa at this time, but had set sail for Rome, to counteract the intrigues of Antipas, for at the beginning of the next year he was with Caligula in Gaul (see A.D. 40, no. 1591).

Petronius at length gives way; and assembling the Jews at Tiberias, informs them that he will write to the emperor on their behalf, and exhorts them to go to their work. Συγκαλέσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους . . . ἄπιτε οὖν ἐπὶ ἔργα τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι καὶ τῇ γῇ ἐπιπονεῖτε . . . προμηθεῖσθαι τῶν εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν ἡζίου τοὺς ἐν τέλει, καὶ καθομιλεῖν τὸν λαὸν ἐλπίσει χρησταῖς. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 5 and 6. This was near the close of the year, for immediately afterwards, and at the end of a very dry year, the rainy season commenced. Καὶ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὸν ἥθει μὲγαν, παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον, διὰ . . . τὸ πᾶν ἔτος ἀνυμῶ μὲγάλῳ κατεσχημένον. Ant. xviii. 8, 6.

**1570.** Caligula is at Rome on 31 August, his birthday, and also on 2 September, the anniversary of the battle of Actium; for the consuls not having sufficiently observed the former day, and having celebrated the latter day (both of which were causes of offence), Caligula deprives the consuls of office, and appoints others. Τὸν δὲ δὴ Δομίτιον καὶ ὕπατον εὐθὺς ἀπέδειξε, τοὺς τότε ἄρχοντας καταλύσας, ὅτι τε ἐς τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἱερομηνίαν οὐκ



ἐπήγγειλαν . . . καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Αὐγούστου νίκαις, ἃς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐνευικήκει, ἑορτὴν, ὡσπερ εἶθιστο, ἤγαγον . . . Ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα αὐθημερὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔπαυσε τὰς ῥάβδους σφῶν προσυντρίψας. Dion (*his coss.*), lix. 20. *Consulibus oblitis de natali suo edicere abrogavit magistratum, fuitque per triduum sine summâ potestate respublica.* Suet. Calig. 26.

**1571.** From the disorders attending the popular elections, Caligula abandons the practice of referring them to the people, and puts the elections on the same footing that they had been under Tiberius. Τὸν δὲ δὴ Δομίτιον τὸν συνάρχοντα αὐτοῦ . . . λόγῳ μὲν ὁ δῆμος, ἔργῳ δ' αὐτὸς εἴλετο· ἀπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας αὐτοῖς . . . τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐσώζετο, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐγίγνετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ αὐτῆς τοῦ Γάϊου κατελύθησαν, κἄκ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου, καθίστατο, στρατηγοὶ δὲ τότε μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐνὶ πλείους, ἢ καὶ ἐλάττους, ὡς σου καὶ ἔτυχον, ἠρῶντο. Dion, lix. 20 (see A.D. 38, no. 1529; A.D. 60, no. 1890).

**1572.** Africa is divided into two provinces. Καὶ δῖχα τὸ ἔθνος νείμας, ἐτέρῳ τότε στρατιωτικὸν καὶ τοὺς νομίδας τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ προσέταξε. Dion, lix. 20.

**1573.** Caligula takes his departure for Gaul, ostensibly on an expedition against Germany and Britain, but really to feed his extravagance by plunder. Καὶ (ἤδη γὰρ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ χρήματα πάντα ὡς εἶπεῖν . . . ἀναλώκει) . . . ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφόρμησε. Οὐ μόντοι καὶ ἄντικρυς τὴν ἕξοδον προαπήγγειλεν, ἀλλ' ἐς πρόσκεινόν τε ἔλθον· εἴτ' ἐξαιφνης ἀπήρε, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρηχσάς, πολλοὺς δὲ μονομάχους, ἵππους, γυναῖκας, τὴν ἄλλην τρυφὴν ἐπαγομένους (*his coss.*). Dion, lix. 21. From the passages cited before from Suetonius (see *supra*, no. 1556), it appears that the design was not now first conceived, but had been formed at Mevania, and persevered in at the construction of the bridge at Puteoli.

**1574.** When Caligula starts for Gaul the roads were still dusty, and it was therefore before winter. *Ut . . . a propinquarem urbium plebe verri sibi vias et conspergi propter pulverem exigeret.* Suet. Calig. 43.

On arriving in Gaul he marches beyond the Rhine, and then to the coast opposite Britain, but returns without anything done. Εὐθύς τε γὰρ ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ῥήνου προχωρήσας ἠπέστρεψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀρμήσας ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν

Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ὀκτανου ἀνεκομισθη . . . (*his coss.*). Dion, lix. 21. *Nihil autem amplius quam Adminio, Cinobellini Britannorum regis filio, qui pulsus a patre cum exigua manu transfugerat, in deditionem recepto, quasi universâ traditâ insulâ, magnificas Romam literas misit.* Suet. Calig. 44.

**1575.** Caligula exhibits games at Lyons. Οὐ μόντοι καὶ περιποιεῖτό τι, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τᾶλλα ἐδαπάνα ὡσπερ εἴωθει (καὶ γὰρ θεάς τινὰς ἐν τῷ Λουγδούνῳ ἐπετέλεσε) καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα. Dion, lix. 22.

**1576.** Caligula banishes his sisters Agrippina and Julia while they are with him in Gaul, and writes bitter invectives against them to the senate. Πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἀσελγῆ τῷ συνεδρίῳ γράφας. Dion, lix. 23. And the senate send an embassy to him. Dion, lix. 23 (see A.D. 41, no. 1626).

**1577.** Caligula in Gaul marries Cæsonia, with whom he had intrigued before; and thirty days after the marriage a child is born, who is called Drusilla. Τότε δὲ (*his coss.*) ἐκβαλὼν τὴν Παυλίαν . . . Μιλωνίαν Καισωνίαν ἔγημεν, ἣν πρότερον μὲν ἐμοίχευε, τότε δὲ καὶ γαμετὴν ποιήσασθαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔσχευ, ἵνα αὐτῷ παιδίον τριακονθήμερον τέκῃ. Dion, lix. 23.

**1578.** Agrippa had sailed from Judæa to Rome before the arrival of Caligula's dispatch to Petronius ordering the erection of the statue in the Temple at Jerusalem; and he reaches Italy probably soon after Caligula's departure for Gaul, and follows him thither, for at the beginning of the next year the senate were alarmed by *hearing* that Agrippa was with Caligula at Lyons, and had Agrippa accompanied Caligula to Gaul, the senate would have *known* the fact. Dion, lix. 24 (see A.D. 40, no. 1591).

**1579.** This year an affray takes place at Antioch in Syria between the two factions of Βένετοι and Πράσινοι, when the Jewish synagogues are burnt. Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ (Caligulæ), etc. Malala, Lib. 10.

**1580.** The Jews form a plot against the life of Paul at Damascus, and the ethnarch, or ruler of the Jews under Aretas (see A.D. 38, no. 1533), endeavours to apprehend him, but he makes his escape over the wall in a basket. Ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦντο ἡμέραι ἱκαναὶ συνεβουλεύσαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν, etc. Acts, ix. 23. Ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὁ Ἐθνάρχης Ἀρέτα τοῦ βασιλέως

ἐφφύρει τὴν Δαμασκηνῶν πόλιν πιάσαι μεθ' ἑλθῶν· καὶ διὰ θυρίδος ἐν σαργάνῃ ἐχαλάσθην διὰ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ἐξέφυγον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ. 2 Cor. xi. 32.

**1581.** Paul returns to Jerusalem in the third year current from his conversion (see A. D. 37, no. 1514), and sojourns there for fifteen days, and lodges with Peter. "Ἐπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα ἱστορήσαι Πέτρον, καὶ ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε· ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου. Galat. i. 18. Apparently Peter was the only one of the Twelve that Paul saw on this occasion; and when Luke speaks of apostles, *Βαρνάβας δὲ ἐπιλαβόμενος αὐτὸν ἤγαγε πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους*, Acts, ix. 27, James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, who is called an apostle, Galat. i. 19, but was not one of the Twelve (see A. D. 29, no. 1198), is probably included.

That the expression *μετὰ τρία ἔτη* (*supra*) signifies not after three years complete, but in the third year current, may be considered as clear. *Μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἑορτῆς*, Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 3, is the day next after the feast. *Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο*, Bell. i. 13, 1, is rendered, Ant. xiv. 13, 3, by *δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει*. *Μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας*, Bell. i. 16, 2, is rendered by *εἰς τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν*. Ant. xiv. 15, 4. *Μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστῆναι*, Mark, viii. 31, is equivalent to *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθῆναι*. Matt. xvi. 21. So in Latin, *neque te illo die, neque postero vidi . . . post diem tertium veni*, etc. Cicero Philipp. ii. 35. *Post septem lucas Junius actus erit*, Ovid. Fast. vi. 774, is the seventh day inclusive. And in H. Stephens's Thesaur. *sub voc. μετὰ, μεθ' ἡμέρας δύο, secundo post die*. The return of Paul to Jerusalem was therefore in the third year current from the spring of A. D. 37 (see that year, no. 1515); and it was in fact about the Feast of Tabernacles A. D. 39, for it was at an interval of fourteen years complete from his visit at the Feast of Tabernacles A. D. 53. "Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἑτῶν (viz. from his first visit, A. D. 39, at his conversion) πάλιν ἀνέβην (A. D. 53) εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα. Galat. ii. 1 (see A. D. 53, no. 1794).

**1582.** During Herod Paul's sojourn at Jerusalem in this year he disputes with the Hellenists, when the Jews seek to take his life, and the disciples send him to Cæsarea-on-sea, as opposed to Cæsarea Philippi, on his way to Tarsus. Acts, ix. 30.

**1583.** Paul now preaches in Cilicia and Syria, and the churches of *Judæa* hear only of his progress. "Ἐπειτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας. "Ἡμῖν δὲ ἀγνοοῦμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ, μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν, ὅτι ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς τότε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτε ἐπόρθει. Galat. i. 21. From the order of the words τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας it would seem that Paul travelled by *land* through Syria to Cilicia.

**1584.** During the commotions in Judæa consequent upon the attempt of Caligula to place his statue in the Temple of Jerusalem, the churches of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee have rest. Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας εἶχον εἰρήνην. Acts, ix. 31 (see *supra*, no. 1558).

**1584 a.** Coins of Caligula.

*C. Cæsar Divi Aug. Pron. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. iii. P. P.*

*C. Cæsar Divi Aug. Pron. Aug. S. C. + Cos. Desig. iii. Pon. M. Tr. P. ii. P. P. R. C. C. Eckhel, vi. 223.*

The letters R. C. C. stand for *remissa ducentesima*, or the repeal of one half per cent. *ad valorem* duty on sales. *Ducentesimam auctionum Italie remisit*. Suet. Calig. xvi.

*C. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pon. M. Tr. Pot. iii. + Vesta S. C. Eckhel, vi. 221.*

**1585.** A coin of Herod Antipas in the forty-third year of his reign.

On the obverse ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ Λ. ΜΓ., and on the reverse ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙΣ ΓΕΡΜ. CEB. (*Herodes Tetrarches anno quadragesimo tertio. Caius Cæsari Germanico Augusto*).

Id. iii. 486.

**1586.** Another coin of Herod Antipas.

With the same obverse, and on the reverse ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ. Id. iii. 487.

**1587.** A coin of King Agrippa.

*Καῖσαρ Σεβαστᾶς Ιε . . . Caput Caligulae laureatum + Βασιλ. Αγριππα Γ. Princeps cum sceptro in lentis quadrigis, i. e. in the third year of the reign of Agrippa. Id. iii. 491.*

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 27.

Pentecost, May 17.

Tabernacles, September 21.



**A.D. 40. U.C. 793. Olymp. 204, 4.**

C. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS, iii. (solus).

prid. Id. Januar.

L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA.

M. COCCIUS NERVA.

ex Kal. Jul.

SEXT. JUNIUS CÆLER.

SEXT. NONIUS QUINCTILLIANUS.

CALIGULÆ IV. FROM 16 MARCH. TRIB. POT. IV.  
FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV. PONT.  
MAX. PAT. PATR.

Forty-fourth year of the reign of Herod  
Antipas.

Fourth year of the reign of Agrippa I. from  
1 April.

**1588.** Caligula is at Lyons on 1 January of this year. *Tertium autem (consulatum) Lugduni inivit solus, non, ut quidam putant, superbâ negligentivæ, sed quod defunctum sub Kalendarum diem collegam rescisse absens non potuerat.* Suet. Calig. 17.

**1589.** It was apparently at Lyons that Caligula received the new year's gifts referred to by Suetonius. *Filiâ vero natâ (by Cæsonia, see A.D. 39, no. 1577) paupertatem, nec jam imperatoria modo sed et patriâ querens onera, collationes in alimoniam et puellæ dotem recepit. Edixit et strenas ineunte anno se recepturum, stetitque in vestibulo ædium Kalendis Januariis ad captandas stipes, quas plenis manibus ac sinu omnîs generis turba fundebat.* Suet. Calig. 42. Caligula was not at Rome on 1st January either of this year or the next. The epito- mist of Dion has the following passage concerning the daughter of Cæsonia. *Ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ Καισώνια θυγάτριον μετὰ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τῶν γάμων ἔτεκε, τοῦτό τε αὐτὸ δαιμονίως προσποιεῖτο, σεμνυνόμενος ὅτι ἐν τοιαύταις ἡμέραις καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐγεγονέι, καὶ Δρούσιλλαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας, ἔς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνήγαγε, καὶ ἔς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα ὡς καὶ παῖδα αὐτοῦ οὔσαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίων τιμηθεῖσθαι παρηγγύησεν.* Dion, lix. 28 (Tauchnitz). And in Suetonius, *Quam (Cæsoniam) enixam uxorio nomine dignatus est, uno atque eodem die professus et maritum se ejus et patrem infantis ex eâ natæ. Infantem autem Juliam Drusillam appellatam per omnium dearum templa circumferens, Minervæ gremio imposuit, alendamque et instituendam commendavit.* Suet. Calig. 25; and see Jos. Ant. xix. 1, 2. The taking of the child to the

Capitol, etc., must have been on Caligula's return from Gaul on 31 August, A.D. 40, for he was not at Rome after the birth of Drusilla until that time.

**1590.** Caligula being in Gaul on new year's day, the senators at Rome make their accustomed offerings at the foot of his empty throne in the Capitol. *Ἐπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τρίτον (A.D. 40) . . . ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀθρόοι οἱ βουλευταὶ ἀναβάντες . . . τὸν τοῦ Γαίτου δίφρον τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ κείμενον προσεκύνησαν, καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἀργύριον, κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἔθος ἰσχύσαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δίδόντες, κατέθεσαν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τῷ ἔξῃς ἔτει ὁμοίως ἐγένετο.* Dion, lix. 24.

**1591.** Caligula remains consul for twelve days only. *Μέχρι οὗ ὁ Γάιος δωδεκάτην ἡμέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπειπὼν ἠγγέληθ.* Dion, lix. 24. During this interval the senate of Rome heard of Agrippa and Antiochus being with Caligula in Gaul. *Ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον (lege Ἀντίπαν) τοὺς βασιλείας, ὥσπερ τινὰς τυραννοδιδασκάλους, συνείναι.* Dion, lix. 24. It is unlikely that Antiochus, king of Commagene, should be meant, as we know that, although he received the kingdom from Caligula in A.D. 37, he was afterwards disgraced and deposed by him. Dion, lx. 8. For Antiochus, therefore, we should read Antipas; and if so, we may conclude that Herod Antipas had been ordered to attend Caligula into Gaul, to await a further hearing when Agrippa should arrive. Agrippa, on reaching Italy, and finding that Caligula had proceeded to Gaul, would naturally follow him thither. On sailing from Rome for Syria in A.D. 38, he had promised to return when he had settled affairs of state in his kingdom, *τὰ ἄλλα εἰς δέον οἰκονομησάμενῳ ἐπανίεναι,* Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 11; and the departure of Antipas for Italy, no doubt, further stimulated a voyage to Rome.

**1592.** Herod Antipas is again heard by Caligula in the presence of Agrippa, and is banished to Spain. The banishment may be placed in this year for the following reasons: 1. There is a coin of Herod Antipas struck in the forty-fourth year of his reign, which would not commence until about 1 April, A.D. 40 (see *infra*, no 1610); and 2. the banishment of Antipas is coupled by Josephus with the annexation of his tetrarchy to the dominions of Agrippa; and this annexation is referred to the fourth year of the reign of Agrippa, which would not commence until 1 April, A.D. 40 (see A.D. 39, no.

1561). The coin of Antipas above referred to may very well have been struck with the stamp of the forty-fourth year; for though the banishment itself may have occurred before 1 April, A. D. 40, when the forty-fourth year actually commenced, the news of his banishment would not reach Judæa from Gaul until after an interval of some months.

**1593.** Petronius moves from his winter quarters, and marches his army back from Acre to Antioch. Καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν στρατιάν ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος ἐπίστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. Jos. Bell. ii. 10, 5; Ant. xviii. 8, 6.

**1594.** Petronius writes to Caligula that from the delay in making the statue he had been obliged to wait until the harvest was now at hand, and proposed to postpone the erection of the statue until the harvest had been got in. Τίνες οὖν ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι; . . . ἐπιστέλλειν Γαίῳ μὴδὲ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατηγοροῦντα, μὴ δηλοῦντα δὲ ἐπ' ἀληθεία τὰς ἰκετείας καὶ τὰς ἀντιβολίας αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν βραδυνότητος αἰτιᾶσθαι τὸ μὲν τι τὴν κατασκευὴν (of the statue) χρόνον μεμετρημένον δεομένην, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν διδόντα μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐδλόγουσ, αἷς συναιέσειν οὐκ ἴσως ἀλλ' ἀναγκαιῶς καὶ αὐτὸν Γάϊον· ἐν ἀκμῇ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα σπαρτά. Philo Leg. 33. It will be observed that Philo, glancing only incidentally at the occurrences in Judæa, does not, like Josephus, narrate the events *seriatim*, but passes at once from the assemblage of the Jews at Acre (see A. D. 39, no. 1567) to the dispatch of Petronius in the following spring. The second assemblage of the Jews at Tiberias and other intervening matters are found only in Josephus.

Caligula at this time had already formed the design of visiting Egypt, for Petronius adds in his dispatch, φυλακῆς δὲ χρῆζειν εἰς ἐπιμελεστέραν τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδῆν οὐ μόνον τῶν σπειρομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἡ δενδροφόρος παρέχει· διέγινωκε μὲν γὰρ (Caligula), ὡς λόγος, πλεῖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ. Philo Leg. 33; and see Philo Leg. 42, 43. Jos. Ant. xix. 1, 12. Suet. Calig. 49.

**1595.** Caligula sends for Ptolemy, son of Juba, to Gaul, and puts him to death (*his coss.*). Dion, lix. 25. Plin. N. H. v. 1. Suet. Calig. 26, 35. And see Senec. de Tranquill. 11 (see B. C. 1, no. 968).

**1596.** Caligula marches to the coast of Gaul opposite Britain, and sails a little way out to

sea, and then returns and orders the army to pick up the shells on the seashore as trophies. Καὶ ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐλθὼν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Βρετανίᾳ στρατεύσων, etc. (*his coss.*). Dion, lix. 25. Suet. Calig. 46, 47.

**1597.** Caligula receives the dispatch of Petronius excusing the non-erection of the statue, and, disguising his anger, writes ostensibly in approbation of his forbearance. Καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον ἐπισχὼν τινὶ τῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπέβαλε τὰς πρὸς Πετρώνιον ἀποκρίσεις, ἐπαίνων αὐτὸν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν εἰς τὸ προμηθές, καὶ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀκριβῆ περισκεψίν· σφόδρα γὰρ τοὺς ἐν ἡγεμονίαις εὐλαβεῖτο, τὰς πρὸς νεωτεροποιίας ἀφορμὰς ὄρων ἔχοντας. Philo Leg. 34. But afterwards he bids Petronius lose no time, as the harvest must now have been got in. Εἶτα ἐπὶ πᾶσι γράφει κελεύων μὴδένοσ οὕτω φροντίζειν ἢ τοῦ θάπτον ἀναθεῖναι τὸν ἀνδρίαντα· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ θέρη, τὴν εἴτε πιθανὴν εἴτε ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν, συγκεκομίσθαι δύνασθαι. Philo Leg. 34.

**1598.** Caligula returns to Rome, Dion, lix. 25, on 31 August, his birthday, being four months and part of another month before his assassination on 24 January, A. D. 41. *Urbem natali suo ingressus est intraque quartum mensem periiit.* Suet. Calig. 49.

**1599.** Agrippa, at Rome, is solicited by the Jews to use his influence with Caligula to recall the order for the erection of the statue, which Agrippa does with success. This was after the banishment of Herod Antipas, and the gift of his dominions to Agrippa, for the latter fact is alluded to in Agrippa's appeal to the emperor. Τὸν μέγιστον καὶ ἐντυχέστατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλήρον ἐχαρίσω μοι βασιλείαν, πάλαι μὲν μῖα χώρας (A. D. 37), αἰθις δὲ ἑτέρας μεζόνος, τὴν Τραχωניתιν λεγομένην καὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν συνάψας (A. D. 40). Philo Leg. 41.

Philo speaks of Agrippa's presence in Rome at this time in the following terms:—Μετ' οὐ πολὺ μέντοι παρῆν Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀσπασόμενος Γάϊον, ἦδει δὲ ἀπλῶσ οὐδὲν οὔτε ὧν ἐπεστάλκει ὁ Πετρώνιος, οὔτε ὧν ὁ Γάϊος ἢ προτερον ἢ ὕστερον. Philo Leg. 35. Philo is here accounting only for the presence of Agrippa in Italy, viz. that he had come to pay his respects to Caligula, as he was wont, and as he had promised when he sailed for Judæa in A. D. 38 (see that year, no. 1534); and Philo must not be understood to say that Agrippa had only just arrived, for



had Agrippa only lately come from Judæa, he could not have pretended ignorance of what had been passing there; but he affected to know nothing about it, as he had left Judæa the preceding year, before the arrival of the dispatch from Caligula for the erection of the statue, and, on reaching Italy, had immediately followed Caligula to Gaul, and was not in communication with his countrymen till he returned with Caligula to Rome, in the autumn of A.D. 40. It will be observed, however, that Philo, in strictness, states Agrippa to be ignorant, not of the whole matter, but only of the three last dispatches which had passed between Petronius and Caligula. Josephus, with more correctness, speaks of Agrippa not as now arriving at Rome, but as happening to be staying there. Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐτύγγαχε γὰρ ἐκεῖ διαιτώμενος, etc. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 7. The word διαιτώμενος is very expressive, as Agrippa had been with Caligula, at all events, since the 1st of January of this year.

Caligula, in consequence of Agrippa's appeal, writes to Petronius not to proceed with the statue, if it had not been already erected. Ἡμερωθεὶς οὖν, ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν, ἀποκρίσεων χρηστοτέρων ἤξισεν, Ἀγρίππᾳ τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ μέγιστον δωρούμενος, τὸ μηκέτι γενέσθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, καὶ Ποπλίῳ Πιερωνίῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἐπιτρόπῳ κελεύει γραφῆναι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔτι νεώτερον κινεῖν. Philo Leg. 42. Καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πιερώνιον, ἐκείνόν τε τῆς ἀθροίσεως τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπαινῶν, καὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεσταλκόςτος, 'Νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν φθάνεις τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἑστακῶς, ἑστάτω,' etc. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 8.

Caligula soon after repents of his lenity, and orders a colossal gilt statue of himself to be prepared at Rome, with the view of erecting it himself in the Temple at Jerusalem, on his way to Egypt. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμερόντων ὁ Γάιος ἡρέμει, μετανοῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι ἣδῃ καὶ τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ ζωπυρῶν ἐπιθυμίαν· προστάττει γὰρ ἕτερον ἀνδριάντα δημιουργεῖσθαι κολοσσιαῖον χαλκοῦν ἐπίχρυσον ἐν Ρώμῃ, μηκέτι τὸν ἐν Σιδῶνι κινῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ κινήσει διαταράξῃ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ', ἡρεμούντος καὶ τῆς ὑπονοίας ἀπηλλαγμένου, κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀφανῶς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ κομισθέντα λαθῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξαίφνης ἰδρύσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ πράξειν ἔμελλεν ἐν παράπλῳ κατὰ τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποδημίαν. Philo Leg. 42, 43. [Here the narrative of public affairs by Philo breaks off, so that he probably left

Rome soon after, and before Caligula wrote his last dispatch, which appears in Josephus, and which ordered the execution of Petronius. See the next number.]

**1600.** The Alexandrian embassy, who had been waiting patiently for a final audience during the period of Caligula's Gallic expedition, at length have an interview with him in his gardens at Rome, of which interview Philo furnishes a graphic description. The result was, that the embassy was ordered home without any favourable answer. Μεταπεμφόμενος τοὺς δεῦν κήπων ἐπιτρόπους, τοῦ τε Μαϊκήνα καὶ Λαμία (πλησίον δὲ εἰσιν ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως· ἐν οἷς ἐκ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν διέτριβε· κείθι γὰρ ἐπὶ παροῦσιν ἡμῖν ἢ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ἔμελλε σκηνοβατεῖσθαι δραματοποιία) κελεύει, etc. Philo Leg. 44.

**1601.** The interview of the Alexandrian embassy with Caligula was after the return from the Gallic expedition, and therefore after 31 August of this year, for the indifference of the Jews at Caligula's safe return was cast in the teeth of the embassy by their adversaries. Ἀπάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σῆς θυσίας ἀναγόντων εὐχαριστηρίου, οὐκ ὑπέμειναν οὗτοι μόνοι θῦναι. Philo Leg. 45. The ambassadors answer that they had not offered sacrifices at Rome on the emperor's return (for *their* sacrifices could only be offered at Jerusalem), but that sacrifices for supplicating success had been offered at Jerusalem during his absence. Καὶ γὰρ ἐθύσαμεν καὶ ἐκατόμβας ἐθύσαμεν . . . κατὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς Γερμανικῆς νίκης. Philo Leg. 45.

**1602.** Caius Cassius is now proconsul of Asia. Γάϊον Κάσσιον τὸν τότε τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχοντα . . . ὑποπτέυσας, μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν δεδεμένον . . . Καὶ πεμφθεὶς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην προσήχθη τε αὐτῷ (Caligulæ) ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἣ τελειυθῆεν ἔμελλε, καὶ ἀναβληθεὶς ὡς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον κολασθησόμενος, ἐσώθη. Dion, lix. 29. Suet. Calig. 57. If C. Cassius was sent for from Asia, and was at Rome on 24 January, A.D. 41, the day of the death of Caligula, he must have set sail from Asia the year before (see A.D. 26, no. 1158; A.D. 54, no. 1806).

**1603.** In the sixth year after the flight of the Jews from the city of Babylon to Seleucia, an insurrection in Babylon again occurs, and many Jews are slain, and a great number of those who escape retire to Seleucia. Εἰς μὲν δὴ ταύτην

(Seleuciam) καταφεύγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἀπαθείς κακῶν ἦσαν· τῷ δὲ ἔκτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον φθορὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐγένετο αὐτῶν, καὶ καιναὶ μετοικήσεις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀφίξις εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν ἐδέχεται δὴ μείζων αὐτοὺς συμφορὰ δι' αἰτίαν ἦν ἀφηγήσομαι. Jos. Ant. xviii. 9, 8. The first flight was in A.D. 34 (see that year, no. 1464). The above passage proves that Babylon was still a city, and inhabited by a multitude of Jews. To the same effect, see Strabo, xvi. 1; Ant. xv. 2, 2; xv. 3, 1. This remark is made with reference to 1 Peter, v. 13. In the time of Pausanias, the wall and temple of Belus only remained. Pausan. Arcad. viii. 33, 1. But some of the Chaldees probably still lingered there. See Pausan. Attic. i. 16.

**1604.** Caligula plans the construction of a port at Rhegium, but does not live to complete it. Ἔργον δὲ μέγα ἦ βασιλεῖον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένον εἶποι ἂν τις, ἢ ἐπ' ὠφελεία τῶν συνόντων καὶ αἰθις ἀνθρώπων ἐσόμενον, πλὴν γε τοῦ περὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Σικελίαν ἐπινοηθέντος ἐν ὑποδοχῇ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου σιτηγῶν πλοίων . . . Οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τέλος γε ἀφίκετο. Jos. Ant. xix. 2, 5. This shows that the corn-ships from Egypt were wont to touch at Rhegium, as did the Castor and Pollux, the corn-ship in which Paul made his voyage from Malta to Rome in A.D. 61. Acts, xxviii. 13.

**1605.** Alexander Lysimachus, the Alabarch or chief magistrate of the Jews at Alexandria, was probably this year arrested and put in chains, for he was left bound at the death of Caligula, on 24 January, A.D. 41. Λύει δὲ (Claudius) καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Λυσίμαχον τὸν Ἀλαβάρχη, φίλον ἀρχαῖον αὐτῷ γεγονότα, καὶ Ἀντωνίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπέυσαντα τὴν μητέρα, ὀργῇ τῇ Γαίου δεδεμένον. Jos. Ant. xix. 5, 1.

**1606.** Pilate, this year, lays violent hands on himself. *His coss. Pilatus in multas incidens calamitates propria se manu interfecit.* Cassiodorus.

**1607.** While the Christian communities in Judæa have rest from the attempt of Caligula to erect his statue in the Temple, Peter makes a circuit through Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee. Ἐγένετο δὲ Πέτρον διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων κατ-ελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Λύδδαν. Acts, ix. 32.

**1608.** The call of Cornelius, a centurion of the Italian band at Cæsarea. Ἀνὴρ δὲ τις ἦν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ὀνόματι Κορνήλιος, ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ

σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, etc. Acts, x. 1. Cornelius, from the name, was a Roman, and he was a centurion (ἑκατοντάρχης) of the cohort (σπείρης) called the Italian cohort, as consisting, or supposed to consist, of Italians. The legions, or regulars, were called in Greek τάγματα, and the auxiliaries, or irregulars, σπείραι. Most of the regiments in Syria were filled by levies from the province itself. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 7; Bell. ii. 13, 7. Mention is made of the Italian cohort in an ancient inscription. *Cohors militum Italicorum voluntaria quæ est in Syria.* Gruter, 434, 1.

**1609.** The birth of Titus, on 30 December of this year. *Titus cognomine paterno, amor ac delicie generis humani . . . natus est iii. Kalendas Januarias insigni anno Caianá necæ* (A.D. 41). Suet. Tit. 1. Titus died on 13 September, A.D. 81, in the forty-first year of his age. *Excessit . . . idibus Septembris post biennium ac menses duos diesque viginti, quam successerat patri, altero et quadragesimo ætatis anno.* Suet. Tit. 11. *Vixit annos quadraginta unum,* Victor, Epit. c. 10; which corrects the previous statement of the same author. *Interiit quadragesimo anno.* Vict. de Cæs. c. 10. If Titus was in his forty-first year at his death, he must have been born on 30 December, A.D. 40, and not A.D. 41. The words of Suetonius, *insigni anno Caianá necæ*, must refer, not to the birth of Titus, but to *Kalendas Januarias*.

**1610.** A coin of Herod Antipas.

On the obverse Ἡρώδης Τετραρχης. *Ramus palmæ.* In areâ L. ΜΔ. On the reverse Γαῖο Καισα. Γερμ. Σεβ. *intra lauream.* The letters ΜΔ denote the forty-fourth year of his reign. Eckhel, iii. 486, but who questions the genuineness of the coin. However, the date itself furnishes no ground for suspicion, as the forty-fourth year of Herod may have commenced before his banishment (see *supra*, no. 1592).

**1610 a.** Coins of Caligula.

*C. Cæsar Aug. Pon. M. Tr. Pot. iii. Cos. iii. + S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob C. S., i. e. ob cives servatos.*

*C. Cæsar Divi Aug. Pron. Aug. S. C. + Cos. Tert. Pon. M. Tr. P. iii. P. P. R. C. C.* (see A.D. 39, no. 1584 a.)

In some coins the form is, *C. Cæsar Divi Aug. Pron. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. iii. P. P.*

In others, *Cos. Tert. Pon. M. Tr. P. iii. P. P. R. C. C.*

In others, *P. M. Tr. Pot. iii.* Eckhel, vi. 225.

*C. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pon. M. Tr. Pot. iii. P. P. + Vesta S. C.* Id. vi. 221.



## Inscription.

*Caius Caesar Divi Augusti Pronepos Augustus  
S. C. Consul Tertio Pontifex Maximus Tri-  
bunitiæ Potestatis quarto Pater Patriæ Rei  
censitæ conservator.* (in S. Mariæ de Tumba  
Diœces. Adrien.). Muratori, iv. 1992, 4.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 15.

Pentecost, June 5.

Tabernacles, October 10.

**A.D. 41. U.C. 794. Olymp. 205, 1.**

C. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS, iv. Qui abdic.  
et eum excepit vii. Id. Jan. Q. Pomponius Se-  
cundus, ii.

CN. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

— VETUSTUS.

CALIGULÆ IV. TRIB. POT. IV. COS. IV. PONT.  
MAX. PAT. PATR.

CLAUDII I. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. I. FROM  
SAME DAY. COS. I. COS. DESIG. II. PONT. MAX.  
IMP. I. IMP. II. (The occasion of assuming the  
title of Imp. I. was from a victory in Africa,  
and that of assuming the title of Imp. II. was  
from a victory in Germany. 'Ὡς καὶ ἀληθὲς  
ὄνομα Αὐτοκράτορος ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν τὸν  
Κλαύδιον λαβεῖν. Dion, lx. 3.)

Fifth year of the reign of Agrippa I., from  
1 April.

**1611.** Caligula is consul until the seventh  
day of January. *Quartum* (consulatum gessit)  
*usque in septimum Idus eisdem* (viz. Januarías).  
Suet. Calig. 17.

**1612.** Caligula apparently is not at Rome on  
1 January of this year, for the senate, as on  
1 January, A.D. 40, offer gifts, not to Caligula in  
person, but lay them at the foot of his throne  
in the Capitol. *Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει* (A.D.  
41) *ὁμοίως ἐγένετο.* Dion, lix. 24. He was  
probably at Astura, from which he sailed to  
Antium on his return to Rome, only a short  
time before his death. *Tenuit (Echeneis) et  
nostrá memoriá (navem) Caii principis ab  
Asturá Antium renavigantis, ut res est etiam  
auspicalis pisciculus, siquidem novissime tum  
in urbem reversus ille Imperator suis telis con-  
fossus est.* Plin. N. H. xxxii. 1.

**1613.** Caligula writes to Petronius to make  
away with himself, or to expect death at the  
hands of the executioner. *Γάιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα*

(viz. the countermand of the statue) *γράφει  
πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον πρότερον ἢ ἐντυχεῖν ταῖς  
αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαῖς ἐμφαινούσαις ἐπὶ ἀστασία  
Ἰουδαίους κατὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐπείγεσθαι . . . καὶ  
περιαλγήσας ὡς ἐπὶ πείρα τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ  
τετολημκότων . . . γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρώνιον . . .  
Κελεύω σε σαυτῷ κριτὴν γενόμενον, λογίσασθαι  
περὶ τοῦ ποιητέου σοι ὑποσάντα ὄργῃ τῇ ἐμῇ.*  
Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 8. But Josephus is in error  
in ascribing the dispatch to Caligula's anger at  
hearing from Petronius that the Jews were in  
a state of revolt, for, according to Philo, Pe-  
tronus had purposely excluded all mention of  
the assemblages of the Jews. His resolution  
was, *ἐπιστέλλειν Γαίῳ μὴδὲ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
κατηγοροῦντα, μὴ δηλοῦντα δὲ ἐπ' ἀληθεία τὰς  
ικετίαις καὶ ἀντιβολίας αὐτῶν,* Philo, Leg. 33;  
and to this latter dispatch Caligula sent first an  
answer of approval, and then an order when  
harvest was over to proceed (see A.D. 40, no.  
1597). The dispatch to Petronius to make  
away with himself was at a later date and only  
just before the death of Caligula, as may thus  
be shown. The dispatch was *three months* upon  
the road, and the news of the death of Caligula,  
which occurred on 24 January, reached Antioch  
*twenty-seven days* before the arrival of the dis-  
patch. *Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν τούτων γραμματὰφόρους  
συνέβη χειμασθῆναι τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν τῇ θαλάσ-  
σῃ, τὸν δὲ Γαίου θάνατον ἄλλοι καταγγέλλοντες  
εὐπλόουν· ἔφθη γοῦν τὰς περὶ τούτου λαβεῖν  
Πετρώνιος ἐπιστολὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἢ  
τὰς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ.* Jos. Bell. ii. 10, 5. When  
then did the news of Caligula's death reach  
Antioch? In the case of Tiberius's death, which  
was on 16 March, the news reached Syria about  
1 May, an interval of eight weeks, and allowing  
the same time for the transmission of the in-  
telligence of Caligula's death, the news would  
reach Antioch about 21 March. Caligula's  
dispatch to Petronius came to hand twenty-  
seven days later, or about 17 April, and as it  
was three months on the road, it must have  
been sent from Rome about 17 January. This  
agrees with the statement of Josephus that the  
dispatch was only a little before the death of  
Caligula. *Καὶ τελευτᾷ μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὸν χρόνον  
ἢ γράψαι τῷ Πετρωνίῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ ἀνα-  
κειμένην ἐπιστολήν.* Ant. xviii. 8, 9.

**1614.** Caligula is assassinated by Chæreas  
during the celebration of games in honour of  
Augustus, *θεωριῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπιτελουμένων  
. . . ἀγονταὶ δ' ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ πρώτου μεταστρησάμε-*

νον τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δήμου Καίσαρος εἰς αὐτόν, Jos. Ant. xix. 1, 11; according to Suetonius at 1 P.M., or according to Josephus at 3 P.M., on 24 January, *nono Kalendas Februarias, horâ quasi septimâ . . . suadentibus amicis egressus est*, etc., Suet. Calig. 58; *περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν*, Ant. xix. 1, 14; in the twenty-ninth year of his age and the fourth year of his reign. *Vixit annis undetriginta, imperavit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo*. Suet. Calig. 59. *Interfectus in Palatio est anno ætatis suæ vicesimo nono, imperii tertio, mense decimo, diequẽ octavo*. Eutropius, vii. 12. Γάϊος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἐν ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ μισὶν ἐννέα ἡμεραῖς τε ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι πράξας, τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐκ ἦν θεὸς ἔμαθεν. Dion, lix. 30. But Dion dated the commencement of the reign from 26 March, A.D. 37 (see A.D. 37, no. 1501). In Josephus the reign is stated at three years and eight months, *Γάϊου δὲ ἡγεμονεύσαντος ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτῶ*, Bell. ii. 11, 1; *Γάϊος μὲν δὴ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγεμονεύσας Ῥωμαίων λέποντα τεσσάρων μηνῶν οὕτω τελευταῖα*, Ant. xix. 2, 5; and in Cassiodorus at three years and ten months, *regnavit annis tribus et mensibus decem*, Cassiod. sub coss. Galieno et Plautiano; and in Clemens Alexand. at three years, ten months and eight days, Strom. i. xxi. 406.

**1615.** Claudius succeeds not on the day of, but on the day next after the death of Caligula. *Receptus intra vallum inter excubias militum pernoctavit . . . verum postero die . . . armatos pro concione jurare in nomen suum passus est . . . Imperio stabilito nihil antiquius duxit, quam id triduum, quo de mutando Reipublicæ statu hæsitatum est, memorie excimere*. Suet. Claud. 10, 11. But a little after Suetonius calls the day of Caligula's death the day of Claudius's accession. *Diem tamen necis (Caligulæ) quamvis exordium principatus sui vetuit inter festos referri*. Suet. Claud. 11. Claudius, at this time, was in his fiftieth year. *Quinquagesimo anno imperium cepit*. Suet. Claud. 10. Ἦγε δὲ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας. Dion, lx. 2. *Πεντηκοστῆς ἔς τὸ ἀρχεῖν παρήλθεν*. Philost. V. A. v. 27. His birthday was on 1 August, B.C. 10. *Τῇ τοῦ Ἀγούστου νομηριά ἐν ἧ ἐγεγέννητο*. Dion, lx. 5. *Claudius natus est Julio Antonio Fabio Africano coss. Kalendis Augustis Lugduni*. Suet. Claud. 2.

**1616.** The birth of his son Britannicus was on the twentieth day after his accession, and therefore on 13 February, A.D. 41. *Britannicum vicesimo imperii die inque secundo con-*

*salatu natum sibi, parvulum etiam tum et militibus . . . et plebi . . . assidue commendabat*. Suet. Claud. 27. It has been thought that there is here a mistake as to the consulship, for that the second consulship of Claudius was A.D. 42, and not A.D. 41; and Fynes Clinton suggests an easy transposition of the words, viz. *Britannicum vicesimo imperii die natum sibi, inque secundo consulatu parvulum etiam tum et militibus . . . et plebi . . . assidue commendabat*. See Fasti Romani, A.D. 50. However, Claudius was this year *consul designatus* for the second time; and he so describes himself in the edict issued this year to the Alexandrians given below; and if he was declared *consul designatus* immediately after his accession, the statement of Suetonius would be sufficiently correct. If Britannicus was born on 13 February, A.D. 41, he was three years and two months younger than Nero, who was born on 15 December, A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1527). And accordingly Tacitus describes Nero as little more than seventeen at the end of A.D. 54, *fine anni . . . vix septedecim annos egressus*, Tac. Ann. xiii. 6, and Britannicus at the very beginning of the following year, A.D. 55, as within a few days of completing his fourteenth year. *Claudio Nerone L. Antistio coss. . . propinquo die quo quartum decimum ætatis annum (Britannicus) explebat*. Tac. Ann. xiii. 11, 15. In the passage, therefore, *biennio majorem natu Domitium filio (Claudius) antepontit*, Tac. Ann. xii. 25, for *biennio* should be read *triennio*. Dion relates the birth of Britannicus under A.D. 42, but he is merely referring to it for another purpose, and does not assign the date of it to that year. Dion, lx. 12.

**1617.** Claudius on the thirtieth day after his accession enters the senate. *Οὐ μέντοι καὶ παραύτικα, ἀλλ' ὄψε καὶ τριακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς τὴν βουλήν ἐπήλθε*. Dion, lx. 3.

**1618.** Claudius abolishes the laws of Ἄσεβεία, or *Impiety*, i.e. the pains and penalties for not offering divine honours to the emperor. *Τό τε ἔγκλημα τῆς Ἄσεβείας ὁμοίως οὐκ ἐν γράμμασι μόνις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἔπαυσε*. Dion, lx. 3. *Καὶ προσπαγγόρευσε μήτε προσκυνεῖν τινα αὐτόν, μήτε θυσίαν οἱ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖν*. Dion, lx. 5. This act of toleration was highly favourable to the growth of Christianity, which so wonderfully spread itself in this reign (see A.D. 15, no. 1165).



**1619.** Agrippa, who, happening to be then at Rome, had taken an active part in securing the succession to Claudius, is rewarded for his services by the grant of Judæa and Samaria, with Abylene, or the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and the parts about Libanus. Προσθήκην δὲ αὐτῷ ποιεῖται πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου βασιλευθείσαν, ὃς ἦν πάππος αὐτοῦ, Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σαμαρείαν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ὀφειλόμενα τῇ οἰκειότητι τοῦ γένους ἀπεδίδου. Ἀβιλὰν δὲ τὴν Λυσαίου, καὶ ὅποσα ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει, ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ προσετίθει. Jos. Ant. xix. 5, 1. Καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν εὐθέως ἐδώρειτο τῇ πατρὶά βασιλεία πάση, προστιθείς ἔξωθεν καὶ τὰς ὑπ' Αὐγούστου δοθείσας Ἡρώδῃ Τραχωνίτιν καὶ Αἰρανίτιν, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἑτέραν βασιλείαν τὴν Λυσαίου καλουμένην. Bell. ii. 11, 5. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ Πυλαιστίνῳ, συμπράξαντι οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὧν) τὴν τε ἀρχὴν προσεπήνευσε καὶ τιμὰς ὑπατικὰς ἔειμε. Dion, lx. 8.

**1620.** The passage cited from the Wars shows that the tetrarchy of Lysanias, or Abylene, had never belonged to Herod, and was not included either in the grant made to him in B.C. 20 or in the grant to Herod Philip in B.C. 4 (see also A.D. 53, no. 1788). This is consistent with the statement of Luke, iii. 1, that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, A.D. 28, Lysanias was tetrarch. In fact, it is here called the *tetrarchy* of Lysanias from this Lysanias the *tetrarch*, who was now dead, and not from Lysanias his ancestor, who was *king* of Chalcis, and had been put to death seventy-six years before, in B.C. 36 (see that year, no. 537).

**1621.** Claudius at the same time makes Herod, the brother of Agrippa, king of Chalcis. Δωρεῖται δὲ (Claudius) αὐτοῦ (Agrippæ) καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδην· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν Βερνίκῃ συνοικῶν· βασιλεία τῇ Χαλκίδι. Jos. Bell. ii. 11, 5; Ant. xix. 5, 1. Τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδῃ τὸ τε στρατηγικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ δυναστείαν τινα (Claudius) ἔδωκε (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 8 (see B.C. 36, no. 537; A.D. 48, no. 1720).

**1622.** Claudius restores Antiochus to the kingdom of Commagene with Cilicia Aspera of which Caligula had deprived him. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Ἀντιόχῳ τὴν Κομμαγενὴν ἀπέδωκεν (ὁ γὰρ Γάιος, καίπερ αὐτὸς οἱ δοὺς αὐτὴν, ἀφήρητο). Dion, lx. 8. Ἀντιόχον δὲ ἦν εἶχεν βασιλείαν ἀφελόμενος, Κιλικίας μέρει τινὶ καὶ Κομμαγενῇ δωρεῖται. Jos. Ant. xix. 5, 1; xix. 8, 1 (see A.D. 37, no. 1505; A.D. 43, no. 1662;

A.D. 52, no. 1784). In the reign of Vespasian, Commagene again became a province. Suet. Vesp. 8. Eutrop. vii. 19. Aurel. Vict. Epit. 9.

**1623.** Claudius deprives Polemo II. of the kingdom of *Bosphorus*, to which he appoints Mithridates, and gives to Polemo II. instead a portion of *Pontus*, for he ceded it to Rome in A.D. 66 (see no. 1998). Καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην τὸν Ἰβηρα, ὃν ὁ Γάιος μεταπεμψάμενος ἐδέδεκε, οἴκαδε πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέπεμψεν· ἄλλῳ τέ τινι Μιθριδάτῃ, τὸ γένος ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πάνυ ἔχοντι, τὸν Βόσπορον ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ τῷ Πολέμῳ χῶραν τινα ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῆς Κιλικίας ἀντέδωκε. Dion, lx. 8 (see A.D. 38, no. 1533; A.D. 49, no. 1733). It is not said by Dion what part of Cilicia was given to Polemo II.; and Josephus is not more explicit, for he refers to Polemo II. as 'a king of Cilicia,' but without any clue to the locality of his dominions. Κιλικίας δὲ ἦν ὄπτος βασιλεύς. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 3. Cilicia Aspera, which had once belonged to Polemo I., the father of Polemo II. (see B.C. 39, no. 480), had been annexed to the kingdom of Commagene in A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1505), and was now restored to Antiochus (see *supra*, no. 1622, and A.D. 52, no. 1784). The part given to Polemo II. may have been Cilicia Amaniensis, or the parts about Mount Amanus which had fallen under the Roman jurisdiction by the death of King Philopator in A.D. 17 (see that year, no. 1088). Cilicia Campestris, in which was Tarsus, was never bestowed on any sovereign, but was annexed to Syria, though governed by its own proprætor, and in A.D. 56 Cossutianus Capito was proprætor (see A.D. 57, no. 1832).

**1624.** In the reign of Claudius, Sampsigeramus was king of Emesa and Arethusa, Ἐμεσῶν δὲ Σαμψιγέραμος (βασιλεύς), Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 1; but *non constat* when he was appointed (see B.C. 20, no. 727; A.D. 43, no. 1662).

**1625.** The Jews of Alexandria, on the death of Caligula, take courage and renew the contest with the Alexandrians, when Claudius issues a decree restoring the Jews to their privileges. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Γερμάνικος Ἀρχιερεὺς Μέγιστος Δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας, λέγει, etc. Jos. Ant. xix. 5, 2. Claudius also makes another decree in favour of the Jews all over the world. Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ, Σεβαστὸς, Γερμάνικος, Ἀρχιερεὺς Μέγιστος, Δημαρχικῆς

ἐξουσίας, Ὑπατὸς χειροτονηθεὶς τὸ δευτέρον· αἰτησαμένων με βασιλέων Ἀγρίππου καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φιλάτων μοι, ὅπως συγχωρησάμι τὰ αὐτὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίους φυλάσσεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἤδιστα συνεχώρησα, etc. Ant. xix. 5, 3. The two decrees differ in form, and appear to have been issued at different times. The one giving general toleration was the later of the two, and was promulgated towards the close of A.D. 41, when Claudius was *consul designatus*, or consul elect for the ensuing year, A.D. 42. Ὑπατος χειροτονηθεὶς τὸ δεύτερον. From the allusion in the decrees to Agrippa and Herod, they were apparently still at Rome; and Josephus confirms this as to Agrippa by saying that immediately after the decrees he sailed for Judæa. Τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῖς διατάγμασιν . . . ἐδήλωσεν (Claudius) ἦν περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχει γνώμην· αὐτίκα δὲ Ἀγρίππαν κομιζόμενον τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς λαμπροτέραις ἐξέπεμψε. Ant. xix. 6, 1.

**1626.** The sisters of Caligula, viz. Agrippina and Julia, who had been banished in A.D. 39 (see no. 1576), are now restored. Dion, lx. 4.

**1627.** Seneca is banished this year (Ὀυάλεβρια Μεσσαλίνῃ) τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτοῦ . . . ἐξώρισεν, ἐγκλήματα αὐτῇ ἄλλα τε καὶ μαιχίας παρασκευάσασα, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ ὁ Σενέκας ὁ Ἄννιος ἔφυγε (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 8. He was banished to Corsica. Senec. Consol. ad Helviam, c. 8. Schol. Juvenal, v. 109. Auctor Octaviæ, 382, cited *Fasti Rom.* A.D. 41. Seneca's banishment continued for eight years. See A.D. 49, no. 1729.

**1628.** Izates, king of Adiabene, about this time, sends hostages to Claudius and Artabanus. Ὁ δὲ Ἰζάτης ὡς παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνήν, καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς δεδεμένους, ἐδυσχέρανεν τῷ γεγονότῳ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἢ φυλάττειν δεδεμένους ἀσεβεὲς ἡγούμενος, τὸ δὲ μνησικακοῦντας ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ μὴ δεδεμένους σφαλερὸν εἶναι νομίζων, τοὺς μὲν ὀμνηρεύοντας μετὰ τέκνων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψε Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Ἀρτάβανον τὸν Πάρθον ἐφ' ὁμοίους προράσσειν ἀπέστειλεν. Jos. Ant. xx. 2, 3. The only concurrent years of Claudius and Artabanus were A.D. 41 and A.D. 42. The narrative leads one to suppose that the hostages were sent when Izates first came to the throne, but which could not be, for he died in A.D. 60 (see A.D. 62, no. 1936), and reigned

twenty-four years, Ant. xx. 4, 3; so that, assuming these to be current years, he must have begun to reign in A.D. 37, at which time Claudius was not emperor. Josephus may possibly have written Claudius by mistake for Caius, i. e. Caligula.

**1629.** Queen Helena, the mother of Izates, and a Jewish proselyte, repairs to the Holy City to take up her abode there. This was after Izates was firmly seated on the throne, and he began to reign in A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1525). Ἐλένη δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως (Izatis) μήτηρ ὄρωσα τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰρηνευόμενα, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτῆς μακάριον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι ζηλωτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀλλόθεν διὰ τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχεν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικόμενῃ, τὸ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις περιβοητὸν ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνῆσαι, καὶ χαριστήριους θυσίας προσενεγκεῖν . . . Γίνεται δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ ἀφίξις πάννυμφερουσα τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμιταῖς· λιμοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον πιέζοντος, etc. Jos. Ant. xx. 2, 5. As Helena made this pilgrimage to Jerusalem when her son felt himself secure, we should refer it to the time when Izates, as a measure of safety, sent his relations out of the kingdom under pretext of their being required as hostages. It was certainly before the death of Artabanus, which occurred in A.D. 42, for Josephus first relates the visit of Helena to the Holy City, and then records the demise of Artabanus, μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Ἀρτάβανος τελευτᾷ, Ant. xx. 3, 4; and then assigns as the reason why Izates would not join Vardanes in his plans against the Romans that Izates was afraid on account of his mother, who had gone to Jerusalem, and who was, therefore, in the power of the Roman governor of Syria. Ἐτι δὲ πεπομφῶς . . . τὴν μητέρα προσκυνούσαν τὸ ἱερὸν, ὡς προεῖπον, ὀκνηρότερος ἦν. Ant. xx. 3, 4. The statement of Josephus that the arrival of Helen was most opportune, as a famine pressed about that time, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον, must not, therefore, be taken too strictly. The dearth was not at its height in Judæa until A.D. 44 (see that year, no. 1681), but it may have begun some time earlier; and, indeed, was severely felt in Italy in A.D. 42; and, as appears from the coins of Claudius, had shown itself at least as early as A.D. 41 (see A.D. 42, no. 1639).

**1630.** Artabanus, who had been obliged to fly from his kingdom by the sedition of Cin-



nanus, takes refuge with Izates, and by his influence is restored to his kingdom. Ant. xx. 3, 1. This was not long before the death of Artabanus in A.D. 42. Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Ἀρτάβανος τελευτᾷ. Ant. xx. 3, 4.

**1631.** The Greeks and Syrians of Seleucia, in Mesopotamia, rise against the Jews and slay upwards of 50,000. Those that escaped took refuge in Ctesiphon. This was certainly after the revolt of Seleucia from Artabanus in A.D. 36 (see no. 1486), for the contumacy of Seleucia is alluded to as the reason why, on coming from Seleucia, they were suspected. Τούτοις δὲ ἦν εἰς Κτησιφῶντα ἀποχώρησις . . . ἀσύνθετα δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἰδρυσιν πεποιημένοις, τιμῆς τοῦ βασιλέως Σελευκῶν μὴ πεφροντικῶν. Ant. xviii. 9, 9. The βασιλέως in this passage is Artabanus, in whose lifetime, therefore, the flight to Ctesiphon occurred, and Artabanus died in A.D. 42.

**1632.** The Gospel about this time is preached to the Gentiles at Antioch, and many converts are made there. Ἐλάουν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Acts, xi. 20. If we have rightly placed the call of Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, in A.D. 40 (see no. 1608), the publication of the Gospel to the Gentiles of Antioch would follow soon after.

#### 1632 a. Coins of Caligula.

*C. Cæsar Aug. Pon. M. Tr. Pot. iiiii. Cos. iiiii.*

*C. Cæsar Divi Aug. Pron. Aug. S. C. + Cos. Quat. Pon. M. Tr. P. iiiii. P. P. R. C. C.* (see A.D. 39, no. 1584 a.).

Coin struck after his death.

*C. Cæsar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. Pot. + Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. Pot. Imp. vi.* Eckhel, vi. 226.

#### Coins of Claudius.

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Imp. Recept.* with the Prætorian camp.

Or,

+ *Prætor. Recept.* with a legionary soldier and eagle.

These coins refer to the reception of Claudius into the Prætorian camp. See Suet. Calig. x.

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Sacerdos Divi Augusti.*

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. P. + Constantiæ Augusti.*

*Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Imp.* (and sometimes with the addition of *P. P.*) + *Constantiæ Augusti S. C.*

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Paci Augustæ.*

*Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug.* holding a balance with the letters *P. N. R.* (i.e. *Pondus nummi Romani* or *Restituti*) + *Cos. Des. It. Pon. M. Tr. P. Imp. S. C.*

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Victoria August.*

*Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. P. + Spes Augusta S. C.* Eckhel, vi. 235. *Imp. ii. Tr. P. Cos. Desig. ii.* Id. vi. 248.

#### Coins of Alexandria.

*Ti. Κλαυδι. Καισ. Σεβα. Γερμανι. Αυτοκρ. L. A.* (i. e. in the first year of Claudius) + *Μεσσαλινα Καισ. Σεβ.* Id. iv. 52.

*Αντωνια Σεβαστη + Ti. Κλαυδι. Καισ. Σεβα. Γερμανι. Αυτ. L. A.* Id. iv. 53.

#### Inscription.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pontif. Max. Trib. Pot. Cos. Desig. ii. Imp. ii. Refecit.* (Bernicii in agro Nemausensi). Muratori, i. 445; id. iv. 2006, 5.

**1633.** There are coins of Agrippa struck after he was king of Judæa, but without date, and therefore perhaps in his first year.

*Βασιλευς μεγας Αгриππας Φιλοκαισαρ. Caput regis diadematum + Καισαρεια η προς τω Σεβασω λιμνι. Mulier stans cum gubernaculo et cornucopiæ.*

*Caput Claudii + επι βασιλε. Αгриπ. Τιβεριεων, intra lauream.* Eckhel, i. 492.

#### 1634. Coins of Herod of Chalcis.

*Βασιλευς Ηρωδης. Caput diadematum + Κλαυδια Καισαρια, intra coronam.*

On another,

*Κλαυδιω Καισαρι.*

From the latter coin one is led to suspect that on the former should have been the letters *Κλαυδιω Καισαρι. Α.*, i. e. in the first year of the reign. Id. iii. 492.

The Sabbath year.

Passover, April 4.

Pentecost, May 25.

Tabernacles, September 29.

**A. D. 42. U. C. 795. Olymp. 205, 2.**

TIB. CLAUD. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, ii. Qui abdic. et eum excepit prid. Kal. Mart. C. Vibius Crispus. CÆCINA LARGUS.

CLAUDIUS II. FROM 25 JAN. TRIB. POT. II. FROM SAME DAY. COS. II. COS. DESIG. III. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. III. (Suetonius speaks of Claudius in respect of his third consulship as *in locum demortui suffectus*, Suet. Claud. xiv.; but the death referred to was probably that of a consul *designatus*, and not an actual consul.)

Sixth year of the reign of Agrippa I., from 1 April.

**1635.** Claudius is consul for two months. *Semestrem novissimum, bimestres cæteros (consulatus gessit)*. Suet. Claud. 14. Ὑπάτευε δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος μετὰ Γαίον Λάργον, καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν δι' ἔτους ἄρξαι ἐφήκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ δύο μῆσι καὶ τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε. Dion, lx. 10.

**1636.** The prætors vary in number from fourteen to eighteen. Ἀνωμάλως δὲ δὴ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπεδείκνυντο· καὶ γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, καὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, διὰ μεσοῦ τε (ὡς πον καὶ συνέπεσεν), ἐγίγνοντο. Dion, lx. 10 (see A. D. 14, no. 1057).

**1637.** The prefects of the senate's or people's provinces are ordered to leave Rome for their respective governments before 1 April. Τούς τε κληρωτοὺς ἀρχοντας πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου νομηνίας, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐνεχρόνιζον, ἀφορμᾶσθαι. Dion, lx. 11 (see A. D. 15, no. 1069; A. D. 43, no. 1655).

**1638.** Mauritania is divided into two provinces, called *Tengensis* and *Cæsariensis*. Ὁ Κλαύδιος διχῆ τοὺς Μαύρους τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐνειμεν, ἔς τε τὰ περὶ Τέγγιν καὶ ἔς τὰ περὶ Καισάρειαν (ἀφ' ὧν περ καὶ ὀνομάζονται), καὶ δύο ἀρχουσιν ἰπεῦσι προσέταξε (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 9.

**1639.** A famine prevails in Italy, and to guard against the recurrence of it Claudius constructs a port at Ostia to receive the corn-ships. Λιμὸς δὲ ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου . . . πρόνοιαν ἐποίησατο, etc. (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 11. *Portum Ostiæ extruxit circumducto dextrâ sinistrâque brachio, et ad introitum profundo jam solo mole objectâ, quam quo stabilius fundaret, navem ante demersit quâ magnus obeliscus ex Ægypto fuerat advectus, congestisque pilis superposuit altissimam turrim in exemplum*

*Alexandrini Phari, ut ad nocturnos ignes cursum navigia dirigerent.* Suet. Claud. 20.

This famine, now at its height, appears to have begun in the first year of Claudius, A. D. 41, and to have continued up to and through the third year of Claudius, A. D. 43, for the coins of Claudius with the stamp of a bushel (*modius*), and therefore commemorating the care of Claudius in supplying provisions, run through these three years. Eckhel, vi. 238, 239, 240. Aurelius Victor also refers the famine in the time of Claudius to the forced collection of taxes by Caligula to form the bridge at Baia in A. D. 39. *Adhuc annonæ egestas composita, quam Caligula induxerat, dum, adactis totâ urbe navigiis, pervium mare theatris curribusque damno publico efficere contendit.* Vict. Cæs. c. 4. See Anger, 42, note (x). The commencement of a port by Caligula just before his death at Rhegium may also, as a port for the corn-ships from Egypt, have been connected with the famine which was seen to be approaching (see A. D. 40, no. 1604).

**1640.** The futile conspiracy of Annius Vini-cianus and Furius Camillus Scribonianus, the prefect of Dalmatia. Τῆς Δαλματίας ἀρχοντα (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 15. *Dalmatiæ Legatus.* Suet. Claud. 13.

**1641.** Aulus Plautius in this year is sent to Britain to restore Vericus, or Bericus, who had been ejected by Cunobellinus, or Cymbeline, whose capital at this time was Camulodunum, or Colchester; and Caractacus and Togodumnus, the two sons of Cunobelin, who was then dead, are defeated. Βέρικος γάρ τις, ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ στάσιμ ἐπεισε τὸν Κλαύδιον δύναμιν ἐς αὐτὴν πέμψαι . . . Ὁ οὖν Πλαύτιος . . . (ἦσαν δὲ οὐκ αὐτόνομοι, ἀλλ' ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι προσεταγμένοι) πρῶτον μὲν Καταράτακον, ἔπειτα Τογόδουμνον, Κυνοβελλί-νου παῖδας, ἐνίκησε, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπεθίηκε . . . ὥστε καὶ τιμᾶς ἐπιπικίους, καίπερ οὐκ ὑπατευκῶς, λαβεῖν. Dion, lx. 19, 20. This is related by Dion under the following year (A. D. 43), in order that the campaigns of Plautius and Claudius might be taken together. The history of Tacitus for this period has been lost, but he evidently placed the first campaign of Plautius in this year, for he states A. D. 50 to be the ninth year of the war. *Ipse (Caractacus) . . . vincetus ac victoribus traditus est nono post anno quam bellum in Britannia captum.* Tac. Ann. xii. 36 (see A. D. 50, no. 1744).



**1642.** Agrippa in the course of the year arrives at Jerusalem, and dedicates in the Temple the golden chain with which he had been presented by Caligula; and, to ingratiate himself with the people, shaves the heads of some Nazarites, i.e. pays the expenses of completing their vows. Ὁ δὲ (Agrippa) μετὰ τάχους (after the decrees of Claudius in favour of the Jews, see A.D. 41, no. 1625) ὑπέστρεψεν· εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ ἔλθων, χαριστηρίους ἐξεπλήρωσε θυσίας, οὐδὲν τῶν κατὰ νόμον ἀπολιπών· διὸ καὶ Ναζιραίων ξυρᾶσθαι διέταξε μάλα συχνοῦς (which illustrates the advice of the elders of Jerusalem to St. Paul, Acts, xxi. 23), τὴν τε χρυσὴν ἄλυσιν τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Γαίου . . . τῶν ἱερῶν ἐντὸς ἀνεκρέμασε περιβόλων ὑπὲρ τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον. Jos. Ant. xix. 6, 1. Agrippa from this time usually resided at Jerusalem. Ἡδεῖα γοῦν αὐτῷ διαίτα καὶ συνεχῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν, Ant. xix. 7, 3; but he was occasionally at Cæsarea, Ant. xix. 7, 4; and Berytus, xix. 7, 5; and Tiberias, Ant. xix. 8, 1.

**1643.** Agrippa deprives Theophilus of the pontificate, and appoints Simon, son of Boethus. Ἀγρίππας Θεόφιλον μὲν τὸν Ἀνάου τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μετέστησεν, τῷ δὲ Βοηθοῦ Σίμωνι (τοῦτω Κανθηρᾶς ἐπικλησὶς ἦν) τὴν ἐκείνου προσέειμε τιμὴν. Jos. Ant. xix. 6, 2 (see A.D. 37, no. 1506, and *infra*, no. 1646).

**1644.** Agrippa releases the house-tax to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and appoints his friend Silas hipparch, Ant. xix. 6, 3; but afterwards removes Silas, Ant. xix. 7, 1, and appoints Helcias. Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 3.

**1645.** Some youths of Doris set up the statue of Claudius in the synagogue, and Agrippa complains of it to Petronius, who is still prefect of Syria. This was after the decrees of Claudius in favour of the Jews (see A.D. 41, no. 1625), for they are alluded to by the mandate of Petronius. Πούπλιος Πετρώνιος πρεσβευτῆς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίον Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δωριέων σοῖς πρώτοις λέγει . . . τοῦ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐπικρίματος μεμνήσκεσθαι γελῶιν ἐστί μετὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος διάταγμα τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἰδίους ἔθεισιν χρῆσθαι. Jos. Ant. xix. 6, 3.

**1646.** Agrippa removes Simon from the high-priesthood, and offers it to Jonathan; and, on his declining it, confers it on Matthias, the brother of Jonathan. Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὴν Ἱερωσύνην τὸν Κανθη-

ρᾶν Σίμωνα . . . Τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὲν ἔασε, γνῶμην δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαθθία τὴν Ἱερωσύνην ἔδωκε. Jos. Ant. xix. 6, 4 (see *supra*, no. 1643, and A.D. 43, no. 1663).

**1647.** Shortly after the appointment of Matthias, Petronius is superseded as prefect of Syria by Vibius Marsus. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Πετρώνιον μὲν Μάρσος εἰεδέξατο καὶ διεῖπε Συρίαν. Jos. Ant. xix. 6, 4 (see A.D. 39, no. 1554; A.D. 44, no. 1679). That Petronius was prefect at the end of A.D. 41, or before the last quarter of A.D. 42, appears from a coin of Antioch with the year 90 of the Antiochian era. See Eckhel, iii. 280.

**1648.** Death of Artabanus, king of Parthia (see A.D. 16, no. 1077; *infra*, no. 1649), not long after his restoration to the throne by Izates. Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον (after his restoration) Ἀρτάβανος τελευτᾷ, τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ παιδὶ Οὐαρδάνῃ καταλιπών. Jos. Ant. xx. 3, 4. He paid homage to Caligula, and was therefore living in A.D. 37; and, according to Josephus, he sent ambassadors to Claudius, and if so, he was living in A.D. 41 (see that year, no. 1628): but at the close of A.D. 42 Seleucia was taken, after seven years' resistance, by Vardanes, then king of Parthia (see *post*, no. 1652). The exact date of Artabanus's death does not appear, but it was about this time. For the coins of Artabanus, see Eckhel, iii. 533.

He left at least six sons; viz. 1. Artabanus, who was murdered by his brother Gotarzes; 2. Gotarzes, who was expelled by his brother Vardanes; 3. Vardanes, who was succeeded by his brother Vologases; 4. Vologases; 5. Pacorus, who was appointed by his brother Vologases to Media; and, 6. Tiridates, who was appointed by his brother Vologases to Armenia. *Inter Gotarzis pleraque sæva qui necem fratri Artabano conjugique ac filio ejus præparaverat.* Tac. Ann. xi. 8. Αὐτὸν μὲν (Vardanem) ἀναιροῦσι, τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γοτάρζῃ παρέδωσαν· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τελευτήσαντα διαδέχεται Οὐλογάσης ὁ ἀδελφός· ὃς δὴ καὶ τοῖς ὀμοπατρίοις ἀδελφοῖς δυναστείας ἐπίστευσε, Πακόρῳ μὲν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν Μήδων, Τηριδάτῃ δὲ τῷ νευτέρῳ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν. Jos. Ant. xx. 3, 4. But Vologases, according to Tacitus, was the son of Vonones. Tac. Ann. xii. 14.

**1649.** Gotarzes, after the murder of his brother Artabanus, succeeds to the throne, but Gotarzes is himself ejected by Vardanes, who reduces all the kingdom, except Seleucia, to

which he lays siege. Tac. Ann. xi. 8 (see *ante*, no. 1648, and *infra*, no. 1652). For the coins of Gotarzes, see Eckhel, iii. 534.

**1650.** Gotarzes collects an army of Dahæ and Hyrcani, and renews the war. Tac. Ann. xi. 8.

**1651.** Mithridates, the partisan of the Romans and the brother of Pharismanes, king of the Iberi, taking advantage of these troubles in Parthia, marches at the head of an Iberian army into Armenia, and defeats Demonax, the Parthian general. Tac. Ann. xi. 9 (see A.D. 35, no. 1474; A.D. 43, no. 1664).

**1652.** Gotarzes and Vardanes come to terms, and the former returns to Hyrcania, and the latter resumes the siege of Seleucia, and takes it after the maintenance of a revolt for seven years. Seleucia was certainly in revolt in the first half of A.D. 36, and therefore the surrender must have been toward the close of A.D. 42, or at the latest before midsummer, A.D. 43. *Potiorque Vardanes visus retinendo regno; at Gotarzes ne quid æmulationis existeret penitus in Hyrcaniam abiit: regressoque Vardani deditur Seleucia, septimo post defectionem anno, non sine dedecore Parthorum quos una civitas tamdiu eluserat.* Tac. Ann. xi. 49 (see A.D. 36, no. 1486; A.D. 46, no. 1702).

**1653.** The Apostles, at Jerusalem, hearing of the success of the Gospel at Antioch, send down Barnabas, who confirms the churches by the way, and then takes up his sojourn at Antioch, where a great impulse is given to the Church in consequence. Acts, xi. 22 (see A.D. 41, no. 1632; A.D. 43, no. 1665).

**1653 a.** Coins of Claudius.

*Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug.* holding a balance with the letters *P. N. R.* (i. e. *Pondus nummi Romani* or *Restituti*) or a bushel + *Cos. ii. Pont. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. P. S. C.*

Eckhel, vi. 239.

Coin of Antioch.

*Imp. Ti. Claudius Aug. Ger.* + *Ἐπι Πετρονίου Ἀντιοχείων*, q. i. e. in the ninetieth year of the Era of Antioch, or between 1 Nov. A.D. 41, and 1 Nov. A.D. 42. Id. iii. 280.

Coins of Alexandria.

*Τι. Κλαυδ. Καισ. Σεβα. Γερμανι. Αυτοκρ.* L. B. (i. e. in the second year of Claudius) + *Μεσσαλίνα Καισ. Σεβα.* Id. iv. 52.

*Ἀντωνία Σεβαστη + Τι. Κλαυδ. Καισ. Σεβα. Γερμανι. Αυτ.* L. B. Id. iv. 53.

Inscriptions.

*In Ho(norem) Ti. Claudii Drusi F. Ca... Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. ii. Cos. De... (Augustæ Taurinonum).* Muratori, i. 225, 5.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. German. Pont. Max. Trib. Potestate. Cos. Design. ii. (lege iii.) Imp. ii. Refecit.* (Mompellii in Galliâ). Gruter, 188, 3.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. ii. Cos. Desig. iii. Imp. iii. P. P. dedit* (Ravennæ). Muratori, i. 225, 6; Gruter, 166, 4.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 24.

Pentecost, May 14.

Tabernacles, September 18.

**A.D. 43. U.C. 796. Olymp. 205, 3.**

TIB. CLAUD. CÆSAR, iii. Qui abd. et eum excepit prid. Kal. Mart. P. Valerius Asiaticus.

L. VITELLIUS, ii.

ex Kal. Jul.

Q. CURTIUS RUFUS.

VIPSANIUS LÆNAS.

CLAUDIUS III. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. III. FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. PONT. MAX. PATR. IMP. III. IV. V. (That Claudius multiplied the titles of Emperor from the victories in Britain appears from Dion. *Ἀυτοκράτωρ πολλάκις ἐπωνομάσθη παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.* Dion, ix. 21.)

Seventh year of the reign of Agrippa I. from 1 April.

**1654.** Claudius is consul for two months only. *Consulatus super pristinum quatuor gessit, ex quibus duos primos* (A.D. 42, A.D. 43) *junctim, sequentes per intervallum quarto quemque anno* (A.D. 47, A.D. 51), *semestrem novissimum, bimestres cæteros.* Suet. Claud. 14. Claudius and Vitellius had been *nominated* consuls for six months, and therefore Suetonius is speaking of the time during which he held the office before his resignation (see *infra*, no. 1659).

**1655.** The prefects of the provinces lingering in Rome, Claudius issues a peremptory order that they leave Rome by the *middle* of April. *Πρὸς δ' ἔτι, τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῖς κληρωτοῖς, βραδέως ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξορμωμένοις, προεῖπε, πρὶν μεσοῦν τὸν Ἀπρίλλιον, ἀπαίρειν.* Dion, ix.



17 (*his coss.*), (see A.D. 42, no. 1637; A.D. 45, no. 1689).

**1656.** The Lycians having put some Romans to death, are deprived of their liberty (see B.C. 42, no. 420), and Lycia is annexed to the province of Pamphylia (see A.D. 57, no. 1832). *Τούς τε Λυκίους στασιάσαντας, ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐδουλώσατό τε, καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Παμφυλίας νόμον ἐπέγραψεν* (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 17 (see Plin. N. H. xii. 5; xiii. 27; Suet. Claud. 25).

**1657.** The freedom of Rome is commonly sold by Messalina and the freedmen of Claudius for the merest trifle. *Πολλοὶ τε αὐτὴν (πολιτείαν) παρά σε ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ ἡγοῦντο, καὶ παρά τῆς Μεσσαλίνης τῶν τε Καισαρείων ὠνοῦντο* (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 17.

**1658.** Catonius Justus, the prefect of the prætorium, is put to death by Messalina to prevent his betraying her amours. *Ὡσπερ καὶ τότε καὶ Κατόνιον Ἰουστον, τοῦ τε δορυφορικοῦ ἄρχοντα, καὶ δηλώσαι τι αὐτῷ ἐθέλησαντα* (Messalina), *προδέφθειρε* (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 18 (see A.D. 38, no. 1530; A.D. 44, no. 1684).

**1659.** Claudius, about midsummer, delegates the imperial power to Vitellius (who had been named as his colleague in the consulship for the first six months of the year) and passes himself into Britain, by the route of Ostia and Marselles, and Gesoriacum (Boulogne). *Ὁ Κλαύδιος τὰ μὲν οἴκοι τῷ Οὐτίελλίῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνεχειρίσει (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ ἐξάμηνον ὄλον ὑπατεύσεια ἐποίησεν) αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξεστρατεύσατο· καὶ καταπλεύσας ἐς τὰ Ὠστία, ἐκέθειν ἐς Μασσαλίαν παρεκομίσθη, κἀντεύθεν, τὰ μὲν πεζῇ, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πορευόμενος, πρὸς τε τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀφίκετο, etc.* Dion, lx. 21. *Huc* (Britain) *quum ab Ostiâ navigaret . . . bis pæne demersus est prope Liguriam, juxtaque Stæchadas insulas. Quare, a Massiliâ Gesoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto, inde transmisit.* Suet. Claud. 17. As Claudius was absent six months only and returned at the beginning of A.D. 44 (see no. 1667), he must have quitted Rome soon after 1 July, A.D. 43. Dion, therefore, does not mean to say that Claudius delegated the imperial power to Vitellius while still his colleague in the consulship, for Claudius had resigned the consulship in favour of P. Valerius Asiaticus at the end of February (see *supra*, no. 1654), and Q. Curtius Rufus and Vipsanius Lænas were consuls from 1 July of this year. The historian,

to be consistent with himself, must be understood to say only, that Claudius committed the supreme power to Vitellius, who *had been* his colleague in the consulship.

**1660.** Claudius joins the army of Plautius on the south bank of the Thames, where it was awaiting his approach; and then, crossing the river, defeats the enemy, and takes Camulodunum (Colchester), the capital of Cunobelin or Cymbeline. *Καὶ περαιωθείς ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν συνέμιξε τοῖς στρατοπέδοις πρὸς τῷ Ταμέσῳ ἀναμένουσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ παραλαβὸν σφῶς ἐκείνον τε ἐπιδιέβη καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ συνεστραμμένοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν, μαχῇ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τὸ Καμουλόδουνον τὸ τοῦ Κυνοβελλίνου βασιλείον εἶλε.* Dion, lx. 21. Claudius was only sixteen days in Britain. *Ἐκκαίδεκα μόνας ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε.* Dion, lx. 23. *Intra paucissimos dies parte insula in deditionem receptâ.* Suet. Claud. 17.

**1661.** Agrippa begins to surround Jerusalem with strong walls, but is prevented by the interference of Marsus, the prefect of Syria. *Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσε τὸ πραττόμενον, καὶ νεωτερισμὸν τινα Κλαύδιος ὑποπτεύσας, ἐπέστειλεν Ἀγρίππῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς παύσασθαι τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐξοικοδομήσεως· ὁ δὲ ἀπειθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν.* Jos. Ant. xix. 7, 2; Bell. ii. 11, 6.

**1662.** Agrippa entertains various kings at Tiberias, which excites the suspicions of Marsus, the prefect of Syria, and he orders the kings to return home, at which Agrippa takes offence. *Ἦν δὲ ἄρα (Agrippa) τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι περιβλεπτός.* Ἦκε γοῦν παρ' αὐτὸν Κομμαγηνῆς μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος (see A.D. 41, no. 1622; A.D. 52, no. 1784), Ἑμεσῶν δὲ Σαμψυγέραμος (see A.D. 41, no. 1624; A.D. 53, no. 1789), καὶ Κόνυς· τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας οὗτος ἐβασίλευσε· (see A.D. 38, no. 1533; A.D. 55, no. 1823), καὶ Πολέμων τὴν Πόντον κεκτημένος δυναστείαν (see A.D. 38, no. 1533; A.D. 59, no. 1881) Ἡρώδης τε· οὗτος ἀδελφὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ, ἦρχε δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος (see A.D. 41, no. 1621; A.D. 48, no. 1720). Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 1. This quarrel of Agrippa with Marsus was probably not long before the death of Agrippa (see A.D. 44, no. 1678); for immediately after his death, Marsus was superseded, in consequence of Agrippa's request, which had been made probably on account of this disagreement (see A.D. 44, no. 1679).

**1663.** Agrippa removes Matthias from the

pontificate, and appoints Elionæus, son of Cantheras. This was before the completion of the third year of his reign over Judæa. Τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δὲ Μαθθίαν ἀφελόμενος, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλιωναῖον τὸν τοῦ Κανθηρᾶ παῖδα. Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ πεπληρωτο βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας, καὶ παρῆν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν. Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 1 and 2 (see A.D. 42, no. 1646; A.D. 45, no. 1693).

**1664.** Vardanes seeks to recover Armenia from Mithridates, who was favoured by the Romans; but Vibius Marsus threatens him with war, and he desists. This is related by Tacitus next after the surrender of Seleucia, in A.D. 42, and was in the time of V. Marsus, who ceased to be prefect of Syria in A.D. 44. *Reciperare Armeniam auebat* (Vardanes), *ni a Vibio Marso Syria legato bellum minitante cohibitus foret.* Tac. Ann. xi. 10 (see A.D. 42, no. 1651; A.D. 51, no. 1752).

**1665.** Barnabas, finding a wide field open at Antioch, goes to Tarsus in search of Paul, and brings him back with him to Antioch, where they labour jointly a whole year; and the disciples are now first called Christians at Antioch. Ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διδάξαι ὄχλον ἰκανόν, χρηματίζου τε πρώτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς. Acts, xi. 26. This was therefore a year before the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, just before the Passover A.D. 44 (see that year, no. 1669).

Agabus, a prophet of the Church of Jerusalem, arrives at Antioch, and forewarns the brethren of the approaching famine. Ἐσήμανε (Agabus) διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος λιμὸν μέγαν μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὅστις καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος. Acts, xi. 28. Josephus also places the great famine in the time of Claudius, and defines the period by saying that it occurred in the times of Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. Fadus was procurator in A.D. 44, and Tiberius Alexander in A.D. 46. Josephus, therefore, is speaking of the time when the famine was at its greatest height (see A.D. 42, no. 1639).

**1666.** Coins of Claudius.

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. iii.* (and sometimes with *Imp. v.*) + *Paci Augustæ.*

*Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug.* with a bushel + *Pont. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. P. Cos. iii. S. C.*

Eckhel, vi. 240.

Coins of Alexandria.

Αυτοκρ. L. Γ. (i. e. in the third year of Claudius) with head of Britannicus and his sisters Antonia and Octavia.

Δικαιουσση L. Γ.

Eckhel, iv. 51.

Τι. Κλαυδι. Καισ. Σεβα. Γερμανι. Αυτοκρ. L. Γ. + Μεσσαλινα Καισ. Σεβασ. Id. iv. 52.

Inscriptions.

(*Claudio Dru*)*si F. Cæsari August. . . . (Germanico . . . (T)rib. Potest. iii. Cos. iii. Imp. iii. P. P. Nomine filii et suo testamento fieri jussit adjectâ pecuniâ faciendum curavit* (Faleronæ in agro Firmano).

Muratori, i. 225, 9.

*Claudio Cæs. Aug. Germanico Tr. Pot. iii. Cos. iii. Pont. Max. P. P. L. Æmilius Gal. et L. Æmilius F. cur.* (Montori in Hispaniâ).

Id. i. 226, 6.

*Proserpinæ Bussianæ L. Busseius L. F. Vel. Annianus Busseia Prima Victorina D. K. Feb. Ti. Claudio Cæs. iii. L. Vitellio ii. Cos.* (Tibure).

Id. i. 304, 1.

*Pro Salute Ti. Claudii Cæsaris Aug. Pontif. Max. Tr. Pot. iii. Cos. iii. Desig. iii. Præsens Aug. L. Ex voto suscepto Viat. et Scrib. Libr. et A. Larcus Lydus Ded.* (Romæ).

Id. i. 304, 2.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. Germanic. Pont. Max. Trib. Potest. iii. Imp. iii. P. P. Cos. ii. (lege iii.) Desig. iii. And. M. P. xvii.* (In vico inter Divionem et Lingonas).

Id. i. 444, 6.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar August. Germanicus Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. iii. Imp. iii. Cos. iii. P. P. vii.* (Solaize).

Id. i. 5.

*T. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. iii. Cos. iii. Imp. iii. P. P. D. D.*

Gruter, 188, 4.

*Ti. Claudius Aug. Germanic. Pont. Max. Imp. iii. Trib. Pot. iii. Brac. Aug. xx.* (In agro Bracarensi).

Muratori, iv. 2006, 6.

*Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pontifex Max. Imp. v. Cos. iii. Trib. Potest. iii. P. P. Braca. xlii.* (In Lusitaniâ).

Id. iv. 2006, 7.

*Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Imp. v. Cos. iii. Trib. Pot. iii. P. P. Brac. Aug. xxv.* (In agro Bracarensi).

Id. iv. 2007, 1.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. iii. Imp. iii. Cos. ii. (lege iii.) Re . . .* (Viennæ prope Lugdunum).

Grüter, 188, 8.



A coin of Herod of Chalcis.

Βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης (Φίλο Κλα)υδίου. *Caput diadematum* + Κλαυδ.ω Καισαρι Σεβαστω Ετ. Γ. *intra coronam*, i. e. in the third year of his reign. Eckhel, iii. 492.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 12.

Pentecost, June 2.

Tabernacles, October 7.

A.D. 44. U.C. 797. Olymp. 205, 4.

C. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS, ii.

M. STATILIUS TAURUS.

CLAUDIUS IV. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. IV.

FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. PONT. MAX. PAT.

PATR. IMP. V., VI., VII.

Eighth year of the reign of Agrippa I. from  
1 April.

**1667.** Claudius returns from Britain to Rome after six months' absence, out of which he passed sixteen days only in Britain. Γάτον δὲ Κρίσπου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Τίτου Στατιλίου ὑπατευόντων, ἤλθε τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Κλαύδιος, ἕξ μῆνας ἀποδημήσας, ἀφ' ὧν ἑκατάδεκα μόνας ἐν τῇ Βρετανίᾳ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε. Dion, lx. 23. *Intra paucissimos dies parte insulae in dedicationem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit.* Suet. Claud. 17. As the return of Claudius is the first event mentioned by Dion under this consulship, it must have been very early in the year.

**1668.** Unbounded honours at Rome, triumphal arches, banquets, shows, and sacrifices are decreed to Claudius for his safe return from Britain, and he assumes the name of Britannicus. Dion, lx. 23. Suet. Claud. 17. *His coss. Claudius de Britannis triumphavit et Orcadas insulas Romano imperio adjecit.* Cassiodorus.

**1669.** Barnabas and Paul, shortly before the Passover (April 1), take up to Jerusalem the collection of the Antiochian church for the relief of the poor brethren of Judæa (see A.D. 43, no. 1665). Acts, xi. 30.

**1670.** At this time Agrippa, who was usually resident at Jerusalem, and a religious bigot, conceives the design of exterminating the Christian heresy, and commences a persecution against the sect. Κατ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν (the journey of Barnabas and Paul) ἐπέβαλεν

Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας κακῶσαι τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Acts, xii. 1.

**1671.** Agrippa beheads James the brother of John, and at the Passover arrests Peter, but reserves the execution until after the feast. Βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν (Peter) τῷ λαῷ. Acts, xii. 4. But Peter, on the night preceding the intended execution, is miraculously delivered from prison, and repairs to the house of Mary the sister of Barnabas and mother of Mark, where the disciples (including probably Barnabas and Paul) are assembled. Acts, xii. 6-12.

**1672.** It was during this visit of Paul to Jerusalem that he experienced the rapture referred to in the words, οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατέσσάρων . . . ἀπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον, etc. 2 Cor. xii. 2. This was written in the autumn of A.D. 57, and the Passover of A.D. 44 would be in the fourteenth year current before. That πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατέσσάρων means the fourteenth year current may be assumed as clear. Thus Josephus in the Wars relates an anecdote as occurring four years before the war, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου, Bell. vi. 5, 3; by which he means the fourth year *current* before the war (see A.D. 62, no. 1934). It should be remarked that as Paul calls himself ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ, the revelation must have been, not at his conversion, but after he had become a member of the Christian community.

**1673.** Paul and Barnabas having fulfilled their mission return to Antioch, and take Mark with them. Acts, xii. 25.

**1674.** Intelligence having reached Judæa of the triumphant return of Claudius from Britain, banquets and shows corresponding to those at Rome are commenced at Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Judæa, and Agrippa, of whom Claudius was the great patron, presides at the games. Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ (Agrippæ) βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὄλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο (on 1 April, A.D. 44), καὶ παρῆν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν . . . συνετέλει δὲ ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καισαρος τιμὴν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἑορτὴν τινα ταύτην ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἠθροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει, καὶ προβέβηκόντων εἰς ἀξίαν πλήθος. Ant. xix. 8, 2. Καὶ κατελθὼν (Agrippa) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Καισάρειαν διέτριβεν. Acts, xii. 19. The festival which Agrippa attended at Cæsarea was certainly that for the return of Claudius

from Britain. The news would reach Judæa in March or April, and the rejoicings would immediately follow; and this would be a little after the Passover, as Luke states, and would be also, as Josephus writes, just after the completion of Agrippa's third year, who had been appointed about 1 April, A.D. 41. The expression, *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐορτῆ* is also just the language that would be used to express Claudius's safe return from Britain. Thus, on Caligula's safe return from Gaul, Philo puts these words into the mouth of one of the courtiers, *ἀπάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σῆς θυσίας ἀναγόντων εὐχαριστηρίους, οὐκ ὑπέμειναν οὗτοι μόνοι* (the Jews) *θύειν*, Philo Leg. 45; which passage implies also that on the emperor's return rejoicings were expected not only from the Romans, but also from the provincials. Some think that the festival at Cæsarea was to celebrate the birthday of Claudius on 1 August, but this would place the festival too late in the year. Besides the birthday of Claudius was not usually observed even at Rome. 'Εν γὰρ δὴ τῇ Αὐγούστου νομηρίᾳ ἐν ἣ ἔγεγέννητο ἡγονίζοντο μὲν ἵπποι, οὐ δὲ ἐκείνον δὲ ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸς ἐν ταύτῃ καθιέρωτο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτησίους ἀγῶσιν ἐπετίμητο. . . . Τοῖς τε στρατηγῶσι τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς ὀπλομαχικοὺς ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ ποιεῖν. . . . ἀλλὰ μητίγε ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας γιγνομένων σφῶν ἢ γράφεσθαι ἢ καὶ λέγεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. Dion, lx. 5; and see lx. 12. The expression of Josephus, *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας*, indicates not a regularly recurring anniversary, as a birthday, but some extraordinary occasion, as the return from a distant and dangerous expedition.

**1675.** The dearth is now beginning to be felt in Syria, for while Agrippa is at Cæsarea the Tyrians and Sidonians (who were supplied with corn from Judæa: see 1 Kings, v. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 17; Ant. xiv. 10, 6) send an embassy to Cæsarea on the subject of the exports. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης θυμομαχῶν Τυρίους καὶ Σιδωνίους ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ παρήσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ . . . ἡτοῦντο εἰρήνην, διὰ τὸ τρέφεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς. Acts, xii. 20.

**1676.** On a set day during the festival, Agrippa gives an audience to the Tyrians and Sidonians in the theatre, when he is smitten by the hand of God. Τακτῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐδημηγόρει πρὸς αὐτούς. Acts, xii.

21. The fact that the audience was given in the theatre appears only from Josephus; but this incidentally confirms the account of Luke, who represents Agrippa as seated *ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος*, and every theatre contained a *βῆμα*.

**1677.** The day on which the audience was given to the Tyrians and Sidonians, and when Agrippa was struck, was the second day of the festival, and in the morning, before the games began. Δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν . . . παρήλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας. . . . Εὐθύς δὲ οὐ κόλακες . . . ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν φωνὰς ἀνεβόων, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες. Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 2.

**1678.** Agrippa died five days after he was struck, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and having reigned seven years, viz. four under Caligula, and three under Claudius. Συνεχῶς δὲ ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγῆματι διεργασθεὶς, τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκστοῦν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς βασιλείας δὲ ἔβδομον (A.D. 37-44). Τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἑνιαυτούς (A.D. 37-40)—τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας (A.D. 37-40) τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ (A.D. 40) καὶ, τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς—τρεις δὲ ἐπιλαβὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας (A.D. 41-44), ἐν οἷς τῶν τε προειρημένων ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσέλαβε, Σαμαρείαν τε καὶ Καισάρειαν. Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 2. He had reigned, as nearly as possible, seven years, viz. from April, A.D. 37, to April, A.D. 44; and, to speak exactly, three years and ten months under Caligula, and three years and two months under Claudius. In the Wars (the less accurate work), Josephus, rejecting in each case the odd months, mentions only the number of complete years. Ἄλλ' ἔφη πρὶν ὑψῶσαι τὸ ἔργον (the walls of Jerusalem) τελευτήσας ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, βασιλευκῆς μὲν (viz. over Judæa) ἔτη τρία (A.D. 41-44), πρότερον δὲ τῶν τετραρχιῶν τρισὶν ἑτέροις ἔτεσιν ἀφηγησάμενος (A.D. 37-41). Bell. ii. 11, 6. As Josephus, in the Antiquities, reckons the reign of Agrippa at seven years, it is clear that he does not compute it, as he did that of Herod, from 1 January or 1 Nisan next preceding the accession; otherwise, as Agrippa was appointed king in April A.D. 37 (see no. 1503), and died in April A.D. 44, which was after the commencement of the Roman year on 1 January, and the Jewish year on 1 Nisan, he would be said to



have reigned eight years. Tacitus, confounding Agrippa with Herod of Chalcis, places the death of Agrippa about A. D. 48; for, under the year A. D. 49, he writes, *Ituræique et Judæi defunctis regibus Sohæmo atque Agrippâ, provinciæ Syriæ additi* (coss. C. Pompeio, Q. Veranno). Tac. Ann. xii. 23. Herod of Chalcis did die in A. D. 48; but Agrippa had died long before, and, as we have seen, in the second quarter of A. D. 44.

Agrippa leaves four children—viz. Agrippa the younger, now at Rome, aged seventeen; Bernice, wife of Herod of Chalcis, aged sixteen; Mariamne, aged ten; and Drusilla, aged six. *Γένει δε αὐτοῦ καταλείπειτο υἱὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππας, ἄγων ἔτος ἑπτακαίδεκατον, τρεῖς δὲ θυγατέρες, ὧν ἡ μὲν Ἡρώδη τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφῶ γεγάμητο Βερνίκην, τὸ ἑκκαίδεκατον ἔτος γεγονυῖα· παρθένοι δὲ ἦσαν αἱ δύο, Μαριάμμη τε καὶ Δρούσιλλα, δεκαετῆς μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα, ἑξαετῆς δὲ Δρούσιλλα.* Jos. Ant. xix. 9, 1.

**1679.** In the latter half of the year, Claudius, hearing of the death of Agrippa, sends Cuspius Fadus to be governor of Judæa (see A. D. 46, no. 1701), and C. Cassius Longinus to be prefect of Syria in the place of Vibius Marsus (see A. D. 42, no. 1647; A. D. 50, no. 1746). *Ἐπαρχον οὖν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης βασιλείας ἀπέστειλε Κοῦσιπιον Φάδον, τῷ κατοικομένῳ (Agrippæ) διδοῦς τιμὴν τὸ μὴ Μάρσον ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰς βασιλείαν αὐτῷ διάφορον.* Jos. Ant. xix. 9, 2. *Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα . . . πέμπει Μάρσῳ διάδοχον Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Κάσσιον Λογγῖνον, μῆμη τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτο χαρίζομενος, πολλὰ δὲ γραμμῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περιτόνος ἀξιώθεις μῆκετι Μάρσον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν πραγμάτων προϊστασθαι.* Ant. xx. 1, 1.

**1680.** Fadus, on arriving in Judæa, finds the Jews of Peræa at war with the Philadelphians, and executes some of the leaders of the movement. *Φάδος δὲ, ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει στασιάσαντας τοὺς εἰς τὴν Περαίαν κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους πρὸς Φιλαδελφίους.* Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 1. This was before the embassy to Rome the answer to which was dated 28 June, A. D. 45 (see that year, no. 1691).

Fadus proceeds to clear the country of bandits, the besetting plague. *Ἐκαθάρθη τε λησθηρίων ἅπανα τὸν τεύθεν Ἰουδαία φροντίδι καὶ προνοίᾳ Φάδου.* Ant. xx. 1, 1.

**1681.** The great famine in the time of Claudius is now at its height in Judæa, and

continues throughout the procuratorships of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. *Ἐπι τούτοις δὴ (Fadus and Alexander) καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι.* Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. In another passage, Josephus connects the famine with the high-priesthood of Ishmael. *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, Κλαυδίου Ῥωμαίων ἀρχοντας, Ἰσμαήλου δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέως, καὶ λιμοῦ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καταλάβόντος, ὡς τεσσάρων δραχμῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν ἄσσαρῶνα, κομισθέντος ἀλεύρου κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων εἰς κόρους ἑβδομήκοντα . . . οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε τῶν ἱερέων κριμνὸν ἐν φαγεῖν.* Ant. iii. 15, 3. There was no high-priest by the name of Ishmael during the reign of Claudius, and the historian has evidently mistaken Ishmael for Elionæus, who was the high-priest from A. D. 43 to A. D. 45. The same Hebrew word *El* entering into both names may have given rise to the error. Orosius places the famine in the fourth year of Claudius, which began 25 January, A. D. 44. *Eodem anno imperii ejus (quarto Claud.) famæ gravissima per Syriam facta est.* Oros. vii. 6. It was in this famine that queen Helena was of so much service by her charitable contributions. Her son also Izates, king of Adiabene, sent alms to the Jews. No wonder, therefore, that the Christians of the Church of Antioch sent relief to the poor Christians of the Church of Jerusalem.

**1682.** Achaia and Macedonia, which had been transferred from the people to the emperor, are now restored by Claudius to the people, and are henceforth governed by proconsuls. *Τὴν τε Ἀχαίαν καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, αἰρετοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἐξ οὐπὲρ ὁ Τιβέριος ἤρξε διδομένας, ἀπέδωκεν ὁ Κλαύδιος τότε τῷ κλήρῳ (his coss.).* Dion. ix. 24. *Provincias Achaïam et Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit.* Suet. Claud. 25 (see A. D. 15, no. 1066).

**1683.** The Rhodians are deprived of their liberty for having crucified some Romans. *Τῶν τε Ῥοδίων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφείλετο, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τινὰς ἀνεσκόλοπισαν.* Dion. ix. 24 (see B. C. 42, no. 420; A. D. 51, no. 1749).

**1684.** Rufrius Polion is prefect of the Prætorium in this consulship. *Ρουφρίῳ δὲ δὴ Πωλίῳ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ εἰκόνα καὶ ἔδραν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ (Κλαύδιος ἐνειμε).* Dion. ix. 23 (see A. D. 43, no. 1658; A. D. 47, no. 1712).

**1685.** Olympic games are celebrated for the first time at Antioch in Syria on 1 October of this year, and continue for thirty days. The festival was established as (in classic phrase) a quinquennial feast, i. e. to be celebrated on the 1st October of every fourth year. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κλαυδίου οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς, κτήτορες καὶ πολῖται, ἀναφορὰν ἔπεμψαν, δεόμενοι ὥστε παρασχεθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ θείας αὐτοῦ κελύσεως ἀγορασθῆναι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἀπὸ τῶν Πίσειων τῆς Ἑλλάδος χώρας, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτησίων προσόδων τῶν ἐαθέντων χρημάτων παρὰ Σωσιβίου τινός, συγκλητικῶ, συμπολίτου αὐτῶν· καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτοὺς ἀγοράσαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ὁ αὐτὸς Κλαύδιος βασιλεὺς, ἔτους χρηματιζόντος κατὰ τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς Σύρους ἡβ' (92) — τὰ δὲ τῆς προσόδου εἰάθη εἰς τὸ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς συμπολίταις κατὰ πενταετηῆ χρόνον πολύτροπον θεῖαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας λ' μηνὶ Ὑπερβερεταίῳ, τῷ καὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ, σκηνικῶν, θυμικῶν, καὶ τραγικῶν, καὶ ἀθλητῶν ἀγῶνα καὶ ἵππικῶν καὶ μονομάχων, etc. Malala, x. 320. The first year of Antioch began in autumn B. C. 49, and the ninety-second year would begin in A. D. 43, and Hyperbeteæus was the last month of the Syrian year, and therefore the Olympia would be celebrated in October, A. D. 44 (see Fasti Romani, A. D. 44).

**1686.** Apollonius Tyanensis is in Parthia two months after the commencement of the third year of Vardanes, and therefore about September, A. D. 44, ποσὸν δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος τῇ ἀνακτηθείσῃ ἀρχῇ; Τρίτου, ἔφη, ἀπτόμεθα, δύο ἡδὴ πον μῆνες, Philost. V. A. i. 28 (see A. D. 42, no. 1649); and he was a year and eight months in Parthia (say till May, A. D. 46), ὁ χρόνος τῆς περὶ βασιλεία (Vardanem) ἀποδημίας ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔσται καὶ μηνῶν ὄκτω, V. A. i. 22; and see i. 40. He then visited India and stayed there four months (say till 1 September, A. D. 46), μηνῶν τεττάρων ἐκεῖ διατρίψαντι, V. A. iii. 50; and then returned by sea and up the river to Babylon, when Vardanes was still king, but who was slain late in A. D. 46 (see A. D. 46, no. 1702). Καταπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου φασὶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀναπλεύσαι παρὰ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην. V. A. iii. 55.

**1687.** It was probably in this year (A. D. 44) that Gotarzes, repentant of having conceded the kingdom to Vardanes (see A. D. 42, no. 1652), renewed the war, but Vardanes defeated him and pursued him as far as the river Sindus.

*Atque interim Gotarzes penitentia concessi regni . . . contrahit copias: et huic contra itum ad amnem Erinden, in cujus transgressu multum certato, pervicit Vardanes prosperisque praeliis medias nationes subegit ad flumen Sindum quod Dahas Ariosque disterninat.* Tac. Ann. xi. 10 (see A. D. 42, no. 1652; A. D. 46, no. 1702).

**1687 a.** Coins of Claudius.

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. iii. + Imper. Recept. or Paci Augustæ.*  
Eckhel, vi. 240.

Coins of Alexandria.

*Ti. Κλαυδι. Καισ. Σεβα. Γερμαν. Αυτοκρ. Ι. Δ. (i. e. in the fourth year of Claudius) + Μεσσαλινα Καισ. Σεβασ. Id. iv. 52.*

Inscriptions.

*Imp. iii. Tr. P. iii. Cos. iii. Id. vi. 248.*

*C. Julius Aug. Liberti Libertus Eros, Pistor candidarius per annos quos inter mortalis fuit ante eum diem qui fuit vi. Idus Mai. Vixit annos L. Hujus sacravit Julia Glaphyra colli-berta et prestitit officia M. Æmilio Lepido T. Statilio Tauro Cos. (in Castello Gondulfo). Muratori, i. 304, 3, who places this inscription in A. D. 16, or A. D. 44. See his note.*

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pontifex Maximus Tribunic. Potest. iii. Cos. iii. Imp. vii. P. P. I. P. ccxl. (via Salariâ). Muratori, i. 445, 3; and Gruter, 176, 4, but who has *Imp. viii.**

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 1.

Pentecost, May 22.

Tabernacles, September 26.

**1688.** According to Anger, the changes of the moon were, on 18 March, at 5 A. M., and on 16 April, at 2 P. M., Anger, 41; and the intermediate full moon for the meridian of Paris was on 2 April at 2½ P. M. (see Table of Eclipses). The Passover, or day of Paschal Sacrifices, which was always the day before the full moon, was therefore on 1 April, ending at sunset of that day.



A.D. 45. U.C. 798. Olymp. 206, 1.

M. VINICIUS, ii.

T. STATILIUS TAURUS CORVINUS.

ex iv. Kal. Jul.

M. CLUVIUS RUFUS.

POMPEIUS SILVANUS.

CLAUDII V. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. V. FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. VII. VIII. IX. X. (As to the titles of COS. DESIG. IV. and IMP. X., see *infra*, no. 1691. How rapidly Claudius multiplied the title of Imperator, is shown by the fact that, though he was not Imperator at all in the lifetime of Caligula, and reigned only fourteen years and nine months, he was Imperator for the twenty-seventh time at the date of his death. See Eckhel, vi. 248.)

**1689.** Claudius orders that prefects of provinces shall, on quitting office, not succeed immediately to another province, but shall forthwith return to Rome to answer any accusation against them by the provincials. "Ὅπως τε μὴ διακρούονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι (prefects) τοὺς ἐθέλοντας σφίσι δικάζεσθαι, οὐδενὶ ἀρχὴν ἐπ' ἀρχῇ παραχρῆμα ἐδίδον· (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνενόμιστο μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ἵνα ἀπροφασίστως τις αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ λαγχάνῃ) οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς παριεμένοις τὰς ἐκδημίας, οἷς ποι ἐπετρέπετο, ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις ποιῆσθαι, ὅπως εἰ δὴ τι πλημμελήσειν, μὴ προσλαμβάνοιεν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀποδημῶν, τὸ ἀνεύθυνον, etc. Dion, lx. 25 (see A.D. 43, no. 1655).

**1690.** Early in the year, Fadus, by the orders of the emperor, commands the pontifical robes and the crown of Agrippa to be laid up in Fort Antonia, and Longinus, prefect of Syria, is present with a strong force at Jerusalem to enforce obedience. "Ὅς δὴ (Fadus) καὶ τότε μεταπεμφόμενος τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν κατὰ τὴν κέλυσιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, παρήνευσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ποδῆρη χιτῶνα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν, ἣν φορεῖν μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθος ἔχει, εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ φρούριον, καταθέσθαι κεισομένην ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίᾳ . . . Ἀφίκετο γὰρ καὶ οὗτος (Longinus) εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος δύναμιν. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 1.

**1691.** The Jews are permitted to send an embassy to Rome on the subject, which they do; and Claudius, by the influence of the younger Agrippa, then at Rome, grants that

the pontifical robes and crown of Agrippa should be in the custody of the Jews. The edict furnishes us with the exact date. Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Γερμάνικος, Δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον (A.D. 45), Ὑπάτος ἀποδεδειγμένος τὸ τέταρτον (Consul Designatus IV.), Αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δέκατον, Πατὴρ πατρίδος, Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἀρχουσι, βουλῆ, δήμῳ, Ἰουδαίων παντὶ ἔθνει, χαίρειν. . . . Ἐγράφη πρὸ τεσσάρων καλανδῶν Ἰουλίου ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Ῥούφου καὶ Πομπητίου Σιλουανοῦ. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 2. The fifth year of the tribunitian power was from 24 January, A.D. 45, to 24 January, A.D. 46. The rescript therefore was dated 14 Kal. July, or 28 June, A.D. 45. That Claudius was also Imperator X. and Consul Designatus IV. in A.D. 45, being the fifth year of the tribunitian power, appears from two inscriptions: *Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. x. Cos. Desig. iv. arcus ductus aquæ virginis disturbatos per C. Cæsarem a fundamentis novos fecit ac restituit.* And again: *Claudio Cæs. Aug. Germ. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. x. P. P. Cos. Desig. iv. Optatus Verurri F. Imag. Cæs. Aug. Imp. D. S. P. D. eamque cum Optato et Reburo filius dedicavit. Senatus censuit perpetuo bonis publicis interesse.* Inscriptions ad calcem Suetonii. Claudius in A.D. 46 was Consul Designatus IV., but was not actual Consul IV. until A.D. 47. Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus, mentioned in the edict, were not the ordinary consuls, but the *consules suffecti* on 28 June. The date of this rescript of Claudius is one of absolute certainty, and is therefore of great value as a fixed point by which to regulate the chronology both precedent and subsequent.

**1692.** Herod of Chalcis at the same time obtains from the emperor the charge of the Temple, and of the corban, or Temple treasury, and the appointment of the high-priests. Ἡτήσατο δὲ καὶ Ἡρώδης . . . Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀρχιερέων χειροτονίαν, πάντων τε ἐπέτυχεν· ἐξ ἐκείνου τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπογόνους αὐτοῦ παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τελευτῆς. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 3. Josephus, however, is in error in stating that the appointment of the high-priests continued with the *lineal descendants* of Herod till the end of the war, for on the death of Herod of Chalcis the appointment of the high-priests was vested in Agrippa, and the *collateral* should therefore be

substituted for the *lineal* relatives of Herod of Chalcis.

**1693.** Herod exercises his new prerogative of appointing to the pontificate by displacing Elionæus, called Cantheras, and appointing Joseph, son of Cami. Καὶ δὴ ὁ Ἡρώδης μεθίστησι τῆς Ἀρχιερωσύνης τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Κανθηραῖν, Ἰωσήφω τῷ τοῦ Καμεί αντ' ἐκείνου τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς παρασχόμενος. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 3 (see A.D. 43, no. 1663; A.D. 47, no. 1715).

**1694.** Fadus about this time captures an impostor called Theudas, and puts him to death. Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 1. There is an insurgent by the name of Theudas spoken of by Gamaliel in the Acts of the Apostles, v. 36; but it cannot be this Theudas, for Gamaliel places the time of Theudas before that of Judas of Galilee A.D. 6. Μετὰ τοῦτον (Theudam) ἀνίστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος. Acts, v. 37. Who the Theudas of Gamaliel was, see B.C. 4, no. 903.

**1695.** Barnabas and Paul make their first circuit, embarking at Seleucia and landing at Salamis, on the eastern coast of Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas. They traverse the island from east to west, and arrive at Paphos, on the western coast. Acts, xiii. 4 (see A.D. 44, no. 1673; A.D. 46, no. 1703).

Sergius Paulus was at this time proconsul of Cyprus. Τῷ Ἀνθυπάτῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ. Acts, xiii. 7. The accuracy of Luke in describing Sergius Paulus as *proconsul* (the title given to the governor of one of the senate's or people's provinces) is remarkable. Cyprus had originally, i.e. on the division of the provinces between the emperor and the senate, or people, in A.D. 27, belonged to the emperor, and was governed by an imperial prefect called ὑποστρατηγός, or *proprætor*; but in A.D. 22 an exchange was made, and Cyprus was assigned to the senate (see B.C. 27, no. 666; B.C. 22, no. 712). There is also a coin of Cyprus struck in the time of Claudius, when Cominius Proclus was governor, the successor perhaps of Sergius Paulus, and the same title of Ἀνθύπατος is given. Κυπριων + Ἐπι Κομινιον Προκλου. On another coin in the time of Augustus is the inscription: A. Plautius Procos. Eckhel, iii. 84.

**1696.** An eclipse of the sun on 1 August, the emperor's birthday. Claudius, in anticipation of it, had issued a proclamation, stating the hour when it would begin and how long

it would continue. This proclamation was laughed at as ridiculously unnecessary; and it shows that the ancients understood astronomy with great exactness. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἐκλείψει ἔμελλεν . . . προέγραψεν οὐ μόνον ὅτι τε ἐκλείψει καὶ ὅποτε καὶ ἐφ' ὅποσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας· δι' ἧς ἀναγκάτως γενησέσθαι τοῦτο ἔμελλεν. Dion, lx. 26. This eclipse accords with modern calculations (see Table of Eclipses); so that the years from that time to this have been truly reckoned, however the fact may be accounted for.

**1697.** Antipater is archon at Athens. Ἀρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀντιπατροῦ, ὑπατευόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Βινικίου καὶ Τίτου Στατιλίου Ταύρου. Phlegon, Mir. Müller's Frag. Græc. Hist. iii. 618.

**1698.** A coin of Herod of Chalcis.

Βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης [Φιλοκλ]αυδίου. Caput diadematum. + Κλανδιῷ Καισαρι Σεβασῳ. E.T. E. *intra coronam*, i. e. in the fifth year of his reign. Eckhel, iii. 492.

**1698 a.** Coin of Antioch.

Imp. Ti. Claudius Aug. Ger. + Ἐπι Κασσιου Αντιοχείων Ετ. ΔϞ., i. e. ninety-four, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 45, and 1 Nov. A.D. 46. Cassius Longinus at this time was prefect of Syria.

Id. iii. 280.

Coin of Alexandria.

Ti. Κλανδι. Καισ. Σεβασ. Γερμανι. Αντοκρ. I. E. (i. e. in the fifth year of Claudius) + Μεσσαλινα Καισ. Σεβασ. Id. iv. 52.

Inscription.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. Germ. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. vi. (lege vii.) Cos. Des. iii. Gruter, 188, 5.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 21.

Pentecost, May 11.

Tabernacles, September 15.



**A.D. 46. U.C. 799. Olymp. 206, 2.**

VALERIUS ASIATICUS, ii.

M. JUNIUS SILANUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

P. SULLIUS RUFUS.

P. OSTORIUS SCAPULA.

CLAUDII VI. FROM 25 JAN. TRIB. POT. VI. FROM  
SAME DAY. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV. PONT.  
MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. X. XI.

**1699.** Asinius Gallus conspires against Claudius, and is banished. Dion, lx. 27.

**1700.** Claudius is the only person in Rome left in ignorance of the intrigues of his wife Messalina. (Κλαύδιος) μόνος οὐκ ἠπίσταντο τὰ ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ δρώμενα. Dion, lx. 28.

**1701.** Fadus is succeeded by Tiberius Alexander as procurator of Judæa. Ἦλθε δὲ Φάδῳ Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος διάδοχος, Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς τοῦ καὶ Ἀλαβαρχήσαντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. T. Alexander was a Jewish renegade. Τοῖς γὰρ πατρίοις οὐκ ἐπέμεινεν οὗτος ἔθεσιν. Ib. As Alexander preceded Cumanus, who was himself appointed in the eighth year of Claudius, A.D. 48, and as Fadus had certainly been appointed in A.D. 44, the change of procurators, if we assign an equal duration of office, viz. two years, to Fadus and Alexander, would occur about this time (see A.D. 44, no. 1679; A.D. 48, no. 1719).

**1702.** Vardanes, king of Parthia, is slain by his subjects, and Gotarzes is called in and becomes king. Tac. Ann. xi. 10 (see A.D. 42, no. 1649; A.D. 50, no. 1745). Vardanes, according to Philostratus, had reigned four years and upwards, for when Apollonius was with him Vardanes had reigned two years and two months: Philost. V. A. i. 28; and Apollonius remained twenty months in Parthia, V. A. i. 22; i. 40; and then travelled to India, where he remained four months, V. A. iii. 50; and then returned by sea up the Euphrates, when Vardanes was still living. V. A. i. 58 (see the passages cited under A.D. 44, no. 1686).

**1703.** Barnabas and Paul sail from Paphos to Perga in Pamphylia, and thence to Antioch in Pisidia, and thence to Iconium, the capital of Lycaonia. Acts, xiii. 13, 14, 51.

Pamphylia, including part of Pisidia, was at this time a Roman province, and governed by a Roman proprætor appointed by the emperor (see B.C. 51, no. 191). But the greater part of Pisidia, including Antioch, was comprised within the imperial province of Galatia, which was governed by a proprætor (see B.C. 25, no. 675).

Lycaonia was part of the dominions of Antiochus, king of Commagene (see A.D. 41, no. 1622).

Paul and Barnabas are obliged to fly from Iconium, and proceed to Lystra of Lycaonia; where, from the current legend of Jupiter and Mercury having in disguise visited Lycaon, from whom the country was named (see Ovid's *Metamorph.* i. 163), Paul and Barnabas are taken for Jupiter and Mercury, and can scarcely restrain the people from worshipping them as gods. Acts, xiv. 61.

**1704.** The Jews of Antioch and Iconium hear of the successes of the Apostles, and come to Lystra and excite the populace against them, when they withdraw to Derbe of Lycaonia. Acts, xiv. 20. Paul and Barnabas must have spent some time at Lystra, or the report of their successes would not have been carried to Antioch and Iconium, nor would the Jews of the latter places have concerted the plan of following up the Apostles to Derbe.

**1705.** Paul and Barnabas at Derbe make many disciples, *Μαθητεύσαντες ἱκανούς*, Acts, xiv. 21; and evangelise the neighbouring country. *Δέρβην καὶ τὴν περίχωρον, κακέῃ ἦσαν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι.* Acts, xiv. 6, 7. Derbe was in Isaurica, but Isaurica itself was part of Lycaonia. *Τῆς δὲ Λυκαονίας ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ἰσαυρική.* Strabo, xii. 6.

**1706.** Barnabas and Paul turn back from Derbe and revisit in order Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia, and then preach in Perga, and, embarking at Attalia, return to Antioch. Acts, xiv. 21–26.

**1707.** According to our Tables, Paul and Barnabas spent the year A.D. 45 in Cyprus, and the year A.D. 46 in Pamphylia and Lycaonia. But the length of time passed in this circuit cannot be exactly ascertained. It was certainly commenced after the Passover A.D. 44, when Paul and Barnabas were at Jerusalem, and it was concluded before A.D. 48 (see that year, no. 1722).

**1707 a.** Coins of Claudius.

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. vi. Imp. xi.* with head wreathed with laurel + *De Britannis* or *Britanni*, or *Britannis* inscribed on triumphal arch. Or + *P. M. Augur. Cos. iii.* with the emperor in triumphal car. Or + *Imper. Recept.* Or + *Constantiæ Augusti.* Or + *Paci Augustæ.* Or + *S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob C. S.* (i. e. *ob cives servatos*).

Eckhel, vi. 240.

## Coin of Alexandria.

*Ti. Κλαυδι. Καισ. Σεβασ. Γερμανι. Αυτοκρ. L. 5.* (i. e. in the sixth year of Claudius) + *Μεσσαλινα Καισ. Σεβασ.* Id. iv. 52.

## Inscriptions.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi Fil. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Max. Trib. Potest . . . Imp. xi. P. P. Cos. Desig. . . . iii. Arcus Ductus Aquæ Virginis Disturbatos per C. Cæsarem a fundamentis novos fecit ac restituit* (Romæ).

Muratori, i. 444 (see A.D. 45, no. 1691).

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. Ger. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. xi. P. P. Cos. iii. Desig. iv. Aug. M. P. xxi.* (in Galliâ).

Id. iv. 2007, 2.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 9.

Pentecost, May 30.

Tabernacles, October 4.

**A.D. 47. U.C. 800. Olymp. 206, 3.**

TIB. CLAUD. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, iv. Qui abd. et eum excepit ex Kal. Mart. Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Ælienus.

L. VITELLIUS, iii.

CLAUDIUS VII. FROM 25 JANUARY, AND TRIB. POT. VII. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. (see Eckhel, vi. 249).

**1708.** Claudius is consul for two months only. *Bimestres cæteros (præter novissimum) consulatus gessit.* Suet. Claud. 14. This consulship was the 800th year U.C., *ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἑξήκῃσθι ἔτει ὅτε Κλαύδιος τὸ τέταρτον καὶ Βιτέλλιος Λούκιος τὸ τρίτον, ὀκτακοσιοστοῦ τῇ ἑρώμῃ ἔτους ὄντος, ὑπάγευσαν,* Dion, lx. 29; and the *ludi sæculares* were celebrated *iisdem coss.* *Ludi sæculares octingentesimo post Romam conditam, quarto et sexagesimo, quam Augustus ediderat, spectati sunt.* Tac. Ann. xi. 11. Britannicus, a son of Claudius, and Nero take a part in the

games. *Sedente Claudio, Circensibus ludis cum pueri nobiles equis ludicrum Trojæ inirent, interque eos Britannicus Imperatore genitus, et L. Domitius adoptione mox in imperium et cognomentum Neronis adscitus, favor plebis acrior in Domitium loco præsagii acceptus est.* Tac. Ann. xi. 11. *Tener adhuc, necdum maturâ pueritiâ, Circensibus ludis Trojam constantissime favorabiliterque lusit.* Suet. Nero, 7..

**1709.** Vespasian and Titus are in Britain, and Corbulo in Gaul and Germany (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 30. Tac. Ann. xi. 18.

**1710.** Triumph of Aulus Plautius for the conquest of Britain. *Ὁ δὲ Πλαύτιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεταννικοῦ πολέμου, ὡς καὶ καλῶς αὐτὸν χειρίσας καὶ κατορθώσας, καὶ ἐπὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε* (*his coss.*). Dion, lx. 30.

**1711.** Death of Valerius Asiaticus (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xi. 1.

**1712.** Crispinus (*his coss.*) is prefect of the Prætorian guard. *Crispinum Prætorii Præfectum.* Tac. Ann. xi. 1; xvi. 17. He had been appointed by the influence of Messalina. Tac. Ann. xii. 42 (see A.D. 44, no. 1684; A.D. 48, no. 1718).

**1713.** Advocates at Rome are restricted to a fee of ten sesteria for pleading a cause at Rome. *Capiendis pecuniis posuit modum usque ad dena sestertia, quem egressi repetundarum tenerentur* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xi. 7 (see B.C. 17, no. 751).

**1714.** Christianity probably begins now to make a sensible impression at Rome, for Claudius complains that the religious observances of their forefathers were neglected through the prevalence of foreign superstitions. *Quod nunc segnius fieri, publicâ circa bonas artes socordiâ, et quia externæ superstitiones valescant.* Tac. Ann. xi. 15.

**1715.** Herod of Chalcis removes Joseph, son of Camudus, from the pontificate, and appoints Ananias, son of Nebedæus. *Ὁ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλεὺς, μεταστήσας τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης Ἰώσηπον τὸν τοῦ Καμύδου, τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς Ἀνανία τῷ τοῦ Νεβεδαίου δίδωσιν.* Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. This is mentioned next before the arrival of Cumanus and the death of Herod of Chalcis, in A.D. 48 (see A.D. 45, no. 1693; A.D. 59, no. 1880).

**1715 a.** Coin of Claudius.

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. vii. Imp. xiiii. + Paci Augustæ.* Eckhel, vi. 241.



## Inscription.

*Pro Sabte Ti. Claudii. Cæsaris Aug. Germanici Pontif. Max. Trib. Pot. vii. Cos. iiii. Imp. xv. P. P. Censoris . . . Liberatorumque . . . ex voto suscepto C. Julius Sæc. F. Cor. Posthumus Præf. Ægypti Ti. Claudii Cæsaris Aug. Germanici ex Auri P. xvi.* Gruter, 113, 1.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 29.

Pentecost, May 19.

Tabernacles, September 23.

**A.D. 48. U.C. 801. Olymp. 206, 4.**

A. VITELLIUS.

L. VIPSANIUS PŒLICOLA.

ex Kal. Jul.

L. VITELLIUS.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

forte Cn. Hosidius Geta.

L. Vagellius.

CLAUDIUS VIII. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. VIII.

FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR.

IMP. XV.

**1716.** A Lustrum by Claudius as censor. *Condiditque Lustrum, quo censa sunt civium lxx. centena lxxxiv. millia lxxii.* Tac. Ann. xi. 25. Suet. Claud. 16. Plin. N. H. vii. 49; x. 2. Fasti Hellen. iii. 467 (see A.D. 14, no. 1051).

**1716 a.** Silius, while Claudius is at Ostia, marries Messalina, the wife of Claudius! (*his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xi. 26.

**1717.** Death of Messalina in the autumn. *At Messalina non alias solutior luxu, adulto auctumno, simulacrum vindemiæ per domum celebrabat, etc. (his* *cos.).* Tac. Ann. xi. 31. Dion, lx. 31.

Pallas, the brother of Felix, was at this time in the highest favour. *Flagrantissimæque eo in tempore gratiâ Pallas (his* *cos.).* Tac. Ann. xi. 29.

**1718.** Geta is prefect of the Prætorian guard. *Geta Prætorii Præfecto (his* *cos.).* Tac. Ann. xi. 31, 32; and see xvi. 17 (see A.D. 47, no. 1712; A.D. 51, no. 1750).

**1719.** Cumanus arrives in Judæa, as successor to Tiberius Alexander, probably about midsummer, the usual season. *Τιβεριῶν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κούμανος ἀφίκετο διάδοχος· καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον Ἡρώδης, etc.* Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. Here the appointment of Cumanus is placed before

the death of Herod, but in the Wars it follows after the death of Herod. *Μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Χαλκίδος Ἡρώδης τελευτᾷ . . . Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτὴν, ὃς ἤρξε τῆς Χαλκίδος, καθίστησι Κλαύδιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, υἱὸν Ἀγρίππα, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ἐπαρχίας διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κούμανος.* Bell. ii. 11, 6; ii. 12, 1. The two events, therefore, were nearly contemporaneous. Fadus and Alexander were of a peaceful character. *Οἱ (Fadus and Alexander) μηδὲν παρακινουῦντες τῶν πατριῶν ἔθων ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθος διεφύλαξαν.* Bell. ii. 11, 6 (see A.D. 46, no. 1701; A.D. 52, no. 1782).

**1720.** That Herod of Chalcis (see A.D. 41, no. 1620) died either this year, or at least before 25 January, A.D. 49, is testified by Josephus, for he places it in the eighth year of Claudius (i. e. between 25 January, A.D. 48, and 25 January, A.D. 49). *Καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον Ἡρώδης, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα ἀδελφὸς, ὃγδοῦ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς ἔτει.* Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. It was probably late in this year, or at the very beginning of the next, for he was succeeded in the kingdom of Chalcis by the younger Agrippa, and the latter was not appointed till after May, A.D. 49 (see that year, no. 1726). Tacitus, under A.D. 49, speaks of the death of a king Agrippa as having lately occurred. *Ituræique et Judæi, defunctis regibus Sohæmo atque Agrippâ, provinciæ Syriæ additi.* Tac. Ann. xii. 23. Herod Agrippa had died six years before, and Tacitus must have meant Herod of Chalcis; and if so, we have the testimony of Tacitus that Herod was dead in A.D. 49. He is under a mistake, however, as to the annexation of Chalcis to the province of Syria, unless (which is possible) Chalcis was annexed to Syria for a short interval between the death of Herod and the appointment of Agrippa the younger.

**1721.** Paul and Barnabas had sojourned at Antioch *no little time* after their return from their first circuit (see A.D. 46, no. 1706), when disciples from Judæa come down to Antioch and propound the doctrine that heathen converts must be circumcised. *Διέτριβον δὲ (Paul and Barnabas) ἐκεῖ (at Antioch) χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς· καὶ τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐδίδασκον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὅτι Ἐὰν μὴ περιτέμνησθε τῷ ἔθει Μωϋσέως, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι.* Acts, xiv. 28; xv. 1.

**1722.** Paul and Barnabas and some others are sent to the Apostles and Elders of Jerusalem to take their opinion upon the question, and they pass thither by land, through Phœnicia and Samaria. Οἱ μὲν οὖν προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διήρχοντο τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Σαμάρειαν, διηγούμενοι τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν. Acts, xv. 3. From the circumstance of their proclaiming by the way the conversion of the Gentiles, this journey, though expressed above to be *χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον* from their return to Antioch, was probably not separated by a very long interval, as otherwise their success amongst the Gentiles would have been sufficiently known. The interval assigned in the Tables is about a year.

**1723.** A council of the Apostles and Elders is called at Jerusalem, and a resolution is passed that the Gentiles need not be circumcised. Acts, xv. 6.

James, the brother of Our Lord, was Bishop of the Church at Jerusalem at this time, and as such, though not one of the twelve Apostles, presided at the council even in the presence of Peter. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ σιγῆσαι αὐτούς, ἀπεκρίθη Ἰάκωβος λέγων . . . διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν. Acts, xv. 13, 19. James was one of the sons of Joseph and Mary, and so the half-brother of Our Lord, and was a different person both from James the Greater, the brother of John and the cousin of Our Lord (being the son of Salome, the sister of Mary), and from James the Less, the brother of Joses and son of Mary, the wife of Cleophas, or Alphæus (see A. D. 29, no. 1198).

The ascription of the council to this year is partly conjectural. Paul was certainly at Jerusalem at the Passover A. D. 44, and he had since made a circuit through Cyprus, Pamphylia, and Lycaonia, and spent no little time at Antioch; and we know that he was at Corinth at the beginning of A. D. 52, and in the interval from the council at Jerusalem to his arrival at Corinth he had preached through Phrygia, and Galatia, and Macedonia. A due adjustment of the events over this space of time, from A. D. 44 to A. D. 52, would seem to place the date of the council in A. D. 48 (see A. D. 44, no. 1669; A. D. 52, no. 1779).

**1724.** The decision of the council is communicated by a letter entrusted to the hands of Judas called Barsabas, and Sylvanus, or Silas,

who are sent to Antioch for the purpose. Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν, χαίρειν, *etc.* Acts, xv. 23. At this time, therefore, the Gospel had already spread not only through Syria, but also (doubtless by the preaching of Paul before he joined Barnabas) through Cilicia.

**1725.** After sojourning some time at Antioch, Barnabas and the rest of the brethren (except Silas) return to Jerusalem, but Silas remains at Antioch. Ποιήσαντες δὲ χρόνον ἀπελύθησαν μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους· ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλῳ ἐπιμείναι αὐτοῦ. Acts, xv. 33.

**1725 a.** Coin of Antioch.

*Imp. T. Claudius Aug. Ger.* + *Επι Κασσιου Αντιοχεων* Er. 5 q., i. e. ninety-six, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A. D. 47, and 1 Nov. A. D. 48. Eckhel, iii. 280.

Coin of Polemo II. King of Pontus.

*Βασιλεως Πολεμωνος* + *IA.*, i. e. in the eleventh year of his reign (see A. D. 38, no. 1533). Id. ii. 372.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 16.

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11.

**A. D. 49. U. C. 802. Olymp. 207, 1.**

C. POMPEIUS LONGINUS GALLUS.

Q. VERANNIUS.

ex Kal. Maii

L. MEMMIUS POLLIO.

Q. ALLIUS MAXIMUS.

CLAUDII IX. FROM 25 JAN. TRIB. POT. IX. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XVI. XVII. XVIII. (see Eckhel, vi. 249).

First year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1726.** The news of the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, having reached Rome, Claudius soon after appoints Agrippa the younger king of Chalcis. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτήν, ὃς ἤρξε τῆς Χαλκίδος, καθίστησι Κλαύδιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θείου τὸν Ἀγρίππαν υἱὸν Ἀγρίππα. Jos. Bell. ii. 12, 1. Τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ (Herodis) Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Ἀγρίππα τῷ νεωτέρῳ δίδωσι. Ant. xx. 5, 2 (see A. D. 48, no. 1720; A. D. 53, no. 1788). It was not earlier than



19 April, for that day in A.D. 66 is placed in the seventeenth year of Agrippa's reign. Καὶ προσελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. Bell. ii. 14, 4 (see A.D. 66, no. 2005). And apparently it was not long after 19 April, for when Claudius had completed his twelfth year, which was on 25 January, A.D. 53, Agrippa is said to have then reigned four years. Τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκώς (Claudius) δωρεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ . . . τὴν Χαλκίδα δ' αὐτὸν ἀφαφεῖται δυναστεύσαντα αὐτῆς ἔτη τέσσαρα. Ant. xx. 7, 1. In the passage from the Wars, Josephus reckons the reign of Agrippa, not as he had done in the case of Herod the Great by Consular or Jewish years, viz. from every 1 January, or 1 Nisan, but by actual years from the commencement of the reign of Agrippa *de facto* in the second quarter of A.D. 49. The reason of his here computing in this way probably was that the historian, as the contemporary of this Agrippa, knew the exact time when his reign commenced, and could not with propriety, when giving the year of Nero's actual reign, adopt a different mode of calculation as to Agrippa's reign. Had Josephus computed the reign of Agrippa like that of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan, next preceding his accession to the throne, the 19 April, A.D. 66, which was after the commencement of the new Roman year on 1 January, and the new Jewish year on 1 Nisan, would necessarily have fallen under the eighteenth, and not the seventeenth year of Agrippa.

**1727.** About the same time the kingdom of Ituræa Libani, in consequence of the death of Soemus (the date of which does not appear), is annexed to the province of Syria. *Ituræique et Judæi defunctis regibus Sohaemo atque Agrippâ provinciæ Syriæ additi* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 23 (see A.D. 38, no. 1533; as to Agrippa, see A.D. 48, no. 1720).

**1728.** Claudius in this consulship marries Agrippina. *C. Pompeio Qu. Verannio coss. pactum inter Claudium et Agrippinam matrimonium jam famâ, jam amore illicito firmabatur*, etc. Tac. Ann. xii. 5. Dion, lx. 31.

**1729.** Agrippina, to ingratiate herself with the people, procures from Claudius the recall of Seneca, with a prætorship and the tutorage of Nero. *Agrippina . . . veniam exilii pro*

*Annæo Seneca, simul præturam impetrat.* Tac. Ann. xii. 8. He had been banished in A.D. 41 (see that year, no. 1627), so that he had continued in exile for eight years. The fourteenth year from the time of his recall synchronised with some part of the eighth year of Nero, which was from 12 October, A.D. 61, to 12 October, A.D. 62. *Quartus decimus annus est, Cæsar, ex quo spei tuæ admotus sum, octavus ut imperium obtines.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 53. This was said by Seneca in the year A.D. 64; from which it follows that Seneca was recalled between 1 January, A.D. 49, and 12 October, A.D. 49.

**1730.** In the same consulship a Parthian embassy arrives in Rome to ask that Meherdates, a hostage at Rome, might be sent to be their king. *Per idem tempus legati Parthorum, ad expetendum . . . Meherdatem missi, senatum ingrediuntur*, etc. Tac. Ann. xii. 10.

**1731.** At this time Cassius Longinus was still prefect of Syria, for to him was committed the charge of aiding Meherdates in gaining the throne of Parthia; and it would seem that he continued in office for the whole year, for he accompanied Meherdates to the Euphrates. *Datum post hæc C. Cassio, qui Syriæ præerat, deducere juvenem ripam ad Euphratis . . . Igitur excitis quorum de sententiâ petitus rex, positisque castris apud Zeugma unde maxime pervius amnis, postquam inlustres Parthi rexque Arabum Acbarus advenerat, monet (Cassius) Meherdatem . . . urgeret captâ.* Ann. xii. 11, 12. This Acbar was king of Arabia (see A.D. 39, no. 1580; A.D. 52, no. 1783). And Izates at this time was still king of Adiabene. *Permeant Adiabenos, quorum rex Izates.* Tac. Ann. xii. 13 (see A.D. 37, no. 1525).

**1732.** The campaign of Meherdates proceeds slowly, and he does not reach Armenia till the beginning of winter. *Armeniam petunt id temporis importunam, quia hyems occipiebat.* Tac. Ann. xii. 12. Meherdates is deserted and defeated in battle, and delivered up by treachery to Gotarzes. *Dolo ejus vincitur traditurque victori* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 14.

**1733.** Mithridates, who had been ejected from the kingdom of Bosphorus, attempts to recover the throne, but fails, and is arrested in Pontus and delivered up to the Romans, and sent to Rome. Tac. Ann. xii. 15. Plin. N. H. vi. 5 (see A.D. 41, no. 1623). The successor

of Mithridates in the kingdom of Bosphorus was his brother Cotys. Tac. Ann. xii. 15, 18.

Both Bosphorus and Pontus had been subject to Polemo, but seem from this time to have been separated, as Polemo was king of Pontus until A.D. 66 (see no. 1998), when he surrendered it to the Romans.

**1734.** Cadius Rufus is spoken of by Tacitus as proconsul of Bithynia. *Damnatus et lege repetundarum Cadius Rufus accusantibus Bithyniis.* Tac. Ann. xii. 22. And Junius Cilo is mentioned as procurator of Pontus. *Traditus post hæc Mithridates, vectusque Romam per Junium Cilonem procuratorem Ponti, ferocius quam pro fortunâ disservisse apud Cæsarem ferebatur.* Tac. Ann. xii. 21. As Dion, in relating an anecdote of this Junius Cilo, speaks of him as holding office in Bithynia, we must take Pontus to mean that part of it which was annexed to Bithynia. See Dion, lx. 33. Pontus Polemoniacus did not become a Roman province until A.D. 66 (see that year, no. 1998).

**1735.** A famine in Greece in the ninth year of the reign of Claudius. Euseb. Chron., Jerome's version. The Armenian version, which gives the dates loosely, assigns it to the eighth year of Claudius.

**1736.** At a passover, and probably at the passover of this year, great multitudes are trampled and crushed to death at Jerusalem, in a sudden panic at sight of the troops of Cumanus. *Διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κούμανος, ἐφ' οὗ θόρυβοι τε ἤρξαντο, καὶ φθορὰ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἐγένετο, συνελθλυθὸς γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς σπείρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοῶν ἐφεστώτης, etc.* Jos. Bell. ii. 12, 1. *Τῆς πάσχει προσαγορευόμενης ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης, καθ' ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἄζυμα προσφέρεισθαι, etc.* Ant. xx. 5, 3. It was not the passover of A.D. 48, for Cumanus probably did not arrive till after midsummer at least of that year, but it may have been at the passover A.D. 49. It is mentioned by Josephus both in the Wars and the Antiquities as the first transaction under Cumanus. Orosius places the event in the seventh year of Claudius, or A.D. 47, so that he must have supposed Cumanus to have arrived as procurator in A.D. 46. *Anno ejus (Claudii) septimo, sub procuratore Judææ Cumano in Hierosolymis tanta seditio in diebus Azymorum exorta est, etc.* Orós. vii 6 (see A.D. 48, no. 1719).

**1737.** Shortly after this, another disturbance arises from a Roman soldier having burnt in mockery a copy of the Holy Scriptures. Cumanus at this time was at Cæsarea. *Οὐπω δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον πένθος ἐπέπαυτο, καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο προσέπιπτε.* Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 4. *Μεταλαμβάνει δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν ληστρικός ἄλλος θόρυβος.* Bell. ii. 12, 2.

**1738.** Paul with Silas, and Barnabas with Mark, commence separately a second circuit; Paul and Silas going through Syria and Cilicia, and Barnabas and Mark sailing to Cyprus. Some time had elapsed since the mission to Jerusalem in A.D. 48 (see no. 1722), for *ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλα ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦ* (Antioch). *Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτριβον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων πολλῶν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου.* *Μετὰ δέ τινος ἡμέρας εἶπε Παῦλος πρὸς Βαρνάβαν, etc.* Acts, xv. 34. At the same time, the interval since the council at Jerusalem appears not to have been very long, for Paul and Silas, in travelling through Syria and Cilicia, distribute the decree of the council by the way amongst the churches of Syria and Cilicia, to which it had been addressed. *Ὡς δὲ διεπορεύοντο τὰς πόλεις, παρεδίδουν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσειν τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.* Acts, xvi. 4.

Paul comes to Derbe and Lystra, and at the latter place adopts Timothy as his fellow-labourer in the ministry. *Κατήνησε δὲ (Παῦλος) εἰς Δέρβην καὶ Λύστραν· καὶ ἰδοὺ μαθητῆς τις ἦν ἐκεῖ ὀνόματι Τιμόθεος.* Acts, xvi. 1. From the position of the word *ἐκεῖ* it would seem that Timothy was of Lystra, and not of Derbe.

**1739.** Dinophilus is archon at Athens. *Ἀρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Δεινοφίλου, ὑπατεύοντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Κοίντου Οὐρατίου (lege Οὐεραννίου) καὶ Γναίου Πομπητίου Γάλλου.* Phleg. Mir. c. 22.

**1739 a.** Coins of Claudius.

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. viiii. Imp. xvi., or xvii., or xviii. + De Britannis, or Constantiæ Augusti, or Paci Augustæ, or S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob C. S. (i. e. ob cives servatos).*

Eckhel, vi. 242.

Inscriptions.

*Tvb. Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germ. Pon. Max. Trib. Pot. viiii. Imp. xvi. Cons. iiii. P. P. Censor. (In civitate Teatinâ).*

Muratori, i. 226, 3.



*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. viii. Imp. xvi. Cos. iii. Censor (Romæ).* Muratori, i. 226, 4.

*Ti. Claudio Drusi F. Cæsari Aug. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. viii. Imp. xvi. Cos. iii. (lege iii.) Cos. Design. . . P. P. Vicius Venerius (Mediolani).* Id. i. 226, 7.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. viii. Imp. xvi. Cos. iii. Censor Perpetuus. Auctis Populi Romani Fimbis Pomerium Ampliavit Terminavitque xxv. (Romæ).* Id. i. 444, 4.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. viii. Imp. xvi. Cos. iii. Censor P. P. Auctis Populi Romani fimbis Pomerium Ampliavit Terminavitq. (Romæ).* Gruter, 196, 4.

*Ti. Claudius Cæsar Aug. P. M. Trib. P. viii. Imp. xvi. De Britannia (In Britannia).* Id. 238, 5.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May, 26.

Tabernacles, Sept. 30.

**A.D. 50. U.C. 803. Olymp. 207, 2.**

C. ANTISTIVS VETUS.

M. SULLIVS NERVILIANVS.

CLAUDII X. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. X. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. COS. DESIG. V. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XVIII.

Second year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1740.** The adoption of Nero by Claudius, in this consulship. *C. Antistio M. Sullio coss. adoptio in Domitium, auctoritate Pallantis, festinatur.* Tac. Ann. xii. 25. Dion, lx. 34. In Suetonius is the following passage: *Tener adhuc, necdum maturâ pueritiâ, Circensibus ludis Trojam (Nero) lusit. Undecimo atatis anno a Claudio adoptatus est.* Suet. Claud. 7. But as Nero was born on 15 December, A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1527), the adoption was in his thirteenth year. Neither would the words *undecimo atatis anno* be correct if referred to the preceding sentence describing the *lusus Trojæ*, for that was in his tenth year (see A.D. 47, no. 1708).

**1741.** Some of the captives taken in the time of Varus are liberated after an interval of forty years and upwards. *Aucta lætitia, quod quosdam e clade Varianâ quadragesimum post annum*

*servitio exemerant.* Tac. Ann. xii. 27 (see A.D. 9, no. 1031).

**1742.** The Catti, a nation of Upper Germania, send an embassy to Rome. Tac. Ann. xii. 28. See Suet. Claud. 25.

**1743.** Expulsion of Vannius (whom Drusus had made king of the Suevi), after a reign of thirty years and upwards. *Per idem tempus Vannius, Suevis a Druso Cæsare impositus, pellitur regno . . . Nam vis innumera, Lygii, aliæque gentes, adventabant famâ ditis regni, quod Vannius xxx. per annos prædationibus et vectigalibus auxerat.* Tac. Ann. xii. 29. Vannius had been appointed in A.D. 19. *Dato rege Vannio gentis Quadorum.* Tac. Ann. ii. 63 (see A.D. 19, no. 1108).

**1744.** Caractacus, the son of Cunobelin, who had maintained himself in Britain for nine years against the Romans, is subdued by P. Ostorius, and is delivered by treachery into their hands and sent with his wife and brothers and children to Rome, where he is made a spectacle. *Vinctus ac victoribus traditus est nono post anno quam bellum in Britannia captum* (see A.D. 42, no. 1641) (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 36. The transactions in Britain are related by Tacitus under this year, as being that in which Ostorius triumphed, but the narrative comprises several years both before and after this. *Hæc quanquam a duobus (Ostorio Didioque) Proprætoribus plures per annos gesta conjunxi, ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent. Ad temporum ordinem redeo.* Tac. Ann. xii. 40.

**1745.** Probably about this time dies Gotarzes, king of Parthia, and is succeeded by Vonones II., whose reign was brief and inglorious, and who was succeeded by Vologeses. *Dein Gotarzes morbo obiit accitusque in regnum Vonones, Medos tum præsidens. Nulla huic prospera aut adversa, quis memoraretur. Brevi et inglorio imperio perfunctus est; resque Parthorum in filium ejus Vologesen translata.* Tac. Ann. xii. 14. This is related by Tacitus under A.D. 49, but, as usual with Parthian affairs, he does not confine himself to one year (see A.D. 46, no. 1702; A.D. 51, no. 1756). Gotarzes was certainly alive during the campaign of Meherdates in A.D. 49 (see no. 1732), and Vologeses was certainly king in A.D. 51 (see no. 1756).

**1746.** Titus Ummidius Quadratus probably arrives in Syria soon after midsummer of this year as the successor of Cassius Longinus.

Cassius, as we have seen, was still in office in A.D. 49 (see no. 1731); and Quadratus is spoken of as in office at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 51 (see that year, no. 1761); without anything to indicate a recent arrival. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 2; Bell. ii. 12, 5 (see A.D. 44, no. 1679; A.D. 55, no. 1822).

**1747.** Paul and Silas are employed during this year in planting churches in Phrygia comprised in Proconsular Asia, and Galatia subject to an imperial prætor. *Διελθόντες δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν.* Acts, xvi. 6. They were in Macedonia in A.D. 51 (see that year, no. 1763).

**1747 a.** Coins of Claudius.

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. X. Imp. P. P.*, or *Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. X. P. P. Imp. xviii. + Paci Augustæ*, or *S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob C. S.* (i. e. *ob cives servatos*).  
Eckhel, vi. 242.

Inscriptions.

*Pro Salute Cæs. Aug. Germanici Pont. Max. Trib. Potest. x. Imp. xiii. Cos. iiii. Design. v. Sign. Argent. P. X. et pro Salute Neronis Cæsaris F. Agrippinæ Aug. Sign. Arg. P. V. . . . voto suscep. Viatores et Scribæ Libr. et Præf. Princeps et Latinus Felix Dedit.*

Gruter, 113, 3.

*Imp. Divus Claudius Drusi F. Cæs. Aug. Germ. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. x. Cos. iiii. Imp. xi. (lege xiii.) Iter. reparavit* (Emeritæ).

Id. 153, 9.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 25.

Pentecost, May 15.

Tabernacles, September 19.

**A.D. 51. U.C. 804. Olymp. 207, 3.**

TIB. CLAUD. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, V.

SERV. CORNELIUS ORPHITUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

C. MINUCIUS FONTANUS.

C. VERENNIUS SEVERUS.

ex Kal. Nov.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS.

CLAUDII XI. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. XI. FROM SAME DAY. COS. V. PONT. MAX. PATR. IMP. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. (see Eckhel, vi. 249).

Third year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1748.** Claudius is consul for six months. *Consulatus super pristinum* (A.D. 37) *quatuor*

*gessit, ex quibus duos primos junctim* (A.D. 42, A.D. 43): *sequentes per intervallum quarto quemque anno* (A.D. 47, A.D. 51), *semestrem novissimum, bimestres cæteros: tertium novo circa principem exemplo, in locum demortui suffectus.* Suet. Claud. 14.

**1749.** Nero assumes the  *toga virilis*. *Tib. Claudio V. Sex. Cornelio Orfito coss. virilis toga Neroni maturata, quo capessendæ reipublicæ habilis videretur.* Tac. Ann. xii. 41. Nero was now in his fourteenth year (see A.D. 37, no. 1527). Claudius was probably consul for the very purpose of introducing Nero, as Augustus had twice accepted the consulship before for the purpose of introducing his adopted sons Caius and Lucius (see B.C. 5, no. 889; B.C. 2, no. 959).

Nero, now taking a part in public affairs, pleads before Claudius as consul (and therefore in the first half of this year) the case of the Bononians, and Rhodians, and Ilians. *Apud eundem (Claudium) consulem pro Bononiensibus Latine, pro Rhodiis atque Iliensibus Græce verba fecit.* Suet. Nero, 7. Tacitus places this in A.D. 53 (see that year, no. 1785).

**1750.** Geta and Crispinus, the joint prefects of the Prætorium, are removed, and Burrus Afranius is, by the influence of Agrippina, appointed as sole prefect in their places. *Nondum tamen summa moliri Agrippina audebat, ni prætoriarum cohortium cura exsolverentur Lulius Geta et Rufus Crispinus, quos Messalinæ memores et liberis suis devinctos credebatur. Igitur, 'distrahi cohortes ambitu duorum et si ab uno regerentur, intentiorem fore disciplinam,' adseverante uxore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrum Afranium, egregiæ militaris famæ, gnarum tamen cujus sponte præficeretur* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 42 (see A.D. 48, no. 1718; A.D. 62, no. 1919).

**1751.** A famine at Rome. *Frugum quoque egestas et orta ex eo fames in prodigium accipiebatur* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 43.

**1752.** Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, and his son Rhadamistus conspire against Mithridates, the brother of Pharasmanes and king of Armenia, and Rhadamistus leads an army thither and besieges Mithridates. *Eodem anno* (A.D. 51) *bellum inter Armenios Iberosque exortum, Parthis quoque ac Romanis gravissimorum inter se motuum causa fuit*, etc. Tac. Ann. xii. 44 (see A.D. 43, no. 1664; *infra*, no. 1754).

**1753.** Casperius, a Roman centurion in Armenia, carries the intelligence to Ummidius



Quadratus, then prefect of Syria. *Postremo . . . pactus inducias (Casperius) abscedit, ut, nisi Pharasmanem bello absterruisset, T. Ummidium Quadratum, præsidem Syriæ, doceret quo in statu Armenia forent (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 45.*

**1754.** Mithridates surrenders himself to Rhadamistus, and is put to death (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 46, 47 (see *ante*, no. 1752; *post*, no. 1757).

**1755.** Quadratus deliberates with his council, and determines not to take up arms, but sends a command to Pharasmanes to withdraw from Armenia, and Helvidius Priscus, with a legion, proceeds to Armenia to act according to circumstances. *At Quadratus cognoscens proditum Mithridaten, et regnum ab interfectoibus obtineri, vocat consilium, docet acta, et, an ulcisceretur, consultat . . . Missi ad Pharasmanen nuntii, ut abscederet a finibus Armeniæ, filiumque (Rhadamistum) abstraheret . . . Helvidius Priscus, legatus, cum legione mittitur, rebus turbidis pro tempore ut consuleret. Tac. Ann. xii. 48, 49.*

**1756.** Vologeses, now king of Parthia (see A.D. 50, no. 1745), thinking it an opportunity of gaining Armenia for himself, marches against Rhadamistus and drives him out, when Quadratus, fearing a quarrel with the Parthians, recalls Helvidius Priscus. *Properè montem Taurum (Helvidius) transgressus, moderatione plura quam vi composuerat, cum redire in Syriam jubetur, ne initium belli adversus Parthos existeret. Nam Vologeses (see Ann. xii. 44) casum invadendæ Armeniæ obvenisse ratus, . . . contrahit copias, fratremque Tiridaten deducere in regnum parat (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 49, 50.*

**1757.** At the setting in of winter, Vologeses is obliged to retire, when Rhadamistus reoccupies Armenia, but is besieged by the Armenians and escapes by flight. *Deinde atrox hiems, seu parum provisi commeatus, et orta ex utroque tabes percellunt Vologesen omittere præsentia; vacuumque rursus Armeniam Rhadamistus invasit . . . atque illi quamvis servitio sueti patientiam abrumpunt, armisque regiam circumveniunt; nec aliud Rhadamisto subsidium fuit quam pernicitas equorum, quæ sequæ et conjugem abstulit (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 50, 51.* It appears that Rhadamistus subsequently again recovered possession of Armenia, and retained the kingdom till driven out by the Parthians in A.D. 54. Tac. Ann. xiii. 6 (see *ante*, no. 1754; A.D. 54, no. 1811).

**1758.** Julius Pelignus is this year procurator of Cappadocia. *Erat Cappadociæ Procurator Julius Pelignus, ignavi animi et deridiculo corporis juxta despiciendus. Tac. Ann. xii. 49 (see A.D. 18, no. 1103).*

**1759.** Some Galileans, in passing through Samaria on their way to a feast at Jerusalem, are slain; and Cumanus, the procurator of Judæa, declining to interfere, the Jews march down in a body from Jerusalem to Samaria, and, joining themselves to Eleazar, the bandit (see A.D. 36, no. 1491), lay waste the country. Cumanus marches his forces against them, and a number of Jews are slain and others made prisoners. *Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν παραγινομένοις ὁδεύειν διὰ τῆς Σαμαρέων χώρας, καὶ τότε καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς κώμης Γιναιῖς λεγομένης, τῆς ἐν μεθορίῳ κειμένης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου, τινὲς συνάψαντες μάχην, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσι . . . Ἀναγκάσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Γαλιλαῖοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔπειθον ἐφ' ὄπλα χωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι . . . Ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ βοηθεῖν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν τοῦ Δειναίου παρακάλεσαντες (ληστῆς δὲ οὗτος ἦν ἔτη πολλὰ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν ὄρει πεποιημένος) κώμας τινὰς τῶν Σαμαρέων ἐμπρήσαντες διαρπάζουσι. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 1; Bell. ii. 12, 3.* The words τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι are an intimation, not of a sudden outrage only, but, as Josephus afterwards calls it, a rebellion against the Roman authority, ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει, Ant. xx. 6, 2, and justifying the expression of Tacitus, *arissetque bello provinciã*, etc. Tac. Ann. xii. 54 (see A.D. 52, no. 1777). This feast must have been the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 51, for it was evidently at the great feast next before the Passover of A.D. 52, when Quadratus proceeded with his army to Jerusalem that the tumult might not be repeated at that feast. Ant. xx. 6, 2; Bell. ii. 12, 6 (see A.D. 52, no. 1776).

**1760.** The chiefs of the Jewish nation, in sackcloth and ashes, implore the rebels in Samaria to disperse, which they do, and thus a general rebellion against the Roman power is prevented. *Καὶ οἱ μὲν διελύθησαν, οἱ λησταὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχυροὺς τόπους πάλιν ἀπῆλθον. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 1; Bell. ii. 12, 5.*

**1761.** The Samaritans accuse the Jews of the outrage before Quadratus, then at Tyre, who defers the further hearing until he arrived in Samaria. *Καὶ Κουαδράτος ἀκούσας ὑπερίθεται*

τὴν κρίσιν, εἰπὼν ἀποφανεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παραγενόμενος ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιγνώη τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπήσαν ἀπρακτοί. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 2; Bell. ii. 12, 6.

**1762.** Quadratus soon after enters Samaria, where he hears the case, and condemns the Samaritans, and executes those who had been taken in arms. Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ὁ Κουαδράτος ἦκεν εἰς Σαμάρειαν, ἔνθα, διακούσας, αἰτίους τῆς ταραχῆς ὑπέλαβε γεγονέναι Σαμαρείς· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων τινας ρεωτερίσαντας ἔμαθεν, ἀνεσταύρωσεν οὓς Κούμανος ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 2. Αὐτῆς δὲ προελθὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν τοὺς ὑπὸ Κουμάνου ζωογρηθέντας ἀνεσταύρωσε πάντας. Bell. ii. 12, 6.

**1763.** Paul and Silas, having traversed Phrygia and Galatia, and being prevented by a divine intimation from entering either Asia on the left, or Bithynia on the right, go down to Troas, and cross to Macedonia. Διελθόντες δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἐλθόντες κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἐπέειραζον κατὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν πορεύεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα. Παρελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν, κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα. Acts, xvi. 6. Proconsular Asia included Mysia and the Troad, so that Asia, as here used by Luke, has a more limited sense, and means Ionia only.

**1764.** They sail from Troas, the usual port of those parts, to Samothrace, and thence to Neapolis, whence they journey to Philippi. Ἀναχθέντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Τρωάδος, εὐθυδρομήσαμεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην, τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ εἰς Νεάπολιν, ἐκεῖθιν τε εἰς Φιλίππους. Acts, xvi. 11.

**1765.** At Philippi they sojourn for some time, and, though Roman citizens (and Paul by birth), are insulted by a public scourging. Ἦμεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει διατρίβοντες ἡμέρας τινας . . . Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν (the Pythoness) ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. Acts, xvi. 12, 18.

**1766.** They pass through Amphipolis and Apollonia, and stop at Thessalonica, where Paul preaches to the Jews for three Sabbaths, and then addresses himself to the Gentiles. Διοδεύσαντες δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν, ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονικίαν, ὅπου ἦν ἡ συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· κατὰ δὲ τὸ εἰωθὸς τῷ Παύλῳ εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία διελέγετο αὐτοῖς. Acts, xvii. 1. Paul remained some time in Thessalonica; for while

he was there, the Philippians sent twice to the relief of his necessities. Philip. iv. 16.

**1767.** The Jews excite a commotion at Thessalonica, and, not finding Paul and Silas, drag Jason, with whom they lodged, before the magistrates, called Politarchs. Ἐπὶ τοὺς Πολιτάρχας. Acts, xvii. 8. The title of Politarchs is singularly confirmed by an inscription found at Thessalonica. Πολιταρχούντων Σωπάτρου τοῦ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Λουκίου Ποντίου Σεκούνδου Πουβλίου Φλαύτου Σαβείνου Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαύστου Δημητρίου τοῦ Νικοπόλεως Σωίλου τοῦ Παρμεωνίου τοῦ καὶ Μερίσκου Γαῖου Ἀγγιλλίου Ποτείτου· Ταμίου τῆς πόλεως Ταύρου τοῦ Ἀρμίας τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλου. Boeckh, Corp. Inscip. 1967. It is also observable that several of the names are the same as those that appear in the New Testament, as Sopater, Lucius, Pontius, Secundus, Publius, Demas, Gaius.

**1768.** Paul and Silas are obliged to leave Thessalonica by night, and go to Berea. Οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ εὐθὺς διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν τε Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σίλαν εἰς Βεροίαν. Acts, xvii. 10. They remained at Berea for some time, as the inhabitants received them favourably, Acts, xvii. 11; and they were only driven out at last by the Thessalonian Jews, who, hearing of their success, came down and raised a tumult in consequence. Acts, xvii. 13.

**1769.** Paul is conducted (perhaps from his partial blindness) to Athens, and waits there for the arrival of Silas and Timothy, who had remained a little longer at Berea. Acts, xvii. 14.

**1770.** While tarrying at Athens for the arrival of Silas and Timothy, Paul preaches in the synagogue to the Jews and proselytes, and in the market-place to the bystanders. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐδεχομένον αὐτοὺς τοῦ Παύλου . . . διελέγετο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας. Acts, xvii. 16.

**1771.** Timothy arrives at Athens, when Paul, from anxiety to know the welfare of the Thessalonians, dispatches Timothy to Thessalonica, and is left at Athens alone. Διὸ καί, μηκέτι στέγοντες, εὐδοκῆσαμεν καταλειφθῆναι ἐν Ἀθήναις μόνοι, καὶ ἐπέμψαμεν Τιμόθεον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν . . . εἰς τὸ στήριζαι ὑμᾶς, etc. 1 Thess. iii. 1. Paul makes a merit of being left alone at Athens, as, from his imperfect



vision (the thorn in the flesh), he was comparatively helpless.

**1772.** Paul encounters the Stoics and Epicureans, and is brought before the Areopagus for introducing strange Gods. *Τινές δὲ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καὶ τῶν Στωϊκῶν φιλοσόφων συνέβαλλον αὐτῷ . . . Ἐπιλαβόμενοι τε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἤγαγον.* Acts, xvii. 18, 19.

**1772 a.** Coins of Claudius.

*Ti. Claud. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. xi. Imp.*

*P. P. Cos. v. + Paci Augustæ, or S. P. Q. R.*

*P. P. ob C. S. (i. e. ob cives servatos).*

Eckhel, vi. 243.

Coin of Alexandria.

*Αγοι=πινη Σεβαση + Ευθηρια L. IA.*

Id. iv. 52.

Coin of Judæa.

*Νερων Κλαν. Καισαρ + Βριτ. Κα. L. IA.*

Id. iii. 498.

The letters IA denote the eleventh year of Claudius.

Inscription.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xi. Imp. xxiii.*

*Cos. v. P. P. Restituit. C. Mincio Fundano*

*et C. Vettennino Severo Cos.*

Gruter, 188, 6.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

**A.D. 52. U.C. 805. Olymp. 207, 4.**

CORNEL SULLA FAUSTUS.

L. SALVIUS OTHO TITIANUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

SERVILIUS BAREA SORANUS.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIANUS.

ex Kal. Nov.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

T. FLAVIUS SABINUS VESPASIANUS.

CLAUDII XII. FROM 25 JAN. TRIB. POT. XII.

FROM SAME DAY. COS. V PONT. MAX. PAT.

PATR. IMP. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. (see

Eckhel, vi. 249).

Fourth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1773.** At the very beginning of the year, and in consequence of the intelligence that Judæa was in a state of revolt, the Jews are

ordered to depart from Rome (see A.D. 9, no. 1032); and Aquila, a Jewish tent-maker from Pontus, and his wife Priscilla, are amongst the proscribed, and, quitting Italy, arrive soon after at Corinth. *Καὶ εὐρών Ἰουδαῖον ὀνόματι Ἀκύλαν, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει, προσφάτως ἐληλυθότα (to Corinth) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Πρίσκιλλαν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὸ διατεταχέναι Κλαύδιον χωρίζεσθαι πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, προσῆλθεν (Paul) αὐτοῖς.* Acts, xviii. 2. As to the time required for enabling Aquila to reach Corinth from Rome, it may be observed that Helius, the minister of Nero, arrived in Greece, and apparently at Corinth, on the seventh day (see A.D. 67, no. 2057). This is mentioned as an extraordinary passage; but no doubt, from the great traffic between Rome and Corinth, vessels were continually passing from one place to the other, and a voyage between the two possessed great facilities.

**1774.** These precautionary measures of Claudius, on hearing of the outbreak in Judæa, may be alluded to by Tacitus in his account of the opening of the new year. *Fausto Sulla Salvio Othone coss. Furius Scribonianus in exilium agitur quasi finem principis per Chaldaeos scrutaretur. . . . De Mathematicis Italiâ pellendis factum senatus consultum, atrox et irritum.* Tac. Ann. xii. 52. By the Chaldæi and Mathematici are not improbably meant the Jews. The ignorance of Tacitus as to the latter people is very remarkable. If the edict against the Mathematici was *not* that against the Jews, it is extraordinary that it should have been issued at the very same time with the edict against the Jews. The outbreak in Judæa had occurred on 8 October, A.D. 51; and in the winter season, the Syrian mail could not arrive at Rome under ten weeks at the least, and it probably did not reach its destination until the very end of the year A.D. 52. The edict against the Jews would therefore be issued at the same time with that against the Mathematici, at the commencement of the new year. It is also observable that the edict against the Mathematici and that against the Jews are both said to have been of the same nugatory character; and it is well known that the edict against the Jews was soon after recalled or dropped to the ground, while Tacitus describes the edict against the Mathematici as *atrox et irritum*.

Suetonius does not write chronologically; but while he groups his anecdotes together, he generally observes the order of time in the events narrated. This he has done in referring to the expulsion of the Jews. In speaking of the strange inconsistencies in the character of Claudius, as he was driven one way or another at the caprice of his wives or his freedmen, Suetonius contrasts the *ademption* of liberty from the Lycians with the *restoration* of it to the Rhodians, and then the *adoption* of the Trojans with the *expulsion* of the Jews. The passage is as follows:—*Lyciis ob exitiabiles inter se discordias libertatem ademit* (A.D. 43, see no. 1656): *Rhodiis ob pœnitentiam veterum delictorum reddidit* (A.D. 51, see no. 1749). *Iliensibus, quasi Romanæ gentis auctoribus, tributa in perpetuum remisit* (A.D. 51, see no. 1749). . . . *Judæos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Româ expulit* (A.D. 52). Suet. Claud. 25. That Suetonius placed the restitution of liberty to the Rhodians and the grant of immunity to the Ilians in A.D. 51, we learn from himself. *Deductus in forum tiro* (A.D. 51) *populo congiarium, militi donativum* (Nero) *proposuit . . . exinde patri* (Claudio) *gratias in senatu egit. Apud eundem consulem* (A.D. 51) *pro Bononiensibus Latine, pro Rhodiis atque Iliensibus Græce verba fecit. . . . Nec multo post* (viz. A.D. 53, see no. 1785) *duxit uxorem Octaviam, ediditque pro Claudii salute Circenses et venationem.* Suet. Nero, 7. Dion alludes to the edict against the Jews, not in its chronological order, but amongst the anecdotes in sketching the character of Claudius. *Τούς τε Ἰουδαίους, πλεονάσαντας αἰτίας ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἂν ἄνευ παραχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρχθῆναι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν, τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ νόμῳ βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι.* Dion, lx. 6. From Dion's saying *οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν*, we should infer that Dion knew of the edict for the expulsion, and that it was not carried into effect. The truth perhaps is, that many of the Jews left the city; but that, before the greater body of them had gone, the fears about Judæa were found to be groundless, and then the edict was either recalled or became a dead letter. The restrictions alluded to by Dion may have been imposed in lieu of the severer measure, when the panic of Claudius had subsided.

**1775.** Quadratus, early in the year, proceeds to Lydda, where he holds a court for the trial

of Cumanus and the Jews and Samaritans, in respect of the outbreak in Samaria at the close of the preceding year. Cumanus and his tribune, Celer, are ordered to Rome; and Ananias and his son Ananus are sent thither in bonds, and Jonathan, the ex-high-priest, and the chiefs of the Samaritans accompany them. *Καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς κώμην τινὰ παραγενόμενος Λύδδαν λεγομένην, πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν, καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ ἐκ δευτέρου τῶν Σαμαρέων διακούσας, διδάσκειται παρά τινος Σαμαρέως, ὅτι Ἰουδαίον τις πρῶτος, ὄνομα Δόρτος, καί τινες σὺν αὐτῷ νεωτεριστὰι τέσσαρες τὸν ἀριθμὸν, πείσειαν τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει· κῆκίλους μὲν ὁ Κουαδράτος ἀελεῖν προσέταξεν. Τούς δὲ περὶ Ἀνανίαν τὸν Ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀνανὸν δῆσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέπεμψε, περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ὑφέζοντας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. Κελεύει δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Σαμαρέων πρῶτοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων, Κουμάνῳ τε ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ Κέλερι (χιλιάρχος δ' ἦν οὗτος) ἐπ' Ἰταλίας ἀπεῖναι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, κριθησομένους ἐπ' αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζητήσεων. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 2. Ἐκεῖθεν τε εἰς Λύδδαν παραγενόμενος πόλιν δύηκουσε τῶν Σαμαρέων, καὶ μεταπεψάμενος ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς ἐπέπυστο μετεσχηκέναι τῆς μάχης, πελέκει διεχρήσατο· δύο δὲ ἐτέρους τῶν δυνατωτάτων, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἰωθάην καὶ Ἀνανίαν, τότε τούτου παῖδα Ἀνανὸν, καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους Ἰουδαίων γνωρίμους, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Σαμαρέων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ Κουμάνῳ καὶ Κέλερι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ πλεῖν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, δώσοντας Κλαυδίῳ λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγεννημένων. Bell. ii. 12, 6. Several months had intervened since the outbreak in Samaria at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 51; but the delay is accounted for by the circumstance mentioned by Tacitus, viz. that Quadratus did not venture to hold a trial over Cumanus until he had sent a dispatch to Rome, and received the directions of the emperor. *Cumanus . . . cunctationem adferebat quia Claudius, causis rebellionis auditis, jus statuendi etiam de Procuratoribus dederat.* Tac. Ann. xii. 54.*

**1776.** Quadratus, after the trial of Cumanus, fearing that the Jews might be led to attempt another outbreak at the Feast of the Passover as they had at the preceding Feast of Tabernacles, proceeds to Jerusalem at the Passover to keep the peace, but finding the people quiet returns to Antioch. *Αὐτὸς δὲ* (Quadratus) *δεί-*



σας μὴ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων πάλιν νεωτερίσειεν, εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται· καταλαμβάνει δὲ αὐτὴν εἰρηνευομένην, καὶ πάτριον ἑορτὴν τῷ θεῷ τελοῦσαν. Πιστεύσας οὐκ μὴδένα νεωτερισμὸν παρ' αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι, καταλιπὼν ἑορτάζοντας, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 2. Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπὸ Λυδῶν ἀνάβαινεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἄγον τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἀθορύβως εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπανήει. Bell. ii. 12, 6.

**1777.** That the trial of Cumanus before Quadratus in Judæa occurred in this year may be proved from Tacitus. In speaking of Pallas under the consulship of Faustus Sulla and Salvius Otho (A.D. 52) he proceeds: *At non frater ejus (Pallantis), cognomento Felix, pari moderatione agebat, jampridem Judæa impositus, et cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus tantâ potentia subnixo . . . Atque interim Felix intempertivis remediis delicta (Judæorum) accendebat, æmulo ad deterrima Ventidio Cumano, cui pars Provinciæ habebatur; ita divisit ut huic Galilæorum natio, Felici Samaritæ parerent, discordes olim, et tum contemptu regentium minus coercitis odiis. Igitur raptare inter se, immittere latronum globos, componere insidias, et aliquando præliis congregari, spoliisque et prædas ad Procuratores referre. Hicque primo lætari, mox, gliscente pernicie, cum arma militum interjecissent, cæsi milites; arsissetque bello provincia, ni Quadratus Syriæ rector subvenisset. Nec diu adversus Judæos, qui in necem militum proruperant, dubitatum quin capite pœnas luerent. Cumanus et Felix cunctationem adferebant, quia Claudius, causis rebellionis cognitis, jus statuendi etiam de Procuratoribus dederat. Sed Quadratus Felicem inter iudices ostentavit, receptum in tribunal, quo studia adcusantium deterrerentur; damnatusque flagitiorum, quæ duo deliquerant, Cumanus; et quies Provinciæ redita. Nec multo post agrestium Cilicium nationes quibus Clitarum cognomentum sæpe et alias commotæ, tunc, Trosobore duce, montes asperos castris cepere.* Tac. Ann. xii. 54, 55. The statement that Felix was *jam dudum Judææ impositus*, and that he held Samaria while Cumanus was over Galilee, is wholly at variance with Josephus, and a palpable error. That Felix presided at the trial of Cumanus is not improbable, as he may have been sent to Judæa with dispatches from Claudius in answer to those of Quadratus at the first outbreak in A.D.

51; and that, in fact, he was so sent, and ingratiated himself with the Jews on the occasion we should infer from the circumstance that Jonathan, the high-priest, when at Rome, petitioned that Felix might be appointed procurator. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 5. Tacitus sometimes collects the events of several years under one consulship, but that he meant to place the trial of Cumanus in this year is evident from the words that follow: *nec multo post agrestium Cilicium nationes*, etc.; for the outbreak in Cilicia was unquestionably during the consulship of A.D. 52, though subsequent to the trial of Cumanus. As Tacitus had already recorded the proceedings of Quadratus in A.D. 51 (see no. 1755), he would no doubt, had these proceedings of Quadratus belonged to the same year, have related them at the same time. That the Passover when Quadratus was at Jerusalem was that of A.D. 52 appears also from this. It was the Passover of that year in which Felix was appointed procurator of Judæa, *vice* Cumanus deposed on account of the Jewish insurrection. But Felix was appointed in the twelfth year of Claudius, i. e. A.D. 52, as is manifest from the words of Josephus: Πέμπει δὲ δὴ καὶ Κλαύδιος Φήλικα Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσησόμενον πραγμάτων. Τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκώς, etc. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 1. When Claudius, therefore, appointed Felix, he had not yet completed his twelfth year, and as the twelfth year expired on 25 January, A.D. 53, the appointment of Felix must have been in A.D. 52.

**1778.** Paul returns from Athens and passes on to Corinth, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χωρισθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον, Acts, xviii. 1; where he meets with Aquila and Priscilla his wife, who had newly come from Rome in consequence of Claudius's edict that all Jews should depart from Rome. Acts, xviii. 1 (see ante, no. 1773). The language of Luke does not necessarily imply that Aquila and Priscilla were already at Corinth on Paul's arrival there, but only that they had not been long at Corinth when Paul met with them.

**1779.** Silas and Timothy arrive together from Macedonia, and Paul, from the communications made by them, is induced to write the first Epistle to the Thessalonians. Ὡς δὲ κατῆλθον ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ὅ,τε Σίλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος, etc. Acts, xviii. 5. That the epistle was

written at this time appears from the contents, for Paul had recently been insulted (viz. by public scourging) at Philippi, and had then made his entrance into Thessalonica. Προπαθόντες καὶ ὑβρισθέντες καθὼς οἴδατε ἐν Φιλιπποῖς ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν λαλῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι. 1 Thess. ii. 2. And his success at Thessalonica was still a common theme of conversation. Αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅποιαν εἴσοδον ἔχομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. 1 Thess. i. 9. And Paul had since been in Athens, εὐδοκήσαμεν καταλειφθῆναι ἐν Ἀθήναις μόνοι, 1 Thess. iii. 1; and had preached the Gospel in Achaia, ὥστε γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς τύπους πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, 1 Thess. i. 7; and Timothy and Silas had returned to Paul at Corinth from Thessalonica. Ἄρτι δὲ ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν. 1 Thess. iii. 6. Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων. 1 Thess. i. 1. That this arrival of Timothy and Silas was when Paul was at Corinth we learn from Acts, xviii. 5.

**1780.** The second Epistle to the Thessalonians was also written from Corinth, not long after the first, and one object of it was to correct a mistaken impression to which the first Epistle had given rise. Paul, in speaking of the last day, had used the words, ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας, etc., 1 Thess. iv. 15; and from the term ἡμεῖς (by which Paul meant only Christians in general) the Thessalonians had inferred that Paul himself would witness the Day of Judgment, and that it was therefore nigh at hand. Paul then writes the second Epistle to remove this error. Ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ (as concerning) τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν, εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοδῶ, μήτε θροεῖσθαι, μήτε διὰ πνεύματος, μήτε διὰ λόγου, μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 2 Thess. ii. 1.

**1781.** Cumanus, Celer, Ananias, Ananus, and Jonathan reach Rome about midsummer, when Claudius, by the influence of Agrippa, king of Chalcis, leans in favour of the Jews against the Samaritans, and Cumanus is banished; and Celer is ordered for execution at Jerusalem. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 3; Bell. ii. 12,

7. As the Samaritans were cast in the trial, Ananias and Ananus were no doubt set at liberty, and returned together with Jonathan to Jerusalem, where we shortly afterwards find them.

**1782.** Felix, at the same time, is appointed procurator of Judæa in the place of Cumanus. This was certainly in the twelfth year of Claudius, and therefore in A.D. 52. Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιος Φήλικα Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστησόμενον πραγμάτων· τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκῶς δωρεΐται, etc. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 1. Μετὰ ταῦτα Ἰουδαίας μὲν ἐπίτροπον Φήλικα τὸν Πάλλαντος ἀδελφὸν ἐπέμπει, τῆς τε Γαλιλαίας, καὶ Σαμαρείας, καὶ Περαίας. Bell. ii. 12, 8; and see Tac. Ann. xii. 54; Suet. Claud. 28 (see A.D. 48, no. 1719; A.D. 60, no. 1893).

**1783.** Monobazus, the brother of Izates, and other relatives become Jewish proselytes, when the Adiabenes call in Abias, then king of Petra (see A.D. 49, no. 1730), against Izates; but Abias is defeated and kills himself, and then the Adiabenes call in Vologeses, king of Parthia. This, therefore, was at least after A.D. 50, or Vologeses would not have been king (see A.D. 50, no. 1745). Καὶ δὴ γράφουσι (Adiabeni) πρὸς Ἀβίαν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα . . . Διωπάσας δὲ (Izates) τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ λείαν πᾶσαν, πολλὴ δὲ ἦν, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἀδιαβηνήν, τὸν Ἀβίαν οὐ καταλαβὼν ζῶντα . . . προκαταλαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλεν. Ἀποτυχόντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν μεγιστάνες τῆς πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως . . . γράφουσι πάλιν Οὐολογάσῃ, βασιλεὺς δὲ Πάρθων οὗτος ἦν. Jos. Ant. xx. 4, 1, 2.

**1784.** The Clitæ, a people of Cilicia Aspera, are in revolt, but are subdued by Antiochus, king of Commagene, who also held Cilicia Aspera in which the Clitæ were situate. *Dein rex ejus oræ Antiochus, blandimentis adversus plebem, fraude in ducem, cum barbarorum copias dissociasset, Trosobore paucisque primoribus interfectis, cæteros clementiâ composuit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 55. Antiochus had been restored to his kingdom in A.D. 41, and continued king until A.D. 72. Jos. Bell. vii. 7, 1 (see A.D. 41, no. 1622).

#### 1784 a. Coins of Alexandria.

Αγριππινῆ (or Αγριππινᾶ) Σεβαστῆ + Ευθηνα L. IB., and therefore struck in the twelfth year of Claudius. Eckhel, iv. 52.



Coin of Polemo II., king of Pontus.

Βασιλεὺς Πολεμωνος + Ερουσ. ΙΕ., i. 6. in the fifteenth year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no. 1533). Eckhel, ii. 372.

Inscription.

*Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caisar Augustus Germanicus Pontif. Maxim. Tribunicia Potestate xii. Cos. v. Imperator xxvii. Pater Patriæ Aquas Claudiam ex fontibus qui vocabantur Cæruleus et Curtius a milliario xxxv. Item Anienem novam a milliario lvi. suâ impensâ in urbem perducendas curavit* (Romæ).

Gruter, 176, 1.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 23.

Tabernacles, September 27.

**A.D. 53. U.C. 806. Olymp. 208, 1.**

DECIUS JUNIUS SILANUS TORQUATUS.

Q. HATERIUS ANTONINUS.

CLAUDIUS XIII. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT.

XIII. FROM SAME DAY. COS. V. PONT. MAX.

PAT. PATR. IMP. XXVII.

Fifth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1785.** Nero, in the sixteenth year of his age, marries Octavia, the daughter of Claudius. *D. Junio Q. Haterio coss. sedecim annos natus Nero Octaviam Cæsaris filiam in matrimonium accepit.* Tac. Ann. xii. 58. It was in the same year, according to Tacitus, that Nero pleaded for the Ilians and Bononians, and that the Rhodians recovered their liberty. *Perpetrat (Nero) ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur. Eodem oratore, Bononiensi colonia, igni haustæ, subventum centies sestertii largitione. Redditur Rhodiis libertas adempta sæpe* (see A.D. 44) *aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerant, aut domi seditione deliquerant* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 58. But according to Suetonius, this was in A.D. 51 (see that year, no. 1749).

**1786.** Statilius Taurus is accused of magical practices by his legate, Tarquinius Priscus, and commits suicide. *Legatus is Tauri . . . pauca repetundarum crimina, ceterum magicas superstitiones objectabat* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 59. Christianity was connected in the vulgar opinion with magic, and Taurus may have been a Christian convert.

**1787.** Claudius promulgates a decree of the senate by which the authority of the imperial procurators is made of equal force with that of the Emperor. *Eodem anno sæpius audita vox principis 'Parem vim rerum habendam a Procuratoribus suis judicatarum ac si ipse statuisset,' ac ne fortuito prolapsus videretur, senatus quoque consulto cautum, plenius quam antea et uberius . . . Claudius libertos, quos rei familiari præfecerat, sibi que et legibus adæquavit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xii. 60. *Utque rata essent, quæ Procuratores sui in judicando statuerent, precario (a senatu) exegit.* Suet. Claud. 12.

**1788.** Claudius, in his thirteenth year, promotes Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis, which he had held for four years (see A.D. 49, no. 1726), to the kingdom of Philip's tetrarchy, viz. Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Batanæa, and Abilene. *Τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἤδη πεπληρωκῶς δωρεῖται* (Claudius) *τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ, καὶ Βαταναίᾳ, προσθεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν Τραχωνίτιν σὺν Ἀβίλᾳ. Λυσανία δὲ αὐτῆ τετραρχία· τὴν Χαλκίδα δ' αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται δυναστεύσαντα ταύτης ἔτη τέσσαρα* (see A.D. 49, no. 1726). Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 1. *Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος Ἀγρίππαν εἰς μείζονα βασιλείαν μετατίθησι, δοὺς αὐτῷ τὴν τε Φιλίππου γενομένην τετραρχίαν· αὐτῆ δὲ ἦν Βαταναία καὶ Τραχωνίτις καὶ Γαυλανίτις· προσέθηκε δὲ τὴν τε Λυσανίου βασιλείαν, καὶ τὴν Οὐάρου γενομένην ἑπαρχίαν.* Bell. ii. 12, 8; and see Bell. iii. 3, 5. For the tetrarchy of Lysanias, called Abilene, see B.C. 36, no. 537; A.D. 41, no. 1620.

**1789.** Drusilla, a sister of Agrippa, marries Azizus, king of Emesa and Arethusa (see A.D. 43, no. 1662; A.D. 54, no. 1800), and Mariamne, another sister of Agrippa, marries Archelaus, son of Helcias. These marriages are mentioned in connection with the appointment of Agrippa to the kingdom of Trachonitis. *Λαβῶν δὲ δὴ τὴν δωρεάν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, Ἀγρίππας ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς γάμον Ἀζίζῳ τῷ Ἐμεσῶν βασιλεῖ περιτέμεσθαι θελήσαντι Δρούσιλλακ τὴν ἀδελφὴν . . . καὶ Μαρίας μνην δὲ ἐξέδωκεν Ἀρχελάφ τῷ Ἐλκίου παιδί.* Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 1 (see A.D. 54, no. 1800).

**1790.** Gallio is this year proconsul of Achaia. *Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθυπατεύοντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας, etc.* Acts, xviii. 12. *Illud mihi in ore erat domini mei Gallionis, qui, cum in Achaia febrem habere cœpisset, protinus navem ascendit, clamitans non corporis esse sed loci morbum.* Senec. Epist. 104.

The proconsulship was a consequence of the prætorship, and, by a law of Claudius, one year at least intervened between the prætorship and the proconsulship. Dion, lx. 25. If Gallio, therefore, was proconsul in A.D. 53, he was prætor in A.D. 51. The advancement of Gallio was no doubt owing to the court influence of Seneca. The latter had been banished in A.D. 41 (see that year, no. 1627), and remained in disgrace until A.D. 49, when he was recalled by the instrumentality of Agrippina and nominated prætor (see A.D. 49, no. 1729). Seneca, if prætor elect in A.D. 49, would be full prætor in A.D. 50; and it is highly probable that his influence would procure the nomination of Gallio for the following year, A.D. 51. Had Gallio been nominated prætor the same year with Seneca, the historian, in coupling the return of Seneca with his prætorship, could scarcely have avoided mentioning the prætorship of Gallio at the same time. If Gallio then was prætor in A.D. 51, he would be proconsul of Achaia in A.D. 53. As proconsuls were bound to leave Rome for their respective provinces by the middle of April (see A.D. 43, no. 1655), Gallio, who would travel leisurely, would arrive at Corinth about the beginning of June.

**1791.** Not long after the arrival of Gallio as proconsul of Achaia at Corinth, i. e. at the beginning of July, the Jews indict Paul before his tribunal, but meet with a rebuff. Acts, xviii. 12.

**1792.** Paul, after this attempt of the Jews, still tarries a while (*viz.* a month) at Corinth, and then (at the beginning of August) goes down to Cenchrea, the port of Corinth, and there shaves his head in performance of a vow, and then sets sail with Aquila and Priscilla for Syria to keep the Feast at Jerusalem. 'Ο δὲ Παῦλος ἔτι προσμείνας ἡμέρας ἰκανὰς, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποταξάμενος ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας, κειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς, εἶχε γὰρ εὐχὴν. Acts, xviii. 1. The vow was probably made at the time of the Jews' assault upon him before Gallio, and as the shaving of the head marked the conclusion of the vow, and a vow could not be for a less time than a month, Mishna Tit. Nazir. i. 3, the *ἡμέραι ἰκαναὶ* of Luke may be taken to denote that period.

**1793.** Luke speaks of Paul's sojourn at Corinth as a year and six months. 'Εκάθισέ τε ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ διδάσκων ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν

λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθυπατεύοντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας κατεπέστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Παύλῳ. Acts, xviii. 11. This period of a year and six months may be reckoned either: 1. From Paul's arrival to the coming of Gallio; or 2. From Paul's arrival to the attack of the Jews upon him; or 3. From his first arrival to his final departure. If the first hypothesis be adopted, then, as Gallio arrived at Corinth the beginning of June A.D. 53, Paul must have departed from Athens to Corinth the beginning of December A.D. 51. On the second hypothesis the case would stand thus: Paul quitted Corinth for Jerusalem about the beginning of August A.D. 53, and this was *ἡμέρας ἰκανὰς*, Acts, xviii. 18 (say a month) after the attack of the Jews upon him, which would consequently be referrible to the beginning of July; and then a year and half before that would carry us to the beginning of January A.D. 52 as the time of Paul's arrival at Corinth. On the third hypothesis, as Paul sailed from Corinth the beginning of August A.D. 53, his arrival at Corinth from Athens must have been the beginning of February A.D. 52. The last hypothesis appears the most probable, and has been adopted in the Tables.

**1794.** Paul touches on his way at Ephesus, and preaches in the synagogue, when he is pressed to remain at Ephesus, but answers that he must needs go to Jerusalem, but that *Deo volente* he would return. He leaves Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, and proceeds by sea to Cæsarea, and goes up to Jerusalem to attend the feast, which must have been the Feast of Tabernacles 16 September. Κατήνησε δὲ εἰς Ἐφεσον κἀκείνους (Aquila et Priscillam) κατέλιπεν αὐτοῦ . . . ἀλλ' ἀπετάξατο αὐτοῖς λέγων, δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, πάλιν δὲ ἀνακάμψω πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλοντος. Καὶ ἀνήχθη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου, καὶ κατεθὼν εἰς Κασάρειαν ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. Acts, xviii. 19, 21. In A.D. 58 Paul sailed from Philippi at the close of the Passover, and reached Jerusalem before the Pentecost, and consumed forty-four days on his way. As he now sailed from Corinth direct for Jerusalem, he would not require so long an interval, and the space between the beginning of August and 16 September would amply suffice.

**1795.** This visit to Jerusalem was fourteen



years after his last visit in A.D. 39. "Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἑτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρνάβα, συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον, ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν. Galat. ii. 1. Διὰ in this passage signifies after fourteen years complete, as in Philo, ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἱερὰ ἐβδόμη. Philo de Septen. s. 6. The circumstance that the visit was from revelation, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, explains the passage above cited from the Acts, δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. He perhaps took up Barnabas on his way at Cyprus, whither Barnabas on parting from Paul at Antioch, at the commencement of the last circuit in A.D. 49, had proceeded with Mark, Acts, xv. 39; or Barnabas might have joined him by arrangement at Cæsarea.

**1796.** The object of this visit of Paul and Barnabas appears to have been to establish the unity of the Jewish and Gentile Churches, by exhibiting the harmony that subsisted between the Apostles of Jerusalem and Paul and Barnabas as the Apostles of the Gentiles. James, the brother of Our Lord, the bishop of Jerusalem, and Peter and John were present at this visit, and gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship. Καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες σῦλλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν· μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Galat. ii. 9. The latter injunction to make provision for the poor Hebrews was complied with by Paul in his next circuit through Galatia and Greece (see A.D. 54, no. 1816).

**1797.** Paul passes from Jerusalem to Antioch, where he winters. Κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον τινα, etc. Acts. xviii. 23. And while he is at Antioch Peter comes down, and Paul rebukes him publicly for dissembling with the Judaizing Christians. "Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε Πέτρος εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. Galat. ii. 11.

**1798.** Dionysidorus is archon at Athens. "Ἀρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Διονυσιοδώρου, ὑπατεύοντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Δέκμων Ἰουνίου Σιλανοῦ Τορκονάτου καὶ Κυίντου Ἀστερίου (lege Ἀντερίου) Ἀντωνίνου. Phleg. Mir. Müller's Fragm. Græc. Hist. iii. 619. Dionysius the Areopagite had been converted by Paul the year before. Acts,

xvii. 34. Were Dionysidorus and Dionysius (an abbreviation of Dionysidorus) the same person?

**1798 a.** Coin of Alexandria.

Ἀγριππῖνα Σεβαστῆ + Ευθηρια. L. II.

Eckhel, iv. 52.

Inscription.

*Ti. Claudio Cæsari Augusto Pontifici Max. Trib. Potest. xviii. Imp. xxvii. Cons. v. P. P. Cen. Vestinus Rustici F. xviii et Rusticus F. D. S. P. D. D. cujus basis cum vetustate corrupta esset in vice ejus Vibia Rusticana nurus novam restituit (Cortinæ in Hispaniâ).*

Muratori, i. 225, 7.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, Sept. 16.

**A.D. 54. U.C. 807. Olymp. 208, 2.**

M. ASINTUS MARCELLUS.

MANIUS ACILIUS AVIOLA.

ex Kal. Nov.

L. ANNÆUS sive JUNIUS GALLIO.

CLAUDII XIV. FROM 25 JAN. TRIB. POT. XIV.

FROM SAME DAY. COS. V. PONT. MAX. PAT.

PATR. IMP. XXVII.

NERONIS I. FROM 13 OCT. TRIB. POT. I. FROM

SAME DAY.

Sixth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1799.** Death of Lepida, the daughter of Antonia (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 64.

**1800.** Drusilla, by the artifices of Simon Magus, is induced to elope from Azizus, king of Emesa and Arethusa, and marry Felix. This was not long after Drusilla's marriage to Azizus in A.D. 53 (see that year, no. 1789). Διαλύονται δὲ τῇ Δρουσίλλῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀζίζον οἱ γάμοι μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 2. And it is related by Josephus before the death of Claudius on 13 October of this year. Ant. xx. 8, 1.

**1801.** Bernice about the same time (*semble*) marries Polemo II., king of part of Cilicia (see A.D. 41, no. 1622), but soon after deserts him; and her sister Mariamne also abandons her husband Archelaus (see A.D. 53, no. 1789) to marry Demetrius, the Alabarch, or Jewish governor, of Alexandria. Βερνίκη δὲ μετὰ τὴν

Ἡρώδου τελευταίην (see A.D. 48), ὃς αὐτῆς ἀνήρ και θεῖος ἐγεγόνει, πολὺν χρόνον ἐπιχρησάσα . . . πείθει Πολέμωνα· Κιλκίας δὲ ἦν οὗτος βασιλεύς· περιτεμόμενον ἀγεσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτῆν . . . και ὁ Πολέμων ἐπέισθη . . . Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος . . . Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ καιρῷ και Μαριάμμη παραιτησαμένη τὸν Ἀρχέλαον συνῴκησε Δημητρίῳ . . . τότε δὲ και τὴν Ἀλιβαρχίαν αὐτὸς εἶχε. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 3. This is related by Josephus just before the death of Claudius.

**1802.** Claudius is attacked by illness, and retires to Sinuessa (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 66.

Death of Claudius between 12 and 1 P.M. on 13 October, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. *Ante diem tertium Idus Octobris, Asinio Marcello Acilio Aviola coss. . . inter sextam et septimam (horam) . . . annus sexagesimus et quartus est ex quo cum animá luctatur.* Senec. de Mort. Claud. *Tunc medio diei tertium ante Idus Octob. foribus palatii repente diductis, comitante Burrho, Nero egreditur ad cohortem, quæ more militiæ excubiis adest.* Tac. Ann. xii. 69. Μετήλλαξε (Claudius) τῇ τρίτῃ και δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου, ζήσας ἐξήκοντα και τρία ἔτη, αὐταρχήσας δὲ ἔτη δέκα και τρία, και μῆνας ὀκτῶ και ἡμέρας εἴκοσι. Dion, lx. 34. *Excessit tertio Idus Octobris, Asinio Marcello, Acilio Aviola coss., quarto et sexagesimo ætatis, imperii quatuordecimo anno.* Suet. Claud. 45. Τελευτᾶ δε Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ, βασιλεύσας ἔτη δεκατρία μῆνας ὀκτῶ πρὸς ἡμέραις εἴκοσι. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 1. Αὐτὸς δὲ διοικήσας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτεσι τρισὶ και δέκα, πρὸς δὲ μυσὶν ὀκτῶ και εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις τελευτᾶ. Bell. ii. 12, 8. *Vixit annos iv. et lx., imperavit xiv.* Eutropius, vii. 13. *Imperavit annos quatuordecim . . . vixit annos sexaginta quatuor.* Victor Epit. c. 4. *Imperavit annis 13 mensib. 8 dieb.* 28. Cassiodor. sub coss. Cæsare et Juliano. *Anno ætatis 64.* Cassiodor. sub coss. Silano et Othone. Clemens Alexand. states the reign at thirteen years, eight months, and twenty-eight days. Strom. lib. i. c. xxi. p. 406. The actual reign of Claudius was from 25 January, A.D. 41, to 13 October, A.D. 54, viz. thirteen years, eight months, and nineteen days; and, as he was born on 1 August, B.C. 10 (see that year, no. 803), his age was sixty-three years, two months, and thirteen days.

**1803.** Nero succeeds in his seventeenth year. *Septemdecim natus annos, ut de Claudio*

*palam factum est, inter horam sextam septimamque processit ad excubitores.* Suet. Nero, 8. *Princeps vixitum septemdecim annos egressus.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 6. Ἐπτὰ δὲ και δέκα ἔτη ἦγεν ὅτ' ἦρξεν. Dion, lxi. 3. Nero was born on 15 December, A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1527).

**1804.** At the death of Claudius a comet is visible at Rome. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος μετήλλαξε· ἐς τοῦτό τε ἀστὴρ ὁ κομήτης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὄφθεις . . . ἔδοξε σημῆναι. Dion, lx. 35. *Præcægia mortis ejus præcipua fuerunt: exortus crinitæ stellæ quam cometen vocant,* etc. Suet. Claud. 46.

**1805.** Both Gallio and Seneca appear to have been at Rome at the death of Claudius. Ἀγριππίνα δὲ και ὁ Νέρων πειθεῖν προσεποιῶντο ὃν ἀπεκτόνεισαν, ἕς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγον, ὃν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου φοράδην ἐξεηνόχρισαν· ὄθενπερ Δούκιος Ἰούνιος Γαλλίων, ὁ τοῦ Σενέκα ἀδελφός, ἀριούτατόν τι ἀπεφθέγγετο (συνέθηκε μὲν γὰρ και ὁ Σενέκας σύγγραμμα, Ἐποκολοκύντωσιν· αὐτὸ, ὥσπερ τινα Ἀπαθανάτισιν, ὀνομάσας)· ἐκείνος δὲ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἀπομνημονεύεται, etc. Dion, lx. 35. As the proconsuls left Rome in the middle of April (see A.D. 43, no. 1655), Gallio would reach his province of Achaia the beginning of June A.D. 53. His year of office would therefore expire the beginning of June A.D. 54; and as he was bound to return forthwith to Rome to meet any charge of maladministration which might be brought against him (see A.D. 45, no. 1689), he would be in Rome soon after midsummer A.D. 54. On 1 November A.D. 54 he appears to have been appointed to the honour of the consulship, in reward, perhaps, of his services in the administration of the province (see the consuls for the year, *supra*).

**1806.** The new reign commences with the assassination of Junius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, by the hands of P. Celer and Helius, the procurators. *Prima novo principatu mors Junii Silani proconsulis Asiæ . . . Ministri fuere P. Celer, eques Romanus, et Helius libertus, rei familiari principis in Asiâ impositi* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 1. *Divus Augustus . . . vidit genitum quo excessit anno* (A.D. 14) *M. Silanum, qui cum Asiam obtineret post consulatum* (A.D. 53), *Neronis principis successione veneno ejus interemptus est.* Plin. N. H. vii. 11. Silanus was therefore about forty at the time of his death. Μάρκον Ἰούνιον Σιλανὸν ἀπέκτεινε



(Agrippina) πέμψασα αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου ᾧ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδέδολονόηκει. Dion, lxi. 6 (see A.D. 40, no. 1602; A.D. 57, no. 1832).

**1807.** Narcissus, the favourite freedman of Claudius, who had made himself obnoxious to Agrippina, is also put to death just afterwards. *Nec minus prosperato Narcissus Claudii libertus, de cuius iurgiis adversus Agrippinam retuli, asperâ custodiâ et necessitate extremâ ad mortem agitur* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 1.

**1808.** Burrhus and Seneca try to check the headlong career of Nero, and unite their influence against Agrippina and Pallas, her paramour. *Ibaturque in cædes nisi Afranius Burrhus et Annæus Seneca obviam issent . . . Certamen utrique unum erat contra ferociam Agrippinæ quæ cunctis malæ dominationis cupidinibus flagrans, habebat in partibus Pallantem* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 2.

**1809.** Pallas is out of favour with the emperor. *Sed neque Neroni infra servos ingenium, et Pallas tristi arrogantia modum liberti egressus tedium sui moverat* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 2.

**1810.** Nero professes to abandon the large judicial powers assumed by Claudius, and, contenting himself with the jurisdiction of the imperial provinces, places Italy and the popular provinces under the jurisdiction of the senate. *Non enim se negotiorum omnium iudicem fore, ut, clausis unam intra domum accusatoribus et reis, paucorum potentia grassaretur . . . teneret antiqua munia senatus: consulum tribunalibus Italia et publicæ provinciæ adsisterent: illi patrum aditum præberent: se mandatis exercitiis consulturum* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 4.

**1811.** Towards the end of the year intelligence arrives that Rhadamistus had been driven out of Armenia, and that the Parthians were in possession of it, *fine anni turbidis rumoribus 'Prorupisse rursum Parthos et rapi Armeniam,' adlatum est, 'pulso Rhadamisto'* (his coss.), Tac. Ann. xiii. 6 (see A.D. 51, no. 1757; A.D. 60, no. 1886); and the Romans make preparations for war with Parthia. Tac. Ann. xiii. 7.

**1812.** Agrippa, king of Trachonitis, and Antiochus, king of Commagene, are ordered to levy forces against the Parthians. *Nero . . . jubet duos veteres reges Agrippam et Antiochum expedire copias, quæ Parthorum fines ultro intrarent; simul pontes per amnem Euphratem jungi* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 7.

**1813.** Corbulo is appointed to conduct the war against Parthia. *Domitium Corbulonem retinendam Armeniam (Nero) præposuerat* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 8.

**1814.** Josephus at the age of sixteen (see A.D. 38, no. 1541) is engaged at Jerusalem in sifting the merits of the three sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. *Περὶ ἑκαταίδεκα δὲ ἔτη γενόμενος, ἐβουλήθη τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν αἰρέσεων ἐμπειρίαν λαβεῖν.* Jos. Vit. 2. He was after this for three years in the desert with a hermit by the name of Banus. *Πυθόμενος τινα, Βανουὺν ὄνομα, κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν διατρίβειν, ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον, τροφὴν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως φυσομένην προσφερόμενον; ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλακίς λουόμενον πρὸς ἄγγελιον, ζηλωτῆς ἐγενόμενον αὐτοῦ, καὶ διατρίψας παρ' αὐτῷ ἔνιαυτούς τρεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον.* Vit. 2. The mode of life of Banus illustrates strongly the life of John the Baptist in the same region. Banus may have been a disciple of John.

**1815.** Paul at the opening of the year sets out from Antioch on his third circuit, and passes through Galatia and Phrygia. *Καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον τινα ἐξῆλθε διερχόμενος καθέξῃς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, ἐπιστηρίζων πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς.* Acts, xviii. 23. Paul had arrived at Antioch after the Feast of Tabernacles (16 September) A.D. 53; and the χρόνον τινα in the above passage would be satisfied by a sojourn of a few months during the remaining part of autumn and the winter.

**1816.** While in Galatia Paul gives directions for the collection of alms for the relief of the poor Hebrews in Jerusalem. *Περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, ὥσπερ διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε.* 1 Cor. xvi. 1. This was in fulfilment of the promise which he had made the year before to the Apostles at Jerusalem (see A.D. 53, no. 1796). As Paul was on his way to Ephesus, whither on his voyage from Greece he had pledged himself to return, it is likely that he was not long in Galatia or Phrygia. Ephesus was distant from Antioch about thirty days' journey, but as Paul exercised his ministry on the road, we should allow about three months. Paul reached Ephesus about May, for he quitted Ephesus about May A.D. 57, after a sojourn of three years. *Διὸ γρηγορεῖτε μνημονεύοντες ὅτι τριετίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην νοουθετῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον.*

Acts, xx. 31. Assuming the circuit from Antioch to Ephesus to have occupied about three months, Paul must have started from Antioch the beginning of February, i.e. as soon as the depth of winter was past. It was his usual practice to spend the winter with some particular church (see 1 Cor. xvi. 6; Titus, iii. 12). Proconsular Asia, over which the Gospel was now spread from Ephesus, the capital, comprised Mysia, Troas, Lydia, Ionia, Caria and Phrygia.

**1817.** Paul preaches to the Jews at Ephesus for three months—viz. May, June, and July, A.D. 44; and after that, as they rejected the Gospel, he preaches to the Gentiles daily in the lecture-room of one Tyrannus. *Εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐπαρήρσιάζετο ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς . . . Ὡς δὲ τινες ἐσκληρύνοντο . . . ἀποστὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρισε τοὺς μαθητὰς, καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου τινός.* Acts, xix. 8 (see A.D. 56, no. 1829).

**1817 a.** Coins of Judæa.

Τι. Κλαυδῖος Καῖσαρ Γερμ. Λ. ΙΔ. + Ιουλιὰ Αἰγριππῖνα, and therefore struck in the fourteenth year of Claudius.

Νερωῶν Κλαυ. Καῖσαρ + Βριτ. Καί. Λ. ΙΔ.  
Eckhel, iii. 498

Coins of Nero.

*Agripp. Aug. Divi Claud. (sub. uxor) Neronis Cæs. Mater + Neroni Claud. Divi F. Cæs. Aug. Germ. Imp. Tr. P. Ex S. C.*

*Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P. Ex S. C.* Id. vi. 262.

Coin of Alexandria.

Οκταονία Σεβαστη L. A. (i. e. in the first year of Nero) + Νερ. Κλαυ. Καῖσ. Σεβ. Γερμ. ΑΥΓ.  
Id. iv. 55.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

**A.D. 55. U.C. 808. Olymp. 208, 3.**

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.

L. ANTISTIVS VETUS. Quem forte excepit Pompeius.

NERONIS II. FROM 13 OCTOBER, AND TRIB. POT. II. FROM SAME DAY. COS. PONT. MAX. IMP.

Seventh year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1818.** Nero is consul for two months only. *Consulatus quatuor gessit, primum bimestrem.* Suet. Ner. 14.

**1819.** Nero becomes enamoured of Acte, a courtesan; and this weakens the influence of Agrippina and Pallas, and throws more power into the hands of Seneca. *Ceterum infracta paullatim potentia matris, delapso Nerone in amorem libertæ cui vocabulum Acte fuit . . . donec vi amoris subactus exueret obsequium in matrem, seque Senecæ permitteret.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 12, 13.

Pallas is removed from office. *Et Nero infensus iis, quibus superbia muliebris innitebatur, demovit Pallantem curâ rerum, quæ a Claudio impositus velut arbitrum regni agebat.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 14. This must have been very early in the year, for it was before the death of Britannicus. Tac. Ann. xiii. 14, 15 (see *infra*, no. 1820).

**1820.** Britannicus is poisoned by Nero just before the completion of his fourteenth year, and therefore a few days only before 13 February, A.D. 55 (see A.D. 41, no. 1616). Nero had taken alarm at Britannicus from an incident which had occurred at the Saturnalia (17 December) at the close of the preceding year. *Turbatus his Nero, et propinquo die quo quartum decimum ætatis annum Britannicus explebat, volutare secum modo matris violentiam, modo ipsius (Britannici) indolem, levi quodam experimento nuper cognitam, quo tamen favorem late quæsivisset. Festis Saturno diebus (17 December, A.D. 54) inter alia æqualium ludicra, regnum lusu sortientium, evenerat ea sors Neroni, etc. . . . pararique venenum jubet, ministro Politione Julio prætoricæ cohortis tribuno, cujus curâ adtinebatur damnata veneficii nomine Locusta, multa scelerum fama (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. xiii. 15. Dion, lxi. 7. And see Suet. Ner. 33.

**1821.** Nero deprives Agrippina of her German guard, and ejects her from her apartments in the palace (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 18. Dion, lxi. 7, 8. Suet. Nero, 34.

**1822.** C. Balbillus is appointed prefect of Egypt (see A.D. 38, no. 1538; A.D. 66, no. 1997), and P. Anteius of Syria (see A.D. 50, no. 1746); but the latter never takes possession of his province. *Ægyptus C. Balbillo permittitur: Syria P. Anteio destinata: sed variis mox artibus elusus, ad postremum in urbe retentus est.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 22.

**1823.** In this consulship and within the first year of the reign of Nero, and therefore before



13 October, A.D. 55, Azizus, king of Emesa and Arethusa (see A.D. 54, no. 1800), is succeeded by his brother Sohemus; and, about the same time, Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, is appointed to the kingdom of Armenia Minor (see A.D. 38, no. 1533; A.D. 60, no. 1887); and Agrippa receives an accession of territory by the addition of the cities Tiberias and Tarichæa in Galilee, and Julias and Abila in Peræa (see A.D. 53, no. 1788). Τῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ἔτει, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἑμέσων βασιλέως Ἀζίζου, Σόμεος ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται· τὴν δὲ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας προστασίαν Ἀριστόβουλος Ἡρώδου τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλέως παῖς ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐγχειρίζεται· καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν δὲ δωρεῖται μοῖρα τινὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁ Καῖσαρ, Τιβερίδα καὶ Ταριχίας ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ κεύσας· δίδωσι καὶ Ἰουλιάδα πόλιν τῆς Περαιᾶς καὶ κόμας τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 4. Τὴν μὲν οὖν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν δίδωσι μὲν βασιλεύειν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ Ἡρώδου. Τῇ δὲ Ἀγρίππα βασιλεία τέσσαρας πόλεις προστίθησι σὺν ταῖς τοπαρχίαις Ἀβίλαν μὲν καὶ Ἰουλιάδα κατὰ τὴν Περαιάν, Ταριχίας δὲ καὶ Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίας. Bell. ii. 13, 2. To the dominions of Sohemus Sophene also is now added (see v. c. 65, no. 57). *Et minorem Armeniam Aristobulo, regionemque Sophenen Sohemo, cum insignibus regis (Nero) mandat.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 7. This is related by Tacitus under the preceding consulship (A.D. 54), but he cautions the reader that he had anticipated these events. *Quæ in alios consules egressa conjunxi.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 9; and see Tac. Hist. ii. 81.

**1824.** Vardanes aims at the throne of Parthia, and Vologeses is obliged to retire from Armenia to counteract his designs. *Exortusque in tempore æmulus Vologeso filius Vardanes; et abscessere Armeniâ Parthi, tanquam differrent bellum.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 7.

Agrippa, king of Trachonitis, and Antiochus, king of Commagene, are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to assist in the war against the Parthians. *Copia Orientis ita dividuntur, ut pars auxiliarium cum duabus legionibus apud provinciam Syriam et legatum ejus Quadratum Ummidium remaneret: par civium sociorumque numerus Corbuloni esset, additis cohortibus aliisque quæ in Cappadociâ hiemabant. Socii reges (Agrippa et Antiochus) prout bello conduceret parere jussi.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 8.

Corbulo and Quadratus meet at Ægeæ in Cilicia. *Itinere propere confecto apud Ægeas*

*civitatem Ciliciæ obvium Quadratum (Corbulo) habuit, illuc progressum, ne, si ad accipiendas copias Syriam intravisset, omnium ora in se verteret.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 8.

Vologeses is alarmed at the preparations of the Romans (see A.D. 54, no. 1813) and gives hostages. *Et Vologeses, quo bellum ex commodo pararet, an ut emulacionis suspectos per nomen obsidum amoveret, tradit nobilissimos ex familiâ Arsacidarum.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 9. These events are related by Tacitus under the preceding consulship, but are expressly said to be anticipated by a year. Ann. xiii. 9.

**1825.** St. Paul writes the Epistle to the Galatians. The date is ascertained as follows: 1. It was written after a collection amongst the Gentiles in favour of the poor Hebrews, for in writing to the Galatians the Apostle thus alludes to it. *Καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβη κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν· μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.* Galat. ii. 9. Now, in the preceding year (see A.D. 54, no. 1816), he had passed through Galatia and Phrygia, and had made a collection in Galatia, as appears from the First Epistle to the Corinthians. *Περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἄγιους, ὡς περ διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε.* 1 Cor. xvi. 1. The Epistle to the Galatians was therefore written after this circuit through Galatia and Phrygia. 2. The Epistle to the Galatians was subsequent to the Apostle's second visit to Galatia, for he thus alludes to the former of his two visits. *Οἴδατε δὲ ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον, καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν μου τὸν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε, οὐδὲ ἐξέπτύσατε, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ ἐδέξασθέ με, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.* Galat. iv. 13. The first visit of Paul to Galatia was in A.D. 50 (see no. 1747), and the second visit was in A.D. 54 (see no. 1815), and the Epistle to the Galatians was therefore written either in, or subsequently to, the year A.D. 54. 3. The Epistle was written not long after this second visit, for the Apostle repeatedly alludes to his recent presence amongst them, as in the following passages: *Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτω ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγελίον. Gal. i. 6. Καλὸν δὲ τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε, καὶ μὴ μόνον*

ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι με πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω, ἄχρις οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν. Gal. iv. 18. Ἐτρέχετε καλῶς· τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι; Gal. v. 7. Indeed, the whole Epistle breathes the spirit of one who had not long before been personally amongst them. Lastly. The very year of the Epistle is indicated in the following passage. Ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε, καὶ μῆνας, καὶ καιροὺς, καὶ ἐνιαυτούς. Gal. iv. 10. The Galatians are here represented as in the actual observance of days and months and years, and by the latter can only be meant Sabbatic years. The date of the Epistle then was at a time when Paul, having recently left the Galatians, had heard that they were observing the Sabbatic year; but the first Sabbatic year after his second visit to Galatia was from 1 Nisan, A.D. 55, to 1 Nisan, A.D. 56, and during that interval, therefore, the letter was written, and probably in the latter half of A.D. 55.

**1825 a.** Coin of Nero.

Nero Claud. Divi F. Cæs. Aug. Germ. Imp. Tr. P. Cos. + Agripp. Aug. Divi Claud. Neronis Cæsar Mater Ex. S. C. Eckhel, vi. 262.

Coin of Polemo II., king of Pontus.

Βασιλεὺς Πολεμωνος + Ετους. ΙΗ, i. e. in the eighteenth year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no. 1533). Id. ii. 372.

Coin of Cotys, king of Bosphorus.

Ba. K. BNT. + Head of Agrippina, i. e. in the 352nd year, commencing from U.C. 457 (see A.D. 49, no. 1733). Id. ii. 376.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

**A.D. 56. U.C. 809. Olymp. 208, 4.**

Q. VOLUSIUS SATURNINUS.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

ex Kal. Jul.

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NERONIS III. FROM 13 OCTOBER. TRIB. POT. III.  
FROM SAME DAY. COS. DESIG. II. PONT. MAX.  
PAT. PATR. IMP.

Eighth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1826.** Peace prevails during the year, and Nero amuses himself by wandering about the city in disguise and engaging in unseemly

brawls. Q. Volusio P. Scipione coss. otium foris, fæda domi lascivia, quæ Nero itinera urbis et lupanaria et diverticula, veste servili in dissimulationem sui compositus, pererrabat. Tac. Ann. xiii. 25. Dion, lxi. 8. Suët. Nero, 26.

Players, from the constant tumults in the theatre, are expelled from Italy (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 25.

**1827.** The death of L. Volusius at the age of ninety-three. At L. Volusius egregiâ famâ concessit, cui tres et nonaginta anni spatium vivendi, præcipuæque opes bonis artibus, inoffensa tot imperatorum malitia fuit (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 30.

**1828.** Felix captures Eleazar, the archbandit. Jos. Bell. ii. 13, 2; Ant. xx. 8, 5. It was about this time, for Josephus first relates the distribution of provinces amongst some petty princes in the first year of Nero, τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς (from 13 October, A.D. 54, to 13 October, A.D. 55), Ant. xx. 6, 4; and then the capture of Eleazar, apparently in A.D. 56. He had held the country in terror for twenty years, ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι τὴν χώραν δηλωσάμενον, Bell. ii. 13, 2; and as he probably began his career in A.D. 36 (see that year, no. 1491), the termination of it may be placed in A.D. 56.

**1829.** About August of this year, Paul sends Timothy and Erastus on a mission to Macedonia; for Paul arrived at Ephesus about May A.D. 54, and preached for three months to the Jews, viz. till 1 August, A.D. 54, εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐπαρρησιάζετο ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς, Acts, xix. 8; and then two years to the Gentiles, i. e. till 1 August, A.D. 56, τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο, Acts, xix. 10; and after all this he sent forth Timothy and Erastus. Ὡς δὲ ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα, ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, διελθὼν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν, πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ . . . ἀποστείλας δὲ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ Τιμόθεον καὶ Ἐραστον, αὐτὸς ἐπέσχε χρόνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Acts, xix. 21 (see A.D. 54, no. 1817).

Paul intended at this time, on quitting Ephesus, to sail to Corinth; and Timothy was directed, on concluding his mission to Macedonia, to proceed to Corinth, and there await the Apostle's arrival. 2 Cor. ii. 15 (see *post*, no. 1835).

**1829 a.** Conon is archon at Athens. Ἀρχωντος Ἀθήνησι Κόνωνος, ὑπατευόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Κοίνου Οὐλουσίου Σατορνίνου καὶ Ποπλίου Κορηλίου Σκιπίωνος. Phleg. Mir. Müller's Frag. Græc. Hist. iii. 623.



## Coins of Nero.

*Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. Pot. ii. P. P. Ex S. C. or Tr. P. iii. P. P.*  
Eckhel, vi. 263.

## Coins of Antioch.

Αντιοχείων + Επι Κουαδρατου Ερ. ΔΡ., i. e. in the 104th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 55, and 1 Nov. A.D. 56.  
Id. iii. 280.

Αντιοχείων, with laurel branch and ΔΡ.  
Id. iii. 283.

## Coins of Alexandria.

Αγριππινη Σεβαστη L. Γ. (i. e. in the third year of Nero) + Νερ. Κλαυ. Καισ. Σεβ. Γερ. Αυτο.  
Id. iv. 52.

Προν. (scilicet Προνοια) Νεου Σεβαστου L. Γ.  
Id. iv. 54.

Οκταουια Σεβαστη L. Γ. + Νερ. Κλαυ. Καισ. Σεβ. Γερ. Αυτ.  
Id. iv. 55.

## Coin of Polemo II., king of Pontus.

Βασιλεως Πολεμωνος + Ετους. ΙΘ., i. e. in the nineteenth year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no. 1533).  
Id. ii. 372.

## Inscription.

*L. Volusio Saturn. P. Cornelio Scip. Cos. Augustales qui Neroni Claudio Cæsari August. et Agrippinæ Augustæ I. O. M. et Genio colonie ludos fecer. xiii. xii. K. Mart.* (Neapoli).  
Inscriptio ad calcem Suetonii.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 19.

Pentecost, May 9.

Tabernacles, September 13.

**A.D. 57. U.C. 810. Olymp. 209, 1.**

NERO CLAUD. CÆSAR AUG., ii.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

ex Kal. Jul.

DUCENNIUS GEMINUS.

POMPEIUS PAULINUS.

NERONIS IV. FROM 13 OCTOB. TRIB. POT. IV.  
FROM SAME DAY. COS. II. PONT. MAX. PAT.  
PATR. IMP.

Ninth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1830.** Nero remains consul for six months. *Consulatus quatuor gessit: primum* (A.D. 55) *binestrem, secundum* (A.D. 57) *et novissimum* (A.D. 60) *semestres, tertium* (A.D. 58) *quadriestrem.* Suet. Nero, 14.

Prefects and Procurators are prohibited from celebrating games at the expense of their subjects. *Nerone secundum, L. Pisone coss. edixit Cæsar, 'Ne quis magistratus aut procurator qui provinciam obtineret spectaculum gladiatorum, aut ferarum, aut quod aliud ludicrum ederet.'* *Nam ante non minus tali largitione quam conripendis pecuniis subjectos adfligebant, dum, quæ libidine deliquerant, ambitu propugnant.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 31.

**1831.** Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Plautius, the victorious general from Britain, is accused of foreign superstition, by which Christianity is probably meant. *Pomponia Græcina, insignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britannis retulit, nupta, ac superstitionis externæ rea, mariti judicio permissa. Isque prisco instituto, propinquis coram, de capite famâque conjugis cognovit, et insontem nuntiavit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 32.

**1832.** Amongst the latest events under this consulship recorded by Tacitus are the accusations for maladministration against P. Celer from Asia (see A.D. 54, no. 1806; A.D. 58, no. 1850), Cossutianus Capito from Cilicia (see A.D. 15, no. 1871), and Eprius Marcellus from Lycia (see A.D. 43, no. 1656). *Idem annus plures reos habuit. Quorum P. Celerem, accusante Asiâ, quia absolvere nequibat Cæsar, traxit, senectût donec mortem obiret: nam Celer, interfecto ut memoravi* (Tac. Ann. xiii. 1) *Silano proconsule, magnitudine sceleris cetera flagitia obtegebat. Cossutianum Capitonem Cilices detulerant, maculosum fœdumque et idem jus audaciæ in provinciâ ratum quod in urbe exercuerat: sed pervicaci accusatione conflictatus postremo defensionem omisit ac lege repetundarum damnatus est. Pro Eprio Marcello, a quo Lycii res repetebant, eo usque ambitus prævaluit, ut quidam accusatorum ejus exsilio mulctarentur, tanquam insonti periculum fecissent* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 33. Tutor is also spoken of by Juvenal as an oppressor, as well as Capito, of the province of Cilicia:—

*Et Capito et Tutor ruerint, damnante Senatu, Piratæ Cilicum.* Juvenal, Lib. iii. Sat. 8, v. 93.

**1833.** Josephus, when nineteen years old, adopts the sect of the Pharisees. *Εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον, ἑννεακαίδεκα δ' ἔτη ἔχων ἠρξάμην τε πολιτεύεσθαι τῇ Φαρισαίων αἰρέσει κατακολουθῶν.* Jos. Vita, 2 (see A.D. 38, no. 1541; A.D. 54, no. 1814).

**1834.** At one of the feasts of this year Jonathan, the ex-highpriest, is assassinated by the bandits called from this time *Sicarii*, from the *sica*, or dagger, with which they despatched him. "Ἐτερον εἶδος ληστῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑπέφθετο οἱ λεγόμενοι Σικάριοι . . . πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰωνάθης ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποσφάζεται. Jos. Bell. ii. 13, 5. Ἀνέβησάν τινες αὐτῶν (viz. τῶν ληστῶν) εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς προσκυνήσοντες τὸν θεόν, ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἔχοντες ξιφίδια, καὶ συναναμιχθέντες τῷ Ἰωνάθῃ, κτείρουσιν αὐτόν· ἀνεκδικήτου δὲ τοῦ φόνου μεμενηκότες, μετὰ πάσης τῆς λοιπῆς ἀδείας ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς οἱ λησταί, etc. Ant. xx. 8, 5. It has been thought by some that Jonathan was *actual* high-priest at this time, and thence it is conjectured that, Agrippa being in attendance upon Corbulo in the war against the Parthians, the office of high-priest made vacant by the death of Jonathan was not filled up for some time after, and that this vacancy of the pontificate is alluded to by Paul in his memorable words before the Sanhedrim at the Pentecost A.D. 58, οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἔστιν Ἀρχιερεὺς, which they translate, 'I wist not, brethren, that there was a high priest.' Acts. xxiii. 5. Josephus, however, in reckoning twenty-eight high-priests from the commencement of Herod's reign to the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, evidently does not consider Jonathan as holding the office at this time (see A.D. 67, no. 2060); and the more natural meaning of the passage is that of the authorised version, 'I wist not, brethren, that it was the high-priest' (see A.D. 58, no. 1862).

The date of the assassination of Jonathan may be thus arrived at. It is expressly stated by Josephus to have occurred at some feast after the elevation of Nero to the throne, Ant. xx. 8, 3; Bell. ii. 13, 1; and as Nero's reign commenced on 13 October, A.D. 54, and there was no feast after 13 October in that year, the event cannot be placed *earlier* than in A.D. 55. On the other hand the death of Jonathan was plotted by Felix, Ant. xx. 8, 5 and 9; Bell. ii. 14, 1; who resigned in favour of Festus about midsummer A.D. 60 (see that year, no. 1893). And it was also before the arrest of Paul in the Temple at the Feast of Pentecost A.D. 58, two years before the retirement of Felix (see that year, no. 1860), for in the address of Lysias the *Sicarii* are alluded to, τῶν Σικαριῶν, Acts, xxi. 38; and the *Sicarii* were

so called from the *sica*, or poniard, used at the assassination of Jonathan. The death of Jonathan therefore cannot be placed *later* than the Feast of Pentecost A.D. 58. But it must also have been some considerable time before the arrest of Paul at the Pentecost A.D. 58, or the term *Sicarii* could not have grown into common use. And the same inference may be deduced from the fact that Josephus places the assassination of Jonathan before the appearance of the Egyptian impostor, an event which was also prior to the arrest of Paul, for Lysias mistook Paul for the Egyptian. Οὐκ ᾔρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος. Acts. xxi. 38. If, therefore, the Egyptian set himself up, as we shall see, at the Passover A.D. 58, the assassination of Jonathan must be carried still farther back, and, as we should conceive, to the year A.D. 57. This date would agree with the narrative by Josephus of the occurrences between the accession of Nero on 13 October, A.D. 54, and the death of Jonathan, for he records during the interval the distribution of certain provinces in the first year of Nero (13 October, 54 to 13 October, 55), τῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς, Ant. xx. 8, 4; and then the capture of the archbandit Eleazar, in A.D. 56 (see that year, no. 1828); and then the assassination of Jonathan, which would thus fall naturally in A.D. 57.

**1835.** Paul had proposed to sail from Ephesus to Corinth, and thence to pass on to Macedonia, and, after a sojourn there, to return to Corinth, and sail thence for Judæa. Ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς (the Corinthians) ἐλθεῖν πρότερον . . . καὶ δι' ὑμῶν διελθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν· καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. 2 Cor. ii. 15. But while Paul is at Ephesus, he hears, through the household of Chloe, of the excesses in the Corinthian Church, ἐδηλώθη γάρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί μου, ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης, ὅτι ἐριδες ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσι, 1 Cor. i. 11; and in order to give the Corinthians time for repentance, Paul now alters his plans, and proposes to visit Macedonia first, and then to pass on to Corinth, and there to spend the winter. 1 Cor. xvi. 5. In consequence of this change of plan, Paul forwards a message to Timothy not to proceed from Macedonia to Corinth, as before arranged (see A.D. 56, no. 1829), but to return to Paul.

**1836.** About the same time, Paul receives a letter from the Corinthians, asking advice



touching various matters, *περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατέ μοι*, 1 Cor. vii. 1; and the Apostle writes the First Epistle to the Corinthians, partly to rebuke them, and partly to answer their questions, and dispatches it by the hands of Titus.

The date of the Epistle appears from the contents. Paul was in Asia at the time, *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας*, 1 Cor. xvi. 19; and at Ephesus, *ἐπιμενῶ δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσω, &c.*, 1 Cor. xvi. 8; and it was written after his second visit to Galatia, in A. D. 54, when the collection was made there for the poor Hebrews, *περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους ὡσπερ διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε*, 1 Cor. xvi. 1; and after the mission of Timothy and Erastus in the autumn of A. D. 56, *διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον*, 1 Cor. iv. 17; and after he had made a change in his own plans as to his route on leaving Ephesus. *Ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω (Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι), πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὲ τυχὸν παραμενῶ, ἢ καὶ παραχειμάσω*. 1 Cor. xvi. 5. The Epistle was written at the time of the Passover, for the Apostle pointedly alludes to the celebration of it as in observance at the time. *Ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην ἵνα ἦτε νέον φάραμα, καθὼς ἔστε ἄζυμοι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός· ὥστε ἑορτάζωμεν μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ, μηδὲ ἐν ζύμῃ κακίας καὶ πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀζύμοις εὐκρινείας καὶ ἀληθείας*. 1 Cor. v. 7. And this Passover was, of course, subsequent to the mission of Timothy and Erastus in the autumn of A. D. 56, and was the Passover next before the time fixed for the Apostle's departure. *Ἐπιμενῶ δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἕως τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς*. 1 Cor. xvi. 8. The Epistle was therefore written at the Passover of A. D. 57, which this year was on 7 April.

**1837.** In the month of Artemisius, or May, occurred the *Ἐφέσια*, or games in honour of Diana of Ephesus. This appears from the following inscription relating to the worship of the goddess Diana, found on one of the stones amongst the ruins of Ephesus:—[Οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει, ἀλλ' καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλληνσι παν]ταχοῦ ἀνεῖσθαι αὐτῆς ἱερά τε καὶ [ι]τεμένη καὶ] αὐτῆ τε εἰδρῦσθαι καὶ βωμοὺς ἀνακεῖσθαι διὰ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῆς γεινομένης ἐναργεῖς ἐπιφανείας· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μέγιστον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν σεβισμοῦ ἔστιν τεκμήριον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτῆς εἶναι μῆνα καλούμενον παρ' [ἡ]μῖν μὲν Ἀρτε-

μισιῶνα, παρὰ δὲ Μακεδόσιν, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, καὶ ταῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς πόλεσιν Ἀρτεμισίων· ἐν δὲ μηνὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ ἱερομηνίαι ἐπιτελοῦνται, διαφερόντως δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει τῇ τροφῷ τῆς ἰδίας θεοῦ τῆς Ἐφεσίας· προσῆκον δὲ εἶναι ἡγούμενος ὁ δῆμος Ἐφεσίων ὄλον τὸν μῆνα τὸν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνόματος εἶναι ἱερὸν, καὶ ἀνακεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ, ἐδοκίμασεν διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος [διατί]θευ-  
ναι τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ θρησκείαν, διὸ δεδόχ[θαι ὄλ]ον τὸν μῆνα τὸν Ἀρτεμισιῶνα εἶναι [ἱερὸν πάσας τὰς] ἡμέρας, ἄγασθαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐταῖς μη[νὸς διην]ε[κ]οῦς τὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀρτεμ[ι-σίων πανήγ]υρον, καὶ τὰς ἱερομηνίας, ἅτε τοῦ μηνὸς δ[λου ἀνακειμέν]ου τῇ θεῷ· οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμείνον τῆς [θρησκείας γινομέ]νης ἢ πόλις ἡμῖν ἐνδοξοτέρα τε καὶ εὐδ[αίμων] εἰς τὸ[ν πάν]τα διαμενεῖ χ[ρόνον]. Boeckh, no. 2954.

**1838.** At the celebration of these *Ἐφέσια*, or Ephesian games in honour of the goddess, Demetrius and the silversmiths who were interested in maintaining the worship of Diana begin a riot against Paul, who runs a great risk of his life; and he is obliged to take leave of Ephesus soon after. Acts, xix. 23.

The tumult was appeased for the moment by the *Γραμματεὺς*, or Town-clerk, Luke, xix. 35; and the accuracy of Luke is borne out by the testimony of coins and inscriptions, from which it appears that the chief magistrate of Ephesus was known by this title. Many of those who held this office are mentioned by name, as Titus Flavius Munatius, Boeckh, no. 2990; Euthycrates, Eckhel, ii. 514; Pætus, ib. 516, 518; Aristion, ib. 519; Antander, ib.; Cusinius, ib.

The *Ἀσιαρχαί*, who tried to screen Paul, Acts, xix. 31, were the presidents of the games which were then celebrating, and are also frequently referred to by that title both in coins and inscriptions. The office was for the year only. See Eckhel, iv. 207.

Luke speaks of Ephesus as *νεωκόρον* of the great goddess Diana; and this also is true to history, as the title is repeatedly found applied to Ephesus, both in coins and inscriptions. See Eckhel, iv. 292.

In the course of the riot, the Town-clerk tells the people in the theatre that it was assize time, and there were *proconsuls* before whom they might plead. *Εἰ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τεχνῖται πρὸς τινα λόγον ἔχουσιν,*

ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν. Acts, xix. 38. This perhaps may be explained by the circumstance that though usually there was only one proconsul of Asia, yet in A.D. 54 Junius Silanus, the proconsul, was taken off by poison by P. Celer and Helius, the two imperial procurators (see A.D. 54, no. 1806), at the instance of Nero, or his mother, Agrippina. Celer and Helius appear, as the reward of their services, to have assumed the government themselves, and to have continued in office till the present time. At least P. Celer, at the close of this year, and probably on returning to Rome about midsummer, was accused by the people of Asia of maladministration in the province (see *supra*, no. 1832).

Paul, as we have seen, had arrived at Ephesus about May A.D. 54; and he first preached three months to the Jews, and then two years to the Gentiles, *εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐπαρρησιάζετο ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς . . . τοῦτο δὲ (the preaching to the Gentiles) ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο*, Acts, xix. 7 and 10; and these two years and three months would bring us to August A.D. 56. After that, he stayed some time longer, *ὡς δὲ ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα . . . αὐτὸς ἐπέσχε χρόνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν*, Acts, xix. 21, 22; and this further sojourn was about eight months, for in the whole he stayed at Ephesus for the space of three years, *μνημονεύοντες ὅτι τριετίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην μετὰ δακρύων νουθετῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον*, Acts, xx. 31; and this would bring us to May A.D. 57.

**1839.** Paul departs from Ephesus for Macedonia. *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν θόρυβον προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Παῦλος τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἐξῆλθε πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν*. Acts, xx. 1. He had intended to remain at Ephesus till Pentecost (28 May), but the outbreak of Demetrius somewhat precipitated his departure. However, that he did not quit Ephesus at the instant of the outbreak we should infer from the calm way in which he called the church together and bade them adieu.

Paul arrives at Troas, where he is disappointed at not meeting with Titus on his way back from Corinth, whither Paul had sent him. *Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα . . . οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἄνεσιν τῷ πνεύματι μου τῷ μὴ εὔρεϊν με Τίτον τὸν ἀδελφόν μου*. 2 Cor. ii. 12 (see *ante*, no. 1836). As Paul was disappointed at not meeting with Titus at Troas, where the latter had been

directed to join him from Corinth, it follows that Paul could not have quitted Ephesus much before the time originally fixed for his departure from Ephesus, viz. at Pentecost May 28.

Paul proceeds from Troas to Macedonia, where he is full of trouble at first, but is soon after comforted by the good news brought by Titus from Corinth. *Ἀλλὰ ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς ἐξῆλθον εἰς Μακεδονίαν*. 2 Cor. ii. 13. *Ἐλθόντων ἡμῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔσχηκεν ἄνεσιν ἢ σαρξ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι· ἔξωθεν μάχα, ἔσωθεν φόβος· ἀλλ' ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς παρεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ Τίτου*. 2 Cor. vii. 5.

**1840.** Paul in Macedonia, as he had before done in Galatia, fulfils the promise given by him to the Apostles at Jerusalem (see A.D. 53, no. 1796), and causes a collection to be made throughout the churches, in aid of the poor Hebrews. 2 Cor. ix. 1. Rom. xv. 26.

**1841.** Paul writes the Second Epistle to the Corinthians from Macedonia in the autumn of this year. The Epistle tells its own date. The Apostle alludes to his recent hairbreadth escape at Ephesus on the riot of Demetrius. *Οὐ γὰρ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐβαρῆθημεν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, etc.* 2 Cor. i. 8. And he then traces his course through Troas, 2 Cor. ii. 12, to Macedonia, ii. 13; vii. 5; where he was making a collection for the poor Hebrews, *γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας*, 2 Cor. viii. 1; and which was still proceeding at the time of writing the Epistle. *Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους περισσὸν μοί ἐστι τὸ γράφειν ὑμῖν· οἶδα γὰρ τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν, ἣν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καυχῶμαι Μακεδόσιν, ὅτι Ἀχαΐα παρεσκεύασται ἀπὸ πέρυσι*. 2 Cor. ix. 1. The Second Epistle, like the First, was sent by the hands of Titus, who was to continue the collection ordered amongst the Corinthians, and prepare them for the arrival of Paul himself. *Εἰς τὸ παρακαλεῖσαι ἡμᾶς Τίτον, ἵνα καθὼς προενήρξατο, οὕτω καὶ ἐπιτελέσῃ εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν χάριν ταύτην*. 2 Cor. viii. 6. *Τὴν μὲν παράκλησιν (Titus) ἐδέξατο, σπουδαιότερος δὲ ὑπάρχων, αὐθαίρετος ἐξῆλθε πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. 2 Cor. viii. 17. *Ἐπεψίμα δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς (Titus, Luke, and Trophimus) . . . μήπως ἐὰν ἔλθωσι σὺν ἐμοὶ Μακεδόνας, καὶ εὐρωσιν ὑμᾶς ἀπαρασκευάστους καταιχνυθῶμεν ἡμεῖς . . . ἀναγκαῖον*



ὄν ἡγησάμην παρακαλέσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἵνα προέλθωσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ προκαταρτίσωσιν τὴν προκατηγγελημένην εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν ταύτην ἐτοίμην εἶναι. 2 Cor. ix. 3-5. Further, the Epistle was written in anticipation of a second visit to the Corinthians, though the Apostle tells us that it was his third attempt to come, but that he had been obliged to change his plans (see *supra*, no. 1835). Ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρότερον ἵνα δευτέραν χάριν ἔχητε. 2 Cor. i. 15. Ἴδού τρίτον ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. 2 Cor. xii. 14. Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . προείρηκα καὶ προλέγω ὡς παρῶν τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀπὼν νῦν γράφω τοῖς προημαρτηκόσι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἔὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὸ πάλιν οὐ φείσομαι. 2 Cor. xiii. 1. The Apostle alludes also in the Epistle to a revelation made to him fourteen years before. Οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκαεσσάρων (εἴτε ἐν σώματι οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν) ἀρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, etc. 2 Cor. xii. 2. By πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκαεσσάρων is meant the fourteenth year current before, as μετὰ ἔτη τρία signifies the third year current after (see A.D. 39, no. 1581). The fourteenth year current before A.D. 57 would be A.D. 44, and the Apostle experienced the revelation referred to when he attended the Passover at Jerusalem in A.D. 44 (see that year, no. 1669).

**1842.** Between the date of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, which was sent by Titus to prepare them for the Apostle's arrival, and the departure of Paul himself from Macedonia for Corinth, there was evidently an interval of some time; and it must have been during this period that Paul preached towards the west, up to the borders of Illyricum, for the author of the Acts tells us that Paul visited Macedonia, and exhausted those parts, διελθὼν δὲ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα, Acts, xx. 2; and Paul himself writes from Corinth to the Romans shortly afterwards, ὥστε με ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκέμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . νυνὶ δὲ μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς κλίμασι τούτοις, etc. Rom. xv. 19, 23. And there is no occasion but the present, when Paul had several months to spare, on which he could have published the Gospel in the direction of Illyricum.

**1843.** About the end of November Paul departs from Macedonia, and arrives at Corinth, where he passes, as he had promised, the three

winter months. Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ποιήσας τε μῆνας τρεῖς, γενομένης αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλῆς, etc. Acts, xx. 2. The time of Paul's arrival at Corinth may be thus ascertained. He stayed three months at Corinth, and then travelled by land to Philippi, and, as calculated by Anger, p. 52, this journey, including stoppages, would occupy about a month. Thus, from Paul's arrival at Corinth to his arrival at Philippi would be an interval of four months. But Paul reached Philippi at the Passover A.D. 58, i.e. on 27 March of that year; and his arrival at Corinth therefore must have been four months before, or about 27 November, A.D. 57 (see A.D. 58, no. 1856).

#### 1843 a. Coins of Nero.

*Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P. iii. Cos. ii. Ex. S. C.*, or + *Pontif. Max. Tr. P. iii. P. P.* Eckhel, vi. 263.

#### Coins of Antioch.

*Ἀντιοχεων + Ἐπι Κουαδρατου Ετ. ΕΡ.*, i. e. in the 105th year, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 56 and 1 Nov. A.D. 57.

Id. iii. 280.

*Νερων . . . Σεβ. + Ἀγριππινης Σεβαστης*  $\frac{\Gamma}{ΕΡ}$ , i. e.  $\frac{3}{105}$ , or in the third year of the reign of Nero, and the 105th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 56, and 13 Oct. A.D. 57.

Id. iii. 281.

#### Coins of Alexandria.

*Head of Agrippina L. Δ.*, i. e. in the fourth year of Nero. Id. iv. 52.

*Οκταονια Σεβαση L. Δ. + Νερ. Κλαυ. Καυσ. Σεβ. Γερ. Αυτ.* Id. iv. 55.

#### Coin of Polemo II., King of Pontus.

*Βασιλεως Πολεμωνος + Ετους. Κ.*, i. e. in the twentieth year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no. 1533). Id. ii. 372.

#### Coin of Sinope.

*An. cii. Neronis + Agrippinae Matris or Octaviae*, i. e. in the 102nd year, dating from u.c. 709. Id. ii. 392.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 7.

Pentecost, May 28.

Tabernacles, October 2.

**A.D. 58. U.C. 811. Olymp. 209, 2.**

NERO CLAUD. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, iii.  
VALERIUS MESSALA.

NERONIS V. FROM 13 OCTOBER. TRIB. POT. V.  
FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. PONT. MAX. PAT.  
PATR. IMP. II. III. (see Eckhel, vi. 281).

Tenth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from  
some time in the second quarter

**1844.** Nero is consul for four months only. *Consulatus quatuor gessit: primum* (A.D. 55) *bimestrem, secundum* (A.D. 57) *et novissimum* (A.D. 60) *semestres, tertium* (A.D. 58) *quadri-*  
*mestrem.* Suet. Nero, 14.

**1845.** At the beginning of the year war is resumed against Parthia, and is carried on with vigour by Corbulo. *Ejus anni principio pro-*  
*latatum inter Parthos Romanosque de obtinendâ*  
*Armeniâ bellum acriter sumitur* (his *co.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 34. Agrippa and Antiochus, who had been ordered to serve against Parthia (see A.D. 54, 1812), are amongst the auxiliary forces, for, *Syriâ transmotæ legiones . . . et habitus per Galatiam Cappadociamque delectus; adjectaque ex Germania legio cum equitibus alariis et pediatu cohortium . . . dispositisque per idoneos locos cohortibus auxiliariis . . . dieque pacto prior Corbulo socias cohortes et auxilia regum* (Agrippæ et Antiochi, see Tac. Ann. xiii. 8) *pro cornibus . . . constituit.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 35, 36, 38.

**1846.** Corbulo remains in camp till the advance of spring. *Legionibus intra castra habitis donec ver adolesceret* (his *co.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 36.

**1847.** Corbulo orders Antiochus, king of Commagene, to invade the parts of Armenia next to Commagene. *Simul regem Antiochum monet proximas sibi præfecturas petere.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 37.

**1848.** Vologeses is kept employed by the revolt of Hyrcania. *Satis comperto Vologesem defectione Hyrcaniæ adtineri.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 37.

**1849.** Corbulo takes Artaxata, the capital of Armenia (his *co.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 41. Dion, lxii. 20 (see A.D. 60, no. 1886).

**1850.** P. Suihus, the advocate, who had also been proconsul of Asia (cum *Suihus provinciâ Asiâ regeret*, Tac. Ann. xiii. 43, and see A.D. 57, no. 1832; A.D. 65, no. 1975), is banished after Nero had reigned four years.

*Quâ sapientiâ, quibus philosophorum præceptis intra quadriennium regiæ amicitie ter millies sertertium paravisset.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 42. Manius Acilius Aviola, who had been consul in A.D. 57, was proconsul of Asia at some time during the reign of Nero, as appears from his coins. Eckhel, ii. 519.

**1851.** Sabina Poppæa gains an influence over Nero (his *co.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 45. Dion, lxi. 11. She was handsome and accomplished, but wholly unprincipled, *huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere præter honestum animum*, Tac. Ann. xiii. 44; unchaste and cruel, *ob impudicitiam ejus sævitiamque*, Ann. xvi. 7; but a Jewish proselyte, *θεοσεβής γὰρ ἦν*, Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11; and for that reason was often of great service to the Jews in their petitions to the emperor. She was first married to Crispinus, whom she abandoned for Otho, from whom she transferred herself to Nero. Tac. Ann. xiii. 45.

**1852.** Paullinus Pompeius completes the entrenchments on the Rhine, said to have been begun by Drusus sixty-three years before, which would carry them back to B.C. 6. *Ne tamen segnem militem adtinerent, ille* (Pompeius) *inchoatum ante tres et sexaginta annos a Druso aggerem coercendo Rheno absolvit* (his *co.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 53. But Drusus died in B.C. 9, and there is therefore some mistake in the reckoning; or perhaps Tacitus, xiii. 53, takes up the history of Germany from an earlier year.

**1853.** About this time, and perhaps at the Passover A.D. 58, when great multitudes were congregated at Jerusalem, an Egyptian impostor makes his appearance, and leads out 4,000 of the *Sicarii* into the desert, and afterwards returns at the head of 30,000 men, whom he had collected, and deluded into the belief that he was the Messiah, and would restore the kingdom to Judah; but he is attacked by Felix, and his followers are dispersed or slain, the Egyptian himself escaping. *Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τετρακισχιλίους ἀνδρας τῶν Σικαρίων.* Acts, xxi. 38. *Μεῖζονι δὲ ταύτης πληγῇ Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ψευδοπροφήτης· παραγενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀνθρωπος γόης, καὶ προφήτου πίστιν ἐπιθεὶς ἑαυτῷ, περὶ τρισμυρίους μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἠπατημένων, περιαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ Ἐλαιῶν καλού-*



μενον ὄρος, ἐκεῖθεν οἷος τε ἦν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα παρελθεῖν βιάζεσθαι, καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, τυραννεῖν, χρώμενος τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσι δορυφόροις· φθάνει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν Φήλιξ ὑπαντίστας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνεψήφαστο τῆς ἀμύνης, ὥστε, συμβολῆς γενομένης, τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον φυγεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων, διαφθαρῆναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείστους, τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σκεδασθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστον διαλαθεῖν. Jos. Bell. ii. 13, 5; Ant. xx. 8, 6. As Lysias, at the Pentecost A.D. 58 (see *infra*, no. 1860), took Paul for the Egyptian who had escaped, the *émeute* must have taken place not long before Paul's arrival; and as outbreaks of this kind invariably arose at the public festivals, it may with great reason be referred to the Passover A.D. 58; and this is confirmed by the circumstance that Josephus relates it *after* the assassination of Jonathan, which was probably in A.D. 57 (see that year, no. 1834).

**1854.** Paul, while at Corinth, writes the Epistle to the Romans. It was written from Corinth, and not from Cenchrea, for Gaius, a Corinthian, 1 Cor. i. 14, was his host, ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Γάϊος ὁ ξένος μου, Rom. xvi. 23; and while Paul mentions Cenchrea by name, he refers to Corinth as 'the city,' viz. in which he was sojourning. Συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοῖβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν οὕσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς. Rom. xvi. 1. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἐραστός ὁ οἰκόνομος τῆς πόλεως. Rom. xvi. 23. The date of the Epistle was after the completion of the collection for the poor Hebrews, not only in Macedonia, but also in Achaia, and indeed when Paul was on the eve of starting with the collection for Jerusalem. Νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, διακονῶν τοῖς ἀγίοις· εὐδόκησαν γὰρ Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα κοινωνίαν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Rom. xv. 25.

**1855.** Paul quits Corinth, after a sojourn there of three months, ending about 27 February, A.D. 58 (see A.D. 57, no. 1843). He had intended to sail direct for Jerusalem; but in consequence of a plot formed against him by the Jews, he takes instead the circuitous route by Macedonia; and this derangement of his plans made it doubtful whether he should be able to reach Jerusalem by the Pentecost, as he wished to do. He is accompanied by

Luke, while the rest of the company proceed to Troas, to wait there for Paul's arrival by way of Macedonia. Ποίησας τε μῆνας τρεῖς, γενομένης αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μέλλουσι ἀνάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, ἐγένετο γνώμη τοῦ ὑποστρέφειν διὰ Μακεδονίας· συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας Σῶπατρος Βεροιαῖος, Θεσσαλονικέων δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σεκοῦνδος, καὶ Γάϊος Δερβαῖος, καὶ Τιμόθεος, Ἀσιανοὶ δὲ Τυχικὸς καὶ Τρόφιμος. Οὗτοι προελθόντες ἔμενον ἡμᾶς ἐν Τρωάδι. Acts, xx. 3.

**1856.** Paul and Luke are at Philippi at the Feast of the Passover. Acts, xx. 6. The Passover, or day of Paschal sacrifices, was from sunset on Sunday, 26 March, to sunset on Monday, 3 April. The new moon was, according to Wieseler, Chronolog. Apost. p. 115, at 6 A.M. at Jerusalem on 13 March. The phasis, therefore, would be about eighteen hours later, or at midnight on the night of 13-14 March; and the full moon, fourteen days after, would fall on the night of 27 March. From sunset on 27 March to sunset on 28 March would therefore be 15 Nisan, or first day of Unleavened Bread, which was always the day on which was the full moon; and the Passover, or day of Paschal sacrifices, would be from sunset on 26 March to sunset on 27 March, in the afternoon of which latter day the Paschal sacrifices would be slain. As the whole feast lasted eight days, it would end at sunset on 3 April.

**1857.** When the eight days of the feast are concluded, that is, on 4 April, which was a Tuesday, Paul and Luke depart for Troas, where they arrive in five days, i. e. on Saturday, and remain there seven days complete, i. e. till the following Saturday. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξεπλεύσαμεν μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν Ἀζύμων ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, καὶ ἤλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς Τρωάδα ἄχρις ἡμερῶν πέντε, οὗ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ. Acts, xx. 6.

On the day after (which would be Sunday, and which accordingly is called the first day of the week), Paul preaches, intending to start on his voyage the next day. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, συνηγμένων τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ κλάσαι ἄρτον, ὁ Παῦλος διελέγετο αὐτοῖς, μέλλων ἐξίεναί τῃ ἐπαύριον, ἀρπέτεινέ τε τὸν λόγον μέχρι μεσονυκτίου. Acts, xx. 7.

The fact that the thirteenth day (i. e. the day next after the five days and seven days previously mentioned) after the Passover was

a Sunday identifies the voyage with this year, A. D. 58, as the circumstance of a Passover ending on a Monday, so that Paul could start on a Tuesday, did not occur for many years either before or after A. D. 58. It is expressly mentioned that Paul began his journey 'after the days of unleavened bread,' that is, immediately after their termination; but had Luke not told us this, we should have inferred it from the whole account of the voyage, as, unless he had set off the very day after the close of the Passover, he could not have reached Jerusalem by the Pentecost, being the fiftieth day from the third day of the Passover, called the Sheaf-offering, on 16 Nisan.

On Monday, 17 April, Paul sails from Troas to Mitylene. *Ἡμεῖς δὲ προελθόντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἀνίχθημεν εἰς τὴν Ἄσσον . . . ὡς δὲ συνέβαλεν (Paul) ἡμῖν, ἀναλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἦλθομεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην.* Acts, xx. 13.

On Tuesday, 18 April, to Chios. *Τῇ ἐπιούσῃ κατηντήσαμεν ἀντικρὺ Χίου.* Acts, xx. 15.

On Wednesday, 19 April, to Samos. *Τῇ δὲ ἐτέρῃ εἰς Σάμον.* Acts, xx. 15.

On Thursday, 20 April, to Miletus. *Καὶ μείναντες ἐν Τρωγυλλίῳ τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἦλθομεν εἰς Μίλητον.* Acts, xx. 15.

On Sunday, 23 April, Paul preaches to the elders of Ephesus, whom he had summoned to Miletus for the purpose, as he had before preached on a Sunday to the elders of Troas. Acts, xx. 17. The distance between Ephesus and Miletus was about forty-five miles (see Anger, 107); and if Paul sent for them on the Thursday afternoon, they might well arrive by the Sunday.

On Monday, 24 April, Paul embarks, apparently, as he had done at Troas, at the close of his exhortation (see Acts, xx. 38), and sails to Cos. *Ἠλθομεν εἰς τὴν Κῶν.* Acts, xxi. 1.

On Tuesday, 25 April, to Rhodes. *Τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον.* Acts, xxi. 1.

On Wednesday, 26 April, to Patara. *Καὶ κέϋθεν εἰς Πάταρα.* Acts, xxi. 1.

On Thursday, 27 April, Paul stretches across to Tyre, which he would reach on Sunday, 30 April. *Κατήχθημεν εἰς Τύρον.* Acts, xxi. 3.

At Tyre he remains a week; and at the end of the seven days, and therefore on Monday, 8 May, to Acre. *Ἐπεμείναμεν αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ . . . ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο ἡμᾶς ἐξαρτίσαι τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐξελθόντες ἐπορευόμεθα . . . ἡμεῖς δὲ*

*τὸν πλοῖον διανύσαντες ἀπὸ Τύρον κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα.* Acts, xxi. 4.

Paul sojourns one day (9 May) at Acre, and the next day (10 May) reaches Cæsarea. *Ἐμείναμεν ἡμέραν μίαν παρ' αὐτοῖς· τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἐξελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἦλθον εἰς Καισάρειαν.* Acts, xxi. 7.

Paul tarries several days at Cæsarea, when Agabus, who had come down from Judæa, warns Paul of the danger of visiting Jerusalem. *Ἐπιμένόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας πλείους, κατῆλθέ τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας προφήτης ὀνόματι Ἀγαβος.* Acts, xxi. 10. It does not appear that Agabus had come from having heard of Paul's arrival, but only that he visited Cæsarea during Paul's sojourn there.

On Monday, 15 May, Paul goes up to Jerusalem, and arrives there on Wednesday, 17 May, just before the Pentecost, which began at sunset of that day. *Μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας ἀποσκευασάμενοι ἀνεβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.* Acts, xxi. 15.

**1858.** The next day (18 May) Paul and his company have an audience of James the Just, the brother of Our Lord and Bishop of Jerusalem but not one of the Twelve (see A. D. 29, no. 1198). *Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσήει ὁ Παῦλος σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς Ἰάκωβον, πάντες τε παρεγένοντο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.* Acts, xxi. 18.

**1859.** Paul, by the advice of the Elders, and with a view to soften the prejudices of the Jews against him, undertakes to pay the charges of four Nazarites; and the following day (19 May) takes them with him into the Temple, and orders a seven days' purification preparatory to the discharge of the vow. *Τότε ὁ Παῦλος παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀγνισθεὶς εἰσήει εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, etc.* Acts, xxi. 26.

**1860.** As the days of purification are drawing to a close, and on 22 May, Paul is set upon in the Temple by the Jewish worshippers, but is rescued by Lysias, who commanded the Roman cohort posted on the western cloister of the Temple, and is carried into Fort Antonia. *Ὡς δὲ ἔμελλον αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι συντελεῖσθαι, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι, etc.* Acts, xxi. 27.

Lysias, until undeceived, takes Paul for the Egyptian insurgent who had lately made a tumult and escaped. *Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτως ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν; etc.* Acts, xxi. 38 (see *ante*, no. 1853).

The answer of Paul, that he was 'a native of Tarsus, the citizen of no mean city,' *οὐκ*



ἀσίμου πόλεως, Acts, xxi. 39, is fully borne out by the coins of Tarsus with the inscription *Ταρσον Μητροπολεως* A. M. K., i. e. A. (or first) *Μητροπολις Κιλικιας*. Eckhel, iii. 74; see 76.

1861. The next day (23 May) Paul is brought by Lysias before the Sanhedrim for examination. *Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον* (Lysias) *βουλόμενος γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές, etc.* Acts, xxii. 30.

1862. Paul opens his address by saying that he had 'lived in all good conscience before God until that day,' when Ananias commands the bystanders to smite him on the mouth. Paul replies, 'God shall smite thee, thou whited wall!' when the council rebuke him for reviling God's high-priest, and Paul answers, *Ὅκ ἤδειν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἐστὶν Ἀρχιερεὺς*. Acts, xxiii. 5. The true interpretation of this passage has been much disputed.

1. Some render the words, 'I wist not, brethren, that there was a high-priest,' and insist that either Ananias had been removed by Cumanus, and no successor appointed, or else that Jonathan had been appointed in the place of Ananias, and had been assassinated by the *Sicarii* before Paul's arrival; and Luke may be thought to intimate the vacancy of the high-priesthood at this time by the following language: *Ἐκέλευσεν* (Lysias) *ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς*, Acts, xxii. 30; *ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας* (not *ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς* simply), Acts, xxiii. 2; *οἵτινες* (the conspirators) *προσελθόντες τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις*, Acts, xxiii. 14; *κατέβη ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας*, Acts, xxiv. 1; whereas two years after, when Ishmael was certainly high-priest, the style is different. *Ἐνεφάνισαν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, Acts, xxv. 2.

2. But the more natural, and, as we think, the correct, interpretation is the commonly received one: 'I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest.' The bystanders do not say, 'Revilest thou one of the high-priests?' but, 'Revilest thou *the high-priest of God?*' *τὸν Ἀρχιερεὺ τοῦ Θεοῦ λοιδορεῖς*; Acts, xxiii. 4; and these words are so emphatic that they cannot be taken to designate a mere titular high-priest, but must be referred to the actual high-priest. The answer of Paul confirms this, for he apologises at once by admitting his fault: 'Thou shalt not speak evil of *the Ruler of the people,*' etc.; and no one could be understood by this but the head of the Jewish hierarchy, viz.

the actual high-priest. This explanation assumes that, in point of fact, Ananias, at this time, was high-priest, and had not been deposed from his office since his appointment in A. D. 47; and accordingly Josephus, in enumerating the high-priests from the reign of Herod to the fall of Jerusalem, reckons them at twenty-eight, which would be the exact number on the supposition that Ananias had continued high-priest from A. D. 47 to A. D. 59, and had not been displaced, in favour of Jonathan, in A. D. 52, but would not be the case on any other supposition. It is unlikely also that Jonathan should have accepted the office, as it had been offered to him previously, and he had declined it. Jos. Ant. xix. 6, 4. Besides, if he did assume the pontificate, he was assassinated in A. D. 57, and another successor would probably have been appointed before Paul's arrival at the Pentecost A. D. 58.

But here will occur the objection: if Ananias was high-priest, how could Paul have been ignorant of the fact? It may be at once conceded that Paul knew well enough that Ananias was high-priest, for a man of Paul's intelligence could not have failed to learn what was so notorious to all; besides, Paul had been already many days in Jerusalem, and must have heard the name of the high-priest again and again. Ananias too, if high-priest at all, had been so for the last eleven years. But what is implied by the words 'I wist not that he was the high-priest?' Not, surely, that Paul was ignorant who was invested with the Pontificate, but only who it was that had uttered the insolent ejaculation: 'I wist not, brethren, who he (the speaker) was.' In a conclave of seventy persons (for such was the number of the Sanhedrim), a spectator, who had not been observing Ananias at the moment, might well, on hearing a sudden exclamation of a few rapid words, *Τύπτε αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα*, Acts, xxiii. 2, have mistaken the quarter from which it came. Not only so, but further: Paul was suffering from an impaired eyesight,—'the thorn in the flesh' that troubled him through life. He wanted the eyes which the Galatians would fain have given him: 'I bear you record that, if it had been *possible*, ye would have plucked out *your own eyes and have given them to me.*' Galat. iv. 15. One of the Sanhedrim had commanded to smite Paul on the mouth, and Paul, unable to distinguish who the speaker

was, retorted upon him as one of his ordinary judges, 'Sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?' Acts, xxiii. 3; but when told that it was the high-priest himself, he at once apologised by pleading ignorance of the speaker's quality. If it be said that Paul must have known that Ananias was the speaker, for that the words of Paul, 'God shall smite thee, thou whited wall,' could only refer to Ananias personally, as they were prophetic of his violent death by the stiletto of the *Sicarii*, eight years after (see A.D. 66, no. 2010), it may be answered that Paul of himself could know nothing of an event which had not yet happened, and that if he gave utterance to a prediction which was afterwards fulfilled to the letter, he did so from a divine impulse; and the revelation need not have been that the speaker was Ananias, but only that the speaker, whoever he was, should fall by the hand of an assassin.

**1863.** The next day, 24 May, a conspiracy is formed against the life of Paul; but his nephew (the son of a sister) hears of it, and informs Lysias, who sends Paul by night to Cæsarea. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ αὐτῷ (Paulo) ὁ Κύριος εἶπε· Θάρσει, Παῦλε . . . Γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας ποιήσαντες τινὲς τῶν Ἰουδαίων συστροφὴν ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἑαυτούς . . . εἶπεν (Lysias)· Ἐτοιμάσατε στρατιώτας διακοσίους, ὅπως πορευθῶσιν ἕως Καισαρείας καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ δεξιολάβους διακοσίους ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτός . . . Τὸν Παῦλον ἤγαγον διὰ τῆς νυκτός εἰς τὴν Ἀντιπατρίδα, τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἔασαντες τοὺς ἱππεῖς πορεύεσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ, ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν, οἵτινες εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν Καισαρείαν . . . παρέστησαν καὶ τὸν Παῦλον αὐτῷ. Acts, xxiii. 11-34.

**1864.** Five days after, on 30 May, Ananias and the elders, who had come from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, accuse Paul before Felix. Μετὰ δὲ πέντε ἡμέρας κατέβη ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας, etc. Acts, xxiv. 1. This was twelve days after Paul's arrival at Jerusalem; and from 17 May, when Paul reached the capital and the Pentecost began, to 30 May would be an interval of twelve days complete. Δυναμένον σου γινῶναι ὅτι οὐ πλείους εἰσὶ μοι ἡμέραι ἢ δεκάδυο, ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Acts, xxiv. 11. Paul, therefore, had only reached Jerusalem just before the commencement of the feast, for he tells Felix that he had come to worship, and that

Felix might therefore know that only twelve days had elapsed; in other words, that it was twelve days from the Pentecost, a festival the date of which was well known to Felix, and that Paul's first appearance in Jerusalem had been at the Pentecost.

**1865.** Felix at this time had been many years governor of Judæa. Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ ἐπιστάμενος, etc. Acts, xxiv. 10. He had been appointed in A.D. 52 (see that year, no. 1782); and six years was a long tenure of office as compared with the ordinary duration of the procuratorship.

**1866.** It was also several years at this time since Paul had been in Jerusalem. Δι' ἐτῶν δὲ πλείωνων παρεγερόμην ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσων εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου καὶ προσφοράς. Acts, xxiv. 17. He had been last in Jerusalem five years before, viz. in A.D. 53 (see that year, no. 1795).

**1867.** Paul is kept in bonds, and not long after discourses before Felix and his wife Drusilla. Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς παραγερόμενος ὁ Φίλιξ σὺν Δρουσίλλῃ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, οὔσῃ Ἰουδαίᾳ, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Παῦλον, etc. Acts, xxiv. 24. Paul's discourse was on the subject of 'righteousness, chastity, and judgment to come,' Acts, xxiv. 25; and as Felix for the last six years had been guilty of the greatest injustice, and had seduced and was now living with the wife of Azizus, the very Drusilla before whom Paul was pleading (see A.D. 54, no. 1800), no wonder that Felix trembled at the thought of a future judgment.

#### 1867 a. Coins of Nero.

Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P.  
V. P. P. Ex S. C.

Nero Claud. Divi Claud. F. with laurelled head  
+ Armenia with figure of victory.

Eckhel, vi. 263.

#### Coin of Antioch.

Ἀντιοχείων + Ἐπι Κουαδρατον Ετ. 5 P., i. e. in the 106th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 57, and 1 Nov. A.D. 58.

Id. iii. 280.

#### Coins of Alexandria.

Ἀγριππῖνα Σεβασῆ L. E. (i. e. in the fifth year)  
+ Νερ. Κλαυ. Καισ. Σεβ. Γερ. Αυτο.

Id. iv. 52.

Προν. (scilicet Προνοία) Νεου Σεβασου L. E.

Id. iv. 54.

Οκταονία Σεβασῆ L. E. + Νερ. Κλαυ. Καισ. Σεβ. Γερ. Αυτ.

Id. iv. 55.



Coin of Judæa.

Νερωνος + Καισαρος L. E. (i.e. in the fifth year of Nero). Id. iii. 498.

Inscriptions.

*Nero Claudius Divi Claudi F. Germanici Cæsar. N. Ti. Cæsar. Aug. Pronep. Divi Aug. Abnepos Cæsar Aug. Germanicus Pontifex Max. Tr. Pot. iii. Imp. Iter. Cos. iii. P. P. Restituit* (Foro-Julii).

Muratori, i. 445; id. iv. 2007, 5.

*Nero Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanic. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. iii. P. P.*

Gruter, 189, 1.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 27.

Pentecost, May 17.

Tabernacles, September 21.

**A.D. 59. U.C. 812. Olymp. 209, 3.**

C. VIPSTANUS APRONIANUS.

L. FONTEIUS CAPITO.

NERONIS VI. FROM 13 OCTOBER, TRIB. POT. VI.

FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV.

PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. III.

Eleventh year of the reign of Agrippa II.

from some time in the second quarter.

**1868.** Poppæa is jealous of the power of Agrippina, and the public dislike her, and Nero, though she was his mother, conceals her death. *C. Vipstano, Fonteio, Coss. diu meditatam scelus non ultra Nero distulit, vetustate imperii coalitâ audaciâ, et flagrantior in dies amore Poppææ . . . cupientibus cunctis infringi potentiam matris* (see Suet. Vesp. 4) *et credente nullo usque ad cædem ejus duratura filii odia.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 1.

**1869.** Nero retires to Baulos, the palace in Campania, whither he entices Agrippina, and fails in an attempt against her life on board the royal yacht. Dion, lxi. 12. This was at the Quinquatrus, which began on 19 March. *Placuit solertia, tempore etiam juta, quando Quinquatruum festos dies apud Baias frequentabat.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 4. *Decernuntur supplicationes apud omnia pulvinaria, utque Quinquatrus, quibus aperta insidiæ essent, ludis annuis celebrarentur.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 12. *Atque ita reconciliatione simulatâ jucundissimis literis Baias (Agrippinam) evocavit ad solennia Quinquatruum simul celebranda.* Suet. Nero, 34. There were two festivals called Quinquatrus, the greater on 19 March, see Ovid, Fasti, iii.

809; Varro de Ling. Lat. v. 3; Gellius, N. A. ii. 21: and the lesser on 13 June, see Ovid, Fasti, vi. 651; Varro *ubi supra*; Censorinus, de Die Nat. c. 12. But that Tacitus refers to the greater Quinquatrus is evident from the death of Agrippina being followed by an eclipse, Tac. Ann. xiv. 12; Dion, lxi. 16; Plin. N. H. ii. 72; for the eclipse was on 30 April (see *infra*, no. 1874, and Anger, 97).

**1870.** Nero sends for Burrhus and Seneca from Rome. *Nisi quid Burrhus et Seneca reperirent: quos statim acciverat, incertum an et ante gnaros.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 7.

**1871.** Agrippina is assassinated at her villa. Tac. Ann. xiv. 8. Dion, lxi. 13. Suet. Nero, 34.

**1872.** Nero retires to Naples, *Neapolim concessit, literasque ad senatum misit,* Tac. Ann. xiv. 10; and from thence to other places. *Διὸ καὶ ἄλλοσε ἦει, καὶ, ἐπειδὴ κἀνταῦθα τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ συνέβαινε, ἄλλοσε ἐμπλήκτως μεθίστατο.* Dion, lxi. 14.

**1873.** Nero returns to Rome. *Νέρωνα δὲ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς φόνον εἰσιόντα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἐθεράπευον.* Dion, lxi. 16. Tac. Ann. xiv. 13.

**1874.** On 30 April, between 1 and 2 in the afternoon in Campania, and between 4 and 5 in the afternoon in Armenia, the sun is eclipsed. *Solis defectum, Vipsanio et Fonteio coss., qui fuere ante paucos annos, factum pridie Kalendas Maias Campania horâ diei inter septimam et octavam sensit: Corbulo dux in Armeniâ inter horam diei decimam et undecimam prodidit visum.* Plin. N. H. ii. 72. This agrees with modern calculations (see the Tables of Eclipses). *Jam* (on the death of Agrippina) *sol repente obscuratus et tactæ de cælo quatuordecim urbis regiones.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 12. *Ὁ μέντοι ἥλιος σύμπας ἐν μέσαις ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγριππίνῃ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα γενομέναις ἐξέλιπεν.* Dion, lxi. 16.

**1875.** Nero celebrates games to the memory of Agrippina. Dion, lxi. 17.

A race-course is inclosed in the Vatican, where Nero indulges in chariot-driving. *Clausumque valle Vaticanâ spatium in quo equos regeret, haud promiscuo spectaculo.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 14. The site of this stadium is supposed to be that now occupied by the cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome.

**1876.** Nero institutes the Juvenalia on the occasion of first shaving his beard, and Burrhus, Seneca, and Gallio are obliged to be present.

Παρήλθε τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νέρων ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου ὀνομαστὶ πρὸς τοῦ Γαλλίωνος ἐσκηρυχθεὶς . . . καὶ ὁ Βούρρος καὶ ὁ Σενέκας, καθάπερ τινὲς διδάσκαλοι, ὑποβάλλοντές τι παρειστήκεισαν. Dion, lxi. 20, 19. *Accesserat . . . mærens Burrhus ac laudans.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 15.

**1877.** Nero forms a band of adulators to attend upon him, called Augustani, 5,000 in number. Tac. Ann. xiv. 15. Dion, lxi. 20.

**1878.** The death of Domitius Afer, the celebrated advocate. *Sequuntur virorum illustrium mortes Domitii Afri et M. Servilii* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 19.

**1879.** The contest between the Jews of Cæsarea and the Syrian inhabitants, when Felix commits an indiscriminate massacre of the Jews, may be placed about this time. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 7; Bell. ii. 13, 7. For the embassy of the Jews upon the subject was sent the following year, when Felix was displaced by Festus. Ant. xx. 8, 9 (see A.D. 60, no. 1894).

**1880.** Agrippa, about the same time with the outbreak at Cæsarea, appoints Ishmael high-priest. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δίδωσι τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰσμαήλῳ. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 8 (see A.D. 47, no. 1715; A.D. 61, no. 1914). It is remarkable that in this instance Josephus does not observe his usual practice of naming the high-priest who was removed as well as the successor appointed in his place. This has been made an argument by some that the office was vacant, and that the vacancy had been occasioned by the assassination of Jonathan, who at the time of his death was not ex-high-priest, but the actual high-priest. The position, however, that Jonathan when assassinated in A.D. 57 was actual high-priest is at variance with the general narrative of Josephus; and had Jonathan been high-priest, it is unlikely that on his death the office should have remained vacant from A.D. 57 to A.D. 59. It is certainly singular that Josephus does not name the predecessor of Ishmael, but it would be still more singular that Josephus should not have noticed at all the appointment of Jonathan to the pontificate if such had been the fact.

**1881.** According to Aurelius Victor, within the first five years of Nero, which expired on 13 October, A.D. 59, Polemo II. (see A.D. 43, no. 1662) resigned the kingdom of Pontus, which then became a Roman province. *Iste (Nero) quinquennio tolerabilis visus . . . Pontum*

*in jus provinciam, Polemonis Reguli permisso, redegit, a quo Polemoniacus Pontus appellatus est.* Aurel. Victor Epit. 5; De Cæsar. 5; and see Sueton. Nero, 18. Eutrop. vii. 14. But according to Cassiodorus, Polemo II. resigned the kingdom in A.D. 66 (see A.D. 66, no. 1998); and if part of Armenia was given to Polemo in A.D. 60 (see no. 1887), the statement of Cassiodorus is the more trustworthy (see A.D. 38, no. 1533).

**1881 a.** Coin of Nero.

*Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P. vi. P. P. Ex S. C.* Eckhel, vi. 264.

Coins of Antioch.

Ἀντιοχείων + Ἐπι Κουαδρατον Ετ. ΖΡ. (i. e. in the 107th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 58, and 1 Nov. A.D. 59).

Id. iii. 280.

Νέρων Καῖσαρ Σεβαστος  $\frac{E}{HP}$ , or  $\frac{5}{108}$ ; i. e. in the fifth year of Nero, and 108th year of the Era of Antioch. (Opinions vary whether the Era of Antioch dates from Sept. or Oct. or Nov. B.C. 49, and the last hypothesis, which is advocated by Clinton, is assumed in the Tables; but if so, how is this coin to be explained, as no part of the 108th year (1 Nov. 59 to 1 Nov. 60) would fall within the fifth year of Nero (13 Oct. A.D. 58 to 13 Oct. A.D. 59). If the Era commenced from 1 Sept. B.C. 49, the coin might have been struck between 1 Sept. A.D. 59 and 13 Oct. A.D. 59. But then this commencement of the Era is contradicted by another coin which will be found under A.D. 63, no. 1948 a. How are the coins to be reconciled?)

Id. iii. 280.

Coin of Cotys, king of Bosphorus.

Βα. Κο. 5 NT + *Head of Nero*, i. e. in the 356th year, commencing from U.C. 457 (see A.D. 49, no. 1733).

Id. ii. 376.

Coin of Sinope.

*An. ciiii. Neronis + Octavia*, i. e. in the 104th year, dating from U.C. 709.

Id. ii. 392.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 15.

Pentecost, June 5.

Tabernacles, October 10.



**A.D. 60. U.C. 813. Olymp. 209, 4.**

NERO CLAUDIUS AUGUSTUS, iv.  
CORNELIUS COSSUS LENTULUS.  
ex Kal. Jul.

. . . . .

NERONIS VII. FROM 13 OCTOB. TRIB. POT. VII.  
FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT.  
PATR. IMP. V. VI. VII. (see Eckhel, p. 282).

Twelfth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from  
some time in the second quarter.

**1882.** Nero is consul for the first six months  
of the year. *Consulatus quatuor gessit, primum*  
(A.D. 55) *bimestrem, secundum* (A.D. 57) *et*  
*novissimum* (A.D. 60) *semestres, tertium* (A.D.  
58) *quadrimestrem*. Suet. Nero, 14.

**1883.** Nero institutes Quinquennalia at Rome  
called Neronia, in imitation of the Olympia in  
Greece. The Quinquennalia occurred every  
fourth year, and the actual celebration of them  
began in A.D. 61, when the gymnasium was  
finished (see A.D. 61, no. 1909). *Nerone*  
*quartum, Cornelio Cosso coss. Quinquennale*  
*ludicrum Romæ institutum est, ad morem Græci*  
*certaminis*. Tac. Ann. xiv. 19. 'Αγῶνα πεν-  
ταετηρικὸν, κατεστήσατο, Νερώνεια αὐτὸν ὀνομά-  
σας, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον ἠκόδομησεν.  
Dion, lxi. 21. *Instituit et quinquennale cer-*  
*tamen primum omnium Romæ, more Græco*  
*triplex, musicum, gymnium, equestre, quod*  
*appellavit Neronia. Dedicatisque thermis atque*  
*gymnasio, senatui quoque et equiti oleum præ-*  
*buit*. Suet. Nero, 12.

**1884.** A comet is seen at Rome. *Inter quæ*  
*et sidus cometes effulsit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann.  
xiv. 22. It appeared for six months. *Sex*  
*enim mensibus hic cometes, quem Neronis Prin-*  
*cipatu lætissimo vidimus, spectandum se præbuit*  
*in diversum illi Claudiano* (see Suet. Claud.  
46) *circumactus*. Seneca, Nat. Quæst. vii. 21.

**1885.** Nero is attacked by illness. *Secutaque*  
*anceps valetudo iram Deum adfirmavit* (his  
coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 22.

**1886.** Corbulo takes Tigranocerta, in Ar-  
menia. Tac. Ann. xiv. 23, 24. Dion, lxii. 20.  
And Tiridates, the Parthian king, is driven out;  
and Tigranes, who was sent from Rome, is  
made king of Armenia (his coss.). Tac. Ann.  
xiv. 26. Dion, lxii. 20 (see A.D. 54, no. 1811;  
A.D. 62, no. 1936).

**1887.** Parts of Armenia are given to the  
neighbouring kings, as to Pharasmanes, king of

Iberia; to Aristobulus, king of Armenia Minor  
(see A.D. 55, no. 1823); and to Polemo II.,  
king of Pontus (see A.D. 38, no. 1533). *Pars*  
*Armenie, ut cuique finitima, Pharasmani Po-*  
*lemonique et Aristobulo atque Antiocho parere*  
*jussæ sunt* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 26. The  
reading of Polemo is doubtful, but that some  
part of Armenia was given to him is the more  
likely as Zeno, the brother of Polemo II., had,  
under the name of Artaxias, been king of  
Armenia (see A.D. 18, no. 1102). Zeno had  
died at the end of A.D. 33, or early in A.D. 34  
(see A.D. 34, no. 1461).

**1888.** Galba about this time is appointed to  
the province of Spain, for he had held it eight  
years when he proclaimed himself emperor in  
A.D. 68. Suet. Galb. 9 (see A.D. 68, no. 2064).

**1889.** Laodicea is thrown down by an earth-  
quake, but soon recovers itself. *Eodem anno*  
*ex illustribus Asiæ urbibus Laodicea tremore*  
*terræ prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis*  
*opibus revaluit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 27.

**1890.** The comitia of prætors are at this  
time under the control of the senate. *Comitia*  
*Prætorum arbitrio senatûs haberi solita, quod*  
*acriore ambitu exarserant, princeps composuit,*  
*tres qui supra numerum petebant legioni præfi-*  
*ciendo* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 28 (see A.D.  
32, no. 1571).

**1891.** Appeals from the Judices to the senate  
are placed on the same footing with appeals to  
the emperor. *Auxitque* (Nero) *Patrum honorem*  
*statuendo, ut, qui a privatis iudicibus ad senatum*  
*provocavissent, ejusdem pecuniæ periculum fa-*  
*cerent cum iis qui Imperatorem appellavere*.  
Tac. Ann. xiv. 28.

**1892.** Ummidius Quadratus, prefect of Syria,  
dies, and Corbulo is appointed his successor.  
*Corbulo in Syriam abcessit, morte Ummidii*  
*legati vacuam ac sibi permissam* (his coss.)  
Tac. Ann. xiv. 26 (see A.D. 50, no. 1746; A.D.  
64, no. 1962).

**1893.** Felix, the procurator of Judæa, is at  
the same time recalled, and is succeeded by  
Festus. Διαδεξιόμενος δὲ παρὰ τούτου (Felicis)  
τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν Φῆστος, etc. Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 1.  
This was two full years after the first imprison-  
ment of Paul. Διετίας δὲ πληρωθείσης ἔλαβε  
διάδοχον ὁ Φήλιξ Πόρκιον Φῆστον. Acts. xxiv. 27.  
As Paul was put in bonds at the end of May, A.D.  
58, Festus probably arrived about midsum-  
mer (24 June) A.D. 60; and this harmonizes  
with the regulation by which all prefects of

provinces were obliged to leave Rome by 15 April, and the voyage from Rome to Syria would occupy two or three months. *Felix* was certainly appointed in A.D. 52, and it is equally clear that *Albinus* arrived in the province as successor to *Festus* in A.D. 62. The portion, therefore, of this interval of ten years not occupied by *Festus* will represent the procuratorship of *Felix*. It will be seen from the subsequent tables that the events in the time of *Festus* were comparatively few, and would not require so much as two years. Supposing *Festus*, therefore, to have died at the close of A.D. 61, he might have entered upon his office in A.D. 60; and as prefects left Rome for their respective provinces on 15 April, we may place the arrival of *Festus* in Judæa and the departure of *Felix* about midsummer A.D. 60, so that the procuratorship of *Felix* lasted altogether eight years, an unusually long period.

**1894.** *Felix*, on arriving at Rome, is accused by the Cæsarean Jews of the massacre at Cæsarea; but through the influence of *Pallas*, his brother, he is acquitted. Πορκίου δὲ Φήστου διαδόχου Φήλικι πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν τὴν Καισάρειαν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβαίνουσι Φήλικος κατηγοροῦντες· καὶ πάντως ἄν ἐδεδώκει τιμωρίαν τῶν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἀδικημάτων, εἰ μὴ πολλὰ αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων ἀδελφῶ Πάλλαντι παρακαλέσαντι συνεχώρησε, μάλιστα δὴ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἔχων ἐκεῖνον. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 9. But *Josephus* is mistaken in saying that *Pallas*, the brother of *Felix*, was then in the height of favour at court, for *Nero* had never liked *Pallas* (see A.D. 54, no. 1809), and in A.D. 55 (see that year, no. 1819) had even deprived him of office. It is not unlikely, however, that *Pallas* retained considerable influence, as he had great wealth, and *Nero* eventually put him to death to get possession of it. Tac. Ann. xiv. 65.

*Josephus* proceeds to relate that the Syrian Cæsareans, in their cause against the Jews, had on their side *Burrhus*, the secretary for Greece. Τῶν ἐν τῇ Καισαρεία δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι δύο Σύροι Βουρρόν (παιδαγωγὸς δὲ οὗτος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος) πείθουσι πολλοῖς χρίμασι αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιστολὴν ἀκρουοῦσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἰσοπολιτείαν. Καὶ Βουρρόν τὸν Ἀντοκράτορα παρακάλεσας ἐπέτυχε γραφῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολήν. Ant. xx. 8, 9. Some have thought that the

*Burrhus* here mentioned was *Burrhus*, the prefect of the Prætorium; but *Josephus* takes particular care to distinguish the two by describing the one as τὸν τῶν στρατευμάτων ἑπαρχον Βουρρόν, Ant. xx. 8, 2; and the other as παιδαγωγὸς τοῦ Νέρωνος τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος. Ant. xx. 8, 9.

**1895.** *Festus*, three days after his arrival in Syria, goes up to Jerusalem, when the chief priests and elders ask as a favour that *Paul* might be sent for from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, with the view of assassinating him by the way; but *Festus* appoints the further hearing of the prisoner at Cæsarea. Φήστος οὖν ἐπιβὰς τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, etc. Acts, xxv. 1.

**1896.** *Festus* stays ten days and upwards at Jerusalem, and then returns to Cæsarea, and the next day gives audience to the Jews, when *Paul* appeals to Cæsar. Διατρίψας δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ δέκα, καταβὰς εἰς Καισάρειαν, τῇ ἐπαύριον καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκέλευσε τὸν Παῦλον ἀχθῆναι, etc. Acts, xxv. 6.

**1897.** Some days after, *Agrippa* and his sister *Bernice* come to Cæsarea, to offer their congratulations to *Festus* on his appointment to the procuratorship of Judæa, when they are informed by *Festus* of the case of *Paul*, and they express a wish to hear him. Ἡμερῶν δὲ διαγενομένων τινῶν Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Βερνίκη κατήντησαν εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀσπασόμενοι τὸν Φήστον, etc. Acts, xxv. 13.

**1898.** The next day, *Paul* pleads before *Festus* and *Agrippa* and *Bernice*, when *Agrippa* expresses his opinion that *Paul* 'might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar.' Τῇ οὖν ἐπαύριον . . . κελύσαντος τοῦ Φήστου ἤχθη ὁ Παῦλος, etc. Acts, xxv. 23.

**1899.** *Paul*, having appealed to Rome, sets sail from Cæsarea, in a ship of *Adramyttium*, with *Luke* and *Aristarchus* as his companions, for Italy, under the charge of *Julius*, a centurion, and the next day reaches *Sidon*. Τῇ τε ἐτέρᾳ κατήχθημεν εἰς Σιδῶνα. Acts, xxvii. 3. The ship of *Adramyttium* was no doubt bound for her own port of *Adramyttium*; but as she would sail along the coast of *Proconsular Asia*, μέλλοντες πλεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους, Acts, xxvii. 2, they would, in the course of the voyage, meet with a vessel for Italy at one of the ports of Asia, either at *Myra* or *Patara* or *Cnidus*, or, at all events, at *Ephesus*.

The date of this voyage may be thus fixed.



The arrival of Festus in Judæa was about Midsummer, or 24 June, A.D. 60 (see *supra*, no. 1893). We have then to allow three days for his sojourn at Cæsarea, Acts, xxv. 1; and then two days for going up from Cæsarea to Jerusalem; and ten days and upwards (say twelve days) for the stay at Jerusalem, Acts, xxv. 6; and then two days for the return to Cæsarea; and one day more for the hearing of Paul, Acts, xxv. 6; and then a good many days (say ten), Acts, xxv. 13; and then several days (say seven), Acts, xxv. 14; and then another day, Acts, xxv. 23; and then an interval (say twenty days) spent in preparations for the voyage and finding a ship—thus making in all fifty-eight days from 24 June, which brings us to 21 August, A.D. 58.

From Sidon the winds are contrary; and, instead of steering direct for Asia (Proconsular), they are obliged to sail under the lee, that is, to the east, of Cyprus. *Διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀνέμους εἶναι ἐναντίως.* Acts, xxvii. 4. This brings them to the coast of Cilicia; and sailing through the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, they arrive at Myra in Lycia. *Τὸ τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλεύσαντες κατήλθομεν εἰς Μύρα τῆς Λυκίας.* Acts, xxvii. 5. Here they find a vessel, a corn-ship of Alexandria, bound for Italy; and Julius and his prisoners take a passage by her.

From Myra to Cnidus the voyage is very slow, and occupies a good many days. *Ἐν ἱκαναῖς δὲ ἡμέραις βραδὲν πλοοῦντες καὶ μόλις γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον.* Acts, xxvii. 7.

At Cnidus the Egean sea opens; and losing the benefit of the land breezes, and encountering the full force of the unfavourable wind from the wider expanse (*μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου,* Acts, xxvii. 7), they cannot hold on their course, but are obliged to steer southward, and to sail under the lee (or to the south) of Crete. *Ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην.* Ib.

They now feel their way forward with great difficulty, hugging the shore until they come to Fairhavens, near the city of Lasæa. *Μόλις τε παραλεγόμενοι αὐτὴν (Crete) ἤλθομεν εἰς τόπον τινὰ καλούμενον Καλοὺς Διμένας ὃ ἔγγυς ἦν πόλις Λασαία.* Acts, xxvii. 8. From the contrary winds all the way from Sidon to Cnidus, the vessel could not have consumed much less than a month upon the voyage; so that, if she left Sidon on 22 Au-

gust, she would reach Cnidus about 19 September. From Cnidus to Fairhavens may have occupied about a week, which brings us to 26 September.

'Fairhavens' is still so called, viz. *Διμεῶνες Καλοῦς*; and at a little distance from Fairhavens is a village still bearing the name of Lasæa, or Lapsæa. See Smith's Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, where will be found a view of Fairhavens.

Having reached Fairhavens with difficulty, they are now windbound altogether; and the time spent at Fairhavens is considerable, for Luke describes it as *ἱκανοῦ χρόνου* (not *ἡμερῶν*) *διαγενομένου.* Acts, xxvii. 9. The great Fast of the Jews was past, and navigation had become unsafe. *Ὀντος ἤδη ἐπιφαλοῦς τοῦ πλοῦς διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ἤδη παρεληλυθῆναι.* Ib. The 15 Tisri, or Feast of Tabernacles, was this year on 28 September, when the moon was at the full, for there was an eclipse at that time, at 1 P.M. for the meridian of Paris, or 3° 12' P.M. for the meridian of Jerusalem; and the 10 Tisri, or day of the fast, was therefore on 23 September. On the other hand, the navigation of the seas was considered by ancients to close on 11 November. Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, lib. v. c. 9. Plin. *N. H.* ii. 47. As the Fast was past, and the navigation, though becoming dangerous, had not closed, we should say that the ship lay windbound till about 10 October.

The season being so far advanced, a council is held whether they should winter at Fairhavens, which was ill-adapted for the purpose, *ἀνευθέτου δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ὑπάρχοντος πρὸς παραχειμασίαν,* Acts, xxvii. 12; or make for Port Phœnix, a little further to the west, where was a much better anchorage. Port Phœnix has been identified beyond question with the haven of Lutro, on the south coast of Crete. For the proofs of this, see Smith's Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul.

The advice of Paul was that they should run no unnecessary risk, but winter at Fairhavens. However, the opinion of the majority was the other way and it was resolved to attempt a run to Port Phœnix. They now only wait for an opportunity; and a south wind springing up (say on 18 October), they double Cape Matala, five miles off, which lay between Fairhavens and Port Phœnix; and when steering across the bay for the latter port, which was thirty-

four miles from Cape Matala, they are caught by the typhoon, called Euroclydon, or, according to a probable reading, the Euraquilo, or North-easter, and are carried out to sea. Acts, xxvii. 13.

They are first driven under the lee of a small island called Clauda. *Νησίον δέ τι ὑποδραμόντες καλούμενον Κλαύδην.* Acts, xxvii. 16. Clauda is the Claudos of Ptolemy, and is now known as Gozzo, about twenty-three miles to the leeward of Port Lutro.

While under the lee of Clauda, they first of all get the boat on board, which was no easy matter, as, from having been dragged at the stern of the vessel for so many miles, it was full of water. *Μόλις ἰσχύσαμεν περικρατεῖς γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης.* Acts, xxvii. 16.

When they had done this, as the vessel had already sprung a leak, they undergird her, that is, they frap her round the middle with three or four turns of a cable, for the purpose of strengthening her against the strain of the mast. *Ἦν ἄραντες βοθηταίαις ἐχρῶντο ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον.* Ib. verse 17.

The direction of the wind was toward the great sandbank of the African Syrtis; and to avoid this, they make all snug by lowering on deck the masts and sails and other gear, *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος,* ib.; and then setting the storm-sails, or such sails as the gale would allow the vessel to carry, they turn her head off the Syrtis, and so scud. *Οὕτως ἐφέροντο.* Ib.

The next day they lighten the ship, by throwing the cargo overboard. *Τῇ ἐξῆς ἐκβολὴν ἐποιούντο.* Ib. verse 18.

On the third day, or 21 October, they throw over the tackle of the ship, *καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτόχειρες τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἐρρίψαμεν,* Acts, xxvii. 19; and it would appear from this that Paul and Luke assisted in the task personally.

**1900.** After drifting for fourteen days in Adria, they are wrecked on the island of Malta, at a place 'where two seas meet.' *Ὡς δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ νυξί ἐγένετο διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀδριά, etc.* Acts, xxvii. 27-44; xxviii. 1.

Adria was the basin of the Mediterranean, between Crete and Sicily. See Jos. Vit. 3; Philost. Vit. ap. v. 11; viii. 15; Pausan. Eliac. v. 25, 1; Arcad. viii. 54, 2; and Wetstein on Acts, xxvii. 27.

The place where 'two seas meet' was in the bay of St. Paul, at the north-west corner of it, where the island of Salmonetta forms the northern horn of the bay. Here the sea washes round the island, so that the sea from the north meets the sea coming up from the bay on the south.

As the shipwreck was drifting for fourteen days after she left Fairhavens on 18 October, the wreck would occur on 1 November, a date which is confirmed by the sequel of the voyage; for Paul remained three months in Malta, *μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν,* Acts, xxviii. 11; i. e. he sailed again in the fourth month, as soon as the seas were open, or about 8 February, A. D. 61 (see that year, no. 1916), and he must therefore have arrived at Malta about 1 November, A. D. 60.

**1901.** The governor of Malta, called the Primate, was at this time one Publius. *Τῷ Πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου ὀνόματι Ποπλίῳ.* Acts, xxviii. 7. Two inscriptions have been found at Civita Vecchia, the ancient capital of the island: one with the title *Πρῶτος Μελιτῶν*, or primate of Malta; and the other running thus: *Προσδίνος ἱππευς Ρωμ. Πρωτος Μελιτῶν καὶ πατρῶν ἄρξας καὶ ἀμφιπολεὺς Α(υγουστῳ) Σ(εβαστῳ), θεῷ αὐτοῦ Σεβαστῳ, etc.* See Smith's Voyage and Shipw. of St. Paul.

**1902.** Festus, during the early part of his administration, is engaged in putting down the bandits and *Sicarii*. *Ἀφικομένου δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φῆστου συνέβαινε τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν κακοῦσθαι, etc.* Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 10.

**1903.** Festus suppresses a religious fanatic. *Πέμπει δὲ Φῆστος δύναμιν ἰππικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπατηθέντας ἀπὸ τινος ἀνθρώπου γόητος, σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένου, καὶ παύλαν κακῶν, εἰ βουληθεῖεν ἔσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐρημίας αὐτῶν· καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκέκινον τὸν ἀπατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας διέφθειραν οἱ πεμφθέντες.* Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 10.

**1904.** Apollonius Tyanensis arrives at Athens this year, for it was in the autumn before his attendance at the Olympia at midsummer of A. D. 61. *Τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἔσπλεύσας περὶ Μυστηρίων ὄραν ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι πολυανθρωπότατα Ἑλλήνων πρᾶττουσιν, ἀνγῆ ξυντείνας ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προῖων δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐνετύγχανε, Πειραιᾶ δὲ κατιοῦσιν, ὧν οἱ μὲν γυμνοὶ ἐθέροντο, καὶ γὰρ τὸ μετόπισρον εὐήλιον Ἀθηναίους.* Philost. V. Ap. iv. 17.



**1904 a.** Coins of Nero.

Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P. vi. Cos. iv. P. P. Ex S. C. Or + Pont. Max. Tr. P. vii. Cos. iv. P. P. Ex S. C.

Nero Cæs. Aug. Imp. + Cer. Quinq. Rom. Co. S. C., i. e. Certamen Quinquennale Romæ Constitutum (see ante, no. 1883).

Eckhel, vi. 264.

## Coins of Antioch.

Αντιοχέων + Επι Κουαδρατου Ετ. ΗΡ., i. e. in the 108th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 59, and 1 Nov. A.D. 60.

Id. iii. 280.

Νερων Καϊσαρ Σεβαστος  $\frac{5}{HP}$ , or  $\frac{6}{108}$ , that is, in the sixth year of Nero and the 108th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 59, and 13 Oct. A.D. 60. Eckhel, iii. 281.

Αντιοχέων, with laurelled female head and ET. HP.

Same with turreted female head. Id. iii. 283.

## Coin of Polemo II., king of Pontus.

Βασιλεως Πολεμωνος + Ετους. ΚΓ., i. e. in the twenty-third year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no. 1533).

Id. ii. 372.

## Inscriptions.

Nerone Claudio Divi Claudi F. Germanici Cæsaris N. Ti. Cæsaris Aug. Pro N. Divi Aug. Abnep. Cæsare Aug. Germanico Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. vii. Imp. iii. Cos. iv. Cosso Lentulo Cossi Filio Cos. Kal. Januar. Sulpicius Camerinus Magister Collegi. Fratrum Arvalium immolovit in Capitolio . . . Cos. Neronis Claudi Cæsaris Aug. Germanici Jovi B. marem Junoni vaccam Minervæ vaccam Genio ipsius taurum. In collegio adfuerunt Sulpicius Camerinus Magister, L. Piso, L. F. Sextius Africanus, M. Aponius Saturninus, L. Salvius Otho Titianus, P. Memmius Regulus, C. Piso.

Isdem Cos. iii. Nonas Januar. Sulpicius Camerinus Magister Collegi, Fratrum Arvalium nomine, vota nuncupavit pro Salute Neronis Claudi Divi Claudi N. Germanici Cæsaris et Ti. Cæsaris Aug. Pro N. Divi Aug. Ab. N. Cæsaris Aug. Germanici Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. vii. Imp. vii. Cos. iii. et Octaviæ conjugis, victimis immolatis in Capitolio, quæ superioris anni magistri voverant, persolvit, et in proximum annum nuncupavit, præeunte M. Aponio Saturnino, Jovi mares duo, Junoni vaccas ii., Minervæ vaccas ii., Saluti Publicæ vaccas ii. in Templo novo. Divo Aug. B. mares ii., Divæ Aug. vaccas ii., Divo Claudio

B. mar. ii. In collegio adf. Sulpicius Camerinus Magister, A. Vitellius, L. Piso, M. Aponius Saturninus, P. Memmius Regulus, L. Salvius Otho Titianus.

Isdem Cos. iii. Idus Januar. Adstantibus Sulpicio Camerino Magistro L. Salvio Othone Titiano, C. Vipsanio Aproniano . . .

Gruter, 118

Neroni Claudio Divi Claudi Aug. F. Germanic. Cæs. Neptoti Ti. Cæs. Aug. Pronepoti Divi Aug. Abnepoti Cæsari Aug. Germ. R. R. P. iv. (lege TR. P. vii.) Imp. v. Cos. iv. Solvi curavit votum merito (Chichester).

Horsefield's Sussex, i. 43.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 4.

Pentecost, May 25.

Tabernacles, September 29.

**A.D. 61. U.C. 814. Olymp. 210, 1.**

CÆSONIUS PÆTUS.

P. PETRONIUS TURPILLIANUS.

Quem forte excepit,

P. CALVISIUS RUFO.

ex Kal. Jul.

. . . . .  
forsan VECTIUS BOLANUS.

NERONIS VIII. FROM 13 OCTOBER. TRIB. POT. VIII. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. (?).

Thirteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1905.** Rebellion of Britain under Boadicea, queen of the Iceni. Seventy thousand Romans and allies are said to have been slain in London and St. Albans. Paullinus Suetonius was at this time proprætor, and Catus Decianus procurator of Britain. Cæsonio Pæto, Petronio Turpiliano coss. gravis clades in Britannia accepta. In quâ neque A. Didius legatus nisi parta retinuerat, et successor Veranius, modicis excursibus Siluras populatus, quin ultra bellum profferret morte prohibitus est. . . . Sed tum Paullinus Suetonius obtinebat Britannos . . . Sed quia procul Suetonius aberat, petivère (the Romans at Camulodunum) a Cato Deciano Procuratore auxilium . . . At Suetonius mirâ constantiâ medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem colonia non insigne, sed copiâ negotiatorum et comæatum maxime celebre. Tac. Ann. xiv. 29–33. Πρόφασις δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο ἡ δήμευσις τῶν χρημάτων,

ἂ Κλαύδιος τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ἐδεδώκει, καὶ ἔδει καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὡς γε Δεκκιανὸς Κάτος ὁ τῆς νήσου ἐπιτροπέων ἔλεγεν, ἀναπόμπιμα γενέσθαι, etc. Dion, lxii. 2.

Suetonius defeats the Britons, when eighty thousand Britons are slain, and Boadicea closes her life, according to Tacitus, by poison, but according to Dion, by sickness, and the Romans go into winter quarters. *Boadicea vitam veneno finivit . . . Contractus deinde omnis exercitus sub pellibus habitus est ad reliqua belli perpetranda*. Tac. Ann. xiv. 37, 38. Ἀποθανούσης δὲ ἐν τούτῳ Βουνδούκης νόσφ, ἐκείνην μὲν δεινῶς ἐπένησαν καὶ πολυτελῶς ἔθαψαν. Dion, lxii. 12.

**1906.** Catus Decianus is succeeded by Julius Classicianus as procurator of Britain, and Suetonius by Petronius Turpilianus as propraetor. *Julius Classicianus successor Cato missus . . . Suetonius tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano, qui jam consulatu abierat, jubetur* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 38, 39.

**1907.** Tarquitiu Priscus, ex-prefect of Bithynia, is convicted of extortion in his province. *Damnatus iisdem Consulibus* (A.D. 61) *Tarquitiu Priscus repetundarum, Bithynis interrogantibus, magno patrum gaudio, qui accusatum ab eo Statilium Taurum, Proconsulem ipsius, meminerant*. Tac. Ann. xiv. 46.

**1908.** Pedanius Secundus, prefect of the city, is murdered by one of his slaves. *Haud multo post Praefectum urbis Pedanium Secundum servus ipsius interfecit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 42 (see A.D. 39, no. 1549).

**1909.** The gymnasium at Rome is dedicated by Nero, when the Quinquennialia are celebrated. *Gymnasium eo anno dedicatum a Nerone, praebitumque oleum equiti ac senatui Graeca facilitate*. Tac. Ann. xiv. 47. Dion, lxi. 21. The Olympia, of which the Neronia were an imitation, were celebrated in Greece at the same time (see A.D. 60, no. 1883; A.D. 65, no. 1973).

**1910.** Apollonius Tyanensis is in Greece at the Olympia of this year. Ὀντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίων, καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν Ἥλειων ἐπὶ κοινωρίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος, etc., γενομένου δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, μυκησαμένης τῆς περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον θαλάττης, Οὔτος, εἶπεν, ὁ αὐχὴν τῆς γῆς τετμήσεται, μέλλον δὲ οὐ. Εἶχε δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρόρρησιν τῆς μικρὸν ὕστερον περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τομῆς, ἣν μετὰ ἔτη ἑπτὰ (A.D. 67) Νέρων διενόηθη. Philost. V. Ap. iv. 24.

**1911.** After the Olympia of this year Apollonius proceeds to Sparta, where he winters.

Διατρίψας δ' ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μετὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν χρόνον, ὡς ἐτελεύτα ὁ χειμὼν ἐπὶ Μαλιάν ἦλθεν ἀρχομένου ἤρος. Philost. V. Ap. iv. 34. In the spring of A.D. 62, he went to Crete. Οὔσων δὲ ἐν Μαλιέα νηῶν πλείονων, αἱ ἐς Κρήτην ἀφήσειν ἔμελλον, ἐνέβη ναῦν. Philost. V. Ap. iv. 34 (see A.D. 60, no. 1903; A.D. 70, 2160).

**1912.** Agrippa raises the height of his palace so as to command a view of the doings in the Temple, whereupon the Jews erect a counter-wall, and thereby shut out the view of the interior of the Temple, not only from the palace, but from the western cloister, the station of the Roman guard. They are ordered by Festus to take down the wall, but obtain leave to send an embassy to Rome, when Ishmael, the high-priest, and Helcias, the treasurer, and others proceed to Rome. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἠκούσαστο μεγέθει διάφορον οἰκίμα ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πλησίον τοῦ Ξυστοῦ, etc. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11. This is related by Josephus after the clearance of the country from the bandits by Festus (see A.D. 60, no. 1902), and after the suppression of the religious impostor (see A.D. 60, no. 1903); and the embassy must have followed the completion of the palace and the erection of the counter-wall, both of which must have occupied some time. As Festus arrived at midsummer A.D. 60, the mission to Rome may be placed in A.D. 61.

**1913.** The Jews succeed in their embassy through the influence of Poppæa, a Jewish proselyte, and Poppæa detains Ishmael and Helcias at Rome. Νέρων δὲ . . . συνεχώρησεν οὕτως ἔξν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππηία (θεοσεβῆς γὰρ ἦν) ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεηθείση χαρίζομενος, ἣ τοῖς μὲν δέκα προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι, τὸν δὲ Ἑλικίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσμάηλον ὀμηρεύσοντας παρ' ἑαυτῇ κατέσχεν. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11. The expression τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππηία in this passage is very significant. At this time Poppæa had been twice married and twice divorced, and was now living with Nero as his concubine, so that she might well be described as the woman Poppæa. In A.D. 62 Poppæa was married to Nero, and Josephus then changes his language. Φίλην οὖσαν τῆς Νέρωνος γυναικός. Ant. xx. 11, 1. Ποππηία τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωσθείς. Jos. Vit. 3.

**1914.** Agrippa, hearing that Ishmael, the high-priest, had been detained at Rome by Poppæa, appoints Joseph, son of Simon, to the



high-priesthood. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, ταῦτα ὡς ἐπί-  
θετο, δίδωσι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰωσήφῳ τῷ Σί-  
μωνος παιδὶ ἀρχιερέως, ἐπικαλουμένῳ δὲ Καβί.  
Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11 (see A.D. 59, no. 1880; A.D.  
62, no. 1930).

**1915.** The death of Festus may be placed about 20 November of this year, for the news of it had been transmitted to Rome, and the appointment of Albinus in his place had been reported to Judæa about 20 April, A.D. 62, and the interval must have occupied about five months (see A.D. 62, no. 1929).

**1916.** Paul having passed the three winter months in Malta, sets sail in the Castor and Pollux, as soon as the seas are open, for Rome. Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν ἐν πλοίῳ παρα-  
κεχειμακότει ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ παρα-  
σήμῳ Διοσκούροις. Acts, xxviii. 11. As the vessel had wintered in Malta, it would of course set sail as soon as, according to the navigation of that day, the seas were open, and this, according to Pliny, was on 8 February, *Is dies sextus est ante Februariarum Idus*, Plin. N. H. ii. 47; about which time, therefore, the Castor and Pollux would weigh anchor.

They stay three days at Syracuse and then sail to Rhegium, and the next day start for Puteoli, which they reach the day after, and rest there seven days, and then proceed by land to Rome. Καὶ καταχθέντες εἰς Συρακού-  
σας ἐπεμείναμεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ὅθεν περιελθόντες  
κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Ῥήγιον· καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν  
ἐπιγενομένου νότου, δευτεραῖοι ἦλθομεν εἰς Ποτι-  
όλους· οὗ εὐρόντες ἀδελφοὺς παρεκλήθημεν ἐπ'  
αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεῖναι ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ· καὶ οὕτως εἰς  
τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθομεν. Acts, xxviii. 12. Paul therefore would reach Rome at the beginning of March.

As Paul preached at Rome without interruption for two years, Acts, xxviii. 30, and the persecution of the Christians at Rome began in the latter half of A.D. 64 (see that year, no. 1956), when his preaching would have been stopped at once, he must have arrived at Rome at least some time before the latter half of A.D. 62. But further, Paul, on arriving at Rome, was delivered over to the *prefect* of the Prætorium, ὅτε δὲ ἦλθομεν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμώτας τῷ στρα-  
τοπεδάρχῳ, Acts, xxviii. 16; and the στρα-  
τοπεδάρχης, or *prefect* of the Prætorium, must have been Burrhus, for both before his appointment and after his death there were two pre-

fects of the Prætorium, and then the usual expression was not the *Præfectus*, but the *Præfecti*. Thus, *Vinctus mitti ad Præfectos Prætorii mei debet*. Plin. Ep. x. 66. Ἀνεπέμ-  
φθη εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος τοῖς τῶν  
στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόσιν. Philost. Vit. Sophist.  
ii. 32. As Burrhus died in *January* A.D. 62 (see that year, no. 1919), and the arrival of Paul at Rome was at the beginning of March, it follows that he could not have reached Rome in March A.D. 62, but in March A.D. 61.

Paul is allowed to live by himself, μένειν καθ' ἑαυτὸν, Acts, xxviii. 16, in a hired lodging, εἰς τὴν ξενίαν, xxviii. 23; ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, xxviii. 30; but chained by the wrist to a soldier, σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ, xxviii. 16. Three days after his arrival at Rome, the Apostle calls the Jews together and addresses them, when they agree to give him a hearing upon the claims of Christianity, ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς, etc. Acts, xxviii. 17; and on the day fixed they attend him at his lodging, when Paul preaches to them, but without effect. Ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν ἕκον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες. Acts, xxviii. 23.

**1917.** Paul remains a prisoner at Rome for two whole years, ἔμεινε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος διετίαν ὅλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, Acts, xxviii. 30; and from Luke being able to fix the exact period during which Paul was a prisoner, it is evident that at the end of the two years Paul recovered his liberty (see A.D. 63, no. 1940).

#### 1917 a. Coins of Nero.

*Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P. viii. Cos. iii. P. P. Ex S. C.*

*Nero Cæsar* with laurelled head + *Paullin.*  
(see ante, no. 1905). Eckhel vi. 265.

Coin of Polemo II., king of Pontus.

Βασιλεὺς Πολεμωνος + Ερους. ΚΔ., i. e. in the twenty-fourth year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no. 1533). Id. ii. 372.

Coin of Antioch.

Νερων Καῖσαρ Σεβαστος  $\frac{Z}{9P}$ , or  $\frac{7}{109}$  i. e. in the seventh year of Nero, and the 109th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 60, and 13 Oct. A.D. 61. Id. iii. 281.

Insription.

*Silvano Sancto et Mercurio et Libero Patri Sa-  
crum, M. Vargunteius M. F. Pal. Augurinus.*

*Suâ Pecuniâ D. D. iii. Idus August. Petronio Turpiliano et Cæsorino Pæto Coss.*

Gruter, 62, 7.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 24.

Pentecost, May 14.

Tabernacles, September 18.

**A. D. 62. U. C. 815. Olymp. 210, 2.**

P. MARIUS CÆLUS.

L. ASIŒNIUS GALLUS.

ex . . .

JUNIUS MARULLUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

L. ANNÆUS SENECA.

TREBELIUS MAXIMUS.

NERONIS IX. FROM 13 OCTOBER. TRIB. POT. IX.

FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT.

PATR. IMP. (?)

Fourteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II.  
from some time in the second quarter.

**1918.** Antistius is accused at Rome and escapes. *P. Mario, L. Asinio coss. Antistius Prætor . . . majestatis delatus est.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 48. Fabricius Veiento is accused, and is banished (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 50.

**1919.** Death of Burrhus, prefect of the prætorium, when two prefects, Sofonius Tigellinus and Fenius Rufus, are appointed in his place. *Sed gravescentibus in dies publicis malis subsidia minuebantur, concessitque vitâ Burrhus, incertum valetudine an veneno . . . Civitati grande desiderium ejus mansit per memoriam virtutis et successorum alterius segnem innocentiam, alterius flagrantissima flagitia et adulteria: quippe Cæsar duos prætoris cohortibus imposuerat, Fenium Rufum ex vulgi favore quia rem frumentariam sine questu tractabat: Sofonium Tigellinum, veterem impudicitiam atque infamiam in eo secutus. Atque illi pro cognitis moribus fuere: validior Tigellinus in animo Principis et intimis libidinibus adsumptus: prosperâ populi et militum famâ Rufus, quod apud Neronem adversum experiebatur* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 51. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν (Burrhum) φαρμάκῳ διώλεσε, Τιγελλῖνον δὲ τινα Σωφόνιον, ἀσελγείᾳ τε καὶ μαιφρονίᾳ πάντα τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπεράραντα, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν δορυφόρων ἀρχὴν κατέστησε, ὃς τὸν τε Νέρωνα καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα Ῥούφον παρ' οὐδὲν ἐτίθετο. Dion, lxii. 13.

From the circumstance that the accusations

against Antistius and Veiento are the only events recorded under this year which precede the death of Burrhus, and from the series of occurrences (see *infra*, no. 1927) between the death of Burrhus and the death of Octavia on 9 June, it would appear that Burrhus must have died at the very beginning of the year, probably before the end of January (see A. D. 51, no. 1750; A. D. 65, no. 1968).

**1920.** The death of Burrhus breaks the power of Seneca, and he is obliged to withdraw from public life. *Mors Burrhi infregit Senecæ potentiam* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 52. Seneca, on defending himself before Nero, refers to the present year as the eighth of the reign of Nero and the fourteenth since Seneca's recall. *Quartusdecimus annus est, Cæsar, ex quo spei tuæ admotus sum* (see A. D. 49, no. 1729), *octavus ut imperium obtines.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 53. The eighth year of Nero expired on 13 October, A. D. 62, and Seneca's defence was therefore certainly before that time. In fact, it must have been in the first half of the year, for it is related before the death of Octavia, which was on 9 June (see *infra*, no. 1927).

**1921.** Tigellinus grows in power, and depresses Fenius Rufus, his colleague, and calumniates Plautus, who was in Asia, and Sulla, who was at Marseilles. *Compertoque Plautum et Sullam maxime timeri, Plautum in Asiam, Sullam in Galliam Narbonensem nuper amotos,* etc. (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 57.

**1922.** Sulla is put to death six days after the order for his execution. *Sulla sexto die pervectis Massiliam percussoribus interficitur ante metum et rumorem.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 57.

**1923.** Plautus is warned in Asia of his danger, but refuses flight and is slain, and his head carried to Rome, when Nero writes to the senate. *Plauto parari necem non perinde occultum fuit, quia pluribus salus ejus curabatur, et spatium itineris ac maris tempusque interjectum moverat famam . . . Ceterum libertus Plauti celeritate ventorum prævenit centurionem . . . Caput interfecti relatum . . . sed ad Senatam (Nero) litteras misit de cæde Sullæ Plautique* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 58, 59. Dion, lxii. 14.

**1924.** Nero divorces Octavia and marries Poppæa. *Exturbat Octaviam sterilem dictitans: exin Poppæa conjungitur* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 60.

**1925.** Octavia is banished to Campania, but



the people murmur, and Nero issues an order for her recall. *Mox in Campaniam pulsa est, addita militari custodiâ. Inde crebri questus . . . His motus Nero, tanquam pœnitentiâ flagitiî, conjugem revocavit Octaviam* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 60.

**1926.** Poppæa, before Octavia's arrival, represents the danger of her coming to Rome, and Octavia is banished to the island of Pandataria. *Quæ (Poppæa) provoluta genibus ejus . . . 'Omitteret modo (Octavia) Campaniam, et in urbem ipsam pergeret, ad cujus nutum absentis tumultus cicerentur,' etc. . . . Insulâque Pandatariâ Octaviam (Nero) claudit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 61, 63.

**1927.** Octavia, a few days after, is put to death, in the twentieth year of her age. *Ac puella vicesimo ætatis anno inter centuriones et milites, præsigio malorum jam vitâ exemptâ, nondum tamen morte acquiescebat. Paucis dehinc interjectis diebus mori jubetur* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 64. The day of her death was the same day on which occurred the death of Nero, viz. 9 June. *Obiit (Nero) tricesimo et secundo ætatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat.* Suet. Nero, 57.

**1928.** Dion thus connects Burrhus with Poppæa. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὁ Νέρων Ὀκταουτίαν τὴν Ἀγούσταν ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν πρότερον διὰ Σαβίναν τὴν παλλακίδα (ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινε), καίτοι τοῦ Βούρρου ἐναντιωμένου αὐτῷ, καὶ κωλύοντος ἀποπέμψασθαι, καὶ ποτε εἰπόντος Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν προῖκα αὐτῇ (τούτεστι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν) ἄποδος.* Dion, lxii. 13. Burrhus is here represented as alive at the time of the divorce, if not of the death, of Octavia. But this part of Dion is very imperfect and corrupt, and the sequence of events detailed *seriatim* in Tacitus is entitled to far greater credit, and Tacitus places the death of Burrhus long before either the death or divorce of Octavia.

**1929.** Nero, on the news of the death of Festus reaching Rome, nominates Albinus as his successor. This must have been in February A.D. 62, for the news of it had reached Judæa on 20 April, A.D. 62 (see *infra*, no. 1931). *Πέμπει δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀλβίνον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπαρχον, Φήστου τὴν τελευταίην πυθόμενος.* Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1 (see A.D. 61, no. 1915; A.D. 64, no. 1961).

**1930.** Agrippa removes Joseph from the high-priesthood and appoints Ananus, son of Annas. This was probably in February, but

possibly at the commencement of the Jewish year, 1 Nisan, or 30 March. It was three months before his removal in May or June of this year (see A.D. 61, no. 1914, and *infra*, no. 1932). *Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὸν Ἰώσηπον τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, τῷ δὲ Ἀνάον παιδὶ καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀνάφ λεγομένῳ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔδωκε.* Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1.

**1931.** Ananus, before the arrival of Albinus, brings James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem, and other Christians before the Sanhedrim on a charge of blasphemy, and causes them to be stoned. *Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀνανος, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔφαμεν εἰληφέναι, θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητῆς διαφερόντως· αἴρεσιν δὲ μετῆι τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσι περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καθὼς ἦδη δεδηλώκαμεν. Ἄτε δὴ τοιοῦτος ὢν, ὁ Ἀνανος νομίσας ἔχειν καρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνᾶναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβίνον δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν, καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ (Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ) καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους, ὡς παρνομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, παρέδωκε λιθησομένους.* Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1. The martyrdom of James was no doubt at one of the public festivals, and Hegesippus, as cited by Eusebius, states that it was when Jerusalem was full of people from the Feast of the Passover. *Τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς αἱρέσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ λαῷ . . . ἐπυθάνοντο αὐτοῦ, τίς ἢ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγε τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Σωτῆρα· ἐξ ὧν τινὲς ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. Αἱ δὲ αἱρέσεις αἱ προειρημένοι οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν οὔτε ἀνάστασιν, οὔτε ἐρχόμενον ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστω κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, διὰ Ἰάκωβον. Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πιστευόντων, ἦν θόρυβος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων λεγόντων, ὅτι κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν προσδοκᾶν. Ἐλεγον οὖν συνελθόντες τῷ Ἰακώβῳ, Παρακαλοῦμέν σε, ἐπίσχες τὸν λαὸν, ἐπεὶ ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· παρακαλοῦμέν σε πείσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ Πάσχα περὶ Ἰησοῦ. . . στήθι οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ Ἰεροῦ, ἵνα ἄνωθεν ἦς ἐπιφανῆς καὶ ἡ εὐακουστά σου τὰ ῥήματα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, διὰ γὰρ τὸ Πάσχα συναληθύθασαι πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν. Ἔστησαν οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ Ἰεροῦ καὶ ἔκραζαν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπον, Δίκαιε, ᾧ πάντες πείθεσθαι ὀφείλομεν, ἐπεὶ ὁ λαὸς πλανᾶται ὀπίσω Ἰησοῦ*

τοῦ στουρωθέντος, ἀπάγγελον ἡμῖν τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ·' καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, 'Τί με ἐπερωτᾶτε περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; καὶ αὐτὸς κἀθηται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως, καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.' Καὶ πολλῶν πληροφορηθέντων καὶ δοξαζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἀνὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ, τότε πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον· Κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν τοιαύτην μαρτυρίαν παρασχόντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἀλλὰ ἀναβάντες καταβάλωμεν αὐτὸν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες μὴ πιστεύσωσιν αὐτῷ. Καὶ ἔκραζαν λέγοντες, 'ὦ, ὦ, καὶ ὁ Δίκαιος ἐπλανήθη. . . Ἀναβάντες οὖν κατέβαλον τὸν Δίκαιον, καὶ ἔλεγον ἀλλήλοις, Λιθάσωμεν τὸν Δίκαιον. Καὶ ἤρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ καταβληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ στραφεὶς ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα λέγων, 'Παρακαλῶ, Κύριε Θεὲ πάτερ, ἄφεε αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασι τί ποιοῦσιν.' Οὕτω δὲ καταλιθοβολούντων αὐτῶν, εἷς τῶν ἱερέων . . . ἔκραξε λέγων, 'Πάυσασθε, τί ποιεῖτε; εὐχεται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ Δίκαιος.' Καὶ λαβῶν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἷς τῶν κρυφίων τὸ ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ἀπεπέριξε τὰ ἱμάτια, ἤνεγκε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Δικαίου· καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρησεν. Hege-sippus, cited Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ii. 23.

As the Jews could not proceed to capital punishment during the Feast itself (see A.D. 33, no. 1441), the execution of James could not have taken place before 20 April, the day next after the Feast of Passover. At this time, therefore, the Jews, as appears from the account of Josephus, had *heard* that Albinus had been appointed in the place of Festus, and that he was, on his way to Judæa, at Alexandria. As five months must have been consumed in the transmission of the news of the death of Festus from Judæa to Rome and the report of Albinus's appointment from Rome to Judæa, this would place the death of Festus about 20 November, A.D. 61.

Agrippa, at the time of the martyrdom of James, was absent from Jerusalem, and perhaps at a distance from it, with the army of Corbulo. He would otherwise have attended the Feast of the Passover, for he was a rigid observer of Jewish ceremonial. However, intelligence of the outrage of Ananus is forwarded by the moderate party at Jerusalem to Agrippa, who is implored to interfere. "Ὅσοι δὲ ἐδόκουν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς, βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ πέμπουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα (Agrippam) κρύφα παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Ἀνάφῳ

μηκέτι τοιαῦτα πράσσειν, μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν πεποιθήναι. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1.

Others, dissatisfied with Ananus's proceedings, go to meet Albinus, who, it was heard, had already arrived at Alexandria. Τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβίνον ὑπαντιάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδοποροῦντα, καὶ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν Ἀνάφῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καθίσαι συνέδριον· Ἀλβίνος δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λεγομένοις γράφει μετ' ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάφῳ, λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκας ἀπειλῶν. Ant. xx. 9, 1. As Albinus was met on the road and a reprimand written by him to Ananus, we may place the delivery at Jerusalem of Albinus's dispatch about a month after the outrage of Ananus, i. e. about 20 May, A.D. 62. The intimation of the Jews to Albinus that Ananus could not legally proceed to capital punishment without the sanction of Albinus as procurator, throws some light upon the political *status* of the Jews under the Romans (see A.D. 33, no. 1441).

**1932.** After the arrival of the letter of Albinus, and perhaps in consequence of it, Agrippa deposes Ananus from the high-priesthood and appoints Jesus, the son of Damnaus, in his place. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν, ἔρξαντα μῆνας τρεῖς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δαμαίου κατέστησεν. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1 (see A.D. 61, no. 1914; A.D. 64, no. 1960). If Agrippa was at Jerusalem when the rescript of Albinus arrived, the displacement of Ananus must have occurred toward the end of May. As Agrippa, however, may have been at some distance from Jerusalem and in attendance upon Corbulo, some interval may have elapsed between the arrival of Albinus's dispatch and the deposal of Ananus, so that the latter event may have taken place in June. As Ananus had held office for three months, he must have been appointed in February or March, A.D. 62.

**1933.** Albinus arrives at Jerusalem and proceeds to clear the country of the *Sicarii*. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦκεν ὁ Ἀλβίνος εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμίτων πόλιν, πᾶσαν εἰσηνέγκατο σπουδῆν καὶ πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν εἰρηνεύεσθαι, πολλοὺς τῶν Σικαρίων διαφθείρας. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 2. Albinus was certainly at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles (7 October) of this year, for he was there at the Feast of Tabernacles in the fourth year current before the commencement of the Jewish war, which began on



19 April, A.D. 66. Ἰησοῦς γάρ τις υἱὸς Ἀνάου τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀγροῦκος πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου τὰ μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως εἰρηνομένης καὶ εὐθινοῦσης (and therefore at the very beginning of the procuratorship of Albinus) ἔλθων εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐν ᾗ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάντας ἔθος τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξαπίνης ἀναβοᾶν ἤρξατο, etc. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλβίνου διερωτῶντος (οὗτος γὰρ ἑπαρχος ἦν) τίς εἶη καὶ πόθεν καὶ διὰ τι ταῦτα φθέγγοιτο, πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὐδ' ὄτι οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο. Bell. vi. 5, 3. And this was upwards of seven years and five months before the siege of Jerusalem, which began about the time of the Passover (13 April) A.D. 70, which again fixes this feast to be that of the Tabernacles A.D. 62. Μάλιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἐκεκράγει, καὶ τουτ' ἐφ' ἑπτὰ ἔτη καὶ μῆνας πέντε εἴρων, οὐτ' ἠμβλύθη τὴν φωνὴν οὔτε ἔκαμεν, μέχρις οὗ κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔργω τοὺς κληδόνας ἰδὼν ἀνεπαύσατο, περιῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους αἰ, αἰ, πάλιν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τῷ ναῷ διαπύσιον ἐβόα· ὡς δὲ τελευταῖον προσέθηκεν, αἰ, αἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμοί, λίθος ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου σχασθεὶς καὶ πλήξας αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα κτείνει. Bell. vi. 5, 3.

**1934.** Pallas and Doriphorus, the freedmen, are put to death at Rome in this consulship. *Eodem anno libertorum potissimos veneno interfecisse (Nero) creditus est; Doriphorum quasi adversatum nuptiis Poppææ, Pallantem quod immensam pecuniam longâ senectâ detineret.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 65. Τὸν δὲ Πάλλαντα διεχρήσατο, ὅτι καὶ πλοῦτον πολὺν ἐκτήσατο. Dion, lxii. 14. These events are related by Tacitus after the death of Octavia, and therefore it occurred after 9 June.

**1935.** Tacitus under this year (but taking up the history from A.D. 60 where he had left it, see that year, no. 1886) relates the transactions respecting Armenia during the years A.D. 61 and A.D. 62; viz. the invasion by Tigranes of Adiabene, then under the rule of Monobazus, who had lately succeeded to the throne of his father Izates; and indeed the distractions consequent upon the death of Izates probably induced the king of Armenia to attempt the conquest of Adiabene. *Accendebat dolorem eorum Monobazus, quem penes Adiabenum regimen.* Tac. Ann. xv. 1. Dion, lxii. 20. Then follows the investiture of Tiridates as king of Armenia by Vologeses, and the invasion of Armenia by Moneses, the Parthian general, Tac. Ann. xv. 2; Dion, lxii. 20; the

fruitless siege by him of Tigranes in Tigranocerta, Tac. Ann. xv. 4; Dion, lxii. 20; an expostulation from Corbulo to Vologeses, when the Parthians retire from Tigranocerta, and the Roman army also retreats to Cappadocia, and a Parthian embassy is sent to Rome, Tac. Ann. xv. 5, and see Dion, lxii. 20 (the last event was just before the winter of A.D. 61–62, for in the ensuing spring the Parthians ask, *Cur enim exercitum Romanum a Tigranocertis deductum? . . . an melius hibernavisse in extremâ Cappadocia, raptim erectis tuguriis, quam in sede regni modo retenti (Tigranocertis)?* Tac. Ann. xv. 6); the arrival of Cæsennius Pætus as prefect of Armenia in the spring of A.D. 62, Tac. Ann. xv. 6, and see Dion, lxii. 20; the return of the Parthian embassy from Rome at the same time, and the resumption of the war, Tac. Ann. xv. 7, and see Dion, lxii. 20; the advance of Pætus into Armenia, and then his return on the approach of winter, viz. the winter of A.D. 62–63. *Cæterum Pætus, spretis omnibus, necdum satis firmatis hibernaculis, nullo rei frumentariæ provisu, rapit exercitum,* etc.; *instante jam hieme, reduxit exercitum.* Tac. Ann. xv. 8. The Parthians, having no hopes against Corbulo in Syria, make a sudden incursion into Armenia, Tac. Ann. xv. 9; and see Dion, lxii. 21; when Pætus moves out of the winter quarters which he had just occupied (viz. for the winter of A.D. 62–63), *et tunc relictis hibernis . . . duxit (Pætus) legiones quasi prælio certaturus,* Tac. Ann. xv. 10; and is worsted, and retires to his camp, which he abandons on ignominious terms, Tac. Ann. xv. 10–15, and see Dion, lxii. 21; then a meeting between Pætus and Corbulo on the Euphrates. Tac. Ann. xv. 16; and see Dion, lxii. 22. Pætus now winters in Cappadocia (the winter of A.D. 62–63). *Exin Pætus per Cappadociam hibernavit.* Tac. Ann. xv. 17. Corbulo and Vologeses agree, the former to withdraw his troops to the west of the Euphrates, and the latter to recall his troops from Armenia. Tac. Ann. xv. 17; and see Dion, lxii. 22 (see A.D. 63, no. 1945).

**1936.** Accusation of Claudius Timarchus, a person of great influence in Crete (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 20.

**1937.** Pompeii is much damaged by an earthquake. *Et motu terræ celebre Campaniæ oppidum Pompeii magnâ ex parte proruit* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 22. But according to Seneca this calamity happened on 5 February, A.D. 63.

*Pompeios . . . desedisse terræ motu . . . audivimus . . . Nonis Febr. fuit motus hic, Regulo et Virginiō coss.* Senec. Nat. Quæst. vi. 1.

**1938.** The Epistle to the Ephesians (more properly to the Laodiceans) and the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon may be placed in the autumn of this year. That all three epistles were written and dispatched at the same time has been proved to demonstration by Paley in his *Horæ Paulinæ*. The language in the Ephesians and Colossians is in numerous passages identical, and all the letters were sent by the same messenger, Tychicus. It sufficiently appears from their contents that they were penned while Paul was in prison at Rome. Thus in the Ephesians, *ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, iii. 1; *ὑπὲρ οὗ* (the Gospel) *πρεσβεύω ἐν ἀλύσει*, vi. 20 (compare Acts, xviii. 20); and in the Colossians, *μνημονεύετε μου τῶν δεσμῶν*, iv. 18; and in Philemon, *Παῦλος δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, ver. 1; *Παῦλος πρεσβύτερος* (see A.D. 9, no. 1035), *νυνὶ δὲ καὶ δέσμιος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, ver. 9. And the Epistles were written when Paul was looking forward to his release as likely soon to take place, *ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐποίμαζέ μοι ξενίαν*. *ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν χαρισθῆσομαι ὑμῖν*, Philem. 22; and yet it was dated before the Epistle to the Philippians, which was also written during his captivity, for when the Colossians was written Epaphroditus remained at Rome. *Ἀσπάζεται μοι ὑμᾶς Ἐπαφρόδης ὁ ἐξ ὑμῶν*, Coloss. vi. 12. But the Epistle to the Philippians was sent by the hands of Epaphroditus, and the latter had then lately suffered from sickness, but to which no allusion is made in the Colossians. *Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην Ἐπαφρόδιτον . . . πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιποθῶν ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀδημονῶν, διότι ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἡσθένησε*. Philip. ii. 25.

**1938 a.** Coin of Nero.

*Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P. viiii. Cos. iiii. P. P. Ex S. C.* Eckhel, vi. 265.

Coin of Antioch.

*Νέρων Καῖσαρ Σεβαστος Ἐτους ΑΙΡ. Θ.*, or in the 111th year of the Era of Antioch and the ninth year of Nero, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 62, and 13 Oct. A.D. 63.

Id. iii. 281.

Coins of Alexandria.

*Ποππαία Σεβαστή Λ. Θ. + Νέρων. Κλαυ. Καῖσ. Σεβ. Γερ. Αν.* (see *ante*, no. 1924), i. e. in the ninth year of Nero. Id. iv. 55.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 12.

Pentecost, June 2.

Tabernacles, October 7.

**A.D. 63. U.C. 816. Olymp. 210, 3.**

C. MEMMIUS REGULUS.

L. VIRGINIUS RUFUS.

NERONIS X. FROM 13 OCTOB. TRIB. POT. X. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. (?)

Fifteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1939.** Paul early in the year writes the Epistle to the Philippians. It was penned during his captivity, *διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς, ἐν τε τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου καὶ τῇ ἀπολογία καὶ βεβαιώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, Philip. i. 7; and at Rome, *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας*. Philip. iv. 22. And Paul had been long enough a prisoner to have produced great effects both in the prætorium and elsewhere. *Ὡστε τοὺς δεσμούς μου φανεροὺς ἐν Χριστῷ γενέσθαι ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ Πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσι*. Philip. i. 13. The long captivity of the Apostle before the date of the letter appears also from this: the Philippians had heard of his imprisonment at Rome, and had sent him pecuniary relief by the hands of Epaphroditus, *συγκοινωνοὺς μου τῆς χάριτος* (the collection for the Apostle) *πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας*, Philip. i. 7; *πεπλήρωμαι, δεξάμενος παρὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν*, Philip. iv. 18; and Epaphroditus had fallen ill at Rome, *καὶ γὰρ ἡσθένησε παραπλήσιον θανάτου*, Philip. ii. 27; and the Philippians had heard of it, and the report to that effect had reached Rome, *ἐπειδὴ ἐπιποθῶν ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀδημονῶν, διότι ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἡσθένησε*, Philip. ii. 26: in short, the Epistle was written when Paul was in such confident expectation of his release that he was making arrangements for his departure; and his intentions were, as soon as he was released, to send Timothy instantly to Philippi to learn their state and bring back word to Paul in Italy, and then both were to sail together for the East; and at no distant period Paul hoped to visit the Philippians in person. *Ἐλπίζω δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Τιμόθεον ταχέως πέμψαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ ἐν ψυχῷ, γνοὺς τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν . . . τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἐλπίζω πέμψαι,*



ὡς ἂν ἀπίδω τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ ἔξανατῆς· πέποιθα δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι. Philip. ii. 19, 23.

**1940.** Paul is released about March, after an imprisonment of two years. "Ἐμεινε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος διετίαν ὄλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι. Acts, xxviii. 30. This duration of the imprisonment could not have been definitively stated had not the time of the release been known. Timothy is immediately dispatched with the intelligence to Philippi, according to the intentions announced in Paul's letter to them (see *supra*, no. 1939).

**1941.** Paul, being now at liberty, writes the long Epistle to the Hebrews, to prepare them for his intended visit as soon as Timothy should rejoin him. Paul at the date of this epistle was certainly at liberty, and was expecting Timothy back from the mission on which the latter had been sent to Philippi. Γινώσκετε τὸν Τιμόθεον ἀπολελυμένον, μεθ' οὗ ἔαν τάχιον ἔρχηται ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς. Heb. xiii. 23. Ἀπολελυμένον has been translated in the vulgate 'set at liberty,' but there is no trace of Timothy having suffered imprisonment, and the better meaning is 'sent on a mission,' in accordance with Paul's declaration of his intention to the Philippians (see *ante*, no. 1939). Paul at the date of the epistle was still in Italy, for ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, Heb. xiii. 24; and intending to sail for Judæa, whence he had sailed to Rome two years before. Περὶ σσοτέρως δὲ παρακαλῶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἵνα τάχιον ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν. Heb. xiii. 19.

We have seen that in the preceding year the Sadducees under Ananus the high-priest had commenced a persecution of the Christians, and had put James the bishop of Jerusalem to death; and the epistle to the Hebrews makes frequent allusion to those sufferings of the Christians in Judæa, and a series of arguments is contained in it for supporting the Christian Hebrews under their trials. See particularly the eleventh chapter, and thence to the end of the epistle. The persecution referred to by the epistle was not in the early days of Christianity, for the Hebrews are exhorted to patience under their present sufferings by the example of the martyrs at the first dawn of Christianity, ἀναμνησθε δὲ τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς φωτισθέντες πολλὴν ἄθλησιν ὑπεμείνατε παθημάτων, Heb. x. 32; and the recent death of James the Just and his fellow-martyrs is thus spoken

of: Μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὧν ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς μμείσθε τὴν πίστιν. Heb. xiii. 7. The word ἀναθεωροῦντες, or seeing over again the death of their rulers, refers to the death of James the Apostle at the hands of Agrippa in the earlier persecution (see A.D. 44, no. 1671), as now of James the Just in this the later persecution.

**1942.** Paul on Timothy's arrival sails (we may suppose) to Jerusalem, according to his promise, Heb. xiii. 23; and then revisits Antioch, and passes on to Colossæ, where he had directed Philemon to prepare him a lodging, ἅμα δὲ καὶ εἰομάζετέ μοι ξένιον, ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν χαρισθήσομαι ὑμῖν, Philem. ver. 22; and thence to Ephesus.

**1943.** Ananias at this time is at the height of his popularity and influence at Jerusalem. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας καθ' ἐκείνην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ μέγα προῦκοπτε δόξης, καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐννοίας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἤξιοτο λαμπρῶς. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 2.

**1944.** Nero has a daughter by Poppæa, and both the mother and child are invested with the title of Augusta, but the daughter lives only four months. *Memmio Regulo et Verginio Rufo coss. natam sibi ex Poppæâ filiam Nero ultra mortale gaudium accepit, adpellavitque Augustam, dato et Poppæa eodem cognomento . . . Quæ (the rejoicings) fluxa fuêre, quartum intra mensem defunctâ infante.* Tac. Ann. xv. 23.

**1945.** At the opening of spring A.D. 63 the Parthian embassy arrives at Rome. *Inter quæ veris principio legati Parthorum mandata regis Vologesis literasque in eandem formam adtulêre* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 24 (see A.D. 62, no. 1936, *post*, no. 1948). The birth of a daughter of Poppæa is related by Tacitus before this, and must have been at the very commencement of the year. The arrival of the Parthian embassy in the spring of this year, in consequence of the negociations between Corbulo and Vologeses, related by Tacitus under the preceding year (see A.D. 62, no. 1936), determines also that the events in Armenia narrated by Tacitus under A.D. 62 were not prospective, but occurred in that or the preceding year.

**1946.** The Parthian embassy fails, and war is resumed. Corbulo has the military command in the East, while Cincius takes the civil administration of Syria, and the feudatory kings

(including, no doubt, Agrippa) are ordered to attend the biddings of Corbulo. *Scriptur Te-trarchis ac Regibus Præfectisque et Procuratoribus et qui Prætorum finitimas provincias regebant, jussis Corbulonis obsequi* (his *co.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 25 (see A.D. 64, *post*, no. 1948).

**1947.** Corbulo with his forces, including the contingents of the subject-kings, advances to the banks of the Euphrates. *Et auxilia regum in unum conducta apud Melitenen, quâ transmittere Euphratem parabat* (his *co.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 26.

**1948.** Corbulo and Tiridates have an interview, at which Tiberius Alexander, the Jewish renegade, is present. *Die pactâ Tiberius Alexander, illustris eques Romanus, minister bello datus, et Vinianus Annius, gener Corbulonis . . . in castra Tiridatis venere.* Tac. Ann. xv. 28. Tiridates does homage to the image of the emperor, and agrees to make a journey to Rome to accept the crown of Armenia at the hands of Nero (his *co.*), Tac. Ann. xv. 28, 29; but prays a respite till he had paid a visit to his family before entering on so long a journey. *Postero die spatium oravit quo tantum itineris aditurus fratres ante matremque viseret. Obsidem interea filiam tradit, litterasque supplices ad Neronem* (his *co.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 30 (see *ante*, no. 1945). (Tiridates did not leave Armenia till A.D. 65, and did not arrive in Rome till A.D. 66; see that year, no. 1987.)

**1948 a.** Coins of Nero.

*Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P. x. Cos. iiii. P. P. Ex S. C.*

Eckhel, vi. 266.

Coin of Alexandria.

Ποππαια Σεβασ. L. I. + Νερω. Κλαν. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Γερ. Αυ. Id. iv. 55.

Coin of Antioch.

*Νερων Καισαρ Σεβαστος* AIP. I., or in the 111th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and in the tenth year of Nero, and therefore struck between 13 Oct. A.D. 63, and 1 Nov. A.D. 63. Id. iii. 281.

*Νερων Καισαρ Σεβαστος* BIP. I., and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 63, and 13 Oct. A.D. 64. Id. iii. 281.

Coin of Alexandria.

Ποππαια Σεβαστη L. I. + Νερω. Κλαν. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Γερ. Αυ. Id. iv. 55.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 1.

Pentecost, May 22.

Tabernacles, September 26.

**A.D. 64. U.C. 817. Olymp. 210, 4.**

C. LECANIUS BASSUS.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS FRUGL

NERONIS XI. FROM 13 OCT. TRIB: POT. XI. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. (?)

Sixteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1949.** Nero makes his first appearance on the boards of a public theatre at Naples. *C. Lecanio M. Licinio* *co.*. . . *non tamen Romæ incipere ausus, Neapolim, quasi Græcam urbem, delegit.* Tac. Ann. xv. 33. Suet. Nero, 20.

**1950.** Josephus, when he is twenty-six (see A. D. 38, no. 1541), comes to Rome. *Μετ' εικοστὸν δὲ καὶ ἕκτον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην μοι συνέπεσεν ἀναβῆναι.* Jos. Vit. 3. He is shipwrecked by the way in Adria. On reaching Puteoli he is introduced to Poppæa, and obtains the release of some Jewish priests whom Felix had sent bound to Rome. *Καθ' ὃν χρόνον Φῆλιξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευεν, ἱερεῖς τινὰς συνήξει ἔμοι, καλοὺς κἀγάθους διὰ μικρὰν καὶ τὴν τυχούσαν αἰτίαν δῆσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμψεν λόγον ὑφέζοντας τῷ Καίσαρι . . . Βαπτισθέντος γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῦ πλοίου κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν περὶ ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες δι' ὄλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνηξάμεθα, καὶ περὶ ἀρχομένην ἡμέραν ἐπιφανέντος ἡμῖν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν Κυρηναικοῦ πλοίου, φθάσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐγὼ τε καὶ τινες ἕτεροι ὀγδοήκοντα σύμπαντες, ἀνελήθημεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. Διασωθεὶς δ' εἰς τὴν Δικαιαρχίαν, ἣν Ποσιόλους Ἴταλοὶ καλοῦσιν, διὰ φιλίας ἀφικόμεν Ἀλιτῶρ (μιμολόγος δ' ἦν οὗτος κάλλιστα τῷ Νέρωι καταθύμιος, Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος), καὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ Ποππηῖα τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωσθεὶς, προνοῶ ὡς τάχιστα παρακαλέσας αὐτὴν τοὺς ἱερεῖς λυθῆναι, μεγάλων δὲ δωρεῶν πρὸς τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ ταύτῃ τυχῶν παρὰ τῆς Ποππηίας ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν.* Jos. Vit. 3. Poppæa, as before observed, was a Jewish proselyte (see A.D. 61, no. 1913), and as Josephus here calls Poppæa the wife of Nero, this visit to Rome was after the marriage of Nero to Poppæa (see A.D. 62, no. 1924). We have seen that at the beginning of the year Nero



was performing upon the public stage at *Naples* (see *supra*, no. 1949), and this tallies with the statement of Josephus that at *Puteoli* (close to Naples) he became acquainted with Aliturus, an actor, and obtained through him an introduction to Poppæa. The date is also confirmed by the statement of Josephus that on his return to Judæa he found the seeds of the Jewish war beginning to take root. Ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν. Καταλαμβάνω δ' ἤδη νεωτερισμῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει μέγα φρονοῦντας. Jos. Vit. 3, 4. And the immediate causes of the rebellion were the cruelties and enormities of Gessius Florus, Ant. xx. 11, 1, who succeeded Albinus in the latter part of this year (see *infra*, no. 1961).

In some of the circumstances the shipwreck of Josephus resembles that of St. Paul, for both occurred on a voyage from Judæa to Italy, and both in the sea called Adria, and Josephus as well as St. Paul sailed on board another vessel to Puteoli. But the dates are very different, for the shipwreck of St. Paul was in A.D. 60, and that of Josephus four years later; and the one vessel had 276 men on board, Acts, xxvii. 37, and the other 600; the one vessel was run aground on the coast of Malta, ἐπὶ κείλαν τὴν ναῦν, Acts, xxvii. 41; and the other foundered at sea, βαπτισθέντος τοῦ πλοίου, Jos. Vit. 3; Paul was carried on in the spring by a ship of Alexandria, πλοίῳ Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ, Acts, xxviii. 11; but Josephus and eighty others were picked up at sea by a ship of Cyrene, etc. Indeed it is quite impossible, as some contend, that the two events can be identical.

**1951.** Nero, on his way from Naples to Brundisium, with the view of embarking for Greece, tarries at Beneventum to see a show. *Petiturusque maris Hadriæ trajectus, apud Beneventum interim consedit, ubi gladiatorium munus a Vatinius celebre edebatur* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 34.

**1952.** Torquatus Silanus is put upon his trial, and kills himself (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 35. Dion, lxii. 27.

**1953.** Nero changes his mind, and, relinquishing his voyage to Greece, returns to Rome, and proposes to visit Egypt. *Nec multo post, omissa in præsens Achaid (causæ in incerto fuere), urbem revisit, provincias Orientis, maxime Egyptum, secretis imaginationibus agitans* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 36.

**1954.** He ascends the Capitol before setting

out for Egypt, and suddenly abandons his plan. *Super eâ projectione adiit Capitolum . . . repente . . . deseruit inceptum.* Tac. Ann. xv. 36.

**1955.** The great fire at Rome begins on 19 July and lasts for six days. *Fuere qui adnotarent xiv. Kalend. Sextiles principium incendii hujus ortum.* Tac. Ann. xv. 41. *Sexto demum die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 40. Suet. Nero, 38.

Nero, when the fire broke out, was at Antium, but came to Rome on the fire approaching his palace. *Et in tempore Nero, Antii agens, non ante in urbem regressus est quam domui ejus, quæ palatium et Mæcenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret.* Tac. Ann. xv. 39.

**1956.** Nero imputes the origin of the fire to the Christians, and commences a persecution of them. *Sed non ope humanâ, non largitionibus principis aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin jussum incendium crederetur. Ergo, abolendo rumori, Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pænis adfecit quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos adpellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat. Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocitas aut pudenda confluent celebranturque. Igitur primo conrepti qui fatebantur, deinde, indicio eorum, multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis coniecti, laniati canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi; aut flammati, atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigæ permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens. Unde, quamquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publicâ, sed in sævitiam unius absumerentur* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 44. *Adflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ.* Suet. Nero, 16. The persecution is also alluded to by Juvenal:—

*Pone Tigellinum, tædâ lucebis in illâ.*

*Quæ stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,  
Et latum mediâ sulcum deducis arenâ.*

Juv. Lib. i. Sat. i. v. 155.



And by Martial:—

*In matutinâ nuper spectatus arenâ  
Mucius imposuit qui sua membra focis,  
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,  
Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes.  
Nam cum dicatur tunicâ præsentē molestâ  
Ure manum, plus est dicere 'non facio.'*  
Martial, Lib. x. Ep. 25.

**1957.** Nero builds the golden palace (*his* *cos.*), Tac. Ann. xv. 42; Suet. Nero, 31; and ransacks the provinces to adorn it with the finest statues, etc. Acratus and Secundus Caprinus are sent to Asia and Achaia for the purpose. *Per Asiam atque Achaiam non dona tantum, sed simulacra numinum abripiebantur, missis in eas provincias Acrato ac Secundo Caprinæ (his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 45.

**1958.** Seneca, to avoid the obloquy of these proceedings, shuts himself up in his house. *Ferebatur Seneca . . . fictâ valetudine, quasi æger nervis, cubiculum non egressus.* Tac. Ann. xv. 45.

**1959.** A comet appears towards the close of the year. *Fine anni vulgantur prodigia, imminuentium malorum nuntia. Vis fulgurum non alias crebrior, et sidus cometes sanguine inlustri semper Neroni expiatum* (*his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 47. *Stella crinita, quæ summis potestatibus exitum portendere vulgo putatur, per continuas noctes oriri cæperat.* Suet. Nero, 36.

**1960.** About this time, Agrippa removes Jesus, son of Damnæus, from the pontificate, and appoints Jesus, son of Gamaliel. *Λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς οὗ τοῦ Γαμαλιὴλ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς Ἀρχιερωσύνης παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, Ἰησοῦν ἀφελομένου τὸν τοῦ Δαμαίου.* Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 4. This is related by Josephus under the procuratorship of Albinus, and just before the arrival of Gessius Florus (see A.D. 62, no. 1932; A.D. 65, no. 1979).

**1961.** Albinus is succeeded by Gessius Florus as procurator of Judæa. Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 2; Ant. xx. 11, 1 (see A.D. 62, no. 1929). The appointment of Gessius Florus was sometime between 19 April, A.D. 64, and 19 April, A.D. 65; for the Jewish war, which began on 19 April, A.D. 66, broke out in the second year of the rule of Florus. *Καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλώρου, δωδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς.* Ant. xx. 11, 1. Had Florus arrived before 19 April, A.D. 64, the commencement of the war would have

been in the third year of his rule; and had Florus arrived after 19 April, A.D. 65, it would have been in the first year of his rule.

**1962.** Cestius Gallus is about the same time appointed prefect of Syria, for he appears to have been already for some time in office at the Passover A.D. 66. *Μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἐν Συρίᾳ Κέστιος Γάλλος ἦν προδιέπων τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὐδὲ πρεσβεύσασθαι τις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησε κατὰ τοῦ Φλώρου, παραγενόμενον δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα τῆς τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης* (Passover A.D. 66) *περιστὰς ὁ δῆμος . . . ἰκέτευεν.* Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 3. And see Jos. Vit. 67, 71; Tac. Hist. v. 10 (see A.D. 63, no. 1946; A.D. 67, no. 2045). The changes in the prefecture of Syria and the procuratorship of Judæa were very commonly contemporaneous. (See A.D. 60, nos. 1892, 1893; A.D. 44, no. 1679; A.D. 12, nos. 1046, 1047; A.D. 6, no. 1012.)

**1963.** Paul, in the spring, leaves Timothy at Ephesus, and sails himself with Titus to Crete, where, after making a circuit, he leaves Titus to complete the work begun, and returns himself to Ephesus. Here he gives a charge to Timothy; and, leaving him there, proceeds to Macedonia. He visits Philippi, from which he passes on to Corinth, whence he writes the First Epistle to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus. Hence he advances to Nicopolis, in Epirus, where he winters, and where Titus was to rejoin him from Crete.

That Paul had been in Crete not long before the date of the Epistle to Titus is evident from the passage, *τούτου χάριν κατέλιπόν σε ἐν Κρήτῃ*, Tit. i. 5; and that he had gone thither from Ephesus, and again touched at Ephesus on his way from Crete to Macedonia, may be collected from his words to Timothy. *Καθὼς παρεκάλεσά σε προσμεῖναι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν, etc.* 1 Tim. i. 3. The word *προσμεῖναι*, to *stay on*, implies, first, that Paul had placed him there, when the Apostle was last at Ephesus; and, secondly, that Paul, on his way to Macedonia, had desired him to continue there. That Paul, while in Macedonia, visited Philippi, we may infer from his promise to them while he was a prisoner at Rome. *Πέποιθα δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι.* Philip. ii. 24. From Macedonia he would naturally go down to Corinth (whence the Epistles, the First to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus, appear to have been written); and that he wintered at Nicopolis we may pre-



sume from the intention to that effect expressed in his letter to Titus. "Όταν πέμψω Ἀρτεμῶν πρὸς σε ἢ Τύχικον, σπούδασον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με εἰς Νικόπολιν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ κέκρικα παραχειμάσαι. Tit. iii. 12. It may be safely assumed that the Epistles, the First to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus, were written after Paul's liberation from imprisonment at Rome.

**1963 a.** Coin of Nero.

Ποππαια Σεβαστη ΙΑ. + Νέρω. Κλαυ. Καισ. Σεβ.  
Γερ. Αυ. (i. e. in the eleventh year of Nero).  
Eckhel, iv. 55.

Coin of Alexandria.

Ποππαια Σεβαστη L. ΙΑ. + Νέρω. Κλαυ. Καισ.  
Σεβ. Γερ. Αυ. Id. iv. 55.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 21.

Pentecost, May 11.

Tabernacles, September 15.

**A.D. 65. U.C. 818. Olymp. 211, 1.**

A. LICINIUS NERVA SILIANUS.

M. VESTINUS ATTICUS. Qui in mag. occisus est.

Ex Kal. Jul.

PLAUTIUS LATERANUS. Qui antequam iniret occisus est.

ANICIUS CEREALIS.

NERONIS XII. FROM 13 OCT. TRIB. POT. XII.

FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT.

PATR. IMP. (?)

Seventeenth year of the reign of Agrippa II.  
from some time in the second quarter.

**1964.** The Olympia are not celebrated this year, as Nero postponed them till he should arrive in Greece. Διακοσιοστή ἑνδεκάτη. Οὐκ ἦχθη Νέρωνος ἀναβαλλομένου εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδημίαν. Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο ἀχθείσας αὐτῆς, etc. Syncellus, Olymp. 211. *Non est acta Nerone in suam praesentiam differente.* Hieron. Chron. *Non est celebrata Olympias quia Nero distulit illam donec se illuc ipse conferret.* Euseb. Chron. Lib. i. p. 160, Armen. Vers.; and see Lib. ii. anno 2080, ib. Εἰδὲ ἀληθεύει τὸ ἐπιγράμμα, Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρώτῃ μετὰ δέκα καὶ διακοσίας φαίνουσι ἂν τὸν κότινον ὃ Ξενόδαμος εἰληφώς· αὐτῇ δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἡλείων γράμμασι παρῆται μόνῃ πασῶν ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς. Pausan. x. 36, 4 (see A.D. 66, no. 1996).

**1965.** A conspiracy of Piso against Nero is

discovered at Rome. The assassination of Nero had been fixed by them for the *Circenses ludi Cereales*. *Tandem statuere Circensium ludorum die qui Cereri celebratur exsequi destinata, quia Cæsar rarus egressu, domoque aut hortis clausus, ad ludicra Circi ventitabat, promptioresque aditus erant lætitiæ spectaculi* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 53. *Tum dona et grates deis decernuntur . . . utque Circensium Cerealium ludicrum pluribus equorum cursibus celebraretur, mensisque Aprilis Neronis cognomentum acciperet.* Tac. Ann. xv. 74. *Et mensis qui Aprilem, eundemque Neroneum, sequebatur Maius Claudii, Junius Germanici, vocabulis mutantur.* Tac. Ann. xvi. 12; and see Suet. Nero, 36. The *Circenses ludi Cereales* were celebrated on *xiii. Kal. Mai*, or 19 April. Fasti Verriani and Old Calendar, cited Fasti Rom. A.D. 65; and see Ovid Fasti, iv. 679.

**1966.** Death of Seneca. *Sequitur cædes Annæi Senecæ, lætissima Principi* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 60. *Senecam præceptorem ad necem (Nero) compulit.* Suet. Nero, 35. Dion. lxii. 25.

**1967.** The death of Fenius Rufus, one of the two prefects of the Prætorium (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 68.

**1968.** Nymphidius Sabinus is appointed in his place. *Νυμφίδιος γὰρ Σαβίνος, ὦν ἑπαρχος, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, μετὰ Τιγελλίνου τῆς ἀλλῆς, etc.* Plut. Galb. 2, 8. Suet. Galb. 11. Tac. Hist. i. 5 (see A.D. 62, no. 1919; A.D. 68, no. 2069).

**1969.** The death of Lucan, the poet, the son of Mela, the brother of Seneca (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 70. This is placed by Auctor Vitæ on 30 April. *Sua sponte coactus vitæ excedere venas sibi præscidit peritque prid. Kal. Maias, Attico Vestino et Nerva Syllano Coss. xxvii. ætatis annum agens.* See Fasti Romani.

**1970.** The banishment of Rufius Crispinus, the first husband of Poppæa (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 71.

**1971.** Musonius Rufus, the philosopher, is banished. *Musonium Rufum claritudo nominis expulit . . . Studia juvenum Musonius præceptis sapientiæ fovebat* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 71. *Ρούφος μέντοι Μουσώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφυγαδεύθη.* Dion, lxii. 27. May not this have been the Rufus saluted by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans? Rom. xvi. 13 (see A.D. 67, no. 2056).

**1972.** Gallio, the brother of Seneca, is in fear of his life, *Junium Gallionem Senecæ*

*fratris morte pavidum et pro sua incolunitate supplicem increpuit Salienus Clemens, hostem et parricidam vocans* (his *cos.*), Tac. Ann. xv. 73; and ultimately he was put to death. The latter event was subsequent to the death of Seneca. *Καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ* (Senecæ) *ὑστερον ἐπαλώοντο*. Dion, lxii. 25. The death is erroneously referred by Eusebii Chronicon. to the tenth year of Nero. *Junius Annæus Gallio, frater Senecæ, egregius declamator, propriâ se manu interfecit*. Hieron. Anno 2080, 10 Neronis (A.D. 64-65).

**1973.** The Quinquennalia are celebrated for the second time (see A.D. 61, no. 1909). *Ac forte quinquennale ludicrum secundo lustro celebrabatur* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xvi. 2; and see Suet. Nero, 21. The celebration was probably at midsummer, the time of the Olympia, of which they were a copy.

Nero sings on the public stage at the theatres, and Vespasian, the future emperor, is one of the audience (*his cos.*). Tac. Ann. xvi. 4, 5.

**1974.** The death of Poppæa, shortly after the Quinquennalia. *Post finem ludicri Poppæa mortem obiit* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xvi. 6. Dion, lxii. 27. Poppæa was buried, and not burnt. *Corpus non igni abolitum, ut Romanus mos, sed regum externorum consuetudine differtum odoribus conditur, tumuloque Juliorum infertur*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 6. This was probably from her being a Jewish proselyte. *Θεοσεβής γὰρ ἦν*. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11.

**1975.** Death of Lucius Vetus, late proconsul of Asia (*his cos.*). Tac. Ann. xvi. 10 (see A.D. 58, no. 1850, and *infra*, no. 1977).

**1976.** The year is attended with incessant storms and plagues in Italy. *Tot facinoribus fœdum annum etiam Dii tempestatibus et morbis insignivère . . . domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xvi. 13. As Tacitus records this amongst the very last events of the year, the prevalence of the plague and storms was probably toward the close of the year.

**1977.** Barea Soranus is at this time proconsul of Asia, and is engaged in clearing out the port (see *supra*, no. 1975; A.D. 58, no. 1850; A.D. 68, no. 2071).

**1978.** The Temple of Jerusalem, begun by Herod, is at length completed. *Ἡδὴ δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐτετέλεστο*. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 7. This is related after the arrival of Gessius Florus (see A.D. 64, no. 1961), and before the

outbreak of the Jewish war, on 19 April, A.D. 66 (see that year, no. 2006).

**1979.** Agrippa removes Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, from the high-priesthood, and appoints Matthias, the son of Theophilus. *Ἰησοῦν δὲ τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιὴλ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος, ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν Ματθίᾳ τῷ Θεοφίλου, καθ' ὃν καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος Ἰουδαίους ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν*. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 7. This is related next after the completion of the Temple (see A.D. 64, no. 1960; A.D. 67, no. 2059).

**1980.** The martyrdom of St. Peter may be placed about this time. It is universally ascribed to the period of the general persecution of the Christians under Nero. Clement, his contemporary, writes thus:—*Ἄλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποδειγμάτων παυσώμεθα ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους ἀθλητάς. Λάβωμεν τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ὑποδείγματα. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στύλοι ἐδώχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου ἦλθον. Λάβωμεν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους. Ὁ Πέτρος διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οὐχ ἕνα οὐδὲ δύο, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπήνεγκεν πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑπέσχευεν, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φυρέσας, φυγαδευθεὶς, λιθασθεὶς, κῆρυξ γερόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός. Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσῶς πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλὰς αἰκίας καὶ βασάνους διὰ ζῆλον παθόντες ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν*. Clem. 1 Epist. Cor. 5. From the deaths of Peter and Paul being coupled with the martyrdom of a multitude of others, we may collect that a general persecution was then raging; and the only one up to the time of Clement was that under Nero, and which arose from, and followed not long after the great fire at Rome, which broke out on 19 July, A.D. 64 (see that year, no. 1985). It will be observed that in this the earliest testimony the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul are not, as in many later writers, coupled together as contemporaneous, but the death of St. Peter precedes in the narrative that of St.



Paul. Eusebius, in his History, gives the following account:—*Ταύτη γοῖν οὖτος (Nero) θεομάρχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρῶτος ἀνακηρυχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγὰς. Παῦλος δὴ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ Πέτρος ὡσαύτως ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ἰστοροῦνται . . . Ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμφω καιρὸν ἐμαρτύρησαν Κορίνθιων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἐγγράφως Ῥωμαῖοις ὁμιλῶν ὧδὲ πως παρίστησιν . . . 'Καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον.'* Euseb. Ec. Hist. ii. 25. The expression in this passage, *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον* means only *about* the same time, viz. in the same general persecution. In another work, Eusebius merely observes, *Πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυροῦται, Παῦλος τε ἀποτέμνεται.* Euseb. Dem. Evang. iii. 3, p. 116. But in his Chronicon, Eusebius places these events expressly in the thirteenth year of Nero. *Nero ad cætera scelera persecutionem quoque Christianorum primus adjunxit, sub quo videlicet Petrus et Paulus Apostoli Martyrium Romæ consummaverunt.* Euseb. Chronicon, Olymp. 211, 4, Anno Abrahami 2083, Neronis 13<sup>o</sup> (Armenian version). However, as Eusebius has fixed the reign of Nero one year too late, the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul must be referred to the twelfth, and not to the thirteenth, year of Nero; and with this agrees the testimony of Epiphanius. *Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τελευταίην τὴν ἐπὶ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει Νέρωνος γενομένην.* Epiph. Hæres. Lib. i. Hæres. 27. Assuming the martyrdom of St. Peter to have been in the twelfth year of Nero, it was after 13 October of this year, when the twelfth year began; and as the martyrdom of St. Paul was on 29 June of the next year (see A.D. 66, no. 1999), both martyrdoms fell within the twelfth year of Nero. Jerome, in his version of Eusebius's Chronicon, places the martyrdom of St. Peter, as also that of St. Paul, anno 2084, Neronis 14<sup>o</sup>; and in another work, he refers the death of both to the fourteenth of Nero, and places both on the very same day. *Paulus ergo xiv. Neronis anno, eodem die quo Petrus, Romæ pro Christo truncatus sepultusque est in Vid' Ostiensi.* Hieron. Catal. c. 5, cited Fasti Romani. But Jerome is here certainly mistaken as to the year, and we cannot suppose that he had any

sufficient warrant as to the day. Orosius writes as follows:—*Primus Romæ Christianos supplicibus et mortibus affectis (Nero) ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione ex cruciari imperavit; ipsumque nomen extirpare conatus beatissimos Christi Apostolos, Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio, cecidit. Mox acervatim miseram civitatem obortæ undique oppressere clades, nam subsequenti autumnno tanta urbi pestilentia incubuit, ut triginta millia funerum in rationem Libitinæ venirent.* Oros. vii. 7. Orosius, therefore, placed the death of both Peter and Paul in A.D. 65, for the pestilence was in the latter part of it (see ante, no. 1976). *In Christianos sæviri cœptum: post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur; palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus et Petrus capitis damnati quorum uni cervix gladio desecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur Judæi præsidis sui Festi (lege Gessi) Flori injurias non ferentes rebellare cœperunt.* Sulpic. Severus, H. S. ii. 41, 42. The coupling the persecution at Rome during this year and the next with the outbreak of the Jewish war would be strictly correct (see A.D. 66, nos. 1999 and 2006). The testimonies of other fathers are still less explicit as to time. *Orientem fidem Romæ primus Nero cruentavit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur* (see the prophecy, John, xxi. 18), *cum cruci adstringitur. Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ consequitur nativitatem.* Tertullian, Scorpia. c. 15; and see Contra Marc. iv. 5; Præscript. Hæres. c. 3. *Cum animadverteret (Nero) non modo Romæ, sed ubique, quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam, damnatâ vetustate, transire, ut erat execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, prosilivit ad excidendum cæleste templum delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit.* Lactant. de Mortib. Persecuti. c. 2.

**1981.** The labours of Paul this year appear to have been these:—Having passed the winter at Nicopolis in Epirus (see A.D. 64, no. 1963), he advanced into Dalmatia (whither he afterwards sent Titus, as one acquainted with them during this circuit. *Τίτος εἰς Δαλματίαν.* 2 Tim. iv. 10). He thence proceeded through Macedonia to Troas, where he left his cloak and parchments. *Τὸν φαίλονην ὃν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τρωάδι παρὰ Κάρπῳ ἐρχόμενος φέρε καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας.* 2 Tim. iv.

13. Thence to Ephesus, where he had commanded Timothy to wait till his arrival. Ταῦτά σοι γράφω ἐλπίζων ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σε τάχιον, εἰὰν δὲ βραδύνω ἵνα εἰδῆς πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεται. 1 Tim. iii. 14. Here from the bitter persecution by Nero of the Christians he seems to have been deserted by many of his Ephesian followers. Οἶδας τοῦτο ὅτι ἀπεισθήσασάν με πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. 2 Tim. i. 15. He was then arrested himself and imprisoned at Ephesus, and visited and comforted by Onesiphorus. Δόξη ἔλεος ὁ Κύριος τῷ Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ, ὅτι πολλὰς με ἀνέψυξε καὶ τὴν ἄλυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπῆσχύνθη . . . καὶ ὅσα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διηκόνησε βέλτιον σὺ γινώσκεις. 2 Tim. i. 16-18. From Ephesus he was sent a prisoner to Rome, and touched by the way at Miletus, where he left Trophimus sick. Τρόφιμον δὲ ἀπέλιπον ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἀσθενοῦντα. 2 Tim. iv. 20. He then passed (as it was winter) over the isthmus of Corinth, where he parted from Erastus, who was a native of that city. Ἐραστός ἔμεινεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ. 2 Tim. iv. 20. [N.B. King Agrippa, three years after this, crossed the isthmus at the same season in the same way. Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς Γάλβαν ἔπλει καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, χειμῶνος γὰρ ἦν ὥρα, etc. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2.]

On arriving at Rome Paul is kept a prisoner, but receives great comfort from Onesiphorus, who arrived there soon after him. Ἄλλὰ γενόμενος (Onesiphorus) ἐν Ῥώμῃ σπουδαιότερον ἐζήτησέ με καὶ εὔρε. 2 Tim. i. 17.

**1982.** Demonstratus is archon at Athens. Ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνῃσι Δημοστράτου, ὑπατευνόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Αὔλου Λουκινίου Νερούα Σιλαριανοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Οὐεσσίνου Ἀττικοῦ. Phleg. Mirab. Müller's Frag. Græc. Hist. iii. 622.

**1983.** Coin of Alexandria.

Ποππαια Σεβαστη L. IB. + Νερ. Κλαν. Καισ. Σεβ. Γερ. Αὔ. The Egyptians dated the reign from 1 Thoth, or 29 Aug.; and IB. the twelfth year of Nero therefore began on 29 Aug. of this year, and if the coin be genuine Poppæa survived that day (see *ante*, no. 1974).

Eckhel, iv. 55.

A coin of King Agrippa.

Βασιλεὺς Αγριππα. *Tabernaculum* + L. E. *Tres spicæ*. Agrippa in his coinage reckoned A.D. 61 as the first of his reign. Why this was does not appear, but the fact is incontrovertible. Thus on one coin we have *Imp. Cæ. D. Vesp. F. Dom. Au. Ger. Cos. xii. Caput*

*Domitiani laureatum* + Επι Βσ. Αγρ. ET. ΚΣ. *Caduceus inter duplex cornucopiae*. Domitian was consul xii. in A.D. 86, which was therefore the twenty-sixth year of Agrippa, so that A.D. 61 was his first year. The coin first above-mentioned was struck in the fifth year of his reign, and therefore in A.D. 65.

Eckhel, iii. 493. See also Wieseler's Chronol. Apostol. 90, note (1).

Inscription.

*Neroni Cl. Cais. Aug. Pont. Max. ob provinc. latronib. et his qui novam generi humano superstition. inculcab. purgatam* (Marquesiæ in Hispaniâ). Gruter, 238, 9. The inscription, if genuine, may be placed about this time.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 9.

Pentecost, May 30.

Tabernacles, October 4.

**A.D. 66. U.C. 819. Olymp. 211, 2.**

C. LUCIUS TELESINUS.

C. SUTONIUS PAULINUS.

NERONIS XIII. FROM 13 OCTOB. TRIB. POT XIII. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. AND IMP. XI. For an old inscription runs, IMP. XI. TR. P. XIII. COS. IV., and the thirteenth year of the Tribunitian Power answers to A.D. 66. See Eckhel, vi. 282 (see *infra*, no. 1989).

Eighteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**1984.** Nero is timid from the late conspiracy against him, and puts Ostorius to death from apprehension of his military fame. *Ostorius . . . metum Neroni fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum semper et repertâ nuper conjuratione magis exterritum* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xvi. 15.

**1985.** Mela the brother of Seneca, and Rufius Crispinus, who had been prefect of the prætorium, are put to death. *Paucos quippe intra dies, eodem agmine, Annæus Mela, Cerialis Anicius, Rufius Crispinus, ac C. Petronius cecidère: Mela et Crispinus equites Romani, dignitate senatoriâ: nam hic quondam Præfectus Prætorii . . . Mela, quibus Gallio et Seneca parentibus natus* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xvi. 17; and see Dion, lxii. 25.

**1986.** Nero quits Rome for Baulos in Campania. *Fortè illis diebus Campaniam petiverat Cæsar, et Cumas usque progressus Petronius illic adtinebatur* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xvi. 19.

**1987.** Tiridates the Parthian, king of Ar-



menia (see A.D. 63, no 1945) (with his sons and those of Vologeses, king of Parthia, and of Pacorus, satrap of Media, and of Monobazus, king of Adiabene), arrives in Italy, attended by 3000 Parthian horsemen (*his coss.*). Dion, lxiii. 1, 2. He came by way of Illyria and round the Adriatic, *διὰ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικῆ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον*, Dion, lxiii. 7; and then through Picentium, and joined Nero at Naples. *Καὶ διὰ Πικεντῶν εἰς Νέαν πόλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο*. Dion, lxiii. 2. The journey occupied nine months. *Καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἐννέα μῆνας, οἷς ὠδοπόρησαν, ὁμοίως ἐγένετο*. Dion, lxiii. 2; and see Suet. Nero, 13; Plin. N. H. xxx. 6.

**1988.** Nero entertains Tiridates with a show at Puteoli. *Ὁ οὖν Νέρων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ αὐτὸν (Tiridatem) θαυμάσας, τοῖσι τε ἄλλοις ἐδεξιώσατο καὶ μονομαχίας ἐν Πουτεύοις ἔθετο*. Dion, lxiii. 3.

**1989.** From Campania Nero accompanies Tiridates to Rome, and makes a triumphal entry, and then publicly crowns him. *Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων ἀνήγαγε καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ ἐπέθηκε*. Dion, lxiii. 4. The proceedings are described in Dion, lxiii. 4. Suet. Nero, 13. Nero is saluted Emperor, and the temple of Janus is shut. *Ob qua (the pageant of Tiridates) Imperator consalutatus, laureā in Capitolium latā, Janum geminum clausit, tanquam nullo residuo bello*. Suet. Nero, 13.

**1990.** Thrasea Pætus and Barea Soranus are put to death (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xvi. 21–35. It would almost seem that they suffered as Christians, for the charge against Thrasea was that he refused to sacrifice to the emperor, the test by which Christians were tried. *Οὔτε ἔθυσσε τῇ ἱερᾷ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι*. Dion, lxii. 26. *Nunquam pro salute Principis aut caelesti voce immolavisse*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 22. And he was charged with contumacy. *Ejusdem animi est, Poppæam Divam non credere, cujus in acta Divi Augusti et Divi Julii non jurare. Spernit religiones, abrogat leges*, Tac. Ann. xvi. 22; and he was accused as one, *qui fora, theatra, templa, pro solitudine haberet*, Tac. Ann. xvi. 28. And Soranus was charged with practising magical rites. *Quod pecuniam magis (filia ejus) dilargita esset*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 30. *Σωρανὸς μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ μαγεύματι τινὶ διὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς κεκηρημένος, ἐπειδὴ νοσήσαντος αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τινὰ ἐθύσαντο, ἐσφάγη*. Dion, lxii. 26. They were both put to death, not for any real crime, but for their virtues. *Τῆς τε συμπάσης ἀρετῆς*

*τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκοντες*. Dion, lxii. 26. *Trucidatis tot insignibus viris ad postremum Nero virtutem ipsam excindere concupivit, interfecto Thraseā Pæto et Barea Sorano*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 21.

Barea Soranus had been proconsul of Asia, and had promoted the public weal by attempting to clear out the port of Ephesus, which had begun to be choked up. His year of office must have been from midsummer A.D. 64 to midsummer A.D. 65, for he was proconsul when, after the great fire at Rome (see A.D. 64, no. 1955), Acratus was sent to Asia to plunder the towns of statues and paintings. *At Barea Soranum jam sibi Ostorius Sabinus, eques Romanus poposcerat reum ex proconsulatu Asia, in qua offensiones Principis auxit justitiā atque industriā, et quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumperat, vinque civitatis Pergamena prohibentis Acratum Cæsaris libertum statuas et picturas avehere inultam omiserat*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 23.

**1991.** The deaths of Pætus and Soranus occurred just as Tiridates and Nero were approaching Rome from Puteoli. *Tempus damnationi delectum quo Tiridates accipiendū Armeniæ regno adventabat*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 23. The people having gone out to meet Nero and Tiridates, Thrasea sought an interview with Nero and was refused, and then addressed a memorial to him. *Omni civitate ad excipiendum Principem (Neronem) spectandumque regem (Tiridatem) effusā, Thrasea occursum prohibitus non demisit animum, sed codicillos ad Neronem composuit*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 24. Thrasea was then accused in the senate, but Nero, being engaged with Tiridates, did not appear in the senate, but sent his quæstor. *Oratio Principis per Quæstorem ejus audita est*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 27. [With the deaths of Pætus and Soranus the Annals of Tacitus unfortunately end, the remaining books being irrecoverably lost.]

**1992.** At what time Tiridates arrived at Rome is not stated, but the hot weather had set in, as may be inferred from the use of purple awnings as a screen from the sun. *Τάγε μὴν παραπετάσματα τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος διαπαθέντα, ὅπως τὸν ἥλιον ἀπερύκοι, ἀλουργὰ ἦν, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν ἄρμα ἐλαύνων ὁ Νέρων ἐνέσκιτο*. Dion, lxiii. 6. Tiridates returned by way of Brundisium to Dyrrhachium, and thence through Asia. *Ἀνεκομισθὴ δὲ . . . ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐκ τοῦ Βρεννεσίου πλεύσας, καὶ εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις*. Dion, lxiii. 7.

**1993.** St. Paul writes from Rome the Second Epistle to Timothy, the last of his letters. That he was a prisoner at Rome at the time appears from the epistle itself. *Μὴ οὖν ἐπαισχυνθῆς . . . ἐμὲ τὸν δέσμιον αὐτοῦ.* 2 Tim. i. 8. *Τὴν ἄλυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπρσχύνθη, ἀλλὰ γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ σπουδαιότερον ἐζήτησέ με καὶ εἶρε.* Ib. i. 16. *Ἐν ᾧ (the Gospel) κακοπαθῶ μεχρὶ δεσμῶν . . . ὡς κακοῦργος.* Ib. ii. 9. And he had already been brought to trial once (perhaps before Nero, designated as the Lion), when he had been either acquitted on the count first brought forward, or the trial had been adjourned. *Ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μου ἀπολογία οὐδεὶς μοι συμπαραγένετο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον . . . καὶ ἐβρόσθην ἐκ στόματος Λέοντος.* Ib. iv. 16, 17. The letter was probably written a little before midsummer, for Timothy at the time was somewhere in Asia. *Τὸν φαιλόνην ὃν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τρωάδι παρὰ Κάρπῳ ἐρχόμενος φέρε καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας.* Ib. iv. 13. And yet Timothy was entreated to come to Rome from that distance before winter. *Σπούδασον πρὸ χειμῶνος ἐλθεῖν.* Ib. iv. 21. And the date was (if the Apostle's own forebodings were realised) not long before his death. *Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως ἐφέστηκε.* Ib. iv. 6.

**1994.** After dismissing Tiridates, Nero meditates an expedition to Parthia, or Ethiopia, or the shores of the Caspian, but finally resolves on going to Greece. Dion, lxxiii. 8. Suet. Nero, 19. Nero is accompanied to Greece by Tigellinus. *Τὸν γὰρ Τιγελλίνον ἐν προσθήκῃς μέρει τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὅτι σὺν αὐτῷ ἦν, τίθημι.* Dion, lxxiii. 12. And Helius, the freedman, is left in command at Rome. *Τοὺς μέντοι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντας Ἡλίῳ τινὶ Καισαρείῳ ἐκδότους παρέδωκε· πάντα γὰρ ἀπλῶς αὐτῷ ἐπέτετραπτο, ὥστε καὶ δημεῖν καὶ φνγαδεύειν καὶ ἀποκτινύναι (καὶ πρὶν δηλῶσαι τῷ Νέρωνι) καὶ ἰδιώτας ὁμοίως καὶ ἱππέας καὶ βουλευτάς. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ δύο αὐτοκρατορσιν ἅμα ἐδούλευσε Νέρωνι καὶ Ἡλίῳ.* Dion, lxxiii. 12. Suet. Nero, 23.

**1995.** Nero sails to Greece by way of Cassiope in Corcyra, where he sings in public. *Nec profectio dilatā, ut primum Cassiopem trajecit, statim ad aram Jovis Cassii cantare auspiciatus est.* Suet. Nero, 22.

**1996.** The Olympia, which should have been observed in A.D. 65, are celebrated this year, and Nero is crowned victor. *Ἐγὼ δὲ νικήσειν*

*μὲν Νέρωνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φημί, τίς γὰρ οὕτω θρασὺς ὡς ἐνάντια θέσθαι· Ὀλύμπια δὲ οὐ νικήσειν, ἅτε μηδὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἄγουσι. Πατρίον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις τοῦ πέρυσιν ἐνιαυτοῦ (A.D. 65, no. 1964), ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἡλείους Νέρων ἀναβαλέσθαι αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδημίαν (A.D. 66). Philost. V. A. v. 7; and see Dion, lxxiii. 14. And Euseb. Chron. places the Olympic victory of Nero under the year 2081, i.e. A.D. 66. Anno 2081 Nero Olympiis coronatus est. In the Eusebian catalogue of the Olympiads is the following passage: cccai. (A.D. 65) non est celebrata Olympias, quia Nero illam distulit donec se illuc ipse conferret, post biennium tamen (μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο Africanus) celebrata est, vicique stadium quidem Tryphon Philadelphensis, Nero autem a praeconibus coronatus est, quia cantorum, citharædorum, currus pullini, et decem equuleorum, certamen vicit. Euseb. Chron. Armen. 160. The post biennium and μετὰ ἔτη δύο must be here taken to mean after one year complete, viz. in A.D. 66. The Olympia recurred every fourth year, and yet were called quinquennial, or μετὰ ἔτη πέντε. Nero conquered in all the Grecian games in the course of this year. Τίς δὲ νίκη ἀποπωτέρα, ἐν ἣ τὸν κότινον, ἢ τὴν δάφνην, ἢ τὸ σέλιον, ἢ τὴν πίτυν λαβὼν ἀπόλεσε τὸ πολιτικόν. Dion, lxxiii. 9; and see Dion, lxxiii. 12, 18, 20. And so Suetonius: Certamina deinceps obit omnia. Nam et quæ diversissimorum temporum sunt cogi in unum annum, quibusdam etiam iteratis, jussit. Suet. Nero, 23.*

The following coins relate to the victories of Nero in this year and the next:—

Ἀπολλων Ἀκτιος L. ΙΓ.	Ἀπολλων Πυθιος ΙΔ.
Διος Ολυμπιον L. ΙΓ.	Ζευς Νεμειος ΙΔ.
Ἡρα Ἀργεῖα L. ΙΓ.	Ἡρα Ἀργεῖα ΙΔ.
Ἀπολλων Ἀκτιος ΙΔ.	Ποσειδῶν Ἰσθμιος ΙΔ.

Eckhel, vi. 279; id. iv. 53.

All these coins are Alexandrian; and in Egypt the reigns were reckoned from 1 Thoth, the first Egyptian month (29 August). ΙΓ., or the thirteenth year of Nero, began therefore on 29 August, A. D. 66, and ΙΔ., or the fourteenth year, on 29 August A.D. 67 (see Eckhel, iv. 41).

Nero did not visit either Athens or Sparta. *Ταῦταις γὰρ μόναίς (Athens and Sparta) οὐδὲ ἐπεφοίτησε τὴν ἀρχήν.* Dion, lxxiii. 14.

**1997.** Cæcina Tuscus, at this time prefect of Egypt, is put to death for having used the baths at Alexandria prepared for Nero. Dion,



lxiii. 18. Suet. Nero, 35 (see A.D. 55, no. 1822; A.D. 66, no. 2004).

**1998.** Pontus Polemoniaca (see A.D. 38, no. 1533) becomes a Roman province. *His coss. duæ provinciae factæ sunt, Pontus Polemoniaca et Alpes Cottiae, Cottio rege defuncto.* Cassiodor. This was on the resignation of Polemo II. *Pontum in jus Provinciae, Polemonis reguli permissu, (Nero) rededit, a quo Polemoniaca Pontus appellatus est.* Aurel. Victor. Epit. 5. De Cæsariibus 5; and see Suet. Nero, 18. Eutrop. vii. 14 (see A.D. 43, no. 1662; A.D. 59, no. 1881).

**1999.** The martyrdom of St. Paul may be placed in this year. According to Auctor Martyrii Pauli, who wrote A.D. 396, it took place on 29 June of this year. Ἐπὶ Νέρωνος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτόθι Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποπηθεὶς, ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ καὶ ἕκτῳ ἔτει τοῦ Σωτηρίου πάθους, τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνισάμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πέμπτη ἡμέρα κατὰ Συρομακεδόνας Πανέμον μηνός, ὅστις λέγεται παρ' Αἰγυπτίους Ἐπιφί, παρά δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἢ πρὸ τριῶν καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ κθ', καθ' ἣν ἐτελειώθη ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστολος τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν μαρτυρίῳ, ἐξηκοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας. Ἔστιν οὖν ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ ἐμαρτύρησε τριάκοντα τριάκοντα ἔτη μέχρι τῆς παρουσίας ταύτης ὑπατείας τετάρτης μὲν Ἀρκαδίου τρίτης δὲ Ὀνωρίου τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν αυτοκρατόρων Αὐγούστων (A.D. 396), ἐνάτης Ἰνδικτιῶνος τῆς πεντεκαίδεκαετηρικῆς περιόδου, μηνὸς Ἰουνίου κθ' ἡμέρας. Martyr. Pauli, prefixed to Œcumenius, Ed. Veron. f. 5, cited Fast. Rom. anno 396. [N.B. The dates of the birth and crucifixion of Our Saviour in this passage are erroneously placed.] Epiphanius also places the martyrdom in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τελευτήν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει Νέρωνος γενομένην. Epiph. Hæres. 27, Num. 6. The twelfth year of Nero was from 13 October, A.D. 65, to 13 October, A.D. 66. Eusebius refers the martyrdom to the thirteenth year of Nero, but as he has fixed the reign of Nero one year too late, we must for the thirteenth year substitute the twelfth year, which agrees with the other testimonies (see A.D. 65, no. 1980, where will be found other citations relating to the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul). St. Paul was released from imprisonment at Rome in the spring of A.D. 63, and his death, in June A.D. 66, would harmonise with the

events during the interval; and indeed his martyrdom could not well be placed earlier than in A.D. 66 (see A.D. 63, no. 1940–1942; A.D. 64, no. 1963; A.D. 65, no. 1981).

**2000.** Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus, comes to Rome in the consulship of Telesinus (A.D. 66). Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Τελεσίνοιο, ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, καλέσας τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, Τί, ἔφη, τὸ σχῆμα; Philost. V. A. iv. 40. But the work is full of inconsistencies. Thus, during the stay of Apollonius at Rome (supposed to be in A.D. 66) Philostratus mentions the following events as occurring in this year: The dedication of the gymnasium, and the prefecture of Tigellinus over the prætorium, iv. 42 (the dedication being really in A.D. 61, see no. 1909, and the prefecture of Tigellinus being in A.D. 62, see no. 1919); an eclipse of the sun, and the falling of a thunderbolt while Nero was at supper, iv. 43 (but which really happened in A.D. 59, see Dion, lxi. 16); a sickness at Rome, iv. 44 (but which was in A.D. 65, see no. 1976); the imprisonment of Musonius, iv. 46 (but who had been banished in A.D. 65, see no. 1971).

Philostratus speaks of Nero's edicts against the study of Philosophy. Νέρων οὐ ξυνεχώρει φιλοσοφεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιέρχον αὐτῷ χρῆμα οἱ φιλοσοφούντες ἐφαίνοντο καὶ μαντικὴν συσκιάζοντες. V. A. iv. 35. Ἐξελαιόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ προκηρύξαντος δημοσίᾳ μηδένα ἐμφιλοσοφεῖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ. V. A. iv. 47. The edicts against Christianity considered as a sect of philosophy may here be alluded to.

**2001.** Martial the Epigrammatist is at Rome, æt. 23. See Fasti Romani, A.D. 66.

**2002.** On 8 Nisan, or Xanthicus, first Jewish month (22 March), being a few days before the Passover, a preternatural light appears in the Temple at Jerusalem. Πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινήματος, ἀθροισμένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν, ὀγδόηδ' ἦν Ξανθικοῦ μηνός (Nisan), κατὰ νυκτὸς ἐννάτην ὥραν τοσοῦτον φῶς περιέλαμψε τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ὡς δοκεῖν ἡμέραν εἶναι λαμπράν. Jos. Bell. vi. 5, 3. The Passover began on 14 Nisan, and as the people were wont to assemble six days before, i. e. on 8 Nisan (John, xii. 1) for the Passover, it is evident that Josephus by Xanthicus means not the Syro-Macedonian solar month, but the Jewish lunar month Nisan.

**2003.** As Josephus, in his account of the last Jewish war, A.D. 66–70, upon which we

are about to enter, makes constant reference to the Jewish months and days of the months, it will be necessary to keep in mind the Jewish calendar and Josephus's use of it.

The Jews made use of two kinds of years, the civil and the sacred.

1. The civil was a solar year, and began with Tisri, so that Nisan was the seventh month. *Ἐβδομος ὢν ὁ μὴν οὗτος* (Nisan) *ἀριθμῶ καὶ τάξει κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον δυνάμει πρῶτος ἔστι.* Philo de Sept. 19; and see De Opific. Mund. 39. The civil or solar year of the Jews, according to Syncellus, consisted in a general way of twelve months of thirty and thirty-one days alternately.

2. The sacred year was a lunar year, and began with Nisan, and consisted of twelve months of thirty and twenty-nine days alternately. That Ab and Tisri had each thirty days (which they would have if Nisan, the first month, had thirty days) will be seen *infra*, no. 2018, and under A. D. 70, no. 2153. Thus the sacred year contained only 354 days, falling short of the real time by eleven days and a quarter. In eight years the deficit would amount to ninety days, or three months of thirty days each. Accordingly thrice in the course of eight years the Jews intercalated a month of thirty days, called Veadar. Josephus, who was a priest himself, reckons throughout his works by the Jewish sacred or lunar year, which regulated the feasts, but calls the Hebrew months, for the benefit of the Greeks for whom he wrote or translated, by the names of the Syro-Macedonian months, which best corresponded with the Hebrew months. That Josephus employed the lunar year appears from the frequent reference to the moon's course. *Δεκάτη δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ σεληνήν.* Ant. iii. 10, 3. *Τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη κατὰ σεληνήν.* Ant. iii. 10, 5. *Πέμπτη καὶ δεκάτη κατὰ σεληνήν.* Ant. ii. 15, 2. *Κατὰ σεληνήν ιουμηνία.* Ant. iv. 4, 7, etc. In these passages the lunar month *κατὰ σεληνήν*, or reckoned according to the moon's age, is opposed to the solar month, *κατὰ ἡλιακὸν κύκλον.* Philo de Septen. 19. That Josephus intends the Hebrew months under the Syro-Macedonian names is evident in various ways. *First.* The Syro-Macedonians made Dius their first month; but Josephus considers Xanthicus as the first month, Ant. i. 3, 3; and reckons the other months in order from it. Thus Artemisius is the

second, and Hyperberetæus is the seventh, Ant. viii. 4, 1; iii. 10, 2; Apellæus is the ninth, Ant. xi. 5, 4; and Dystrus the twelfth, or last. Ant. iv. 8, 49; xi. 4, 7; xi. 6, 13. *Secondly,* he identifies the Jewish names of the months, not only with the Syro-Macedonian months, but also with the Greek, Ant. iv. 4, 7; and Egyptian, Ant. ii. 14, 6; and as the Syro-Macedonian and Greek and Egyptian months all differed from each other, it is evident that when Josephus calls a Hebrew month by a Syro-Macedonian or Greek or Egyptian month, he means only that those respective months corresponded more nearly together than any other months in the respective calendars. *Thirdly.* Josephus invariably places the Jewish festivals on the same days of the months by their Syro-Macedonian names on which they would fall in the Jewish months. Thus, he assigns the Passover, which was on 14 Nisan, to 14 Xanthicus, and the Tabernacles, which was on 15 Tisri, to 15 Hyperberetæus. *Fourthly.* In Ant. xii. 7, 6, he calls the same day indifferently 25 Chisleu and 25 Apellæus, so that the two months, the one Hebrew and the other Syro-Macedonian by name, were identical. *Fifthly.* He tells us that the Temple was destroyed by Titus on 10 Lous, being the same day on which it had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, Bell. vi. 4, 5; but the Temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar on 10 Ab. Jerem. lii. 12. Therefore by 10 Lous, Josephus means 10 Ab. *Sixthly.* The sacrifice in the Temple is said to have ceased on 17 Panemus, Bell. vi. 2, 1; and according to the Mishna it ceased on 17 Tammuz, see Anger, p. 16, note (q), so that Panemus and Tammuz are the same month.

While the Jews counted by lunar months, they at the same time adapted their year by intercalation to the solar year, and the rule by which they intercalated so as to keep pace with the solar year appears to have been this:—If the vernal equinox would without intercalation fall earlier than seven days (inclusive) before 15 Nisan, then, as the Passover was celebrated on or after the vernal equinox, or at least not earlier than seven days (inclusive) before the vernal equinox, they intercalated Veadar at the close of the year so as to delay Nisan, and make 15 Nisan, the Paschal full moon, fall a month later. It is said also that the Sabbatic year was taken into account in making intercalations, and that usually they did not inter-



calate in the Sabbatic year in order that the *cultivation* of the land might not be any longer impeded; and that they did not usually intercalate in the eighth year or the year next after the Sabbatic year; for as they were still living on the old corn, the intercalation would keep them so much the longer from the *gathering in* of the new corn at the commencement of the ninth year. A favourite year for intercalation is thought to have been the sixth year. See Anger, 32, note (k).

**2004.** Agrippa quits Jerusalem for Egypt to congratulate Tiberius Alexander on his being appointed prefect of Egypt. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἔτυχεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεπορευμένος, ὅπως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνηθεῖη πεπιστευμένῳ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ Νέρωνος καὶ πεμφθέντι διέπειν. Bell. ii. 15, 1. *Regebat tum Tiberius Alexander ejusdem nationis.* Tac. Hist. i. 11 (but in fact he was a Jewish renegade); and see Tac. Hist. ii. 74 (see *ante*, no. 1997).

**2005.** The Jewish war breaks out in Artemisius, i. e. Ijar, the second Jewish month, in the twelfth year of Nero and 17th of Agrippa. Προσελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 4. The month of Nisan, or Xanthicus, A.D. 69 is said to have been in the third year of the war, ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου Ξανθικῷ μηνί, Bell. iv. 9, 12; which also shows that the war could not have begun until after the month of Nisan A.D. 66, and the next month was Artemisius, or Ijar.

**2006.** Josephus considers the conflict between the Jews and Gentiles of Cæsarea as the commencement of the war, and the day of this occurrence may be thus fixed. The conflict was on a Jewish *Sabbath*, or *Saturday*, τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἑβδομάδος οὕσης, etc., Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 5; and after it the Jews retired in a body to Nabata, seven and a half miles distant from Cæsarea, and sent an embassy to Florus, then at Sebaste, who put the envoys in bonds. Bell. ii. 14, 5. Florus then ordered a seizure of the sacred treasure at Jerusalem, which further inflamed the people; and then Florus, being enraged, marched to Jerusalem, Bell. ii. 14, 6; and the next day, τῆδε ἑσπεραία, Bell. ii. 14, 8, committed a massacre of the people; and this was on 16 *Ijar*, or *Artemisius*. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἑκαδικατῷ μηνός Ἀρτε-

μισίου συνέβη. Bell. ii. 15, 2. The full moon of the vernal equinox this year was about noon on 29 March, which was therefore 15 Nisan; and if so, the 1 *Ijar*, or Artemisius, would be 14 April, and 16 *Ijar* would be 29 April. The war, therefore, which began in Artemisius, broke out on some Saturday between 14 and 29 April, A.D. 66, i. e. either on Saturday the 19, or Saturday the 26 April. As the massacre at Jerusalem was on 29 April, the many intervening events exclude the supposition that the conflict at Cæsarea took place on 26 April, being three days only before the massacre. The first day of the war, therefore, may safely be assigned to Saturday, 19 April, A.D. 66.

**2007.** The *Ξυλοφορία* are celebrated on 14 Lous, or Ab (24 July). Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 6.

**2008.** The Jews get possession of Fort Antonia on 15 Ab, or Lous (25 July). Τῆδε ἑξῆς (πεντεκαδικατῇ δὲ ἦν Λόου μηνός) ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν. Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 7.

Josephus, on the capture of Antonia, retires for safety into the Inner Temple. Ἐχομένης ἡδὴ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ὅπερ ἦν φρούριον, εἰς τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ἱερὸν ὑπεχώρησα. Jos. Vit. 5. But on the death of Manahem, he again joins the chief priests and leaders of the Pharisees. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ ληστρικοῦ στίφους ὑπέξελθὼν τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάλιν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Φαρισαίων συνδιέτριβον. Jos. Vit. 5.

**2009.** The Romans are driven into Hippicus Phasaelus and Mariamne on 6 Elul, or Gorpiaeus (15 August). Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἕκτη Γορπιαίου μηνός ἐπράχθη. Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 8.

**2010.** Death of Ananias, by the hands of the *Sicarii*, on the following day, 7 Elul, or Gorpiaeus (16 August). Κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν. Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 9. The assassination of Ananias had been predicted by Paul eight years before, when the Apostle was heard before the Sanhedrim. Τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ Θεός, τοῖχε κενονιαμένε. Acts, xxiii. 3.

**2011.** Massacre of the Jews at Cæsarea, Jos. Bell. ii. 18, 1; and at Philadelphia, Gadara, Gerasa, Sebaste, Hippos, and other cities, including Anthedon and Gaza, which two last are laid in ruins. Ἀθιθήδονα καὶ Γάζαν κατέσκαπτον. Bell. ii. 18, 1 (see A.D. 38, no. 1547).

**2012.** Gamala revolts from the Romans on 24 Elul, or Gorpiaeus (2 September). Τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀρξάμενης Γορπιαίου μηνός τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι. Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 10.

**2013.** Cestius Gallus advances from Antioch to Judæa, at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, 15 Tisri (23 September). *Διὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτὴν ἀναβεβήκει πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.* Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 1.

**2014.** During the feast, which began on 15, and ended on 22 Tisri, the Jews attack Cestius. *Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατιδόντες ἤδη πλησιάζοντα τῇ μητροπόλει τὸν πόλεμον, ἀφέμενοι τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ μέγα τῷ πλήθει θαρρόντες, ἄτακτοι καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐξεπέδων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, μηδὲ τῆς ἀργῆς ἑβδομάδος ἔννοιαν λαβόντες, ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς θρησκευόμενον σάββατον.* Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 2. The words *ἀργὴ ἑβδομάς* may be thought to mean the holy week of the Feast of Tabernacles, which began on 23 September, and ended on 30 September; and the word *σάββατον* may also be interpreted the week; but the phraseology *τὸ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς θρησκευόμενον σάββατον* would rather seem to indicate the great Sabbath of the year, viz. the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, which would therefore be 30 September.

**2015.** Cestius, after this, remains stationary for three days. *Μένοντος δὲ τοῦ Κεστίου κατὰ χῶραν τρισὶν ἡμέραις.* Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 2. These three days, if the attack on Cestius was on 22 Tisri, or 30 September, would expire on 25 Tisri, or 3 October.

**2016.** Agrippa, apparently the next day, 26 Tisri, or 4 October, endeavours to bring the Jews to reason. Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 3.

**2017.** Cestius encamps on Scopus, and waits there for three days. *Τρισὶ μὲν ἡμέραις οὐκ ἐπεχείρει τῇ πόλει.* Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 4. These three days would end on 29 Tisri, or 7 October.

**2018.** The next day is expressly called the 30 Tisri, or Hyperberetæus (8 October), when Cestius possesses himself of part of the city. *Τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ, ἣτις ἦν τριακὰς Ὑπερβερεταίου μηνός, διατάξας τὴν στρατιάν, εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.* Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 4.

**2019.** If the attack on Cestius was on the great Sabbath, or last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, i. e. on 22 Tisri, and the eighth day after was the 30 Tisri, it is evident that Josephus reckons by the *Jewish lunar* months, and not by the months of the *Syro-Macedonian solar* year. It is also to be noted that Tisri, or Hyperberetæus, is here said to have thirty days, from which it follows that, if the months had alternately thirty and twenty-nine days,

Nisan, the first month, must have had thirty days. It is possible, however, that as the lunations varied in length, the number of days in each month was so regulated as to make the full moon of the Passover always fall on 14 Nisan, and the full moon of the Tabernacles always fall on 15 Tisri. That 14 Nisan and 15 Tisri were invariably the very days of full moon cannot be questioned.

**2020.** For five days (the 30 Tisri inclusive) the Romans attack the Jews without effect; and on the sixth day, 5 Marchesvan, or Dius (13 October), Cestius makes an attempt on the Temple, *πέντε μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας πάντοθεν ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀμήχανος ἦν ἡ προσβολή, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ . . . ὁ Κέστιος . . . ἐπιχειρεῖ . . . τῷ ἱερῷ,* Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 5; and then retires to Scopus, seven stades from the walls. *Ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέζειυξεν . . . Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Σκόπον στρατοπέδῳ αὐλλίζεται Κέστιος.* Bell. ii. 19, 7.

**2021.** The next day, 6 Marchesvan, or Dius (14 October), Cestius retires to Gabao. *Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ προσωτέρω χωριζόμενος . . . μόγις εἰς Γαβαῶ κατήνησεν.* Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 7. Here he rested two days (6 Marchesvan included). *Ἐνθα δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπέμεινεν ὁ Κέστιος.* Bell. ii. 19, 7.

**2022.** The next day, 8 Marchesvan, or Dius (16 October), Cestius retires to Bethhoron, the pass from the mountains into the plain of Sharon, on the road to Cæsarea, *τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ . . . προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βαιθώρας,* Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 7-8; and the Jews follow them, and slay 5,300 foot, and 380 horse, when night intervenes. *Ὀλίγων δὲ δεῖν, πᾶσαν ἤρπασαν τὴν ἄμα Κεστίῳ δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ νύξ ἐπέλαβεν.* Bell. ii. 19, 8.

**2023.** The next day, 9 Marchesvan, or Dius (17 October), the Jews pursue the Romans, but fail to overtake them. *Ἐωθεν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι . . . ἐδίωκον δὲ τὸν Κέστιον . . . ἔπειτα ὡς οὐ κατελάμβανον, ὑποστρέφοντες, etc.* Jos. Bell. ii. 19, 9. Josephus places the slaughter of the Romans on 8 Marchesvan, and in the twelfth year of Nero, i. e. before 13 October, A.D. 66. *Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη Δίον μηνός οὐδὲ δώδεκάτῃ τῷ ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας.* Bell. ii. 19, 9. But Josephus has here fallen into a slight error; for though the first links in this chain of events began in the twelfth year of Nero, yet the last four days, viz. from 13 to 16 October, both inclusive, fell in the thirteenth year of Nero, which commenced on 13 October,



A.D. 66. There can be little doubt of the oversight of the historian in this respect, for the Feast of Tabernacles was certainly at the time of the autumnal equinox, and as certainly at the full moon either next preceding or next following the equinox. The ancients reckoned the equinox to be on 24 September, and the full moon next after the equinox in A.D. 66 was on or about 22 October; and if the Tabernacles began on that day, then *all* the occurrences referred to fell, not in the twelfth, but in the thirteenth year of Nero, for Cestius only arrived at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles. The historian, therefore, must have assumed that the festival this year was celebrated on 23 September, the full moon next *before* the equinox; and if so, the 23 September would be 15 Tisri, and then the 9 Marchesvan would be 16 October, in the thirteenth year of Nero.

**2024.** Cestius sends a dispatch to Nero, then in Greece. Κέστιος δὲ . . . ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς Ἀχαΐαν πρὸς Νέρωνα. Jos. Bell. ii. 20, 1.

**2025.** Vespasian (who was also in Greece) is appointed by Nero to take the command in Judæa. *Peregrinatione Achaicâ inter comites Neronis . . . secessit* (Vespasianus) *in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latenti etiamque extrema metuenti provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæâ profecti rerum potirentur. Id, de Imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea patuit, prædictum, Judæi ad se trahentes, rebellârunt, etc.* Suet. Vesp. 4. Tac. Hist. i. 10.

**2026.** Coin of Nero.

*Imp. Nero Claud. Cæsar Aug. Germ. Im. Tr. P. xiii. P. P. + Roma, S. C.*  
Eckhel, vi. 266.

Coin of Antioch.

Νέρων Καίσαρ Σεβαστος ΔΙΡ. ΠΙ., i. e. in the 114th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and in the thirteenth year of Nero, and therefore struck between 13th Oct. A.D. 66, and 1 Nov. A.D. 66.

Νέρων Καίσαρ Σεβαστος ΕΙΡ. ΠΙ., and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 66, and 13 Oct. A.D. 67. Id. iii. 281.

*Imp. Cæsar Nero Clau. + Επι. Γαιου. Κεσιου.*  
(*C. Cestii Galli*) *Αντιοχεων Ερ. ΔΙΡ.*, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 65, and 1 Nov. A.D. 66. Id. iii. 281.

*Αντιοχεων*, with turreted female head + *Ερ. ΔΙΡ.*

*Αντιοχεων*, with laurelled female head + *Ερο. ΔΙΡ.* Eckhel, iii. 283.

Coins of Alexandria.

*Σεβασοφορος (scilicet navis)* L. ΠΓ., i. e. in the thirteenth year of Nero. Id. iv. 54.

*Απολλων Ακτιος*, with head of Nero, L. ΠΓ.

*Διος Ολυμπιον*, with head of Nero, L. ΠΓ.

*Ηρα Αργεια*, with head of Nero, L. ΠΓ.

Id. iv. 53.

*Θεος Σεβαστος*, with head of Nero, L. ΠΓ.

Id. iv. 54.

A coin of King Agrippa.

*Βασιλεως Αгриππα Tabernaculum + L. Ϛ. tres spicæ*, and therefore struck in the sixth year of his reign, or A.D. 66.

Id. iii. 493 (see A.D. 65, no. 1983).

Inscriptions.

*Neroni Claudio Cæsari Aug. Germ. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xiii. Imp. viii. (?) Cos. iii. P. P. L. Stenius Silvanus Ex Testamento* (In sancti Germani civitate). Muratori, i. 227, 1.

*Diva Poppææ Augustæ Imp. Neronis Cæsaris August. L. Licinius, L. F. Gal. Glaucus Lucretianus Flam. Romæ et Aug. ii. vir iv. P. C. Sevir. Eq. R. Curio Præf. Fabr. Cos. Tr. Mil. Leg. vi. Victricis Ex voto suscepto pro salute Imp. Neronis quod Baliaribus voverat Anno A. Licinio Nerva Cos. ii. vir. A. Ufeto Vegeto et Q. Aburio Nepote ube vellet ponere v. compos posit Jovi Junoni Minervæ Felicitati Romæ Divo Aug.* And on the left of the same tablet as follows: *Imp. Neroni Claudio Divi Claudi F. Germ. Cæsaris N. Ti. Cæsaris Aug. Pro N. Divi Aug. ab N. Cæsari Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. Pot. xiii. Imp. xi. Cos. iii. L. Licinius L. F. Gal. Glaucus Lucretianus Flam. Romæ et Aug. ii. vir iii. P. C. Sevir. Eq. R. Curio Præf. Fabr. Cos. Tr. Mil. Leg. xvii. Primig. Præf. Proleg. Insularum Baliarum Tr. Mil. Leg. vi. Victricis Ex voto suscepto pro Salute Im. Neronis quod Baliaribus voverat anno A. Licinio Nerva ii. vir A. Ufeto Vegeto et Q. Aburio Nepote ube vellet poneret voto compos posit Jovi Junoni Minervæ Felicitati Romæ Divo Augusto* (Cæcinæ in Agro Lunensi). Muratori, i. 227, 4. From the expression *Diva Poppææ*, the inscription was evidently subsequent to her death and apotheosis. See A.D. 65, no. 1974. *Ti. Claud. Nero Imp. Aug. Pont. M. Tr. P. Cos. xiii. (lege Tr. P. xiii. Cos. iv.) Augusto-brigam M. P. xvii.* Id. i. 445.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.  
Passover, March 29.  
Pentecost, May 19.  
Tabernacles, Sept. 23.

**A.D. 67. U.C. 820. Olymp. 211, 3.**

FONTEIUS CAPITO.

JUNIUS RUFUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUG. V. sine collegâ.

NERONIS XIV. FROM 13 OCTOBER. TRIB. POT.

XIV. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX.

PAT. PATR. IMP. (?)

Nineteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II.  
from some time in the second quarter.

**2027.** Vespasian arrives in Syria, having made the circuit from Greece by way of the Hellespont, and having sent Titus to Alexandria. Ὁ δὲ (Vespasianus) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, ἔνθα συνῆν τῷ Νέρωνι, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν Τίτον ἔστειλεν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας . . . περάσας δὲ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, πεζὸς εἰς Συρίαν ἀφικνεῖται. Jos. Bell. iii. 1, 3. Tac. Hist. v. 10.

**2028.** Vespasian is joined by Agrippa at Antioch, and marches to Ptolemais. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας . . . ἔνθα . . . Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλέα κατελιήφει, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαΐδος ἠπέιλεγτο. Jos. Bell. iii. 2, 4.

**2029.** Titus during or soon after winter A.D. 66-67 passes from Egypt to Ptolemais. Ὁ δὲ Τίτος περαιωθείς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν, ὠκύτερον ἢ κατὰ χειμῶνος ὥραν, παραλαμβάνει μὲν ἐφ' ἣν ἔσταλο δύναμιν, συντόνῳ δὲ χρώμενος πορεῖα διὰ τάχους εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα ἀφικνεῖται. Jos. Bell. iii. 4, 2.

**2030.** Vespasian and Titus remain some time at Ptolemais. Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιῖ Τίτῳ διατρίβων ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι συνέτασσε τὰς δυνάμεις. Jos. Bell. iii. 6, 1.

**2031.** Vespasian marches into Galilee, and takes Gadara. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 1.

**2032.** Vespasian designs next to assault Jotapata (now Jefât, halfway between Acre and Tiberias, see Robinson's Palestine, 1852), and sends foot and horse thither. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὀρμώμενος ἐξαίρειν τὴν Ἰωτάπατα . . . πέμπει πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἵππους, etc. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 3.

**2033.** These troops are engaged on the works before Jotapata four days. Οἱ μὲν οὖν τέσσαρσιν ἡμέραις ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ πλατεῖαν ἤνοιξαν τῇ στρατιᾷ λεωφόρον. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 3.

**2034.** Josephus on the fifth day, which was 21 Ijar, or Artemisius (21 May), throws himself into Jotapata. Τῇ πέμπτῃ δὲ (ἡμέρᾳ) ὁ Ἰώσηπος (αὐτῇ δὲ ἦν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς εἰκοστῇ πρώτῃ) φθάνει παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἰωτάπατα ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 3. The troops therefore had commenced their works before Jotapata on 17 Ijar, or 17 May.

**2035.** An ineffectual assault is made on Jotapata on 20 Sivan, or Desius (19 June). Εἰκάδι μὲν οὖν Δαισίου μηνὸς ἡ παράταξις ἦν. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 29.

**2036.** Japha, in Galilee, is taken by Trajan on 25 Sivan, or Desius (24 June). Τοῦτο συνέβη τὸ πάθος Γαλιλαίους πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι Δαισίου μηνὸς. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 31.

**2037.** Cerealis makes a slaughter of the Samaritans at Mount Gerizim on 27 Sivan, or Desius (26 June). Ὡρα δὲ ἦν θέρος . . . Δαισίου μηνὸς εἰκάδι καὶ ἐβδόμῃ ἐπράχθη. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 32.

**2038.** The mounds against Jotapata are completed by the Romans on the forty-seventh day of the siege. Τῶν δὲ ἀνὰ τὰ Ἰωτάπατα διακαρτερούντων καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀντεχόντων, τεσσαρακοστῇ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐβδόμῃ τὰ χώματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερήρθη τὸ τεῖχος. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 33.

**2039.** A deserter comes to the Roman camp the same day and informs them how to surprise the city at the fourth watch, or between 3 and 6 A.M. Αὐτομολεῖ δὲ τις πρὸς τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας . . . περὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν, etc. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 33.

**2040.** The Romans, taking advantage of the information, assault the city the next morning (the forty-eighth day of the siege, and the 1 Thammuz, or Panemus, 29 June), when Jotapata is carried by assault. Ἰωτάπατα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐάλω τρισκαιδέκατῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας ἔτει Πανέμου νομηνίᾳ. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 36. And Josephus is made prisoner. Bell. iii. 8, 1, etc. Vita, 74. The forty-eighth day from 1 Thammuz, or 29 June, would carry us back to 13 Ijar, or 13 May, as the commencement of the siege. But the works had been begun on 17 Ijar, or 17 May (see *ante*, no. 2034). The forty-eight days therefore must be reckoned from the arrival of the troops before Jotapata some days previously to the commencement of the operations, or there must be some mistake in the dates.

**2041.** Vespasian returns to Ptolemais on



4 Thammuz, or Panemus (2 July), and thence to Cæsarea-on-sea. Τετάρτη δὲ Πανέμου μηνὸς ἀναζεύξας εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαῖδα κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Παράλιον ἀφικνέεται Καισάρειαν. Jos. Bell. iii. 9, 1.

Thence to Cæsarea Philippi. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ καθ' ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας . . . ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Παράλου Καισαρείας εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου καλούμενην μεταβαίνει Καισάρειαν. Jos. Bell. iii. 9, 7.

**2042.** Taricheæ taken on 8 Elul, or Gorpiaëus (3 September), and 6000 prisoners are sent to Nero, then at the Isthmus of Corinth. Τῶν δὲ νέων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπεμψεν (Vespasianus) εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν Νέρωνι . . . Ἐάλωσαν δὲ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόη. Jos. Bell. iii. 10, 10.

**2043.** Vespasian leads his forces against Gamala after it had already withstood a siege of seven months from Agrippa. Παρὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀγρίππα προπεμφθεῖσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀντείχεν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ. Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 2.

**2044.** Titus is dispatched to Mucianus, prefect of Syria. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ παῖς αὐτῷ Τίτος τότε συμπαῖον, τηνικαῦτα πρὸς Μουκιανὸν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπεσταλμένος. Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 5.

**2045.** Mucianus had apparently been not long before appointed to the government of Syria, and Titus may have been sent to congratulate him. See Suet. Vesp. 6. Tac. Hist. i. 10; ii. 5. Plut. Otho, 4. Jos. Ant. xii. 3, 1; Bell. iv. 10, 6 (see A.D. 64, no. 1962; A.D. 70, no. 2159).

**2046.** The walls of Gamala are undermined on 22 Tisri, or Hyperberetæus (17 October). Δευτέρα καὶ εἰκάδι μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίου . . . τὸν προέχοντα κατὰ τούτους πύργον ὑπόρυσσουσιν. Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 9.

**2047.** Titus returns, and Gamala is taken on 23 Tisri, or Hyperberetæus (18 October). Ῥωμαῖοί γε μὴν μεμνημένοι τοῦ προτέρου πταίσματος οὐκ εἰσέβαλλον ἕως τρίτης καὶ εἰκάδος τοῦ προειρημένου μηνός. Τίτος δὲ, ἤδη γὰρ παρῆν, etc. Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 9, 10.

**2048.** Vespasian retires, to recruit his troops, to Cæsarea. Αὐτὸς δὲ (Vespasian) σὺν δυσὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. Jos. Bell. iv. 2, 1.

**2049.** Titus is sent against Gischala, and takes it. Jos. Bell. iv. 2, 2.

**2050.** The capture of Gischala completes the conquest of all Galilee, Γαλιλαία μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐάλω πᾶσα, Jos. Bell. iv. 2, 5; and Titus re-

turns to Cæsarea. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τίτος ἀπὸ Γισχάλων εἰς Καισάρειαν . . . ἀφικόμενος, Bell. iv. 3, 2.

**2051.** Vespasian marches from Cæsarea against Jamnia and Azotus, which he takes, and then returns to Cæsarea. Jos. Bell. iv. 3, 2.

**2052.** Corbulo is put to death by Nero at Cenchræa, immediately on his arrival and before an interview. Καὶ ἐκέϊνον (Corbulonem) ἐντιμότατα μεταπεμφόμενος (Nero) . . . ἐπειτ', ἐπειδὴ τῇ Κεγχρέᾳ προσέσχε, σφαγῆται, πρὶν καὶ εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἔλθειν, προσέταξε. Dion. lxiii. 17. From Corbulo's arrival at Cenchræa, the eastern port of Corinth, he evidently came from the East.

**2053.** Nero is crowned victor this year at the Isthmian, Pythian, and Actian games. Euseb. Chronic. anno 2081 (see A.D. 66, no. 1996).

**2054.** Nero, at the time of the Isthmian games, proclaims the liberty of Greece. Τίτος (Flamininus) ἐν Κορίνθῳ τότε, καὶ Νέρων αὐθις καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἐν Κορίνθῳ παραπλησίως, Ἴσθμίων ἀγομένων, τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτόνομους ἀφῆκεν, ὁ μὲν διὰ κήρυκος, ὡς εἴρηται, Νέρων δ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ βήματος ἐν τῷ πλήθει δημηγορήσας. Plutarch. Flaminin. c. 12; and see Pausan. vii. 17, 2. And this was shortly before the departure of Nero from Greece. *Decedens deinde Provinciã universã libertate donavit, simulque judices civitate Romanã et pecuniã grandì: quæ beneficia e medio stadio Isthmiorum die sud ipse voce pronuntiavit.* Suet. Nero, 24.

**2055.** Nero attempts to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth, but is obliged to desist from disastrous news brought from Rome. Σχεῖν δὲ λέγεται Νέρων τὴν τομὴν (τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ) . . . νεώτερα περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ δεῖσας. Philost. V. A. iv. 24. Dion. lxiii. 16. Suet. Nero, 19.

**2056.** Musonius Rufus is with Nero while the cutting of the isthmus is proceeding. Ἐκεῖνος (Demetrius the Cynic) καὶ Μουσωνίῳ ἔφασκεν ἐντετυχηκέναι περὶ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν, δεδεδεμένῳ τε καὶ κελουσαμένῳ (*lege κεκελευσμένῳ*) ὀρύττειν. Philost. V. A. v. 19 (see A.D. 65, no. 1971).

**2057.** Helius writes to Nero pressing him to return, Suet. Nero, 23; and on Nero's delaying, Helius hastens himself to Greece, where he arrives in seven days, and then Nero returns to Italy. Ὁ δὲ Ἥλιος πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐπιστείλας αὐτῷ παραινῶν ὅτι τάχιστα ἀνακομι-

σθῆναι, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἦλθεν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐξεφόβησεν αὐτὸν, εἰπὼν μεγάλην τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρασκευάζεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε παρευθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀποπλευῖσαι. Dion, lxiii. 19.

**2058.** Nero makes his triumphant entry into Naples, Antium, Albanum, and Rome itself as an Olympic victor. *Reversus e Græciâ Neapolim, quod in eâ primum artem protulerat, albis equis introiit, disjectâ parte muri, ut mos hieronnicarum est: simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam.* Suet. Nero, 25. 'Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλασε, τοῦ τε τείχους τι καθρηθή, etc. Dion, lxiii. 20.

**2059.** The Zealots at Jerusalem choose Phannias by lot to be high-priest, the last of the series. Καὶ δὴ μεταπεμφάμενοι μίαν τῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν φυλὴν (Ἐνακεῖμ καλεῖται) διεκλήρουσαν ἀρχιερέα· λαγχάνει δ' ἀπὸ τύχης ὁ μάλιστα διαδείξας αὐτῶν τὴν παρανομίαν, Φαννίας τις ὄνομα, υἱὸς Σαμονήλου. Jos. Bell. iv. 3, 8 (see A.D. 65, no. 1979).

**2060.** Josephus reckons up twenty-eight high-priests from the commencement of the reign of Herod (B.C. 37) to the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). Εἰσιν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων ἀρχιερατεύσαντες μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧ τὸν ναὸν Τίτος ἐλών ἐπυρπόλησεν, οἱ πάντες εἰκοσι-οκτώ. Jos. Ant. xx. 10, 5. This statement exactly agrees with the particulars contained in the Wars and the Antiquities. The twenty-eight were:—1. Ananelus, B.C. 37 (no. 529); 2. Aristobulus, B.C. 36 (no. 542); 3. Ananelus, B.C. 35 (no. 560); 4. Jesus, son of Phabi, B.C. 22 (no. 715); 5. Simon, B.C. 22 (no. 715); 6. Matthias, B.C. 5 (no. 896); 7. Joazar, B.C. 4 (no. 904); 8. Eleazar, B.C. 4 (no. 952); 9. Jesus, son of Sieh, B.C. 4 (no. 952); 10. Ananus, A.D. 7 (no. 1022); 11. Ishmael, A.D. 15 (no. 1074); 12. Eleazar, A.D. 15 (no. 1074); 13. Simon, A.D. 16 (no. 1185); 14. Joseph, called Caiaphas, A.D. 17 (no. 1096); 15. Jonathan, A.D. 37 (no. 1496); 16. Theophilus, A.D. 37 (no. 1506); 17. Simon, A.D. 42 (no. 1643); 18. Matthias, A.D. 42 (no. 1646); 19. Elionæus, A.D. 43 (no. 1663); 20. Joseph, A.D. 45 (no. 1693); 21. Ananias, A.D. 47 (no. 1715); 22. Ishmael, A.D. 59 (no. 1880); 23. Joseph, A.D. 61 (no. 1914); 24. Ananus, A.D. 62 (no. 1930); 25. Jesus, son of Damnæus, A.D. 62 (no. 1932); 26. Jesus, son of Gamaliel, A.D. 64 (no. 1960); 27. Matthias, A.D. 65 (no. 1979); 28. Phannias, A.D. 67 (no. 2059).

**2061.** A coin of king Agrippa.

Βασιλεῶς Ἀγριππα. *Tabernaculum* + L. Z. *Tres spicæ*, and therefore in the seventh year of his reign, or A.D. 67.

Eckhel, iii. 493 (see A.D. 65, no. 1983).

#### Coins of Antioch.

*Imp. Cæsar Nero Clau.* + Ἐπι Κεσιου (C. Cesti Galli) Ἀντιοχέων ET. EIP., i. e. in the 115th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 66, and 1 Nov. A.D. 67.

Id. iii. 282.

Ἀντιοχέων, with laurel branch + ET. EIP.

Ἀντιοχέων, with head of Jupiter + ET. EIP.

Ἀντιοχέων, with laurelled head + ET. EIP.

Id. iii. 283.

#### Coins of Alexandria.

Ἀπολλων Ἀκτιος, with head of Nero, L. IA.

Ἀπολλων Πυθιος, with head of Nero, L. IA.

Ζεὺς Νεμειος, with head of Nero, L. IA.

Ἡρα Ἀργεῖα, with head of Nero, L. IA.

Ποσειδῶν Ἰσθμιος, with head of Nero, L. IA.

Id. iv. 53.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 16.

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11.

#### A.D. 68. U.C. 821. Olymp. 211, 4.

GALERIUS TRACHALUS.

C. SILIUS ITALICUS.

Kal. Jul.

CICONIUS VARRO, designatus erat sed ante quam iniret occisus est.

ex Kal. Jul.

C. BELLICUS NATALIS.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

But according to others,

ex Kal. Jul.

M. PLAUTIUS SILVANUS.

M. SALVIUS OTHO.

ex Kal. Sept.

C. BELLICUS NATALIS.

P. CORN. SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

GALBA IMP. FROM 3 APRIL, A.D. 68.

Twentieth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**2062.** The revolt of Vindex, in Gaul. Dion, lxiii. 22, 23. Suet. Nero, 40. Plut. Galb. 4.



The news reached Nero, about 19 March, at Naples (whither he had returned after his triumphal entry into Rome). *Neapoli de motu Galliarum cognovit die ipso quo matrem occiderat*. Suet. Nero, 40 (see A.D. 59, no. 1869). Nero at first treats the matter lightly, but on worse intelligence arriving, he is panic-struck for eight days. *Denique per octo continuos dies non rescribere cuiquam, non mandare quid aut præcipere conatus, rem silentio oblitteravit*. Suet. Nero, 40. Dion, lxiii. 26.

**2063.** Nero returns to Rome and summons some of the leading courtiers. *Urgentibus aliis super alios nunciis, Romam prætrepidus rediit . . . Ac ne tunc quidem aut senatu aut populo coram appellato, quosdam e primoribus viris domum evocavit*. Suet. Nero, 41.

**2064.** Galba in Spain accepts the empire by the title of Legate. *Consalutatusque Imperator Legatum se Senatus ac populi Romani professus est*. Suet. Galb. 10. This was on 3 April (see Fasti Romani, A.D. 99, and *post*, A.D. 69, no. 2082).

Galba had held the province of Spain for eight years. *Per octo annos varie et inæqualiter provinciam rexit*. Suet. Galb. 9 (see A.D. 60, no. 1888).

**2065.** Nero at Rome hears of the revolt of Galba in Spain. *Postquam deinde etiam Galbam et Hispanias descivisse cognovit, collapsus, animoque male fracto, diu sine voce et prope intermortuus jacuit*. Suet. Nero, 42. Dion, lxiii. 27.

**2066.** The death of Nero on 9 June, being a year and twenty-two days before the accession of Vespasian, on 1 July, A.D. 69. *Συμβαίνει ἐνιαυτὸν τε καὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Νέρωνος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Οὔεσπασιανοῦ ἀρχῆς διαθεῖν*. Dion, lxvi. 17. *Ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ἀφ' ὧν ἤρξεν ἔτη δεκατρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ*. Dion, lxiii. 29. *Τρισκαίδεκα βασιλεύσας ἔτη καὶ ἡμέρας (lege μῆνας) ὀκτώ*. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2. *Δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν*. Euseb. H. E. iii. 5. *Talem Principem paullo minus xiiii. annos perpessus terrarum orbis tandem destituit*. Suet. Nero, 40. *Obiit tricesimo et secundo ætatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat*. Suet. Nero, 57. *Regnavit annis 13, mensib. 7, diebus 28*. Casiodor. sub Coss. Silano et Othone. Clemens Alexand. states the reign at thirteen years, eight months, and twenty-eight days. Strom. Lib. i. c. 21, p. 406. The age is thus computed by

Zonaras. *Βιὸς ἔτη τριάκοντα πρὸς μῆσιν πέντε καὶ ἡμέραις εἴκοσιν*. Zonaras, xi. 13, p. 571. The exact duration of his life was from 15 December, A.D. 37, to 9 June, A.D. 68, or thirty years, five months, twenty-six days, and the length of his reign was from 13 October, A.D. 54, to 9 June, A.D. 68, or thirteen years, seven months, twenty-eight days (see Fasti Romani).

**2067.** Galba on hearing of the death of Nero assumes the title of Cæsar. *Supervenientibus ab urbe nuntiis, ut occisum Neronem cunctosque in verba sua jurasse cognovit, depositâ Legati suscepit Cæsaris appellationem*. Suet. Galba, 11.

**2068.** Galba enters Rome, and puts to death the freedmen Helius, Narcissus, and Patrobius. Dion, lxiv. 3. This Narcissus must not be confounded with the more celebrated freedman who was put to death in A.D. 54 (see that year, no. 1807). And the Narcissus referred to by St. Paul, in Rom. xvi. 11, was another Narcissus still.

**2069.** Cornelius Laco is appointed prefect of the prætorium. *Ὁ γὰρ Νυμφίδιος . . . ἀκούσας τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἀποδεῖχθαι Κορνήλιον Λάκωνα . . . ἐθορυβήθη*. Plut. Galb. 13; and see Suet. Galb. 14. Tac. Hist. i. 13, 19, 27 (see A.D. 65, no. 1968; A.D. 69, no. 2085).

**2070.** Galba, at the close of the year, sends A. Vitellius (afterwards emperor) to command in Germany. Suet. Vitell. 7. Vitellius had been scarce a month in Germany, when, on 2 January, A.D. 69, he was proclaimed emperor. *Vixidum mense transacto . . . subito a militibus . . . Imperator est consalutatus*. Suet. Vitell. 8.

**2071.** Fonteius Agrippa, who had been proconsul of Asia, is made prefect of Mæsia. *Fonteius Agrippa ex Asiâ (pro consule eam provinciam annuo imperio tenuerat) Mæsiæ præpositus est*. Tac. Hist. iii. 46 (see A.D. 65, no. 1977).

**2072.** Vespasian is at Gadara on 4th of Adar, or Dystrus (24 February). *Ἐλθὼν γοῦν ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδαρα μητρόπολιν τῆς Περαιᾶς καρτερᾶν, τετάρτη Δύστρου μηνὸς, εἰσεῖσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν*. Jos. Bell. iv. 7, 3.

The Jordan at this time was swollen with the winter rains. *Συνελιάσας δὲ (Placidus) πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, εἰργόμενους ἀπὸ τοῦ ρέυματος (τραφὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ὄμβρων ἄβατον ἦν) ἀντικρὺ παρετάσσετο*. Jos. Bell. iv. 7, 5.

**2073.** Vespasian returns to Cæsarea. Ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. Jos. iv. 7, 4.

**2074.** Vespasian, while it is still spring, marches from Cæsarea to Antipatris, Lydda, Jamnia, and Emmaus. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὸ πλεόν τῆς δυνάμεως ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐπὶ Ἀντιπατρίδος . . . καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰ περὶ Θαμνᾶ τοπαρχίαν ἐπὶ Ἀδόδης καὶ Ἰαμνίας ἐχῶρει . . . εἰς Ἀμμαοῦντα ἀφικνεῖται. Jos. Bell. iv. 8, 1.

**2075.** He encamps at Corea on 2nd Sivan, or Desius (21 May), and the next day reaches Jericho. Καταβάς εἰς Κορέαν δεντέρῳ Δαισίου μῆνος στρατοπεδεύεται, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα ἀφικνεῖται. Jos. Bell. iv. 8, 1.

**2076.** Vespasian returns to Cæsarea to prepare for the siege of Jerusalem, when he hears of the death of Nero on 9 June previously. Οὐεσπασιανῶ δὲ εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐπιστρέψαντι, καὶ παρασκευαζομένῳ μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξελαύνειν, ἀγγέλλεται Νέρων ἀνηρομένος. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2. The news, therefore, would reach him about the beginning of August.

**2077.** Vespasian, on hearing of Galba's accession, sends Titus, who is accompanied by king Agrippa, to Rome to congratulate Galba and take his orders as to the Jewish war. It was now near the close of the year, and winter was near at hand, and Titus and Agrippa sail for Rome by way of Greece. Αὐθις δὲ Γάλβαν ἀκούσας (Vespasian) αὐτοκράτορα, πρὶν ἐπιστεῖλαι τι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐκεῖνον, οὐκ ἐπεχειρεῖ. Πέμπει δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Τίτον ἀσπασόμενον καὶ ληψόμενον τὰς περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐντολάς. Τῆς αὐτῆς δὲ αἰτίας ἅμα Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀγρίππῳ. ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς Γάλβαν ἔπλει, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, χειμῶνος γὰρ ἦν ὥρα, μακρὰς ναυσὶ πλεόντων, etc. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2. Τῷ μὲν Γάλβῳ αὐταρχήσαντι τὸν υἱὸν ἐπέμψε Τίτον προσερούντα αὐτόν. Dion, lxxv. 8 (Tauchnitz Ed.). Tac. Hist. i. 10.

**2078.** Apollonius of Tyana is at Messene in Sicily at the time of the insurrection against Nero and the consequent struggles for power. Κατίσχυοσιν ἐπὶ Συκελίαν . . . παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσηνήν τε καὶ πορθμόν, ἔνθα ὁ Τυρρῆνός Ἀδρία εὐμβάλλων χαλεπὴν ἐργάζονται τὴν χαρυσβὸν, ἀκούσαι φασιν ὡς Νέρων μὲν περιφεύγοι, τεθνῆκοι δὲ Βένδιξ, ἀπαιτοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ῥώμης, οἷδὲ ὁπόθεν τύχοι τῶν ἠθῶν. Philost. V. A. v. 11. He returns from Sicily to Greece in the autumn. Ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκομίζετο περὶ Ἀρκτοῦρου ἐπι-

τολάς. Philost. V. A. v. 18. He is at Athens and encounters Demetrius the Cynic. Μνηθεῖς δ' Ἀθῆνῃσιν . . . ἐνένυχε καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ. Philost. V. A. v. 19.

### 2078 a. Coins of Galba.

*Galba Imperator + Bon. Event.*  
*Galba Imperat. + Concordia Provinciarum.*  
*Imp. Galba + Diva Augusta.*  
*Imp. Ser. Galba Cæsar Aug. + Diva Augusta.*  
*Ser. Galba Imp. + Gallia.*  
*Ser. Galba Imp. Aug. + Tres Gallie.*  
*Galba Imperat. + Gallia Hispania.*  
*Imp. Galba or Imp. Ser. Galba Aug. + Hispania.*

*Galba Imp. + Hispania.*  
*Ser. Sulp. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Hispania, Chunia. S. C.*

Various obverses + *Honos et virtus S. C.*

Uncertain obverse + *Libertas P. R.*

*Galba Imperator + Libertas Restituta.*

*Genio P. R.* with head of Galba + *Marti Ultori.*

*Ser. Sulpi. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Pacs Augusti S. C.*

The reverse of several is,

*Quadragesuma Remissa S. C.*

Or *Quadrages Remissæ S. C.*

Or *xxx. Remissæ S. C.*

Or *R. XL. Libertas Aug. S. C.*

*Ser. Galba Imp. Cæs. Aug. Tr. P. + R. XL. Roma.*

*Galba Imperator + Libertas Restituta.*

Other coins have on the reverse,

*Roma renasc.* or *Renascas* or *Renascens* or *Salus Gen. Human.*

*Ser. Sulpi. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Senatus Fidelati Augusti S. C.*

*Ser. Sulpici. Galbæ Imp. Aug. + S. P. Q. R.*

Eckhel, vi. 293.

Eckhel gives the following list of obverses in Galba's coins, the only material reverses being those above:—

A. *Galba Imperat.*

B. *Galba Imperator.*

C. *Galba Imp. Cæs. Aug. Tr. P.*

D. *Imp. Galba.*

E. *Imp. Ser. Galba Aug.*

F. *Imp. Ser. Galba Aug. Tr. P.*

G. *Imp. Ser. Galba Cæsar Aug. Tr. P.*

H. *Imp. Ser. Galba Cæsar Aug. P. M.*

I. *Imp. Ser. Galba Cæsar Aug. P. M.*

K. *Imp. Ser. Galba Cæ. Aug. Tr. P.*

L. *Imp. Ser. Galba Cæs. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*

M. *Imp. Ser. Galba Cæs. Aug. Pon. M. Tr. P.*

N. *Imp. Ser. Sulp. Galba Cæs. Aug. Tr. P.*

O. *Imp. Ser. Sulp. Galba Cæs. Aug. Tr. Pot.*



- P. *Ser. Galba Imp.*  
 Q. *Ser. Galba Imperator.*  
 R. *Ser. Galba Imp. Aug.*  
 S. *Ser. Galba Imp. Augustus.*  
 T. *Ser. Galba Cæsar Aug.*  
 V. *Ser. Galba Imp. Cæs. Aug.*  
 X. *Ser. Galba Imp. Cæs. Aug. Tr. P.*  
 Y. *Ser. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. Tr. P.*  
 Z. *Ser. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. P. M. T. P.*  
 A a. *Ser. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*  
 B b. *Ser. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. Po. Ma. Tr. P.*  
 C c. *Ser. Sulp. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*  
 D d. *Ser. Sulp. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. Tr. P.*  
 E e. *Ser. Sulp. Galba Imp. Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*  
 F f. *Ser. Sulpici Galbæ Imp. Aug.*

## Coin of Antioch.

*Imp. Cæs. Aug. Ser. Galba* + *Επι Μουκκιανου Αντιοχεων* *Er. ZIP.*, i. e. in the 117th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck after 1 Nov. A.D. 68, and before 15 Jan. A.D. 69 (see no. 2082).  
 Eckhel, iii. 282.

*Γαλβας Καισαρ Σεβαστος* + *Ετους Νεου Ιερου Α.*, and in another B. Id. iii. 288.

N.B. The Syro-Macedonian year began in the autumn.

## Coins of Alexandria.

*Αουκ. Αιβ. Σουλπ. Γαλβα. Καισ. Σεβ.*

On others *Ελευθερια*, or *Κρατησις*, or *Αλεξανδρεια Ειρηνη. Ρωμη. sc.*

And on these coins are found the letters A. and B., i. e. the first or second year of Galba, for the Alexandrians dated the reigns from 1 Thoth, or 29 Aug., so that 29 Aug. A.D. 68 would be reckoned the second year of Galba.  
 Id. iv. 55.

## Coin of Cotys, king of Bosphorus.

*Ba. Ko. ΕΞΤ.* + laurelled head, i. e. in the 365th year dating from U.C. 457 (see A.D. 49, no. 1733).  
 Id. ii. 377.

## Coin of Sinope.

*An. cxviii. Neronis*, i. e. in the 113th year dating from U.C. 709.  
 Id. ii. 392.

## Inscriptions.

*Ossa Neronis Cæsaris Germanici Cæsaris F. Divi Aug. Pron. Flamin. Augustalis Quæstoris* (Romæ).  
 Gruter, 237, 3.

... *I. Trachalo* ... *Plebis Pr. Cos.* ... *vir Epulonum* ... *os Provinc. Afric.* ... *rono. D. D. (Mediolani).* Muratori, i. 306, 1.  
 ... *ditori ovina rut.* ... *Alpicæ Quartillæ uxor* ... *sucæ V. A. LXX.* ... *O fact. est Nerone V. et Tracha* ... *qui ad hoc officium venistis* ... *stio nolite* (Romæ). The singularity of this inscription is that Nero is spoken of as consul v. Id. i. 2.

*Ser. Galba Imperator Cæsar Augustus Pontif. Max. Trib. Pot. Cos. Des. ii. Veteranis qui militaverunt in Legione i. adjutrice honestam missionem et civitatem dedit quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum, et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data, aut si qui cælibes essent cum iis quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singulis singulas A. D. xi. K. Jan. C. Bellico Natale P. Cornelio Scipione Cos. Diomedii Artemonis e Phrygiâ udic descriptum et recognitum ex tabulâ ceneâ quæ fixa est Romæ in Capitolio in ara Gentis Julicæ.* (And on another side) *Ti. Julius Pardala Sard. C. Jul. Char. Mi. Sardinian. Ti. Claudii. Qui Fidini Meonian. Ti. Fonteius Cerialis Sard. P. Graiti P. F. Æm. Provincial. Pisisus M. Arri Rufi Sardiniani* (Romæ). Muratori, i. 306, 3, where will be found another similar inscription in favour of other veterans.

*Dis Manibus Sac. xvi. Kal. Octob. C. Bello Vero Natale et P. Cornelio Scipione Asiatico Coss. Serv. Eburii Q. F. Oufent. Suavis. Trib. Milit. Leg. vii. Claudicæ victric. Eburia Annia Fausta Mater M. Eburio Ser. F. Sex N. Trium. Qui vixit Ann. xxviii. D. xvi. Dulcissimo viro parentes fecerunt sibi et suis Hæridibus In Fr. Pedes xvii. In Agr. Ped. xviii. (Velitris).* Id. i. 307, 4.

*Imaginum domus Aug. cultoribus Signum Libertatis restitutæ Ser. Galbæ Imperatoris Aug. Curatores anni secundi C. Turranius Polybius, C. Calpurnius Zena, C. Murdius Lalus, C. Turranius Florus, C. Murdius Demosthenes. (In sinistro latere) Dedic. Idib. Octob. C. Bellico Natale, P. Cornelio Scipione Asiatic. Cos. (Romæ).* Gruter, 238, 12.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, September 30.

**A.D. 69. U.C. 822. Olymp. 212, 1.**

SERV. SULPICIUS GALBA, ii. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.  
 T. VINIUS RUFINUS. Ambo in mag. occisi sunt.  
 Ex a. d. xvi. Kal. Feb.  
 IMP. M. SALVIUS OTHO AUG.  
 L. SALVIUS OTHO TITIANUS, ii.  
 Ex Kal. Mart.  
 T. VIRGINIUS RUFUS.  
 VOPISCUS POMPEIUS SILVANUS.  
 ex Kal. Maii  
 CÆSIUS SABINUS.  
 T. FLAVIUS SABINUS.  
 ex Kal. Jul.  
 T. ARRIUS ANTONIUS.  
 P. MARIUS CÆLSUS, ii.  
 ex prid. Kal. Nov.  
 CN. CÆCILIUS SIMPLEX,  
 C. QUINTIUS ATTICUS.

GALBA UNTIL 15 JAN. OF THIS YEAR.

OTHO FROM 15 JAN. TO 16 APRIL OF THIS YEAR.

VITELLIUS FROM 2 JAN. TO 22 DECEMBER OF THIS YEAR.

VESPASIANI I. FROM 1 JULY; AND TRIB. POT. I. FROM 21 DEC. OF THIS YEAR.

Twenty-first year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**2079.** The German legions show disaffection to Galba on New Year's Day. *Inferioris tamen Germaniæ legiones sollemni Kalend. Januariarum sacramento pro Galbâ adactæ*, etc. Tac. Hist. i. 55. Ἐπῆλθεν ἡ νομηνία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἣν Καλάδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσι, etc. Plut. Galb. 22. *Ergo primi* (the German legions) *obsequium rupere, ac se Kalendis Januarii adigi sacramento, nisi in nomen senatus, recusarunt.* Suet. Galb. 16; and see Dion, lxiv. 4.

**2080.** Vitellius is proclaimed emperor on 2 January. *Proxima Legionis primæ hiberna erant et promptissimus e legatis Fabius Valens. Is die postero. . . Imperatorem Vitellium consulatavit.* Tac. Hist. i. 57; and see Suet. Galb. 16.

**2081.** Galba adopts Piso as his son. Dion, lxiv. 5. Suet. Otho, 5. This was only six days before the death of Galba. *Quo faciliorem occasionem M. Salvio Othoni præbuit perficiendi conata intra sextum adoptionis diem.* Suet. Galb. 17.

**2082.** Galba is slain on 15 January, xviii. *Kalend. Febru. sacrificanti pro æde Apollinis Galbæ haruspex Umbrius tristitia exta et instantes insidias ac domesticum hostem prædicit*, etc., Tac. Hist. i. 27; πρὸ δεκαοκτῶ Καλαν-

δῶν Φεβρουαρίων, Plut. Galb. 24; and see Dion, lxiv. 6; Suet. Galb. 20. In the seventy-third year of his age. *Hunc exitum habuit Ser. Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis quinque principes prosperâ fortunâ emensus.* Tac. Hist. i. 49. Eutrop. vii. 16. Victor, Epit. 6. Dion, lxiv. 6. Suetonius places his birth on 24 December, B.C. 3. *Serv. Galba Imperator M. Valerio Messallâ Cn. Lentulo Coss. (B.C. 3) natus est iv. Kalend. Januarii.* Suet. Galb. 4. This would make him at his death seventy years and twenty-three days. But Suetonius himself, in another passage, assumes him to have been seventy-three, *Consulto Delphis Apolline, septuagesimum ac tertium annum caventurus sibi* (Neroni) *audivit, quasi eo demum obiturus, ac nihil conjectans de etate Galbæ*, Suet. Nero, 40; and, indeed, Suetonius expressly states his age to have been at his death seventy-three. *Periit tertio et septuagesimo ætatis anno.* Suet. Galb. 23. He was therefore born B.C. 5. He reigned from the death of Nero, on 9 June, A.D. 68, to 15 January, A.D. 69—seven months and seven days. Φθάνει Γάλβας ἀνααιρεῖς μετὰ μῆνας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας ἡμέρας. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2. *Galba . . . imperavit menses septem, diesque totidem.* Victor, Epit. c. 6. *Cæsus est mense imperii ac die septimo.* Victor, De Cæsar, c. 6. *Occisus est imperii mense septimo.* Eutrop. vii. 16. *Septem a Neronis fine menses sunt.* Tac. Hist. i. 37. *Μῆνας ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας σ'.* Clem. Al. Strom. i. p. 339. *Mensibus vii., diebus vi.* Tertullian, Adv. Jud. c. 8. *Regnavit mensibus 7.* Cassiodor. Dion states a different period for the reign of Galba. Ἐζῆσε δὲ Γάλβας ἔτη δύο καὶ ἐβδόμηκοτα, ἀφ' ὧν ἤρξε μῆνας ἑννέα καὶ ἡμέρας δεκατρεῖς. Dion, lxiv. 6. Dion must therefore refer, not to the death of Nero, on 9 June, A.D. 68, but to the assumption of imperial power by Galba in the lifetime of Nero; so that the date of this assumption must have been on 3 April, A.D. 68.

**2083.** Titus, when at Corinth, on his way to Rome, to offer his congratulations to Galba, hears of his death, and then returns along the coast of Achaia and Asia, and thence by way of Rhodes and Cyprus to Judæa. *Titus Vespasianus e Judæa, incolumi adhuc Galbâ, missus a patre. . . ubi Corinthi Achaicæ urbe certos nuntios accepit de interitu Galbæ . . . oram Achaicæ et Asiæ ac læva maris prævectus, Rhodum et Cyprum insulas, inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat.* Tac. Hist. ii. 1, 2;



and see Dion, lxxv. 8, Tauchnitz ed. He rejoins his father at Cæsarea. *Τίτος δὲ κατὰ δαιμόνιον ὄρημν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἔπλει, καὶ κατὰ τάχος εἰς Καισάρειαν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.* Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2. Titus is the medium of communication between Vespasian at Cæsarea and Mucianus, prefect of Syria, at Antioch. *Titus . . . consiliorum inter Mucianum et patrem nuntius.* Tac. Hist. ii. 79.

Agrippa, who had accompanied Titus on his way to Rome (see A.D. 68, no. 2077), appears not to have returned with Titus, but to have continued his journey, as we find him at Rome shortly afterwards (see *infra*, no. 2093).

**2084.** Otho, on the death of Galba, is acknowledged as emperor by the senate. Tac. Hist. i. 47. Dion, lxxiv. 8.

**2085.** Plotius Firmus and Licinius Proculus are elected prefects of the Prætorium by the soldiery. *Prætorii præfectos sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum . . . adjungitur Licinium Proculus.* Tac. Hist. i. 46; and see i. 82; ii. 33, 39, 46, 49 (see A.D. 68, no. 2069; and *infra*, no. 2110).

Death of Lacon, ex-prefect of the Prætorium. Plut. Galb. 27. Tac. Hist. i. 46 (see A.D. 68, no. 2069).

**2086.** Death of Tigellinus (*his* *cons.*). Tac. Hist. i. 72.

**2087.** Otho is still at Rome on 14 March, *Prædie Idus Mart. commendatâ Patribus Republicâ*, etc., Tac. Hist. i. 90; and sets out from Rome soon after. *Præfectus Otho, quietem urbis curasque imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit.* Ib.

**2088.** Battle of Brixellum, or Bebricum, or Cremona, between the forces of Otho and those of Vitellius. Tac. Hist. ii. 43-45. Dion, lxxiv. 10. Plut. Otho, 11. Suet. Otho, 9.

Death of Otho on 16 April, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and when only eleven days were wanted to complete the year; and on the ninety-second day of his reign, reckoned from 15 January, the death of Galba, to 16 April. *Hunc vitam finem habuit (Otho) septimo et tricesimo ætatis anno.* Tac. Hist. ii. 50. *Post hunc (Galbam) Otho mensibus 3, diebus 5.* Cassiodorus. *Γενομένης συμβολῆς κατὰ Βηδρικὸν τῆς Γαλατίας πρὸς γε Οὐάλεντα καὶ Καϊκίαν τοὺς Οὐίτελλίου στρατηγοὺς, τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ περιῆν Ὀθων, τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ τοῦ Οὐίτελλίου στρατιωτικόν· καὶ πολλοῦ φόβου γενομένου διεχρήσατο μὲν Ὀθων ἑαυτὸν ἐν Βρεξέλλῳ*

*τὴν ἦσαν πυθόμενος, ἡμέρας δύο καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας κρατήσας τῶν πραγμάτων.* Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 9. *Ζήσαντι μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἔνδεκα ἡμερῶν δέοντα, ἄρξαντι δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνενήκοντα.* Dion, lxxiv. 15. Otho was born on 28 April, A.D. 32 (Suet. Otho, 2), so that the age is stated correctly. The reign is also exact if reckoned exclusive of 15 January, the day of his accession, and of 16 April, the day of his death. Clemens Alexand., contrary to all authority, reckons the reign at five months and one day. Strom. Lib. i. c. 21, p. 406. Other testimonies are more vague. *xxxviii. ætatis anno et xcv. imperii die.* Suet. Otho, 11. Eutrop. vii. 17. *Ὀθων μῆνας γ' ἡμέρας ε'.* Theophil. ad Autol. iii. 27. *Mensibus iii., diebus v.* Cassiod. *Ἐτη μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα βιώσας, ἄρξας δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας.* Plut. Otho, 18. *Κρατεῖ μῆνας τρεῖς.* Syncellus. *Menses tres.* Victor, Epit. 7. *Dies fere quinque et octoginta.* Ib. De Cæsar. 7. *Ὀγδόω καὶ λ' τῆς ἡλικίας ἔτει, τῆς γε μὴν βασιλείας ἡμέρᾳ ε' καὶ ζ'.* Anecd. Paris. Cramer, tom. ii. p. 26. *Μῆνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἧ'.* Ib. p. 281.

**2089.** At the death of Otho, it would seem that Pollio was one of the two prefects of the Prætorium. *Πολλίωνος τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ἐπαρχῶν.* Plut. Otho, 18.

**2090.** Vitellius is in Gaul at the death of Otho. *Victoria sua nescius.* Tac. Hist. ii. 57. *De Bebriacensi victoria et Othonis exitu, cum adhuc in Galliâ esset, audiit.* Suet. Vitel. 10. And he passes through Vienne. Ib.

**2091.** He visits the battle-field of Bebricum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugne diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70. Dion, lxxv. 1. Suet. Vitel. 10. He is at Rome before 18 July. *Funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod Maximum Pontificatum adeptus, Vitellius de cæremoniis publicis xv. Kalend. Aug. edicisset, antiquitus infausto die Cremerensi, Alliensi que cladibus.* Tac. Hist. ii. 91. *Alliensi die Pontificatum Maximum cepit.* Suet. Vitel. 11.

**2092.** P. Sabinus and Julius Priscus are appointed prefects of the Prætorium. *Præposuerat prætorianis (Vitellius) P. Sabinum a præfectura cohortis, Julium Priscum tum centurionem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 92. *Julius Priscus Prætoriarum sub Vitellio cohortium Præfectus.* Tac. Hist. iv. 11. For P. Sabinus was afterwards substituted Alphenus Varus. *P. Sabinum Prætorii præfectum . . . vinciri jubet,*

*substituto in locum ejus Alpheno Varo.* Tac. Hist. iii. 36 (see *supra*, no. 2085; *infra*, no. 2110).

**2093.** Agrippa is at this time at Rome, but hastens back to Syria, to join the party of Vespasian. *Moæ per occultos suorum nuntios exercitus ab urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navigatione properaverat.* Tac. Hist. ii. 81.

**2094.** Vitellius is at Rome on his birthday, 24 September. Καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας εὐοράζετο. Dion, lxxvi. 4, Tauchnitz ed. (see A.D. 15, no. 1076).

**2095.** The Mathematici are ordered to quit Italy by 1 October. *Jubebat intra Kalend. Octobris urbe Italiâque Mathematici excederent.* Suet. Vitel. 14. Dion, lxxv. 1 (see A.D. 52, no. 1774).

**2096.** Revolt of the armies of Mœsia and Pannonia and Syria and Judæa, in the eighth month of the reign of Vitellius, and therefore between 16-November and 16 December, A.D. 69. *Octavo imperii mense desciverunt ab eo exercitus Mœsiarum atque Pannoniæ, item ex transmarinis Judaicus et Syriacus.* Suet. Vitel. 15.

**2097.** An eclipse of the moon about this time. *Ταραχῆς οὖν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὕσης ἐπηνέβησεν αὐτὴν ἡ σεληνὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκλιπούσα.* Dion, lxxv. 11. The eclipse in question must have been that on 18 October, at 10 P.M. for the meridian of Paris (see Table of Eclipses).

**2097 a.** Destruction of Cremona. Tac. Ann. Hist. iii. 32-34. Dion, lxxv. 15.

**2098.** Vitellius retires from the palace in mourning, on 18 December, *xv. Kal. Januar. auditâ defectione legionis cohortiumque quæ se Narniæ dederant, pullo amictu palatio degreditur mœstâ circum familiâ,* Tac. Hist. iii. 67; at the time of the Saturnalia (commencing 17 December). *Dum hæc in partibus Vitellii geruntur, digressus Narniâ Vespasiani exercitus festos Saturni dies Ocriculi per otium agitabat.* Tac. Hist. iii. 78.

**2099.** Vitellius is slain on 22 December. Dion speaks of Vitellius at his death as *ζήσαντα μὲν ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη καὶ πενήκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας ἔννεα καὶ ὀγδόηκοντα, ἄρξαντα δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα ἀποδέοντα.* Dion, lxxv. 22; and see Zonaras, xi. 16. Vitellius was born on 24 September, A.D. 17, Suet. Vit. 3; and the fifty-fourth year, eighty-ninth day, would therefore be complete (reckoning one day inclusive, and the other exclusive) on 22 December, A.D. 69.

And so the *reign* of a year, less ten days, as reckoned from 2 January, A.D. 69, when Vitellius assumed the purple, in the lifetime both of Galba and Otho, would terminate on 22 December, A.D. 69.

Josephus writes in one place that Vitellius *ἀποσφάττεται μηνὰς ὀκτῶ κρατήσας καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε,* Jos. Bell. iv. 11, 4; and as the death of Otho was on 16 April, A.D. 69, the eight months and five days would expire on 21 December. But, on the other hand, Josephus allows three months, two days, to Otho, *ἡμέρας δύο καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας,* Bell. iv. 9, 9; and eight months, five days, to Vitellius, *μῆνας ὀκτῶ κρατήσας καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε,* Bell. iv. 11, 4; making together eleven months, seven days; and as Galba was slain on 15 January, A.D. 69, these eleven months, seven days, would terminate on 22 December, A.D. 64. An indirect argument that Josephus really meant the 22 December, A.D. 69, as the day of Vitellius's death is as follows:—The historian, referring to this event, tell us, *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρίτη Ἀπελλαίου μηνὸς πέπρακτο,* Bell. iv. 11, 4. Now, *τρίτη Ἀπελλαίου* is obviously a mistake; but an easy correction of the text had occurred to the author before he saw the same suggestion by Greswell—viz. that for *γ' Ἀπελλαίου*, or 3 Chisleu, should be read *κ' Αὐδιναίου*, or 20 Audinæus, i. e. Tebeth. On what day, then, did 20 Audinæus fall in this year? The Passover was on 25 March (the first full moon after the vernal equinox); and the Feast of Tabernacles, or 15 Tisri, would fall on 19 September. Marchesvan, or Dius, the next month, would therefore begin on 5 October; and Chisleu, or Apellæus, a month of thirty days, would begin on 3 November; and 3 Apellæus would fall on 5 November. Tebeth, or Audinæus, would begin on 3 December, and 20 Tebeth, or Audinæus, would therefore answer to 22 December. That *κ' Αὐδιναίου* should thus coincide exactly with 22 December, the day of the death of Vitellius, affords at the same time an argument that Josephus, in his works, employs the Hebrew months under the Syro-Macedonian names (see A.D. 66, no. 2003). At Tyre, Dius appears to have been reckoned from 18 November (inclusive), see *Fasti Hellen.* 358, 368; and, according to that system, the 3 Apellæus would correspond with 20 December; and it has been conjectured by some, but without reason, that Josephus may have referred



to the Syro-Macedonian month of Apellæus in the Tyrian calendar, and so have placed the death of Vitellius on 20 December. If this were so, Josephus would be in error in saying that 8 Idus, A.D. 66 (see that year, no. 2023) occurred in the twelfth year of Nero; for, according to the Tyrian mode of reckoning, 8 Idus would fall on 25 November in the thirteenth year of Nero.

Other authorities relating to the death of Vitellius are either immaterial or erroneous. *Periit cum fratre et filio anno vitæ septimo et quinquagesimo.* Suet. Vitel. 18. "Ἐβδομον καὶ ἅ' ἔτος ἄγων. Anecd. Paris. Cramer, tom. ii. p. 67. Ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτος ἕν. Ib. p. 281, cited Fasti Rom. *Tyrannidis octavo mense annos natus septuaginta et quinque* (lege, *quinquaginta et septem*) *amplius.* Victor, De Cæs. 8. *Vixit annos quinquaginta septem.* Vict. Epit. *Regnavit mensibus 8, die 1.* Cassiodor. According to Clemens Alexand., he reigned seven months and 1 day. Strom. Lib. i. c. 21, p. 406.

**2100.** Before the death of Vitellius, a comet had appeared. Πράττοντι δ' αὐτῶ ταῦτα σημεῖα πονηρὰ ἐγένετο, καὶ γὰρ κομήτης ἀστήρ ἐφαντίσθη, καὶ ἡ σεληνὴ παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς δις ἐκλειπόμεναι ἔδοξε, καὶ γὰρ τεταρταῖα καὶ ἐβδόμια ἐσκίασθη. Dion, lxxv. 8.

**2101.** In Nisan, or Xanthicus (in the third year of the war), Simon gets possession of Jerusalem. Σίμων οὖν οὕτως ἑνιαυτῶ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου, Ξανθικῶ μηνί, Ἱεροσολύμων ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 12. As Nisan A.D. 69 was in the third year of the war, the war must have broken out some time after Nisan A.D. 66. In fact, it broke out in the next month, Ijar, or Artemisius, A.D. 66 (see that year, no. 2006).

**2102.** Vespasian advances to the environs of Jerusalem on 5 Sivan, or Dæsius (13 May). Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς, ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς Καισαρείας πέμπτη Δαισίῳ μηνὸς, ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰ μηδέπω κατεστραμμένα τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας χωρίων . . . Σκοπὸς ἦδη τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα προέκειτο Ῥωμαίοις. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 9.

**2103.** Vespasian having subdued all about Jerusalem, returns to Cæsarea, where he hears of the accession of Vitellius. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ, ὡς τὰ πλησίον Ἱεροσολύμων καταστρεψάμενος ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἀκούει τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην παραχὰς καὶ Οὐϊτέλλιον Αὐτοκράτορα. Jos. Bell. iv. 10, 2.

**2104.** The prosecution of the war against the Jews is now interrupted by the civil war

amongst the Romans. *Missu Neronis Vespasianus . . . intra duas æstates* (A.D. 67, A.D. 68) *cuncta camporum omnesque, præter Hierosolyma, urbes victore exercitu tenebat. Proximus annus* (A.D. 69) *civili bello intentus, quantum ad Judæos, per otium transiit.* Tac. Hist. v. 10.

**2105.** Vespasian is proclaimed emperor at Cæsarea on 3 July (having already in his absence been proclaimed emperor at Alexandria two days before, on 1 July). *Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae ceptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kalendis Julii sacramento ejus legiones adegit. Isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Judaicus exercitus v. Non. Julias* (3 July) *apud ipsum jurasset eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius exspectaretur, etc. Ante Idus Julias* (15 July) *Syria omnis in eodem sacramento fuit.* Tac. Hist. ii. 79, 81. *Tiberius Alexander, præfectus Ægypti, primus in verba Vespasiani legiones adegit Kalendis Julii, qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est. Judaicus deinde exercitus v. Idus Julias apud ipsum juravit.* Suet. Vesp. 6. Jos. Bell. iv. 10, 3. Dion, lxxv. 8. Vespasian, at this time, was sixty years of age. *lx. ætatis annos.* Tac. Hist. ii. 74. Βασιλείας ἀπτόμενος περὶ ἔτος ἐξήκοστὸν τοῦ βίου. Philost. V. A. v. 29. He was born on 17 November, A.D. 9. Suet. Vesp. 2 (see that year, no. 1034).

**2106.** Vespasian passes from Cæsarea to Berytus, where he receives embassies. Ὁ δὲ (Vespasian) ἀναζεύξας ἀπὸ Καισαρείας εἰς Βηρυτὸν παρῆν ἔνθα πολλαὶ . . . πρεσβεῖαι συνήντων. Jos. Bell. iv. 10, 6.

**2107.** Vespasian proceeds to Antioch and thence sends Mucianus with an army to Italy, who, as it was now winter, marches his troops through Cappadocia and Phrygia. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ . . . εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικνεῖται . . . πέμπει δὲ Μουκιανὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν . . . Ὁ δὲ (Mucianus) διὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀκμὴν δείσας τὸ πλεῖν πεζῇ τὴν στρατιάν ἤγε διὰ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Φρυγίας. Jos. Bell. iv. 11, 1. Dion, lxxv. 9.

**2108.** Vespasian proceeds to Egypt, where he receives intelligence of the victory at Cremona. *Vespasianum, cunctis super vota fluentibus, Cremonensis prælii nuntius in Ægypto adsequitur. Eo prosperantius Alexandria pergat.* Tac. Hist. iii. 48. Vespasian seems to have arrived at Alexandria after midsummer, for it was at the rise of the Nile. Τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰσελθόντος ὁ Νεῖλος παλαιστῇ πλέον παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐν μῆ

ἡμέρα ἐπελάγισεν. Dion, lxxvi. 8; and see Suet. Vesp. 7. The Nile begins to rise after midsummer, and when the author visited Egypt in 1853 was at its highest flood on 27 September.

**2109.** Apollonius Tyanensis, having wintered in Greece, sails in the spring to Egypt. Χειμάσας δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσιν, εἶχετο τῆς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁδοῦ περὶ ἕαρ, etc. Philost. V. A. v. 20. He was in Egypt when Vespasian arrived there. Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δὲ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν περιουόντος παρὰ τὰ ὅμορα τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔθνη, καὶ προχωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου, etc. Philost. V. A. v. 27.

**2110.** Arrius Varus is appointed prefect of the Prætorium under Vespasian. *Præfectura Prætorii penes Arrium Varum.* Tac. Hist. iv. 2. Titus at some time held this office, but it does not appear when. *Præfecturam quoque Prætorii (Titus) suscepit.* Suet. Tit. 6 (see *supra*, no. 2092).

**2111.** A coin of king Agrippa.

Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππα. *Tabernaculum* + L. Θ., and therefore in the ninth year of his reign, or A.D. 69. Eckhel, iii. 493 (see A.D. 65, no. 1983). Agrippa, the last of the Herods, died in the third year of the reign of Trajan, A.D. 99. Παρέλαβε (Agrippa) τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, ἠνέχθη δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιάνου, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἔτει τρίτῳ Τραιάνου. Photius Cod. 33.

Coin of Galba.

Obverse uncertain + *Tiberis P. M. Tr. P.*  
Cos. ii. Eckhel, vi. 298.

Coins of Otho.

*Imp. Otho Cæsar Aug. Tr. P.*  
*Imp. M. Otho Cæsar Aug. Tr. P.*  
*xxx + Pax orbis Terrarum.* Or + *Pont. Max.*  
Or + *Roma* or + *Securitas P. R.* Or + *Securitas P. R.* Or + *Victoria Othonis.*  
*M. Otho Cæsar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. P.*  
+ *Imp. T. Cæs. Divi Vesp. F. Aug. S. C.*  
*Imp. Otho Cæsar August. Tr. P. + Imp. Titus Aug. Restit.* Id. vi. 301.

Coins of Vitellius.

*A. Vitellius Germanicus Imp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*  
+ *Honos et Virtus S. C.*  
*xxxx + I. O. Max. Capitolinus.*  
*A. Vitellius German. Imp. Tr. P.* or *A. Vitellius Germ. Imp. Aug. Tr. P. + L. Vitellius Cos. iii. Censor.*  
*A. Vitellius Germanicus Imp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*  
+ *L. Vitel. Censor ii. S. C.*

*A. Vitellius German. Imp. Tr. P. + Liberi Imp. German.*

*A. Vitellius Germ. Imp. Aug. Tr. P. + Liberi Imp. German. Aug.*

*A. Vitellius Germanicus Imp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Pax. Germ. Romæ. S. C.*

*A. Vitellius Germ. Imp. Aug. Tr. P. + Pont. Maxim.*

*xxxx + Urbem Restitutam S. C.*

*A. Vitellius German. Imp. Tr. P. + xv. vir Sacr. Fac.*

*A. Vitellius Germ. Imp. Aug. Tr. P. + xv. vir Sac. Fac.* Eckhel, vi. 310.

Eckhel also gives a list of the obverses in the coins of Vitellius, the only material reverses being those above.

A. *A. Vitellius Imp. Germanicus.*

B. " " *Imp. German.*

C. " " *Germanicus Imp.*

D. " " *German. Imp. Tr. P.*

E. " " *Germ. P. M. Tr. P.*

F. " " *Aug. Imp. German.*

G. " " *Germ. Imp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*

H. " " *Germa. Imp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*

I. " " *Germ. Imp. Aug. Tr. P.*

K. " " *Germanicus Imp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*

L. " " *German. Imp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.*

M. " " *German. Imp. Pont.*

Id. vi. 309.

Coins referred to the time of Vitellius.

*Vesta P. R. Quiritium + I. O. Max. Capitulinus.*

*Vesta P. R. Quiritium + I. O. M. Capitolinus.*

*Vesta P. R. Quiritium + Senatus xxxvius (i. e. Romanus). Or + Fides Exercitum.*

*Genius P. R. + I. O. Max.*

Figure of Pallas + *Securitas P. R.*

Obverse uncertain + *Tutela Augusti.*

Eckhel, vi. 317.

Coins of Vespasian.

*Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug.*

*Imp. Cæs. Vesp. Aug.*

*Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. Tr. P. + Titus et Domitian. Cæsares Prin. Juen. or Prin. Jun.*

Id. vi. 320.

Coins of Antioch.

Αντιοχε. Er. ZIP., i. e. in the 117th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 68, and 1 Nov. A.D. 69. Id. iii. 283.

Αυτοκρατωρ Ὁθων Καῖσαρ Σεβαστος + Ετους. Α.

Id. iii. 288.



*Imp. M. Otho Cæ. Aug.* + *Ἐπι Μουκίου Αντιόχων.* *Er. ZIP.* Eckhel, iii. 382.

*Αντιόχων* with head of Jupiter + *Er. HIP.*, i. e. in the 118th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 69, and 1 Nov. A.D. 70.

Id. iii. 283.

*Αυτοκρατ. Καισα. Ουεσπασιανος* + *Ἐτους Νεου Ἰερου Α.* Id. iii. 288.

#### Coins of Alexandria.

*Ἀλεξάνδρεια. Εἰρηνη. Ελευθερια. Κρατησις ΟΥ Ρώμη.* L. A. (coins of Otho).

*Αυλου Ουιτ. Καισ. Σεβ. Γερμ. Αυτ. L. A.*

Id. iv. 56.

#### Inscriptions.

*G. Flaccus Q. F. Ful. F. Decumam partem Herculi et pro reditu felicissimo ex Africa Vibi fratris et pro Sal. Petinæ matris signa aurea Fortunæ Præn. et Feroniæ Sanctis Simæ D. D. T. Vinio Cos.* (at Lugnanum).

Muratori, i. 307, 5.

*A. Vitellius L. F. Imperator Cos. Perp.* (Romæ).

Gruter, 239, 1.

*Ser. Galba ii. T. Vinio Cos. Mag. T. Claudius Crescens. Paul. Æbutius Parthen. L. Feniuss Dionysius, L. Fulvius Onesimus, N. Constonius Adjutor, M. Albidius Fortunatus, Min. Protus Sabedi, Successus Antigoni, Hermes Abascanti, Lydus Athenionis, Lucricio Mannalais Felix Chiani* (Romæ).

Id. 189, 4.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 25.

Pentecost, May 15.

Tabernacles, September 19.

#### A.D. 70. U.C. 823. Olymp. 212, 2.

CÆS. VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS, ii.

TITUS CÆSAR.

ex Kal. Jul.

T. FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIANUS, ii.

ex Kal. Sept.

P. VALERIUS ASIATICUS, ii.

ex Kal. Nov.

L. ANNIUS BASSUS.

C. CÆCINA PÆTIUS.

VESPASIANI II. FROM 1 JULY. TRIB. POT. II. FROM 21 DECEMBER.

Twenty-second year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

**2112.** Vespasian sails from Alexandria after winter for Rome, by way of Rhodes. *Αὐτὸς μέντοι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὄρμητο, λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἀνάγεσθαι.* Jos. Bell. iv. 11, 5. It

was not immediately after winter, for he waited at Alexandria for seasonable weather for his voyage. *Alexandriæ statos æstivis flatibus dies et certa maris opperiebatur.* Tac. Hist. iv. 81. He seems to have set sail about April, just as Titus was laying siege to Jerusalem. *Καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν Τίτος Καῖσαρ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πολιορκῶν προσήδρευεν, ἐν τούτῳ νεὼς φορτίδος Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐπιβάς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Ῥόδον διέβαιεν . . . ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πλέων ἐπὶ τριηρῶν . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περαιούται, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ἐπ' ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν, ὅθεν ἦδη κατὰ γῆν ἐποικεῖτο τὴν πορείαν.* Jos. Bell. vii. 2, 1.

**2113.** Vespasian arrives in Italy and meets his son Domitian at Beneventum, and thence proceeds to Rome. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐηλύθει, καὶ Μουκιάφ μὲν, ἄλλοις τε τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἐνέπτυχε, Δομετιανῷ δὲ ἐν Βενοῦντῳ.* Dion, lxvi. 9.

**2114.** The new Capitol is commenced on 21 June, *undecimo Kal. Julias serena luce spatium omne, quod templo dicabatur, evinctum vittis coronisque,* Tac. Ann. iv. 53; and though Tacitus is silent as to the presence of Vespasian and rather assumes that L. Vestinus, to whom the care of the new construction was confided, had the sole management of the ceremony, it would appear from Suetonius that Vespasian had already arrived at Rome and presided on this occasion. *Ipse restitutionem Capitolii aggressus, ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit, ac suo collo quædam extulit.* Suet. Vesp. 8.

**2115.** Titus, now in his twenty-ninth year (see A.D. 40, no. 1609), advances in the spring from Alexandria to Cæsarea on the sea. Jos. Bell. iv. 11, 5.

**2116.** Titus reaches Jerusalem just before the Passover, and the Passover began on 14 Nisan, which this year was 13 April. *Ἀφ' ἧς αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας παρεστρατοπεδεύσατο (Titus) τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνός, etc.* Jos. Bell. i. 13, 7. *Λωφῆσαντος δὲ πρὸς βραχὺ τοῦ θύραθεν πολέμου, πάλιν ἔνδον ἡ στάσις ἐπηγείρετο, καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀζύμων ἐνστάσης ἡμέρας τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνός, etc.* *Ὁ δὲ Τίτος ἔγγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σκόπου τῇ πόλει στρατοπεδεύσασθαι προαιρούμενος, etc.* Bell. v. 3, 1, 2. *Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ὅλης ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν συνελλυθότες ἐξαπίνης τῷ πολέμῳ περιεσχέθησαν.* Bell. vi. 9, 3. It is evident that in the above passages the days are computed by Josephus according to the lunar months of the

Jewish year by which the feasts were regulated; and if so, it is scarcely conceivable that Josephus should, in some places reckon by Jewish months, and in others by Syro-Macedonian months. It may be assumed, therefore, that Josephus in the Wars and the Antiquities employs the Jewish months under their Syro-Macedonian names.

**2117.** As the days of the month are frequently referred to by Josephus in this year, the following summary of the Jewish calendar for A.D. 70 is subjoined for the convenience of reference:—

	Days.
1 Nisan or Xanthicus, at 6 P.M. = 31 March = 30	
14 Nisan, at 6 P.M., the Passover = 13 April	
1 Ijar or Artemisius . . . . = 30 April = 29	
1 Sivan or Dæsius . . . . = 29 May = 30	
7 Sivan, the Pentecost . . . . = 4 June	
1 Tammuz or Panemus . . . . = 28 June = 29	
1 Ab or Lous . . . . = 27 July = 30	
1 Elul or Gorpiaeus . . . . = 26 Aug. = 29	
1 Tisri or Hyperberetæus . . . = 24 Sept. = 30	
15 Tisri, the Feast of Tabernacles = 8 Oct.	
1 Marchesvan or Dius . . . . = 24 Oct. = 29	
1 Chisleu or Apellæus . . . . = 22 Nov. = 30	
1 Tebeth or Audinæus . . . . = 22 Dec. = 29	
1 Shebat or Peritius . . . . = 20 Jan. = 30	
1 Adar or Dystrus . . . . = 19 Feb. = 29	

This table proceeds on the assumption that the Passover (which began at 6 P.M. on 13 April) regulated the whole year, and that the subsequent months followed with thirty and twenty-nine days alternately. But see *post*, no. 2153.

As to the topography of Jerusalem in connection with the siege, see the author's work, 'The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus.'

**2118.** Titus encamps at Scopus, on the north-west of the city, seven stades from the walls. Jos. Bell. v. 2, 3; v. 3, 2.

**2119.** He clears the ground before the city on the northern and western sides. Jos. Bell. v. 3, 2. This was done in four days. *Τέσσαρι δὲ ἡμέραις ἐξισωθέντος τοῦ μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν διαστήματος.* Bell. v. 3, 5.

**2120.** Titus encamps himself with the twelfth and fifteenth legions before Psepinus, the tower at the north-west corner, the fifth legion encamping before Hippicus, and the tenth on Olivet. Jos. Bell. v. 3, 5.

**2121.** Titus, on 23 Nisan, or 22 April, begins casting up three mounds against the wall of Agrippa, on the west, a little to the north of Hippicus. Jos. Bell. v. 6, 2.

**2122.** The Jews sally from a secret gate of

Hippicus, and set fire to the Roman works. Jos. Bell. v. 6, 4.

**2123.** The Romans get possession of the first, or outer, wall, which had been built by Agrippa round the north-western and northern parts of the city to comprise Bezetha, on 7 Ijar, or Artemisius (6 May). *Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὕτω τοῦ πρώτου τείχους πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ κρατήσαντες ἡμέρᾳ (ἐβδόμῃ δ' ἦν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός) αὐτοῦ τε πολὺν κατασκάπτουσι, etc.* Jos. Bell. v. 7, 2. By the fifteenth day is meant, not the fifteenth from the commencement of the siege, but the fifteenth day from the commencement of the works, which must therefore have been on 23 Nisan, or 22 April.

**2124.** The Romans take the second wall, viz. that which inclosed the part of Acra which lay on the north of Sion and to the west of the Temple, on the fifth day after the capture of the first wall. *Αἰρεῖ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον,* Jos. Bell. v. 8, 1; and therefore on 12 Ijar, or 11 May.

The Romans lose the second wall, but retake it the fourth day after. *Τρισὶ μὲν ἀντίσχοι ἡμέραις κυρτερῶς ἀμυνόμενοι, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ προσβάλλοντα γενναίως Τίτον οὐκ ἠνεγκαν.* Jos. Bell. v. 8, 2.

**2125.** Titus now relaxes the assault for four days. *Τέσσαρισι οὖν ἡμέραις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἕκαστον τάγμα διετέλεσαν τὰς τροφὰς κομιζόμενοι, τῇ πέμπτῃ δὲ . . . Τίτος ἤρξατο χωμάτων.* Jos. Bell. v. 9, 2. But this seems inconsistent with the subsequent statement that the mounds were begun on 12 Ijar, or Artemisius (11 May), and therefore immediately after the capture of the second wall.

**2126.** The Romans commence four mounds—two against the north wall of the south-west quarter, then called the High Town, and now Sion, at the tomb of the high-priest John, which lay between the western wall of Acra and Hippicus now the Castle of David at the Jaffa Gate, and two against the western wall of Antonia. Jos. Bell. v. 9, 2.

**2127.** The mounds of the Romans, which are stated to have been begun on 12 Ijar, or Artemisius (11 May), are finished on 29 Ijar, or Artemisius (28 May). *Τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοις ἀρξαμένοις δωδεκάτῃ μηνός Ἀρτεμισίου συνετελέσθη τὰ χώματα μόλις ἑννάτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι ταῖς δεκαεπτὰ συνεχῶς πονουμένων ἡμέραις· μέγιστα γὰρ ἐχώσθη τὰ τέσσαρα, καὶ θάτερον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος ἐβλήθη*



κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολυμβήθρας, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ δωδεκάτου διεστώτος ὄσον εἰς πήχεις εἴκοσι. Jos. Bell. v. 11, 4. The Struthian Pool was near the western wall of the Temple inclosure (including Antonia), and took its name from *στρούθιον*, or soapwort, used for the lavatories in that quarter.

**2128.** The two mounds against Antonia are destroyed by the Jews, and the two other mounds against the High Town two days after. Μετὰ δὲ δύο ἡμέρας, *etc.* Jos. Bell. v. 11, 5.

**2129.** A wall of circumvallation round the city is completed by the Romans in three days. Τρισὶ δὲ ἡμέραις τὸ πᾶν ἡμέραις. Jos. Bell. v. 12, 2.

**2130.** The Romans commence four new mounds against the western wall of Antonia. Jos. Bell. v. 12, 4.

**2131.** The new mounds are finished in twenty-one days. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ . . . τὰ χῶματα διήγειραν μᾶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέραις. Jos. Bell. vi. 1, 1.

**2132.** 115,888 dead bodies are stated to have been carried through one gate alone between 14 Nisan, or Xanthicus (13 April), and 1 Tammuz, or Panemus (28 June). Ἀφ' ἧς αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς ἄχρι Πανέμου νομηνιας, *etc.* Jos. Bell. v. 13, 7.

**2133.** The Jews make a sally from Antonia on 1 Tammuz, or Panemus (28 June). Νομηνίᾳ Πανέμου μηνὸς ἢ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἦν. Jos. Bell. vi. 1, 3.

**2134.** The Romans carry the western wall of Antonia, but find a second wall newly erected behind it. Jos. Bell. vi. 1, 3 and 4.

**2135.** A fruitless attempt of Sabinus to scale the second wall on 3 Tammuz, or Panemus (30 June). Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρίτῃ Πανέμου μηνὸς ἐπράχθη. Jos. Bell. vi. 1, 6.

**2136.** The second wall of Antonia is carried two days after, and therefore on 5 Tammuz, or Panemus (2 July). Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας δύο, *etc.* Jos. vi. 1, 7.

**2137.** The Romans force their way from Antonia into the Temple along the corridors or colonnades communicating between the two, but are again driven out. Jos. Bell. vi. 1, 8.

**2138.** Antonia is razed and levelled by the Romans, with the exception of the main tower at the S.E. corner. This was done to prepare the way for operations against the Temple itself. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 1.

**2139.** The daily sacrifice ceases on 17 Tammuz, or Panemus (14 July). Ἐπέπυστο γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας (Πανέμου δ' ἦν ἑπτακαιδέκατη) τὸν ἐνδελεχισμὸν καλούμενον, ἀνδρῶν ἀπορίᾳ διαλελοιπένοι τῷ θεῷ. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 1.

**2140.** The Romans attempt a surprise upon the Temple, but fail. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 5.

**2141.** They now cast up four mounds against the Temple—two within the area of Antonia, and two without. Of those within, one was against the N.W. corner of the inner Temple, and the other over against the ἐξέδρα, or alcove, between the two central gates of the four northern gates of the inner Temple. Of the two mounds without Antonia, one was against the western cloister of the Temple, opposite the alcove of the inner Temple, and the other against the northern cloister to the east of Antonia. Πλησιάσαντα δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ περιβόλῳ τὰ τάγματα καθήρχετο χωμάτων· τὸ μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς τοῦ εἴσω ἱεροῦ γωνίας ἧτις ἦν κατ' ἄρκτον καὶ δύοσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον ἐξέδραν ἢ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἦν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο, θάτερον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέριον στοᾶν τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 7; vi. 4, 1.

**2142.** The Jews burn the most western of the two galleries or cloisters running out northward from the Temple, and connecting the Temple with Antonia. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 9.

**2143.** Two days after, the Romans burn the eastern gallery or cloister running between the Temple and Antonia. This was on 24 Tammuz, or Panemus (21 July). Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας δύο τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ προειρημένου μηνὸς (Panemus) τὴν πλησίον στοᾶν ὑποπιπρῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 9.

**2144.** The Jews entice the Romans on to the western cloister, and then set fire to it, and the whole is destroyed. This was on 27 Tammuz, or Panemus (24 July). Τοῦ προειρημένου μηνὸς (Panemus) ἐβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκάδι δόλον ἐπισκευάζονται τοιόνδε. Jos. Bell. vi. 3, 1.

**2145.** The Romans burn the northern cloister of the Temple. Jos. Bell. vi. 3, 2. The northern cloister being now destroyed, and the Jews having no means of mounting and manning the wall, the Romans are in possession of the outer Temple, and proceed against the inner Temple, which, being a square elevated platform, with a wall and porticoes, was a strong citadel.

**2146.** Two mounds are completed on 8 Ab, or Lous (3 August), and the inner Temple is battered, but without effect. "Ἡδὴ δὲ τῶν δύο ταχυμάτων συντελεκότων τὰ χῶματα Λῶου μηνὸς ὀγδόη, etc. Jos. Bell. vi. 4, 1.

**2147.** Titus the same day gives orders to set fire to the gates of the inner Temple. 'Ο δὲ Τίτος, ὡς ἔωρα τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἱεροῖς φειδῶ πρὸς βλάβης τοῖς στρατιώταις γινομένην καὶ φόνον, τὰς πύλας προσέταξεν ὑφάπτειν. Jos. Bell. vi. 4, 1; Bell. vi. 4, 2.

**2148.** The next day, 9 Ab, or Lous (Saturday, 4 August), Titus endeavours, but in vain, to extinguish the fire, which had not only enveloped the gates but the cloisters also. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ Τίτος σβεννύειν . . . κελεύσας, etc. Τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν σπειρῶν ἐπιλέκτοις ὀδοποιοῖν διὰ τῶν ἑρειπίων προσέταξεν καὶ τὸ πῦρ σβεννύειν. Jos. Bell. vi. 4, 3.

**2149.** The Temple itself is burnt on 10 Ab, or Lous (Sunday, 5 August). Παρῆν δὲ ἡ εἰμαρμένη χρόνων περιόδος, ἡμέρα δεκάτη Λῶου μηνὸς καθ' ἣν καὶ τὸ πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλείως ἐνεπλήσθη. Jos. Bell. vi. 4, 5. Dion, lxvi. 6. As 10 Ab was the day on which the first destruction of the Temple alluded to by Josephus had occurred, Jerem. lli. 12, it is clear that Josephus by 10 Lous means 10 Ab, i. e. Josephus calls the Hebrew months by the Syro-Macedonian names. According to the Talmud the Temple was destroyed by Titus on 9 Ab. See Wieseler's Chron. Synop. p. 142. The Talmud, therefore, dates the event from the conflagration of the colonnades round the Temple.

**2150.** Titus holds a parley with the Jews of the High Town, now called Sion, across the bridge communicating between the southern end of the great western cloister of the outer Temple and the upper city. Jos. Bell. vi. 6, 2.

**2151.** The Jews refuse to surrender, and Titus in revenge burns the public buildings round the Temple, viz. Ophla and Acra and the Archive. Bell. vi. 6, 3.

**2152.** Titus raises mounds against the High Town on the north-west over against the Prætorium or Herod's Palace, near the castle of David, and on the east at the Xyst and the Bridge. This was on 20 Ab, or Lous (15 August). Λῶου μηνὸς ἐνκάδι. Bell. vi. 8, 1.

**2153.** The mounds are completed in eighteen days, on 7 Elul, or Gorpiaeus (1 September).

Συντελεσμένων δ' ἤδη τῶν χωμάτων ἐβδόμη Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ἐν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἡμέραις, etc. Jos. Bell. vi. 8, 4. From 20 Ab, or 15 August (inclusive), when the works were commenced, to 7 Elul, or 1 September, when they were completed, would be just eighteen days, but only on one hypothesis, viz. that Ab was a month of thirty days. It has been seen under A.D. 66 that Tisri was also a month of thirty days, and thus, as the Jewish months were alternately of thirty days and twenty-nine days, we have the following Table:—

Nisan	= 30 days	Tisri	= 30 days.
Ijar	= 29 "	Marchesvan	= 29 "
Sivan	= 30 "	Chisleu	= 30 "
Tammuz	= 29 "	Tebeth	= 29 "
Ab	= 30 "	Sebat	= 30 "
Elul	= 29 "	Adar	= 29 "

Gresswell reverses the order and makes Nisan a month of twenty-nine days, Ijar of thirty, etc.; and we have in the Tables adopted for convenience in other years the calendar of Gresswell. As the second day of the *Passover* and the first day of the Feast of *Tabernacles* were *always* on the days of full moon, and the lunations vary in length from month to month, it is not improbable that all the months had thirty or twenty-nine days, not according to any established order, but according to circumstances, so as to keep the two great feasts on the days of the full moon.

**2154.** The High Town is taken on 8 Elul, or Gorpiaeus (2 September). Φλεγόμενοις δ' ἐπ' ἀνέτειλεν Ἱεροσόλυμοις ἡμέρα Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόη. Jos. Bell. vi. 8, 5. Ἐάλω μὲν οὕτως Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔπει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιάνου ἡγεμονίας Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ὀγδόη, Bell. vi. 10, 1; and according to Dion, on a Saturday. Οὕτω μὲν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἦν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σέβουσιν, ἐξώλετο. Dion, lxvi. 7. But Josephus does not mention this, and it is observable that Dion makes a point of placing every capture of Jerusalem on a Saturday, as that of A.D. 63, by Pompey, Dion, xxxvii. 16, and that in B.C. 37, by Herod, Dion, xlix. 22.

**2155.** Titus rests three days upon the ruins of Jerusalem, and then proceeds to Cæsarea. Αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς ἐν πόλει τρεῖς ἡμέρας συνεορτάσας . . . καὶ καταβὰς ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ Καισάρειαν, etc. Jos. Bell. vii. 1, 3.



**2156.** Titus celebrates the birthday of his brother Domitian, 24 October, at Cæsarea, and that of his father, 17 November, at Berytus. Διατρίβων δ' αἰπόθι τὴν τὰδελφοῦ γενέθλιον ἡμέραν ἐπιφανῶς ἐώρταζε . . . Μετὰ τοῦτο Καῖσαρ εἰς Βηρυτὸν ἦκει, κἀνταῦθα χρόνιωτέραν ἐπονήσατο τὴν ἐπίδημιαν, πλείονι χρώμενος τῇ λαμπρότητι περὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμέραν γενέθλιον. Jos. Bell. vii. 3, 1.

**2157.** Titus is at Antioch, Jos. Bell. vii. 5, 2; and thence proceeds by land, by way of Jerusalem, to Alexandria. Εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπηλλάττετο, καὶ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τοῖς Ἱερουσόλοιμοις προσελθὼν . . . ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Jos. Bell. vii. 5, 2, 3.

**2158.** Titus sails to Rome. Jos. Bell. vii. 5, 3.

**2159.** Cæsennius Pætus is appointed prefect of Syria. Τὸν γὰρ ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Συρίας Καισένιον Παῖτον ἤδη μὲν Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐξάπεστάλκει, "συνέβαινε" δὲ παρεῖναι μηδέπω. Jos. Bell. vii. 3, 4 (see A. D. 67, no. 2048).

**2160.** Apollonius Tyranensis visits Ethiopia, and writes his congratulations to Titus upon the capture of Jerusalem. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ἤρῃκει τὰ Σόλυμα, καὶ νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὄμορά τε ἔθνη ἐστεφάνουν αὐτὸν, ὁ δὲ (Titus) οὐκ ἤξιον εἶναι τούτου, μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι, θεῶ δὲ ὄργην φήναντι ἐπιδεδωκέναι τὰς εἰσαυτοῦ χεῖρας, ἐπῆναι ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ταῦτα, etc. Philost. V. A. vi. 29 (see A. D. 61, no. 1911).

## 2161. Coins of Vespasian.

*Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. + Titus et Domitian. Cæsares Prin. Juven.*

*Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. Tr. P. + Titus et Domitian. Cæsares Prin. Juven.*

*xxx. + Cæsares Vesp. Aug. F.*

*xxx. + Titus et Domit. Vespasiani Augusti F.*

*Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. + Cæsar Aug. F.*

*Cos. (with head of Titus) Cæsar Aug. F. Pr. (with head of Domitian).*

*xxx. + T. Cæs. Aug. F. Cos. D. Cæs. Aug. F. Pr.*

*Imp. Cæs. Aug. Vesp. Cos. ii. Tr. Pot. + Tit. et Domit. Ex S. C.*

*Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. F. M. T. P. P. P. Cos. ii. Des. iii. + Æternitas P. R. S. C.*

*Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. + Consen. Exercit. Or + Cos. Iter. Tr. Pot.*

*Or + Cos. Desig. iii. Tr. Pot.*

*Imp. Cæs. Vesp. Aug. P. M. + Cos. Iter. Tr. Pot.*

Eckhel, vi. 322.

Eckhel gives the following list of obverses of

Vespasian's coins, the material reverses being as above:—

A. *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug.*

B. *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. Tr. P.*

C. *Imp. Cæs. Vesp. Aug. P. M.*

D. *Imp. Cæsar Vesp. Aug. Cos. ii. Tr. P. P. P.*

E. *Imp. Cæsar Aug. Vesp. Cos. ii. Tr. Pot.*

F. *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. P. M. Tri. P. Cos. ii.*

G. *Imp. Cæs. Vespasian. Aug. P. M. Tri. P. Cos. ii.*

H. *Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus Aug. P. M. T. P. P. P. Cos. ii. Des. iii.* Eckhel, vi. 321.

## Coin of Antioch.

Αυτοκρατ. Καῖσα. Οὐεσπασιανου ΟΥ Οὐεσπασιανος  
Καῖσαρ Σεβαστος + Ετους Ιερου Β. or Ετους  
Νεου Ιερου Β. Id. iii. 288.

## Coin of Alexandria.

Αυτοκρ. Καῖσ. Σεβα. Οὐεσπασιανου L. B. + ΑΛΕΞ-  
ανδρεια. Id. iv. 56.

Τι. Φλαβι. Οὐεσπασιανου Καῖσ. + Αυτοκ. Καῖσ. Σεβ.  
. . . εσα . . . L. B.

Τ. Φλαβι. Οὐεσπ. Καῖσ. + Ετους Νεου Ιερου Β.  
Id. iv. 58.

The coins with the numeral B were struck in the second year of Vespasian.

## Inscriptions.

*Junoni Reginae DD. K. I. P. Anniius P. F. Pol. Carus Sacerdos Nept. Patron. Col. Ost. Quinq. Iter. Fl. Vespasiano Augusto ii. et Tito Vespasiano Cæs. Cos. (at Rome).*

Muratori, i. 308, 1.

*Nomina quæ adscripserunt Decur.*

*Ea quæ I. S. S.*

*Ti. Satelli Eutychi . . . Hernia Fonteii.*

*Ti. Satelli Justini Fr. . . Appuleii Amphiatii.*

*Asiatici Cæsaris . . . Festi Calpeni.*

*Besæ Secundæ P. L. . . Fonteii Evaristi.*

*Suavettia Lucensis . . . Junii Maximii.*

*Suavettia Amaryllis . . . Suavettius Alexa.*

*Qui Loc. Collegium . . . DD.*

*Imp. Cæsare Vespasiano } Cos.*

*Tito Cæsare Aug. F. Vespasiano } (at Rome).*

Id. i. 308, 2.

The following is on one side of a base or pedestal:—

*Hilaritati Public . . . Imp. Cæs. Vespasiani A. . .*

*Sacrum Tribul. Succ. Corp. Jun.*

*Ti. Claudius Lemnus Fortun. . .*

*D. Furius D. F. Firmus vi. v. . .*

*T. Cominius Amaranth. . .*

*T. Flavius T. F. Luscu. . .*

*Q. Cornelius Q. F. Pudent.*

*Curatores liberor. Trib. Sac. Cor. Junior. . .*

*I. S. P. D. D. cui populus ejus cor. . . .  
ficio . . . immunit perpet.  
. . . × centurum decrevit  
Ex S. C.*

On another side : —

*Ponend. Cur. C. Nymphidius Chrestus ïïvir  
L. Octavius L. F. Jucundus ïïvir Tr. Trib.  
Claud. Dedic. xvii. K. Dec. L. Annio Bosso  
C. Cæcina Pæto Cos. (Romæ).*

Id. 308, 3.

*Paci æternæ domus Imp. Vespasiani Cæsaris  
Aug. Liberorumque ejus sacrum. Trib. Suc.*

*Junior Dedic. xv. Kal. Dec. L. Annio Basso,  
C. Cæcina Pæto Cos. (Romæ).*

Gruter, 239, 3.

*Victoriæ Augusti Sacrum. Pro reditu Imp. Cæs.  
T. Flavi Vespasiani Aug. Pont. Max. Trib.  
Pot. Cos. ïï. P. P. statuano ex ære ordo spol.  
conloc. (Romæ).*

Inscriptio ad calcem Suetonii.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 4.

Tabernacles, October 8.



## APPENDIX.



THE following pages, down to the Index, contain no novel matter, and are inserted merely for the reader's greater convenience in consulting and verifying the Chronological Tables. In pursuing the chronology of the period comprised in this volume, reference must perpetually be had to certain fundamental *data* (such as the ancient calendars, *etc.*), without a knowledge of which the reader would be constantly at a loss. The necessary information might no

doubt be found in various standard works; but the right book is not always ready at hand, and search must then be made for the particular matter. It was therefore thought desirable to collect together such of these *desiderata* as are most frequently wanted, and print them together with the Tables. They can be but surplusage to any one, and, to judge from the Author's own experience, will be useful as saving time and trouble to a great number.

### THE JEWISH YEAR.

THIS consisted of twelve lunar months, of thirty days and twenty-nine days alternately, making together 354 days, and thus falling short of the solar year by eleven days and a quarter annually; so that in a cycle of eight years there was a *deficit* of ninety days, or three months of thirty days each. To compensate for this loss, three months, of thirty days each, were intercalated in the course of every cycle of eight years. The intercalations were not fixed to any particular years, but were avoided in the seventh, or Sabbatic year, and also in the following year, and were often made in the sixth year; and intercalations were not made in two continuous years. Anger, 32.

The chief Jewish *festivals* were regulated by the *moon's* course, but not without reference to the *sun's* course, as will be seen by the following canons:—The hinge upon which the whole year turned was 15 Nisan, which was that day, from sunset to sunset, on which the *moon* was at the full, when the *sun* was in Aries, that is (as computed by the ancients), between 17 March, when the sun entered Aries, and 17 April, when it entered Taurus; and the two extreme days, 17 March and 17 April, seem to have been excluded, so that 15 Nisan could never be earlier than 18 March, or later than 16 April. The fourteenth day previous to the day of this full moon would be the time of new moon according to the *phasis*, and was the commencement of the Jewish year.

The *Passover*, or day of Paschal sacrifices, was on

14 Nisan, that is, on the fourteenth day, from sunset to sunset, reckoned from the day of the *phasis*; and the seven following days were the Feast of Unleavened Bread; so that the Passover, in a large sense, was a feast of eight days, beginning on 14 Nisan, and ending on 21 Nisan. The 16 Nisan was also specially the Feast of the Sheaf-offering, as well as one of the days of Unleavened Bread.

The fiftieth day from the Sheaf-offering (exclusive) was the Feast of *Pentecost*.

The Feast of *Tabernacles*, or 15 Tisri, was the day, reckoned from sunset to sunset, on which fell the sixth full moon next after the full moon of the Passover (exclusive); and the *Fast*, or great Day of Atonement, was the fifth day before the Feast of Tabernacles, that is, 10 Tisri.

It is evident from this outline that the times of the Jewish feasts for any year may be determined without much difficulty by looking at the eclipses of the moon for that year; or should there happen to be no eclipse in that year, then at the eclipse next before or next after it in the preceding or following year. As an eclipse of the moon can occur only when the moon is at the full, the preceding and following full moons may be calculated in a general way by taking the mean lunation at 29d. 12h. 44' 3" 3'''.

As 1 Nisan, or New Year's Day, was the fourteenth day (exclusive) from that on which the sun was in Aries, i. e. between 17 March and 17 April, it is almost

needless to remark that the Jewish months did not correspond to the months of the Julian year. The Jewish months (called by Josephus sometimes by their

Jewish names, and sometimes by the names of the Syro-Macedonian months) were proximately as follows:—

Jewish Names.	Syro-Macedonian Names.	No. of Days.	Corresponding Months.
Nisan, or Abib . . . . .	Xanthicus . . . . .	30 =	March and April.
Ijar . . . . .	Artemisius . . . . .	29 =	April and May.
Sivan . . . . .	Dæsius . . . . .	30 =	May and June.
Tammuz . . . . .	Panemus . . . . .	29 =	June and July.
Ab . . . . .	Lous . . . . .	30 =	July and August.
Elul . . . . .	Gorpieus . . . . .	29 =	August and September.
Tisri . . . . .	Hyperberetæus . . . . .	30 =	September and October.
Marchesvan . . . . .	Dius . . . . .	29 =	October and November.
Chisleu . . . . .	Apellæus . . . . .	30 =	November and December.
Tebeth . . . . .	Audinæus . . . . .	29 =	December and January.
Shebat . . . . .	Peritius . . . . .	30 =	January and February.
Adar . . . . .	Dystrus . . . . .	29 =	February and March.

The intercalary month was called Veadar, and was intercalated between Shebat and Adar (see further, as

to the Jewish year, A. D. 66, no. 2003; A. D. 70, no. 2153).

SYRO-MACEDONIAN YEAR.

This began from the autumnal equinox. Before the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæsar, it was a lunar year, the course of the moon being adapted to that of the sun by means of intercalations. After the reformation of the calendar, the Syro-Macedonian year became a solar year, but still commenced from the autumnal equinox. The months were proximately as follows:—

Δῖος . . . . .	= September and October
Ἀπελλαῖος . . . . .	= October and November
Ἀδδιναῖος . . . . .	= 23 November and December
Περῖτιος . . . . .	= 25 December and January
Δύστρος . . . . .	= January and February
Ξανθικός . . . . .	= February and March
Ἀρτεμῖσιος . . . . .	= March and April
Δαίσιος . . . . .	= April and May
Πάνεμος . . . . .	= May and June
Λῶος . . . . .	= June and July
Γορπιαῖος . . . . .	= July and August
Ἵπερβερεταῖος . . . . .	= August and September.

The intercalary month, while the Syro-Macedonian year was a lunar year, appears to have been Διδσκοπος, and to have followed Hyperberetæus. See Ideler's Handb. i. 393.

THE ATTIC YEAR.

This was a lunar year, and consisted of twelve months, of thirty days and twenty-nine days alternately, the lunar year being kept in harmony with the solar year by means of intercalations. The commencement of the year was from the summer solstice. The months varied, of course, from those of the Julian year, but were proximately as follows:—

Ἑκατομβαιών . . . . .	= June and July.
Μεταγεττιών . . . . .	= July and August
Βοηδρομιών . . . . .	= August and September
Πυανεψιών . . . . .	= September and October
Μαιμακτηριών . . . . .	= October and November
Ποσειδεών . . . . .	= November and December
Γαμηλιών . . . . .	= December and January
Ἰανουαριών . . . . .	= January and February
Ἐλαφηβολιών . . . . .	= February and March
Μουνυχιών . . . . .	= March and April
Θαργηλιών . . . . .	= April and May
Σκιροφοριών . . . . .	= May and June

The intercalary month was a second Ποσειδεών, and was intercalated in the middle of the year.

THE ROMAN CALENDAR.

N.B. The authorities are chiefly Ovid, Pliny, and Columella, which are denoted respectively by the letters O. P. C.

JANUARIUS.

1. Kalendæ. Fastus. Hoc die ultro citroque strenamissæ. Dies auspiciatus.
2. iv.
3. iii. Comitialis.
4. Pridie. Lyra oritur.
5. Nonæ.

6. viii.
7. vii. Comitialis.
8. vi. Comit.
9. v. AGONALIA, Agonia, or Agonium. O. Delphinus oritur heliacè. O.
10. iv. Hiems media. O.
11. iii. Nefastus primo. CARMENTALIA. O.
12. Pridie.



13. Idus. Nefastus primo.
14. xix. Dies ater.
15. xviii. Sacra Carmentæ relata. O.
16. xvii. Comitialis. Sol in Aquarium transit. C.  
Leon occipit oriri mane. C.
17. xvi. Comit.
18. xv. Comit. Aquarius incipit oriri. C.
19. xiv. Comit.
20. xiii. Comit.
21. xii. Comit.
22. xi. Comit. Fiducula vesperi occidit. O.
23. x. Lyra penitus occidit heliacè. O.
24. ix. Comitialis. Stella in pectore Leonis occidit. O.
25. viii. Comit.
26. vii. Comit.
27. vi. Comit.
28. v. Comit.
29. iv. Fastus.
30. iii. Nefastus. Delphinus incipit occidere. C. Fiducula occidit. C.
31. Pridie Kalendas Febr. Comitialis.

## FEBRUARIUS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefastus. Fidis incipit occidere. C.
2. iv. Nefastus. Lyra et terga Leonis occidunt. O.
3. iii. Nefastus. Delphinus occidit. O.
4. Pridie. Nefastus. Fiducula vesperi occidit. P.
5. Nonæ.
6. viii. Nefastus.
7. vii. Nefastus. Callisto sidus occidit. C.
8. vi. Nefastus. FERALIA per dies undecim. O.  
Veris initium et MARIA APERIUNTUR. P.
9. v. Nefastus. Veris initium. O.
10. iv. Nefastus.
11. iii. Nefastus. Arctophylax oritur. O.
12. Pridie. Nefastus.
13. Idus. Nefastus primo. FAUNALIA. O. Sagittarius vesperi occidit. C.
14. xvi. Nefastus. Corvus, Crater, et Anguis oriuntur. O.
15. xv. Nefastus primo. LUPERCALIA. FAUNALIA. O.
16. xiv. Sol in Piscibus. O.
17. xiii. Nefastus primo. QUIRNALIA. FORNACALIA. O.
18. xii. Comitialis.
19. xi. Comit.
20. x. Comit. Leo desinit occidere. C.
21. ix. FERALIA. Arcturus primâ nocte oritur. C.
22. viii. Comitialis. Sagitta crepusculo incipit oriri. C.
23. vii. Nefastus primo. TERMINALIA. O. Arcturi exortus vespertinus. P.
24. vi. Nefastus. REGIFUGIUM or Fugalia. O.
25. v. Comitialis.
26. iv.
27. iii. Nefastus primo. EQUIRIA. O.
28. Pridie Kalendas Mart. Comitialis.

## MARTIUS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefastus primo. ANCILIA per tres dies. O. MATRONALIA. O.
2. vi. Fastus.
3. v. Comitialis. Austrinus piscis occidit. O.
4. iv. Comit.

5. iii. Comit. Arctophylax ceu Bootes occidit. O. Vindemiator oritur. O.
6. Pridie. Nefastus primo. VESTALIA. O.
7. Nonæ. Fastus. Pegasus oritur. O. C.
8. viii. Fastus. Corona oritur. O. Piscis Aquilonis oritur. P.
9. vii. Comitialis. Orion oritur. P.
10. vi. Comit.
11. v. Comit.
12. iv. Comit.
13. iii.
14. Pridie. Nefastus primo. EQUIRIA altera. O.
15. Idus. Nefastus primo. Nepa incidit occidere. C.
16. xvii. Fastus. Scorpius Medius occidit. O. Nepa occidit. C.
17. xvi. LIBERALIA or ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ. O. Sol in Arietem transit. C.
18. xv. Nefastus. Sol in Ariete. O.
19. xiv. Nefastus. QUINQUATRUS, or PANATHENÆA. O.
20. xiii. Comitialis.
21. xii. Comit. Equus occidit mane. C.
22. xi. Nefastus.
23. x. Nefastus primo. TUBILUSTRUM. Ultimus Quinquatrum dies. O. Aries incipit oriri. C.
24. ix. Quando Rex comitiavit Fas. Hoc et sequenti die Æquinoctium vernum.
25. viii. Comitialis. Æquinoctium vernum. O. P.
26. vii. Comitialis.
27. vi. Nefastus primo.
28. v. Comitialis.
29. iv. Comit.
30. iii. Comit.
31. Pridie Kalendas Aprilis. Comit.

## APRILIS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefastus. Scorpius occidit. O.
2. iv. Comitialis. Pleiades occidunt. O.
3. iii. Comit.
4. Pridie. Comit. MEGALESIA. O.
5. Nonæ. Ludi. Orion occidit. O.
6. viii. Nefastus primo. Ludi. Vergiliæ vespere celantur. C.
7. vii. Nefast. Ludi.
8. vi. Nefast. Ludi.
9. v. Nefast. Ludi.
10. iv. Nefast. Ludi in Circo. Libra occidere incipit. C.
11. iii. Nefast. Ludi.
12. Pridie. Nefast. Ludi Cereri. MEGALESIA, or MEGALENSIA. Hyades vel Suculæ celantur. Lyra occidit. O.
13. Idus. Nefast. primo. Ludi. Libra occidit. C.
14. xviii. Nefast. Ludi.
15. xvii. Nefast. primo. FORDICALIA, or FORDICIDIA. Ludi. O.
16. xvi. Nefast. Ludi. Hyades vel Suculæ occidunt vesperi Atticæ. P.
17. xv. Nefast. Ludi. Sol in Taurum transit. C. Hyades occidunt. O.
18. xiv. Nefast. Ludi. Hyades se vesperi celant. C. P.

19. xiii. Nefast. CEREALIA. Ludi in Circo. O.  
 20. xii. Nefast. Sol in Tauro. O.  
 21. xi. Nefastus primo. PARILIA, or PALILIA. O.  
 22. x. Nefast.  
 23. ix. Nefast. primo. VINALIA. P.  
 24. viii. Comitialis.  
 25. vii. Nefast. primo. ROBIGALIA. Medium Ver. O.  
 Arius occidit. O. Canis oritur. O.  
 26. vi. Fastus. Fidicula mane oritur. P.  
 27. v. Comitialis. Assyriæ totus Orion absconditur. P.  
 28. iv. Nefast. primo. LUDI FLORALES. O.  
 29. iii. Comitialis. Ludi. Mane Capra exoritur. C.  
 30. Pridie Kalendas Maii. Comit. Ludi. Canis se  
 vesperi celat. C.

## MAIUS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefastus. Capella oritur. C.  
 2. vi. Fastus. COMPITALIA. Hyades oriuntur. O.  
 C. P.  
 3. v. Comitialis. Centaurus oritur. O. C.  
 4. iv. Comit.  
 5. iii. Comit. Lyra oritur. O. C.  
 6. Pridie. Comit. Scorpius medius occidit. O. C.  
 7. Nonæ. Nefastus. Vergiliæ exoriuntur mane. C.  
 8. viii. Fastus. Capella pluvialis oritur Cæsari.  
 Ægypto Canis vesperi occultatur. C.  
 9. vii. LEMURIA. Æstatis initium. C.  
 10. vi. Comitialis. Vergiliæ totæ apparent. C.  
 11. v. LEMURIA. Orion occidit. O. Arcturi occasus  
 matutinus. P.  
 12. iv. Nefast. primo. LUDI MARTIS in Circo.  
 13. iii. Nefastus. LEMURIUM dies ultimus. Pleiades  
 omnes oriuntur. Æstatis initium. O. Fidicula  
 oritur. P.  
 14. Pridie. Comitialis. Taurus oritur. O.  
 15. Idus. Nefast. primo. Fidis mane exoritur. C.  
 16. xvii. Fastus.  
 17. xvi. Comitialis.  
 18. xv. Comit.  
 19. xiv. Comit. Sol in Geminis. O. C.  
 20. xiii. Comit.  
 21. xii. Nefast. primo. AGONALIA, or ANGNALIA.  
 Canis oritur. O. Sunculæ exoriuntur. C.  
 22. xi. Nefast. Hoc et sequenti die Arcturus mane  
 occidit. C.  
 23. x. Nefast. primo. TUBILUSTRUM.  
 24. ix. Quando Rex C. F. comitiavit.  
 25. viii. Comitialis. Aquila oritur. O. Hoc et se-  
 quenti die Capra mane exoritur. C.  
 26. vii. Comit. Aretophylax ceu Bootes occidit. O.  
 27. vi. Comit. Hyades oriuntur. O.  
 28. v. Comit.  
 29. iv. Comit.  
 30. iii. Comit.  
 31. Pridie Kalendas Junii. Comit.

## JUNIUS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefast. Aquila oritur. O. C.  
 2. iv. Fastus. Hyades oriuntur. O. Aquila oritur  
 vesperi. P.

3. iii. Comitialis. Cæsari et Assyriæ Aquila oritur  
 vesperi. P.  
 4. Pridie. Comit.  
 5. Nonæ.  
 6. viii. Nefast.  
 7. vii. Nefast. Aretophylax occidit. O. Arcturus  
 occidit. C.  
 8. vi. Nefast. Delphinus vesperi exoritur. P.  
 9. v. Nefast. VESTÆ. Feriæ Vestæ.  
 10. iv. Nefast. Delphinus vesperi oritur. O. C. P.  
 11. iii. Nefast. MATRALIA.  
 12. Pridie. Nefast.  
 13. Idus. Nefast. QUINQUATRUS MINORES. O.  
 14. xviii. Nefast.  
 15. xvii. Fastus. Quando stercus delatum. Hyades  
 oriuntur. O. Gladius Orionis exoritur. P.  
 16. xvi. Comitialis. Orion oritur. O.  
 17. xv. Comit. Delphinus totus apparet. O.  
 18. xiv. Comit. Sol transit in Cancrum. O.  
 19. xiii. Comit. Minervæ in Aventino. Sol in Cancro.  
 O. C.  
 20. xii. Comit. Summano ad Circum maximum.  
 Ophiucus oritur. O.  
 21. xi. Comit. Solstitium Æstivum. App. B. C. v. 97.  
 22. x. Comit.  
 23. ix. Comit.  
 24. viii. Comit. Hoc et biduo sequenti solstitium. C.  
 25. vii. Comit.  
 26. vi. Comit. Orionis zona emergit. Solstitium  
 Æstivum. O. Orion exoritur Cæsari. P.  
 27. v. Comit.  
 28. iv. Comit.  
 29. iii. Fastus.  
 30. Pridie Kalendas Julii.

## JULIUS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefastus.  
 2. vi. Nefast.  
 3. v. Nefast.  
 4. iv. Nefast. primo. Corona occidit mane. C.  
 5. iii. Nefast. POPLIFUGIA. Atticæ Orion exoritur.  
 Chaldæis Corona occidit matutine.  
 6. Pridie. Nefast. LUDI APOLLINARES. Cancer  
 medius occidit. C.  
 7. Nonæ Nefast. Ludi.  
 8. viii. Nefast. Ludi. Capricornus medius occidit. C.  
 9. vii. Nefast. Ludi. Cepheus vesperi exoritur, C.  
 10. vi. Comitialis. Ludi. Prodromi flare incipiunt.  
 C.  
 11. v. Comit. Ludi.  
 12. iv. Nefast. primo. Ludi.  
 13. iii. Comitialis. Ludi in Circo.  
 14. Pridie. Comit. Merkedonius dies.  
 15. Idus. Nefast. primo. Merk. Procyon oritur  
 mane. C.  
 16. xvii. Fastus. Merk.  
 17. xvi. Comitialis. Merk.  
 18. xv. Comit. Merk.  
 19. xiv. Nefast. primo. Merk. LUCARIA.  
 20. xiii. Comitialis. LUDI VICTORIÆ CÆSARIS. Sol  
 Leonem ingreditur. C.



21. xii. Comit. LUCARIA. Ludi.
22. xi. Comit. Ludi.
23. x. NEPTUNALIA. Ludi. Prodromi in Italiâ sentiuntur. P.
24. ix. Nefast. Ludi.
25. viii. Nefast. primo. FERRINALIA. Ludi. Aquarius incipit occidere. C.
26. vii. Comitialis. Ludi. Canicula apparet. C.
27. vi. Comit. In Circo. Aquila exoritur. C.
28. v. Comit. In Circo.
29. iv. Comit. In Circo.
30. iii. Comit. In Circo. Aquila occidit. C.
31. Pridie Kalendas Augusti. Comit.

## AUGUSTUS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefastus. ETESLE FLANT. C.
2. iv. Comitialis. Feriæ.
3. iii. Comit
4. Pridie. Comit. Leo medius oritur. C.
5. Nonæ. Fastus.
6. viii. Fastus. Sacrificium publicum. Arcturus medius occidit. P.
7. vii. Comitialis. Aquarius medius occidit. C.
8. vi. Comit. Soli Indigeti in colle Quirinale sacrificium publicum. Autumni initium Fidiculæ occasu. P.
9. v. Nefast. primo.
10. iv. Comitialis. Feriæ Aræ Opis et Cereris in vico jugario constitutæ sunt.
11. iii. Comit. Fidicula occasu suo Autumnum inchoat Cæsari. P.
12. Pridie. Comit. Herculi Magno custodi in Circo Flaminio. Fidis occidit mane. C.
13. Idus. Nefast. primo. Dianæ in Aventino et Voltumno in Loreto Majore. Delphini occasus. C.
14. xix. Fastus.
15. xviii. Comitialis.
16. xvii. Comit.
17. xvi. Nefast. primo. PORTURNALIA. Portuno ad pontem Æmilium. Jano ad theatrum Marcelli.
18. xv. Comitialis.
19. xiv. Fastus primo. VINALIA ALTERA. Veneri ad Circum maximum.
20. xiii. Comitialis. Sol in Virginem transit. C.
21. xii. Nefast. primo. CONSUALIA. Conso in Aventino sacrificium.
22. xi. Vindemiator mane oritur. P.
23. x. Nefast. primo. VOLCANALIA. Volcano in Circo Flaminio.
24. ix. Comitialis.
25. viii. Nefast. primo. OPICONSIVÆ. In capitolio.
26. vii. Comitialis. Arcturus incipit occidere. C.
27. vi. Nefast. primo. VOLTURNALIA.
28. v. Nefast. primo. ETESLE DESINUNT. Sagitta occidit. P.
29. iv. Fastus.
30. iii. Fastus. ETESLE DESINUNT. C.
31. Pridie Kalendas Septemb. Comitialis. Andromeda vesperi oritur. C.

## SEPTEMBRIS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefast.
2. iv. Nefast. Hoc die FERIE NEPTUNALES. Arcturi exortus. C.
3. iii. Nefast. primo. Feriæ.
4. Pridie. Comitialis. LUDI ROMANI.
5. Nonæ. Fastus. Ludi. Vindemiator exoritur.
6. viii. Fastus. Ludi.
7. vii. Comitialis. Ludi. Piscis Aquilonius desinit occidere, et Capra exoritur. C.
8. vi. Comit. Ludi.
9. v. Comit. Ludi. Capella oritur Cæsari vesperi. P.
10. iv. Comit. Ludi.
11. iii. Comit. Ludi. Virgo media exoritur. C.
12. Pridie. Nefast. Ludi. Arcturus medius exoritur. P.
13. Idus. Nefast. primo.
14. xviii. Fastus. EQUORUM PROBATIO.
15. xvii. Nefastus. LUDI ROMANI IN CIRCO.
16. xvi. Comitialis. In Circo. ETESLE DESINUNT. P.
17. xv. Comit. In Circo. Arcturus exoritur. C.
18. xiv. Comit. In Circo. Spica Virginis exoritur Cæsari. P.
19. xiii. Comit. In Circo. Crater mane apparet. SOL IN LIBRAM TRANSIT. C.
20. xii. Comit. Merkedonius dies.
21. xi. Comit. Merk. Pisces occidunt mane. C. P.
22. x. Comit. Merk. Argo navis occidit. C.
23. ix. Nefast. primo. Merk. Centaurus incipit mane oriri. Ludi Circenses.
24. viii. Comitialis. Feriæ. Æquinoctium autumnale hoc die. P. Hoc et biduo sequenti. C.
25. vii. Comit. Veneri Genetrici in foro Cæsaris.
26. vi. Comit.
27. v. Hædi exoriuntur. C.
28. iv. Virgo desinit oriri. C.
29. iii. Fastus. Hædi oriuntur. P.
30. Pridie Kalendas Octobris. Comitialis.

## OCTOBRIS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefast.
2. vi. Fastus.
3. v. Comitialis.
4. iv. Comit. Auriga occidit mane. Virgo desinit occidere. C.
5. iii. Comit. Corona incipit oriri. C.
6. Pridie. Comit. Hædi oriuntur vesperi. Aries medius occidit. O.
7. Nonæ. Fastus.
8. viii. Fastus. Coronæ clara stella exoritur. C.
9. vii. Fastus.
10. vi. Comit. Virgilie exoriuntur vesperi. C.
11. v. MEDITRINALIA.
12. iv. Nefast. primo. AUGUSTALIA.
13. iii. Nefast. primo. FONTINALIA. Hoc et sequenti die corona tota mane exoritur. C.
14. Pridie.
15. Idus. Nefast. primo. Corona tota oritur. P.
16. xvii. Fastus.

17. xvi. Comit.  
 18. xv. Comit.  
 19. xiv. Nefast. primo. **ARMILUSTRUM**.  
 20. xiii. Comitialis. Sol in Nepam transit. C. Hoc et sequenti die solis exortu Vergiliæ incipiunt occidere. C.  
 21. xii. Comit.  
 22. xi. Comit. Tauri cauda occidit. C.  
 23. x. Comit.  
 24. ix. Comit.  
 25. viii. Comit. Centaurus exoriri mane desinit. C.  
 26. vii. Comit. Nepæ frons exoritur. O.  
 27. vi. Comit. Ludi victoriae. Sucleæ vesperi exoriuntur. P.  
 28. v. Comit. Ludi. Vergiliæ occidunt. C.  
 29. iv. Comit. Ludi. Arcturus vesperi occidit. C.  
 30. iii. Comit. Ludi. Hoc et sequenti die Cassiope incipit occidere.  
 31. Pridie Kalendas Novembris. Comit. Ludi.

## NOVEMBRIS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefastus. Hoc die et postero caput Tauri occidit. P.  
 2. iv. Arcturus occidit vesperi. P.  
 3. iii. Fidicula mane exoritur. C.  
 4. Pridie.  
 5. Nonæ. Fastus.  
 6. viii. Fastus. Ludi. Fidicula tota oritur. C.  
 7. vii. Comitialis. Ludi. Stella clara Scorpionis exoritur. C.  
 8. vi. Comit. Ludi. Vergiliæ mane occidunt. C.  
 9. v. Comit. Ludi. Hiemis initium. C.  
 10. iv. Comit. Ludi.  
 11. iii. Comit. Ludi. Vergiliæ occidunt. P. **MARIA CLAUDUNTUR**.  
 12. Pridie. Comit. Ludi.  
 13. Idus. Nefastus primo. **EPULÆ INDICTÆ**.  
 14. xviii. Fastus. **EQUORUM PROBATIO**.  
 15. xvii. Comitialis. **LUDI PLEBEII IN CIRCO**.  
 16. xvi. Comit. In Circo. Fidis exoritur mane. C.  
 17. xv. Comit. In Circo. Sol in Sagittarium transit. C. Sucleæ mane oriuntur. C.  
 18. xiv. Comit. Merkedonius dies.  
 19. xiii. Comit. Merk.  
 20. xii. Comit. Merk.  
 21. xi. Comit.

22. x. Comit. Lepus mane occidit. C.  
 23. ix. Comit.  
 24. viii. Comit.  
 25. vii. Comit. Canicula occidit. C.  
 26. vi. Comit.  
 27. v. Comit.  
 28. iv. Comit.  
 29. iii. Comit.  
 30. Pridie Kalendas Decembris. Comit. Totæ sucleæ occidunt. C.

## DECEMBRIS.

1. Kalendæ. Nefastus.  
 2. iv.  
 3. iii.  
 4. Pridie.  
 5. Nonæ. Fastus.  
 6. viii. Sagittarius medius occidit. C. Scorpius totus mane exoritur. C.  
 7. vii. Comitialis. Aquila mane oritur. C.  
 8. vi. Comit.  
 9. v. Comit.  
 10. iv. Comit.  
 11. iii. Nefast. primo. **AGONALIA**.  
 12. Pridie.  
 13. Idus. Nefast. primo. Scorpio totus exoritur. C.  
 14. xix. Fastus.  
 15. xviii. Nefast. primo. **CONSUALIA**.  
 16. xvii. Comitialis.  
 17. xvi. Nefast. primo. **SATURNALIA**. Sol in Capricornum transit. C.  
 18. xv. Comitialis.  
 19. xiv. Nefast. primo. **OPALIA**.  
 20. xiii. Comitialis.  
 21. xii. Nefast. primo. **DIVALIA**.  
 22. xi. Comitialis. Feriæ Laribus consecratæ.  
 23. x. Nefast. primo. **LARENTALIA**, or **LAURENTINALIA**. Capra occidit mane. C.  
 24. ix. Comitialis.  
 25. viii. Comit. **JUVENALES LUDI**. Solstitium hiemal.  
 26. vii. Comit.  
 27. vi. Comit. Delphinus incipit oriri mane. C.  
 28. v. Comit.  
 29. iv. Fastus. Aquila occidit vesperi. C.  
 30. iii. Fastus. Canicula vesperi occidit. C.  
 31. Pridie Kalend. Januar. Comit.



## PARALLEL YEARS.

IN the following Tables the parallel years of the different Eras are placed in juxtaposition with that year B.C. or A.D. in which the *parallel years of such different Eras* commence. Thus, the year B.C. 70 contains only the first eight months and ten days of u.c. 684, and the first six months only of the third year of the 177th Olympiad. The last three months and twenty days of u.c. 684 and the last six months of the third year of the 177th Olympiad fall under the year B.C. 69.

B. C. From 1 Jan. of this year	U. C. From 21 April of this year	OLYMP. From the first full moon after the Summer Solstice of this year	ERA OF NABONASSAR From 1 Nov. of this year	SELEUC. ERA From 1 Oct. of this year	ERA OF ANTIOCH From 1 Nov. of this year	ACTIAN ERA From 2 Sept. of this year	ALEXAN- DRIAN ERA From 29 Aug. of this year	JULIAN PERIOD
70	684	177 3	679	243				4644
69	685	4	680	244				4645
68	686	178 1	681	245				4646
67	687	2	682	246				4647
66	688	3	683	247				4648
65	689	4	684	248				4649
64	690	179 1	685	249				4650
63	691	2	686	250				4651
62	692	3	687	251				4652
61	693	4	688	252				4653
60	694	180 1	689	253				4654
59	695	2	690	254				4655
58	696	3	691	255				4656
57	697	4	692	256				4657
56	698	181 1	693	257				4658
55	699	2	694	258				4659
54	700	3	695	259				4660
53	701	4	696	260				4661
52	702	182 1	697	261				4662
51	703	2	698	262				4663
50	704	3	699	263				4664
49	705	4	700	264	1			4665
48	706	183 1	701	265	2			4666
47	707	2	702	266	3			4667
46	708	3	703	267	4			4668
45	709	4	704	268	5			4669
44	710	184 1	705	269	6			4670
43	711	2	706	270	7			4671
42	712	3	707	271	8			4672
41	713	4	708	272	9			4673
40	714	185 1	709	273	10			4674
39	715	2	710	274	11			4675
38	716	3	711	275	12			4676
37	717	4	712	276	13			4677
36	718	186 1	713	277	14			4678
35	719	2	714	278	15			4679
34	720	3	715	279	16			4680
33	721	4	716	280	17			4681
32	722	187 1	717	281	18			4682
31	723	2	718	282	19	1		4683
30	724	3	719	283	20	2	1	4684
29	725	4	720	284	21	3	2	4685
28	726	188 1	721	285	22	4	3	4686
27	727	2	722	286	23	5	4	4687
26	728	3	723	287	24	6	5	4688
25	729	4	724	288	25	7	6	4689
24	730	189 1	725	289	26	8	7	4690
23	731	2	726	290	27	9	8	4691
22	732	3	727	291	28	10	9	4692
21	733	4	728	292	29	11	10	4693
20	734	190 1	729	293	30	12	11	4694
19	735	2	730	294	31	13	12	4695
18	736	3	731	295	32	14	13	4696
17	737	4	732	296	33	15	14	4697

PARALLEL YEARS—*continued.*

B. C. From 1 Jan. of this year	U. C. From 21 April of this year	OLYMP. From the first full moon after the Summer Solstice of this year	ERA OF NABONASSAR From 1 Nov. of this year	SELEUC. ERA From 1 Oct. of this year	ERA OF ANTIOCH From 1 Nov. of this year	ACTIAN ERA From 2 Sept. of this year	ALEXAN- DRIAN ERA From 29 Aug. of this year	JULIAN PERIOD
16	738	191	1	733	297	34	16	4698
15	739		2	734	298	35	17	4699
14	740		3	735	299	36	18	4700
13	741		4	736	300	37	19	4701
12	742	192	1	737	301	38	20	4702
11	743		2	738	302	39	21	4703
10	744		3	739	303	40	22	4704
9	745		4	740	304	41	23	4705
8	746	193	1	741	305	42	24	4706
7	747		2	742	306	43	25	4707
6	748		3	743	307	44	26	4708
5	749		4	744	308	45	27	4709
4	750	194	1	745	309	46	28	4710
3	751		2	746	310	47	29	4711
2	752		3	747	311	48	30	4712
1	753		4	748	312	49	31	4713
A. D.	754	195	1	749	313	50	32	4714
2	755		2	750	314	51	33	4715
3	756		3	751	315	52	34	4716
4	757		4	752	316	53	35	4717
5	758	196	1	753	317	54	36	4718
6	759		2	754	318	55	37	4719
7	760		3	755	319	56	38	4720
8	761		4	756	320	57	39	4721
9	762	197	1	757	321	58	40	4722
10	763		2	758	322	59	41	4723
11	764		3	759	323	60	42	4724
12	765		4	760	324	61	43	4725
13	766	198	1	761	325	62	44	4726
14	767		2	762	326	63	45	4727
15	768		3	763	327	64	46	4728
16	769		4	764	328	65	47	4729
17	770	199	1	765	329	66	48	4730
18	771		2	766	330	67	49	4731
19	772		3	767	331	68	50	4732
20	773		4	768	332	69	51	4733
21	774	200	1	769	333	70	52	4734
22	775		2	770	334	71	53	4735
23	776		3	771	335	72	54	4736
24	777		4	772	336	73	55	4737
25	778	201	1	773	337	74	56	4738
26	779		2	774	338	75	57	4739
27	780		3	775	339	76	58	4740
28	781		4	776	340	77	59	4741
29	782	202	1	777	341	78	60	4742
30	783		2	778	342	79	61	4743
31	784		3	779	343	80	62	4744
32	785		4	780	344	81	63	4745
33	786	203	1	781	345	82	64	4746
34	787		2	782	346	83	65	4747
35	788		3	783	347	84	66	4748
36	789		4	784	348	85	67	4749
37	790	204	1	785	349	86	68	4750
38	791		2	786	350	87	69	4751
39	792		3	787	351	88	70	4752
40	793		4	788	352	89	71	4753
41	794	205	1	789	353	90	72	4754
42	795		2	790	354	91	73	4755
43	796		3	791	355	92	74	4756
44	797		4	792	356	93	75	4757
45	798	206	1	793	357	94	76	4758
46	799		2	794	358	95	77	4759
47	800		3	795	359	96	78	4760
48	801		4	796	360	97	79	4761
49	802	207	1	797	361	98	80	4762



## PARALLEL YEARS—continued.

A. D. From 1 Jan. of this year	U. C. From 21 April of this year	OLYMP. From the first full moon after the Summer Solstice of this year	ERA OF NABONASSAR From 1 Nov. of this year	SELEUC. ERA From 1 Oct. of this year	ERA OF ANTIOCH From 1 Nov. of this year	ACTIAN ERA From 2 Sept. of this year	ALEXAN- DRIAN ERA From 29 Aug. of this year	JULIAN PERIOD
50	803	2	798	362	99	81	80	4763
51	804	3	799	363	100	82	81	4764
52	805	4	800	364	101	83	82	4765
53	806	208 1	801	365	102	84	83	4766
54	807	2	802	366	103	85	84	4767
55	808	3	803	367	104	86	85	4768
56	809	4	804	368	105	87	86	4769
57	810	209 1	805	369	106	88	87	4770
58	811	2	806	370	107	89	88	4771
59	812	3	807	371	108	90	89	4772
60	813	4	808	372	109	91	90	4773
61	814	210 1	809	373	110	92	91	4774
62	815	2	810	374	111	93	92	4775
63	816	3	811	375	112	94	93	4776
64	817	4	812	376	113	95	94	4777
65	818	211 1	813	377	114	96	95	4778
66	819	2	814	378	115	97	96	4779
67	820	3	815	379	116	98	97	4780
68	821	4	816	380	117	99	98	4781
69	822	212 1	817	381	118	100	99	4782
70	823	2	818	382	119	101	100	4783

## TABLE OF ECLIPSES.

The following Table is taken from *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, vol. iv. p. 51, and vol. i. p. 87, and the Eclipses are calculated for the meridian of Paris. They would therefore occur 2° 12' later by the clock at Jerusalem.

## PRÆMONITA.

\* éclipse de soleil.  
 ● éclipse partielle de lune.  
 ● éclipse totale de lune.  
*m.* matin, viz. de minuit à midi.  
*s.* soir, viz. de midi à minuit.  
*le chiffre*, qui précède les lettres *m.* et *s.*  
 l'heure du jour.  
*centr.* centrale: les chiffres qui suivent  
 désignent les latitudes.  
*att.* attachement extérieur des bords de  
 la lune et du soleil.  
*A.* éclipse annulaire.  
*T.* éclipse totale.  
*gr.* grandeur ou grande.  
*pet.* petite.

*tr. gr.* très-grande.  
*tr. pet.* très-petite.  
*extr.* extrêmement ou  
 extrémité.  
*écl.* éclipse.  
*Eur.* Europe.  
*Af.* Afrique.  
*As.* Asie.  
*Eg.* Egypte.  
*Arab.* Arabie.  
*d.* doigt ou doigts.  
*et d.* et demi.  
*p.* partie.  
*qu.* quart.  
*ent.* entière.

*pr.* presque.  
*N.* Nord.  
*S.* Sud.  
*E.* Est.  
*O.* Ouest.  
*N. O.* Nord-ouest, etc.  
*pén.* pénombre.  
*f. pén.* forte pénombre.  
*tr. f. pén.* très-forte pénombre.  
 — ce signe précède les latitudes australes.  
 + cet autre signe tient la place d'une  
 latitude qui n'existe pas, ou qui est  
 fort au-delà du cercle polaire, et qu'on  
 a cru pouvoir se dispenser de cal-  
 culer.

B.C.

- 70 \* 8 Mars à 4 m. As. O. et N. att. 25° 48'. +  
 ● 22 Mars à 1¼. E.  
 ● 15 Sept. à 4½.  
 \* 30 Sept. à 7 m. As. N. att. +52° 23'.  
 69 \* 25 Févr. à 4½ m. As. centr. 14° 29' 64". A.  
 ● 11 Mars à 6 m. gr. 5 d. et d.  
 ● 3 Sept. à 4¾ s. gr. 4¾ d.  
 68 \* 13 Févr. à 8½ m. As. S.E. centr. -28° 21'  
 17". A.  
 \* 10 Août à 0 et d. m. As. E. centr. 32° 25'  
 14". A.  
 67 ● 19 Janv. à 2 s. gr. 9 d.  
 ● 15 Juillet à 4½ m. gr. 12 d.

B.C.

- \* 30 Juillet à 5¼ m. Eur. N. As. N. centr.  
 +91° 49'. A.  
 \* 25 Décemb. à 0¾ m. As. N.E. att. 33° 20' 44".  
 66 ● 8 Janv. à 1½ s.  
 ● 4 Juillet à 9¼ s.  
 \* 14 Décemb. à 1¾ s. Eur. pr. ent. S.O. Af.  
 centr. 31° 12' 34". A.  
 ● 28 Décemb. à 3 s. gr. 3 d. 3 qu.  
 65 \* 7 Juin à 10¼ s. centr. -20° 2' 18". T.  
 \* 2 Décemb. à 9 s. centr. -3° 27' 8". A.  
 64 ● 14 Mai à 3 m. gr. 1 d.  
 \* 28 Mai à 1 s. Eur. Af. As. O. centr. 19°  
 44' 27". T.

- B.C.
- 7 Novemb. à 3 m. gr. 8d. et d.
  - 63 ● 3 Mai à  $3\frac{1}{2}$ .
  - \* 18 Mai à  $6\frac{1}{4}$  m. Eur. As. N. att.  $28^{\circ} 57' 47''$ .
  - \* 12 Octob. à  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. As. N.E. att.  $+59^{\circ} 47''$ .
  - 27 Octob. à  $7\frac{1}{2}$  s.
  - 62 ● 22 Avril à  $9\frac{1}{4}$  m. gr. 8 d. 1 qu.
  - \* 1 Octob. à 3 s. Eur. Af. centr.  $62^{\circ} 43' 27''$ . T.
  - 17 Octob. à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - 61 \* 27 Mars à  $4\frac{1}{4}$  s. Eur. S.O. Af. O. centr.  $-15^{\circ} 3' 21''$ . A.
  - \* 20 Sept. à  $6\frac{1}{4}$  m. Eur. S.E. As. S.O. centr.  $17^{\circ} 1' 19''$ . T.
  - 60 ● 2 Mars à  $5\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - \* 16 Mars à  $4\frac{3}{4}$  s. centr.  $36^{\circ} 50'$ . + A.
  - 25 Août à 1 s. gr. 6 d.
  - 59 ● 19 Févr. à  $7\frac{1}{2}$  s.
  - \* 5 Mars à  $7\frac{1}{2}$ . tr. pet. att.  $52^{\circ} 68'$ . +
  - \* 31 Juillet à  $9\frac{1}{4}$  s. att.  $51^{\circ} 66' 36''$ .
  - 14 Août à  $9\frac{1}{4}$  s.
  - 58 ● 9 Févr. à  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr. 2 d.
  - \* 20 Juillet à  $11\frac{1}{2}$  s. As. E. centr.  $36^{\circ} 53' 27''$ . A.
  - 4 Août à  $0\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr.  $5\frac{1}{4}$  d.
  - 57 \* 14 Janv. à 10 m. Inde. centr.  $4^{\circ} 15' 9''$ . T.
  - \* 24 Juin à 9 s. pén.
  - \* 9 Juillet à  $0\frac{1}{2}$  m. Inde. centr.  $-11^{\circ} 9' 12''$ . A.
  - 18 Décemb. à  $11\frac{1}{4}$  m. gr. 7d.
  - 56 \* 3 Janv. à 1 m. As. E. centr.  $50^{\circ} 43' 48''$ .
  - 14 Juin à 9 m.
  - 7 Décemb. à  $9\frac{1}{2}$  s.
  - 55 \* 19 Mai à  $1\frac{1}{4}$  s. Eur. Af. N.E. As. N.O. centr.  $38^{\circ} 80' 70''$ . T.
  - 3 Juin à  $1\frac{3}{4}$  s. gr.  $11\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - 27 Novemb. à  $0\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - 54 \* 9 Mai à  $6\frac{1}{4}$  m. As. S.E. centr.  $-14^{\circ} 24' 30''$ . T.
  - \* 1 Novemb. à  $4\frac{1}{2}$  s. centr.  $22^{\circ} 15' 24''$ . A.
  - 53 ● 12 Avril à  $7\frac{1}{4}$  m. gr.  $4\frac{3}{4}$  d.
  - 6 Octob. à 11 s. gr.  $6\frac{1}{4}$  d.
  - 21 Octob. à 1 m. As. N.E. centr.  $67^{\circ} 33' 14''$ .
  - 52 \* 18 Mars à  $11\frac{1}{4}$  m. pet. Eur. N. att.  $31^{\circ} 59'$ . +
  - 1 Avril à  $9\frac{1}{2}$  s.
  - 25 Sept. à 12 s.
  - \* 10 Octob. à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  s. Eur. O. Af. O. att.  $+46^{\circ} 22'$ .
  - 51 \* 7 Mars à midi. Eur. Af. As. O. centr.  $16^{\circ} 37' 71''$ . A.
  - 22 Mars à  $2\frac{1}{4}$  s. gr.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - 15 Sept. à  $0\frac{1}{4}$  m. gr.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  d.
  - 50 \* 24 Févr. à 4 s. Eur. S.O. Af. O. centr.  $-20^{\circ} 16' 21''$ . A.
  - \* 21 Août à  $7\frac{3}{4}$  m. Eur. Af. As. S.O. centr.  $31^{\circ} 18' 20''$ . A.
  - 49 ● 30 Janv. à 10 s. gr.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - 25 Juillet à 0 s. gr.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - \* 9 Août à  $0\frac{1}{4}$  s. Eur. Af. E. As. O. centr.  $+81^{\circ} 37'$ . A.
  - 48 \* 4 Janv. à  $9\frac{1}{2}$  m. Eur. tr. gr. part. E. Af. As. N.O. att.  $30^{\circ} 22' 48''$ .
  - 15 Juillet à  $4\frac{3}{4}$  m.
  - \* 24 Décemb. à  $10\frac{1}{2}$  s. centr.  $27^{\circ} 11' 38''$ . A.
  - 47 ● 7 Janv. à  $10\frac{1}{4}$  s. gr. 4d.
  - \* 19 Juin à  $5\frac{1}{2}$  m. Inde. centr.  $-20^{\circ} 2' 27''$ . T.
- B.C.
- 4 Juillet à 6 s. gr. 0 d. 1 qu.
  - 46 ● 25 Mai à  $9\frac{1}{2}$  m. pén.
  - \* 8 Juin à  $8\frac{1}{2}$  s. centr.  $20^{\circ} 42' 18''$ . T.
  - 18 Novemb. à  $11\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr.  $8\frac{1}{4}$  d.
  - 45 ● 13 Mai à  $10\frac{1}{4}$  m.
  - \* 28 Mai à  $1\frac{3}{4}$  s. Eur. N.E. As. N.O. att.  $26^{\circ} 54' 37''$ .
  - \* 22 Octob. à  $0\frac{3}{4}$  s. pet. Eur. N. att.  $+57^{\circ} 50'$ .
  - 7 Novemb. à  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m.
  - 44 ● 2 Mai à  $4\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr. 10 d.
  - \* 11 Octob. à  $11\frac{1}{2}$  s. As. N.E. centr.  $63^{\circ} 39' 29''$ . T.
  - 27 Octob. à  $11\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr.  $4\frac{3}{4}$  d.
  - 43 \* 7 Avril à  $11\frac{1}{4}$  s. centr.  $-17^{\circ} 4' 16''$ . A.
  - \* 1 Octob. à  $2\frac{3}{4}$  s. centr.  $18^{\circ} 1' 17''$ . T.
  - 42 ● 13 Mars à  $1\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - \* 27 Mars à  $11\frac{3}{4}$  s. As. E. centr.  $30^{\circ} 50'$ . + A.
  - 5 Sept. à  $8\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr. 5 d.
  - 41 ● 2 Mars à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m.
  - \* 16 Mars à  $2\frac{3}{4}$  m. pet. As. N.E. att.  $44^{\circ} 61'$ . +
  - \* 11 Août à  $4\frac{1}{4}$  m. As. N. att.  $60^{\circ} 71' 39''$ .
  - 25 Août à 5 m. centr.
  - 40 ● 19 Févr. à  $10\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  d.
  - \* 31 Juillet à  $6\frac{1}{2}$  m. Eur. E. As. centr.  $44^{\circ} 55' 29''$ . A.
  - 14 Août à 8 s. gr.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - 39 \* 24 Janv. à  $6\frac{1}{2}$  s. centr.  $0^{\circ} 14' 12''$ . T.
  - \* 20 Juillet à  $7\frac{1}{4}$  m. As. gr. part. S.O. centr.  $-3^{\circ} 12' 12''$ . A.
  - 29 Décemb. à  $7\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr.  $6\frac{3}{4}$  d.
  - 38 \* 14 Janv. à  $9\frac{1}{2}$ . Eur. Af. As. centr.  $47^{\circ} 33' 51''$ .
  - 25 Juin à  $3\frac{3}{4}$  s. gr. 13 d.
  - 19 Décemb. à  $6\frac{1}{4}$  m.
  - 37 \* 29 Mai à  $8\frac{1}{2}$  s. centr.  $49^{\circ} 93' 71''$ . T.
  - 13 Juin à  $8\frac{1}{4}$  s.
  - 7 Décemb. à  $9\frac{1}{4}$  s. gr.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - 36 \* 19 Mai à  $1\frac{3}{4}$  s. Eur. Af. As. N.O. centr.  $-6^{\circ} 31' 30''$ . T.
  - \* 12 Novemb. à  $0\frac{3}{4}$  m. As. E. centr.  $18^{\circ} 19' 21''$ . A.
  - 35 ● 23 Avril à  $2\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  d.
  - 18 Octob. à  $6\frac{3}{4}$  m. gr.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  d.
  - \* 1 Novemb. à 10 m. Eur. Af. As. O. centr.  $62^{\circ} 28' 14''$ .
  - 34 \* 29 Mars à  $6\frac{1}{2}$  s. pet. att.  $42^{\circ} 70'$ . +
  - 13 Avril à 5 m.
  - 7 Octob. à  $7\frac{1}{2}$  m.
  - \* 21 Octob. à 12 s. att.  $+41^{\circ} 22'$ .
  - 33 \* 17 Mars à 7 s. centr.  $19^{\circ} 45'$ . + A.
  - 1 Avril à 10 s. gr.  $7\frac{3}{4}$  d.
  - 25 Sept. à 8 m. gr.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  d.
  - 32 \* 6 Mars à 12 s. centr.  $-27^{\circ} 9' 25''$ . A.
  - \* 31 Août à  $3\frac{1}{4}$  s. centr.  $30^{\circ} 11' 24''$ . A.
  - 31 ● 10 Févr. à  $5\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr.  $7\frac{3}{4}$  d.
  - 5 Août à  $7\frac{3}{4}$  s. gr.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  d.
  - \* 20 Août à  $7\frac{1}{4}$  s. centr.  $+69^{\circ} 29'$ . A.
  - 30 \* 15 Janv. à 6 s. att.  $28^{\circ} 24' 52''$ .
  - 30 Janv. à  $5\frac{1}{2}$  m.
  - 26 Juillet à  $0\frac{1}{2}$  s.



- B.C.
- \* 9 Août à 6 s. tr. pet. att. +94° 49'.
  - 29 \* 5 Janv. à 7 m. Eur. E. Af. E. As. centr. 24° 13' 42". A.
  - 19 Janv. à 7½ m. gr. 4½ d.
  - 15 Juillet à 1 m. gr. 1½ d.
  - \* 24 Décemb. à 1½ s. Af. E. centr. -10° 29'. O. A.
  - 28 \* 19 Juin à 3¾ m. As. centr. 20° 38' 10". T.
  - 28 Novemb. à 8½ s. gr. 8¼ d.
  - 27 ● 24 Mai à 4¾ s.
  - \* 8 Juin à 9¼ s. att. 26° 51' 27".
  - \* 2 Novemb. à 9 s. tr. pet. att. +55° 52'.
  - 18 Novemb. à 10¾ m.
  - 26 ● 13 Mai à 11½ s. gr. 12 d.
  - \* 23 Octob. à 8 m. Eur. E. Af. E. As. centr. 61° 36' 32". T.
  - 7 Novemb. à 7¾ s. gr. 5d.
  - 25 \* 18 Avril à 6 m. As. S.E. centr. -20° 4' 11". A.
  - \* 11 Octob. à 11½ s. As. S.E. centr. 19° 4' 15". T.
  - 24 ● 23 Mars à 9½ s. gr. 7¼ d.
  - \* 7 Avril à 6½ m. Eur. E. Af. E. As. centr. 25° 49' 64". A.
  - 16 Sept. à 4 m. gr. 4¼ d.
  - 23 ● 13 Mars à 11 m.
  - \* 27 Mars à 10¼ m. Eur. N.E. att. 38° 58'. +
  - \* 22 Août à 11½ m. pet. Eur. N.E. As. N. att. +75° 43'.
  - 5 Sept. à 1 s.
  - 22 ● 2 Mars à 6 s. gr. 3½ d.
  - \* 11 Août à 1 s. Eur. Af. As. O. centr. 52° 55' 32". A.
  - 26 Août à 4 m. gr. 7½ d.
  - 21 \* 5 Févr. à 3 m. Inde. centr. -4° 13' 14". T.
  - \* 30 Juillet à 2 s. Eur. S.O. Af. O. centr. 4° 13' 11". A.
  - 20 ● 9 Janv. à 4 m. gr. 6¾ d.
  - \* 24 Janv. à 6 s. centr. 43° 34' 54".
  - 5 Juillet à 10¾ s. gr. 11¼ d.
  - 29 Décemb. à 3 s.
  - 19 \* 10 Juin à 4 m. Eur. E. Af. E. As. N. att. 16° 49' 38".
  - 25 Juin à 2½ m.
  - 19 Décemb. à 6½ m. gr. 6¾ d.
  - 18 \* 30 Mai à 9 s. centr. 1° 38' 30". T.
  - \* 23 Novemb. à 9 m. Eur. S.O. Af. O. centr. 14° 13' 18". A.
  - 17 ● 3 Mai à 9¾ s. gr. 1¾ d.
  - \* 19 Mai à 10¾ m. Inde. centr. -45° 9' 9".
  - 28 Octob. à 3 s. gr. 5½ d.
  - \* 11 Novemb. à 6½ s. centr. 57° 24' 16".
  - 16 ● 23 Avril à 0½ s.
  - 17 Octob. à 3½ s.
  - \* 1 Novemb. à 9 m. As. gr. part. N.E. att. +36° 22'.
  - 15 \* 29 Mars à 2½ m. As. E. centr. 24° 54'. +A.
  - 13 Avril à 5¾ m. gr. 9 d.
  - 6 Octob. à 4 s. gr. 7¼ d.
  - 14 \* 18 Mars à 7½ s. As. gr. part. S.E. centr. -21° 2' 30". A.
  - \* 11 Septemb. à 11 s. As. E. centr. 29° 5' 28". A.
- B.C.
- 13 ● 21 Févr. à 1½ s. gr. 7 d.
  - 16 Août à 3¾ m. gr. 8 d.
  - \* 31 Août à 2½ m. As. N.E. centr. +62° 23'. A.
  - 12 \* 26 Janv. à 3 m. As. gr. part. N.E. att. 26° 27' 57".
  - 9 Févr. à 1 s.
  - 5 Août à 8¼ s.
  - \* 20 Août à 1 m. tr. pet. att. +79° 42'.
  - 11 \* 15 Janv. à 3 s. Eur. O. Af. O. centr. 21° 15' 46". A.
  - 29 Janv. à 3½ s. gr. 5 d.
  - 26 Juillet à 8½ m. gr. 3 d.
  - 10 \* 4 Janv. à 9½ s. centr. -14° 28' 3". A.
  - \* 30 Juin à 11¼ m. Eur. Af. As. S.O. centr. 20° 33' 2". T.
  - 10 Decemb. à 5½ m. gr. 8¼ d.
  - 9 ● 3 Juin à 11½ s. gr. 13 d.
  - \* 19 Juin à 4½ m. Eur. N.E. Af. E. As. N. centr. 67° 183' 63". T.
  - \* 13 Novemb. à 5½ m. tr. pet. ent. N. att. +53° 55'.
  - 28 Novemb. à 7½ s.
  - 8 ● 24 Mai à 6¼ m.
  - \* 2 Novemb. à 4½ s. Af. O. centr. 58° 33' 35". T.
  - 18 Novemb. à 3½ m. gr. 5¼ d.
  - 7 \* 29 Avril à 0¾ s. Eur. S.E. Af. As. S.O. centr. -24° 4' 5". A.
  - \* 23 Octob. à 8 m. Eur. S.E. Af. E. As. S.O. centr. 18° 7' 13". T.
  - 6 ● 4 Avril à 5½ m. gr. 6 d.
  - \* 18 Avril à 1½ s. Eur. Af. As. N.O. centr. 21° 48' 57". A.
  - 27 Sept. à 11½ m. gr. 3½ d.
  - 5 ● 23 Mars à 6¾ s.
  - \* 6 Avril à 5½ s. att. 32° 56'. +
  - \* 1 Sept. à 6¾ s. pet. att. +78° 49'.
  - 15 Sept. à 9 s.
  - 4 ● 13 Mars à 1 m. gr. 4¼ d.
  - \* 21 Août à 8 s. centr. 58° 53' 35". A.
  - 5 Sept. à 0 s. gr. 8½ d.
  - 3 \* 15 Févr. à 11½ m. As. S.O. centr. -8° 11' 16". T.
  - \* 10 Août à 9¼ s. As. S.E. centr. 11° 14' 10". A.
  - 2 ● 20 Janv. à 0¼ s. gr. 6 d.
  - \* 5 Févr. à 2 m. As. E. centr. 39° 35' 57".
  - 17 Juillet à 5¾ m. gr. 9½ d.
  - 1 ● 9 Janv. à 11½ s.
  - \* 25 Janv. à 10 m. extr. pet. Eur. N.
  - \* 20 Juin à 11½ m. Eur. N. As. N.O. att. 24° 55' 38".
  - 5 Juillet à 9¼ m.
  - 29 Decemb. à 3¾ s. gr. 6¾ d.
- A.D.
- 1 \* 10 Juin à 4½ m. part. d'Eur. au N.E. As. centr. 18° (43) 41". T.
  - 24 Juin à 9½ m. gr. 0½ d.
  - 2 ● 15 Mai à 5 m. gr. 0¾ d.
  - 9 Novemb. à 0 m. gr. 5 d.
  - \* 23 Novemb. à 2½ m. gr. part. d'As. et l'E. centr. 46° 20'.

- A.D.
- 3 ● 4 Mai à  $8\frac{1}{2}$  s.  
● 28 Octob. à  $11\frac{3}{4}$  s.
- 4 \* 8 Avril à 9 m. Eur. Af. As. centr.  $44^{\circ}$   
(69)  $84' 83''$ . A.  
● 23 Avril à  $11\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr.  $103\frac{3}{4}$  d.  
● 17 Octob. 0 m. gr.  $7\frac{1}{4}$  d.
- 5 \* 28 Mars à 3 s. Eur. Af. centr.  $24^{\circ} 27'$ .  
\* 22 Sept. à  $6\frac{1}{2}$  m. Eur. au S.E. Af. et l'E.  
As. au S. centr.  $20^{\circ}$  N. ( $0$ )  $18^{\circ}$  S. A.
- 6 ● 3 Mars à 8 s. gr. 6 d.  
● 27 Août à  $11\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr.  $7\frac{1}{4}$  d.  
\* 11 Sept. à  $8\frac{1}{2}$  m. Eur. Af. pr. toute l'As.  
centr.  $66^{\circ} 70' (51) 27''$ . A.
- 7 \* 6 Févr. à 11 m. pr. toute l'Eur. au N. pet.  
écl.  
● 20 Févr. à 8 s. centr.  
\* 31 Août à 8 m. As. au N.E.
- 8 \* 26 Janv. à 12 s. part. d'As. à l'E. centr.  
 $28^{\circ} 22'$ . A.  
● 9 Févr. à 11 s. gr. 6 d.  
● 5 Août à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  d.
- 9 \* 15 Janv. à 6 m. très pet. écl. au S.E. de  
l'As. A.  
\* 10 Juillet à 7 s. le commence. ou plus à  
l'O. de l'Af. centr.  $1^{\circ}$ . T.  
● 20 Décemb. à  $2\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr. 8d.
- 10 ● 15 Juin à 6 m. gr. 11 d.  
\* 30 Juin à midi Eur. As. au N. et O. centr.  
(89)  $59^{\circ}$ . T.  
\* 24 Novemb. à 2 s. pet. part. d'Eur. au N.O.  
● 10 Décemb. à  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. pr. centr.
- 11 ● 4 Juin à  $1\frac{1}{2}$  s.  
\* 14 Novemb. à 1 m. As. à l'E. centr.  $60^{\circ} 51'$ .  
T.  
● 29 Nov. à midi et d. gr. 5 d.
- 12 \* 9 Mai à 7 s. commence. ou plus au S.O. de  
l'Espagne et à l'O. de l'Af. centr. 5. A.  
● 24 Mai à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr.  $0\frac{1}{4}$  d.
- 13 ● 14 Avril à  $1\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  d.  
\* 28 Avril à  $7\frac{1}{2}$  s. pet. part. d'Eur. à l'O. et au  
N.O. centr. 52. A.  
● 7 Octob. à  $7\frac{3}{4}$  s. gr.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  d.
- 14 ● 4 Avril à  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m.  
\* 18 Avril à  $0\frac{1}{2}$  m. As. au N. et au N.E.  
● 27 Sept. à 5 m.
- 15 ● 24 Mars à 8 m. gr. 6 d.  
\* 2 Sept. à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. As. centr.  $75^{\circ} 78' (62)$ . A.  
● 16 Sept. à 8 s. gr.  $9\frac{1}{2}$ .
- 16 \* 21 Août à 4 m. As. au S.O. centr.  $27^{\circ} 31'$   
(15)  $12''$ . A.
- 17 ● 30 Janv. à 8 s. gr. 6 d.  
\* 15 Févr. à 10 m. Eur. Af. As. à l'O. centr.  
 $25^{\circ} (37) 67'$ .  
● 27 Juillet à midi et d. gr.  $6\frac{1}{4}$  d.
- 18 ● 20 Janv. à 8 m. centr.  
\* 1 Juillet à  $7\frac{1}{2}$  s. Eur. au N.O. et au N.  
● 16 Juillet à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  s.
- 19 ● 9 Janv. à  $11\frac{1}{3}$  s. gr. 7 d.  
\* 21 Juin à midi. Eur. Af. As. à l'O. centr.  
 $48^{\circ} (49) 20'$ . T.  
● 5 Juillet à 4 s. gr. 2 d.
- A.D.
- \* 15 Decemb. à 2 m. As. au S.E. centr. 3 S. \* A.  
20 ● 25 Mai à midi pén.  
\* 10 Juin à  $0\frac{1}{2}$  m. As. au S.E.  
● 19 Novemb. à 8 m. gr.  $4\frac{3}{4}$  d.  
\* 3 Decemb. à 11 m. Eur. Af. As. à l'O.  
centr.  $21^{\circ} (17) 15' 30''$ .
- 21 ● 15 Mai à 4 m.  
● 8 Novemb. à  $7\frac{1}{2}$  m.  
\* 23 Novemb. à 2 m. As. au N.E.
- 22 \* 19 Avril à 4 s. Eur. au N. centr. vers le  
pole. A.  
● 4 Mai à 9 s. gr.  $12\frac{1}{4}$  d.  
● 28 Octob. à 8 m. gr.  $7\frac{3}{4}$  d.
- 23 Point d'éclipse.
- 24 ● 14 Mars à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr. 5 d.  
● 6 Sept. à 8 s. gr.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  d.  
\* 21 Sept. à 4 s. Eur. à l'O. Af. à l'O. centr.  
 $24^{\circ}$ . A.
- 25 ● 3 Mars à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m. pr. centr.  
● 27 Août à midi pr. centr.  
\* 10 Sept. à  $3\frac{1}{2}$  s. Eur. pr. ent. diminuant du  
N.E. au S.O.
- 26 \* 6 Févr. à 8 m. Eur. à l'E. Af. As. centr.  
 $26^{\circ} 19' (24) 52''$ . A.  
● 20 Févr. à 7 m. gr.  $6\frac{3}{4}$  d.  
● 16 Août à 11 s. gr.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  d.
- 27 \* 26 Janv. à  $1\frac{1}{2}$  s. Af. à l'E. As. au S.O.  
centr. \*  $7^{\circ}$ . A.  
\* 22 Juillet à  $2\frac{1}{2}$  m. As. au S. et à l'E. centr.  
 $10^{\circ} 26'$ . T.  
● 31 Decemb. à  $11\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr. 8 d.
- 28 ● 25 Juin à midi et d. gr.  $9\frac{1}{4}$  d.  
\* 10 Juillet à  $7\frac{1}{2}$  s. Eur. au N.O. centr.  $46^{\circ}$  T.  
- ● 20 Decemb. à 1 s. pr. centr.
- 29 ● 14 Juin à  $8\frac{1}{2}$  s.  
\* 24 Novemb. à  $9\frac{1}{2}$  m. Eur. Af. As. à l'O.  
centr.  $57^{\circ} (30) 25' 32''$ . T.  
● 9 Decemb. à  $8\frac{1}{2}$  s. gr.  $5\frac{1}{4}$  d.
- 30 \* 21 Mai à  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. As. au S.E. pet. A.  
● 4 Juin à 11 m. gr. 2 d.  
\* 14 Novemb. à  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. As. au S.E. centr.  
 $20^{\circ} 7'$ . T.
- 31 ● 25 Avril à 9 s. gr. 4 d.  
\* 10 Mai à 2 m. As. à l'E. centr.  $6^{\circ} 45'$ . A.  
● 19 Octob. à 4 m. gr. 3 d.
- 32 ● 14 Avril à  $9\frac{1}{2}$  m.  
\* 28 Avril à  $7\frac{1}{2}$  m. Eur. dimin. au N. au S.  
As. à l'O. et au N.  
● 7 Octob. à  $1\frac{1}{2}$  s.
- 33 ● 3 Avril à 3 s. gr.  $7\frac{1}{4}$  d.  
\* 12 Sept. à  $10\frac{1}{2}$  m. Eur. Af. As. à l'O. centr.  
 $78^{\circ} (63) 33'$ . A.  
● 27 Sept. à  $4\frac{1}{2}$  m. gr. 10 d.
- 34 \* 9 Mars à 4 m. As. au S.E. centr. \* (6 S.)  
à N. I.  
\* 1 Sept. à  $11\frac{1}{2}$  m. Eur. au S. et à l'O. Af.  
As. au S.O. centr.  $26^{\circ} (15)$ . \* A.
- 35 ● 11 Févr. à 4 m. gr.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  d.  
● 7 Août à  $7\frac{3}{4}$  du s. gr.  $6\frac{3}{4}$  d.
- 36 ● 31 Janv. à  $4\frac{1}{2}$  s. centr.  
\* 16 Févr. à  $1\frac{1}{2}$  m. pet. écl. au N.E. de l'As.



- A.D.
- \* 12 Juillet à 3 m. pet. écl. au N.E. de l'Eur. et au N.O. de l'As. très-pet. au N.E.
  - 26 Juillet à 10 s.
  - 37 ● 20 Janv. à 8½ m. gr. 7½ d.
  - \* 1 Juillet à 7½ s. Eur. au N.O. centr. 22°. T.
  - 15 Juillet à 11 s. gr. 4 d.
  - \* 25 Décemb. à 10 m. Indes, centr. 6°. A.
  - 38 \* 21 Juin à 7½ m. pet. en. Af. plus grande en As. au S. centr. \* (8°) \*
  - 30 Novemb. à 4 s. gr. 4½ d.
  - 39 ● 26 Mai à 11½ m.
  - 19 Novemb. à 3½ s.
  - \* 4 Décemb. à 11 m. Eur. pr. ent. au N. As. au N.O.
  - 40 \* 29 Avril à 10½ s. As. au N.E.
  - 15 Mai à 4½ m. gr. 14 d.
  - 7 Novemb. à 4 s. gr. 8 d.
  - 41 \* 19 Avril à 5½ m. pet. à l'E. de l'Af. As. au S. centr. 8° S. (24) 33'.
  - \* 13 Octob. à 10½ s. extrém. d'As. au S.E. centr. 15°. A.
  - 42 ● 25 Mars à 10½ m. gr. 3½ d.
  - 18 Sept. à 4½ m. gr. 5¼ d.
  - \* 2 Octob. à 11½ s. extrém. d'As. au N.E. centr. 62°. A.
  - 43 \* 28 Févr. à 3½ m. As. au N.
  - 14 Mars à 10½ m.
  - 7 Sept. à 8 s.
  - 44 \* 17 Févr. à 4 s. Eur. à l'O. Af. à l'O. centr. 56°. A.
  - 2 Mars à 2½ s. gr. 7¼ d.
  - 27 Août à 6½ m. gr. 6¾ d.
  - 45 \* 1 Août à 10 m. Eur. au S. Af. As. au S. centr. 22° (19) 14' S. T.
  - 46 ● 11 Janv. à 8 m. gr. 7¾ d.
  - 6 Juillet à 7½ s. gr. 7¾ d.
  - \* 22 Juillet à 3 m. Eur. au N.E. As. centr. 55° (72). T.
  - \* 16 Décemb. à 7 m. pet. part. d'Eur. au N.E. As. au N.
  - 31 Décemb. à 9½ s. centr.
  - 47 ● 26 Juin à 3½ m.
  - 21 Décemb. à 4¾ m. gr. 5½ d.
  - 48 \* 31 Mai à 8 m. pet. écl. vers les Indes. A.
  - 14 Juin à 6 s. gr. 3½ d.
  - \* 24 Novemb. à 10½ m. pet. écl. Eur. au S.O. Af. à l'O. centr. 6°\* (16 S). T.
  - 49 ● 6 Mai à 4½ m. gr. 2¼.
  - \* 20 Mai à 8½ m. Eur. au S. et à l'E. Af. As. centr. 4° S. (41) 45' 35". A.
  - 29 Octob. à midi gr. 2¾ d.
  - 50 ● 25 Avril à 5 s.
  - \* 9 Mai à 2½ s. Eur. au N. As. au N.O.
  - 18 Octob. à 10 s.
  - 51 ● 14 Avril à 10 s. gr. 9 d.
  - \* 23 Sept. à 6 s. comm. à l'O. de l'Eur. et de l'Af. centr. 38°. A.
  - 8 Octob. à 1 s. gr. 10½ d.
  - 52 \* 19 Mars à midi. pet. part. d'Eur. au S.E. Af. As. au S.O. centr. \* (5 S.) 23°. T.
  - 53 ● 21 Févr. à midi. gr. 5 d.
- A.D.
- \* 9 Mars à 2 m. As. à l'E. centr. 17° 16' 38".
  - 18 Août à 3 m. gr. 5 d.
  - 54 ● 11 Févr. à 1 m.
  - \* 26 Févr. à 9 m. pet. écl. Eur. au N.O. et au N.
  - \* 23 Juillet à 10½ m. As. pet. au N.O. plus gr. au N.E.
  - 7 Août à 5 m. centr.
  - 55 ● 31 Janv. à 5 s. gr. 7¾.
  - \* 13 Juillet à 3 m. Eur. au N.E. As. centr. 43° 59' (58). T.
  - 27 Juillet à 5½ m. gr. 5¾ d.
  - 56 \* 1 Juillet à 2½ s. pet. écl. au S.O. de l'Eur. Af. centr. 10°. \* A.
  - 10 Décemb. à 12 s. gr. 4½ d.
  - \* 25 Décemb. à 5 m. As. centr. 31° (15) 22'. T.
  - 57 ● 5 Juin à 7 s. gr. 13 d.
  - 29 Novemb. à 11½ s.
  - 58 \* 11 Mai à 5 m. gr. p. d'Eur. au N.E. As. au N. tr. pet. au N.E.
  - 26 Mai à midi.
  - 19 Novemb. à 0½ m. gr. 8¼ d.
  - 59 \* 30 Avril à 1 s. Eur. Af. As. à l'O. centr. (36°) 40° 32'. T.
  - \* 25 Octob. à 7½ m. Eur. au S.E. Af. à l'E. As. au S. centr. 12° (16 S.). \* A.
  - 60 ● 4 Avril à 5½ s. gr. 2 d.
  - 28 Sept. à 1 s. gr. 5 d.
  - \* 13 Octob. à 7 m. Eur. à l'E. Af. à l'E. As. centr. 58° (32) 22'. A.
  - 61 \* 10 Mars à 11½ m. part. d'Eur. au N.
  - 24 Mars à 5½ s.
  - 18 Sept. à 4 m.
  - \* 2 Octob. à 7 m. As. au N. et au N.E.
  - 62 \* 28 Févr. à 0 m. extrém. de l'As. à l'E. centr. 26° 24'. A.
  - 13 Mars à 10½ s. gr. 9 d.
  - 7 Sept. à 2 s. gr. 7¾ d.
  - 63 \* 17 Févr. à 5 m. extrém. de l'As. au S.E. A.
  - 64 ● 22 Janv. à 4½ s. gr. 7½ d.
  - 17 Juillet à 2½ m. gr. 6 d.
  - \* 1 Août à 11 m. Eur. Af. As. à l'O. centr. 68 (64) 30'. T.
  - 65 ● 11 Janv. à 6 m. centr.
  - 6 Juillet à 11 m.
  - \* 16 Décemb. à 3½ m. As. à l'E. centr. 49° (27). T.
  - 31 Décemb. à 1 s. gr. 5½ d.
  - 66 ● 26 Juin à 1½ m. gr. 5 d.
  - 67 ● 17 Mai à midi. gr. 0¾ d.
  - \* 31 Mai à 3 s. Eur. Af. As. au S.O. centr. 40° 28'. A.
  - 9 Novemb. à 8½ s. gr. 2½ d.
  - 68 ● 6 Mai à 0 m.
  - \* 19 Mai à 9½ s. As. au N.E.
  - 29 Octob. à 6½ m.
  - 69 ● 25 Avril à 4½ m. gr. 10½ d.
  - \* 4 Octob. à 1½ m. As. au N.E. centr. 84°. A.
  - 18 Octob. à 10 s. gr. 11 d.
  - 70 \* 23 Sept. à 3 m. As. à l'E. centr. 38° (11'). A.

## CENOTAPHIUM CAII CÆSARIS AUGUSTI F.

N.B. The smaller capitals indicate the letters supplied by conjecture.

Desunt dies ac mensis. PISIS. IN. FORO. IN. AVGVSTEO. SCRIB. AD. . . .

FVER. Q. SERTORIVS. Q. F. ATILIVS. TACITVS. P. RASINIVS. L. F. BASSVS. L. LAPPIVS  
P. F. THALLVS. Q. SERTORIVS. Q. F. ALPIVS. PICA. C. VETTIVS. L. F. VIRCVLA. M. HERIVS  
M. F. PRISCVS. A. ALBIVS. A. F. GYTTA. TI. CONSVLATV. TI. F. POLLIO. L. FABIVS. L. F. BASSVS  
SEX. APONIVS. SEX. F. CRETICVS. C. CANIVS. C. F. SATVRNINVS. L. OTACILIVS. Q. F. PANTHERA

QVOD. ADVNT. CVM. IN. COLONIA. NOSTRA. PROPTER. CONTENTIONES. CANDIDATO  
RV. MAGISTRATVS. NON. ESSENT. ET. EA. ACTA. ESSENT. QVAE. INFRA. SCRIPTA. SVNT  
CVM. AD. III. NONAS. APRILES. ALLATVS. ESSET. NVNTIVS. CAIVM. CAESAREM. AVGVSTI. PATRIS. PATRI  
AE. PONTIF. MAXSVMI. CVSTODIS. IMPERI. ROMANI. TOTIVSQUE. ORBIS. TERRARVM. PRAE  
SIDIS. FLIVM. DIVI. NEPOTEM. POST. CONSVLATVM. QVEM. VLTRA. FINIS. EXTREMAS. POPV  
LI. ROMANI. BELLVM. GERENS. FELICITER. PEREGERAT. BENE. GESTA. RE. PVBLICA. DEVICTEIS. AVT  
IN. FIDEM. RECEPTIS. BELLICISSIMIS. AC. MAXSIMIS. GENTIBVS. IPSVM. VOLNERIBVS. PRO. RE  
PVBLICA. EXCEPTIS. EX. EO. CASV. CRVDELIBVS. FATIS. EREPTVM. POPVLO. ROMANO. IAM. DESIGNA  
TV. IVSTISSVMVM. AC. SIMILLVMVM. PARENTIS. SVI. VIRTVTIBVS. PRINCIPEM. COLONIAEQVE  
NOSTRAE. VNIVM. PRAESIDIUM. EAQVE. RES. NON. DVM. QUIETO. LVCTV. QVEM. EX. DECES  
SV. L. CAESARIS. FRATRIS. EIVS. CONSVLIS. DESIGNATI. AVGVRI. PRONI. NOSTRI. PRINCI  
PIS. IVVENTVTIS. COLONIA. VNIVERSA. SVSCEPERAT. RENOVASSET. MVLTPLICASSETQVE  
MOEROREM. OMNIVM. SINGVLORVM. VNIVERSORVMQVE. OB. EAS. RES. VNIVERSI. DECVR  
IONES. COLONIQVE. QVANDO. EO. CASV. IN. COLONIA. NEQVE. IIVIR. NEQVE. PRAEFECTI  
ERANT. NEQVE. QVISQVAM. IVRE. DICVND. PRAERAT. INTER. SESE. CONSENSERVNT. PRO  
MAGNITVDINE. TANTAE. AC. TAM. INPROVISAE. CALAMITATIS. OPORTE. EX. EA. DIE  
QVA. EIVS. DECESVS. NVNTIATVS. ESSET. VSQVI. AD. EAM. DIEM. QVA. OSSA. RELATA. ATQVE  
CONDITA. IVSTAQVE. EIVS. MANIBVS. PERFECTA. ESSENT. CVNCTOS. VESTE. MUTATA. TEMPLIS  
QVE. DEORVM. IMMORTALIVM. BALNEISQVE. PVBLICIS. ET. TABERNIS. OMNIBVS. CLAVIS  
CONVICIBVS. SESE. APSTINERE. MATRONAS. QVAE. IN. COLONIA. NOSTRA. SVNT. SVBLVGERE  
DIEMQVE. EVM. QVO. DIE. C. CAESAR. OBIT. QVI. DIES. EST. A. D. VIII. K. MARTIAS. PRO. ALLIENSI  
LVGBREM. MEMORIAE. PRODI. NOTARIQVE. IN. PRAESENTIA. OMNIVM. IVSSV. AC  
VOLVNTATE. CAVERIQVE. NEQVOD. SACRIFICIVM. PVBLICVM. NEVE. QVAE. SVPLI  
CATIONES. NIVE. SPONSALIA. NIVE. CONVIVIA. PVBLICA. POSTEA. IN. EVM. DIEM  
EOVE. DIE. QVI. DIES. ERIT. A. D. VIII. K. MART. FIANT. CONCIPIANTVR. INDICAN  
TVRVE. NIVE. QVI. LVDI. SCAENICI. CIRCIENSISVE. EO. DIE. FIANT. SPECTENTVRVE  
VTIQVE. EO. DIE. QVOD. ANNIS. PVBLICE. MANIBVS. EIVS. PER. MAGISTRATVS. EOSVE.  
QVI. PISIS. IVRE. DICVND. PRAERVNT. EODEM. LOCO. EODEMQVE. MODO. QVO  
L. CAESARI. PARENTARI. INSTITVTVM. EST. PARENTTVR  
VTIQVE. ARCVS. CELEBERRIMO. COLONIAE. NOSTRAE. LOCO. CONSTITVATVR. ORNA  
TVS. SPOLEIS. DEVICTARVM. AVT. IN. FIDEM. RECEPTARVM. AB. EO. GENTIVM. SVPER  
EVM. STATVA. PEDESTRAE. IPSIVS. TRIVMPHALI. ORNATV. CIRCAQVE. EAM. DVAE  
EQVESTRRES. INAVRATAE. GAI. ET. LVCI. CAESARVM. STATVAE. PONANTVR  
VTIQVE. CVM. PRIMVM. PER. LEGEM. COLONIAE. DVO. VIROS. CREARE. ET. HABERE. PO  
TVRIMVS. II. DVO. VIRI. QVI. PRIMI. CREATI. ERVNT. HOC. QVOD. DECVRIONIBVS  
ET. VNIVERSIS. COLONIS. PLACVIT. AD. DECVRIONES. REFERANT. EORVM. PV  
BLICA. AVCTORITATE. ADHIBITA. LEGITVME. ID. CAVEATVR. AVCTORIBVSQVE  
IIS. IN. TABVLAS. PVBLICAS. REFERATVR. INTEREA. T. STATVLENS. IVNCVS  
FLAMEN. AVGVSTALIS. PONTIF. MINOR. PVBLICORVM. P. R. SACRORVM. ROGARE  
TVR. VT. CVM. LEGATIS. EXCVSATA. PRAESENTI. COLONIAE. NECESSITATE. HOC  
OFFICIUM. PVBLICVM. ET. VOLVNTATEM. VNIVERSORVM. LIBELLO. REDDITO  
IMP. CAESARI. AVGVSTO. PATRI. PATRIAE. PONTIF. MAXIMO. TRIBVNICIAE  
POTEST. XXVI. INDICET.

IDQVE. T. STATVLENS. IVNCVS. PRINCEPS. COLONIAE. NOSTRAE. FLAMEN. AVGVST  
PONTIF. MINOR. PVBLICORVM. P. R. SACRORVM. LIBELLO. ITA. VTI. SVpra. SCRIPTVM  
EST. IMPERATORI. CAESARI. AVGVSTO. PONTIFICI. MAXIMO. TRIBVN. POTEST. XXVI. PATRI  
PATRIAE. REDDITO. FECERIT. PLACERE. CONSCRIPTIS. QVAE. A. D. III. NONAS. APRILES  
QVAE. SEX. AELIO. CATO. C. SENTIO. SATVRNINO. COS. FVERVNT. FACTA. ACTA. CON  
STITVTA. SVNT. PER. CONSENSVM. OMNIVM. ORDINVM. EA. OMNIA. ITA. FIERI. AGI. HA  
BERI. OBSERVARIQVE. AB. L. TITIO. A. F. ET. T. ALLIO. T. F. RVFO. IIVIRIS. ET. AB. EIS. QVICVM  
QVE. POSTEA. IN. COLONIA. NOSTRA. IIVIR. PRAEFECTI. SIVE. QVI. ALI. MAGISTRATVS  
ERVNT. OMNIA. IN. PERPETVOM. ITA. FIERI. AGI. HABERI. OBSERVARIQVE. VTIQVE. L. TITIVS  
A. F. T. ALLIVS. T. F. RVFVS. IIVIRI. EA. OMNIA. QVAE. SVPRASCRIPTA. SVNT. EX. DECRETO  
NOSTRO. CORAM. PRO. QVAESTORIBVS. PRIMO. QVOQVE. TEMPORE. PER. SCRIBAM. PV  
BLICVM. IN. TABVLAS. PVBLICAS. REFERENDA. CVRENT

CENSUERE



## CENOTAPHIUM LUCII CÆSARIS AUGUSTI F.

XIII. K. OCTOBR. PISIS. IN. FORO. IN. AVGVSTEO. SCRIB. ADFVER.  
 Q. PETILIVS. Q. F. P. RASINIVS. L. F. BASSVS. M. PVPPIVS. M. F.  
 Q. SERTORIYS. Q. F. PICA. CN. OCTAVIVS. CN. F. RVFVS. A. ALBIVS  
 A. F. GVTTA

QVOD. C. CANIVS. C. F. SATVRNINVS. IIIVIR. V. F. DE. AVGENDIS. HONORIBVS  
 L. CAESARIS. AVGVSTI. CAESARIS. PATRIS. PATRIAE. PONTIFICIS. MAXSVMI  
 TRIBVNICIAE. POTESTATIS. XXV. FLII. AVGVRI. CONSVLIS. DESIGNATI. PRINCIPIS  
 IVVENTVTIS. PATRONI. COLONIAE. NOSTRAE. Q. D. E. R. F. P. D. E. R. I. C.  
 CVM. SENATVS. POPVLI. ROMANI. INTER. CETEROS. PLVRIMOS. AC. MAXSIMOS  
 HONORES. L. CAESARIS. AVGVSTI. CAESARIS. PATRIS. PATRIAE. PONTIFICIS. MAXIMI. TRIBV  
 NICIAE. POTESTATIS. XXV. FILIO. AVGVRI. CONSVLI. DESIGNATO. PER  
 CONSESVM. OMNIVM. ORDINVM

Hæc lacuna, in qua nonnullæ lineæ  
 periere, hodie cæmento et calce expleta est.

TETVR. DATA. CVRA. C. CANIO. SATVRNINO. IIIVIRO. ET. DECEM. PRIMIIS. ELIGENDI  
 ASPICIENDIQVE. VTER. EORVM. LOCVS. MAGIS. IDONEVS. VIDEATVR. EMENDVS  
 PVBLICA. PECVNIA. A. PRIVATIS. EIVS. LOCI. QVEM. MAGIS. PROBAVERINT. VTIQVE  
 APVD. EAM. ARAM. QVOD. ANNIS. A. D. XII. K. SHPT. PVBLICE. MANIBVS. EIVS. PER. MAGIS  
 TRATVS. EOSVE. QVI. IBI. IVRI. DICENDI. PRAEERVNT. TOGIS. PVLLIS. AMICTOS  
 QVIBVS. EORVM. IVS. FASQVE. ERIT. EO. DIE. EIVS. VESTIS. HABENDAE. INFERIAE. MIT  
 TVNTVR. BOSQVE. ET. OVIS. ATRI. INFVLIS. CAERVLIS. INFVLATI. DIS. MANIBVS. EIVS  
 MACTENTVR. EAEQVE. HOSTIAE. EO. LOCO. ADOLEANTVR. SVPER. QVE. EAS.  
 SINGVLAE. VRNAE. LACTIS. MELLIS. OLEI. FVNDANTVR. AC. TVM. DEMVM. FACTAM  
 CETERIS. POTESTATEM. SI. QVI. PRIVATIM. VELINT. MANIBVS. EIVS. INFERIAS. MITTERE  
 NIVE. QVIS. AMPLIVS. VNO. CEREEO. VNAVE. FACE. CORONAVE. MITTAT. DVM. II. QVI. IM  
 MOLAYERINT. CINCTI. CABINO. RITV. STRVEM. LIGNORVM. SVCCENDANT. ADQVE.  
 EXINDE. HABEANT.

VTI. LOCVS. ANTE. EAM. ARAM. QVO. EA. STRVES. CONGERANTVR. COMPONENTVR. PATEAT  
 QVOQVE. VERSVS. PEDES. XL. STIPITIBVSQVE. ROBVSTIS. SAEPIATVR. LIGNORVMQVE  
 ACERVOS. EIVS. REI. GRATIA. QVOD. ANNIS. IBI. CONSTITVATVR. CIPPOQVE. GRANDI  
 SECVNDVM. ARAM. DEFIXSO. HOC. DECRETVM. CVM. SVPERIORIBVS. DECRETIS. AD. EIVS  
 HONORES. PERTINENTIBVS. INCIDATVR. INSCVLPATVRVE. NAM. QVOD. AD. CETERA  
 SOLEMNIA. QVAE. EODEM. ILLO. DIE. VITARE. CAVERIQVE. PLACVSSENT. PLACERENT  
 QVE. ID. SEQVENDVM. QVOD. DE. IIS. SENATVS. P. R. CENSVISSET. VTIQVE. PRIMO  
 QVOQVE. TEMPORE. LEGATI. EX. NOSTRO. ORDINE. IMPER. CAESAREM. AVGVSTVM  
 PATREM. PATRIAE. PONTIFICEM. MAXIMVM. TRIBVNICIAE. POTESTATIS. XXV.  
 ADEANT. PETANTQVE. AB. EO. VTI. COLONIS. IVLIENSIBVS. COLONIAE. OBSEQVENTI  
 IVLIAE. PISANAE. EX. HOC. DECRETO. EA. OMIA. FACERE. EXSEQVIQVE. PERMITTAT

## MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM EX RECOGNITIONE EDM. CHISHULLI.

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RERVVM. GESTARVM. DIVI. AVGVSTI. QVIBVS. ORBEM. TERRARVM. IMPERIO. POPVLI.  
 ROM. SVBIECIT. ET. IMPENSARVM. QVAS. IN. REMPVBLICAM. POPVLVMQVE. ROMANVM.  
 FECIT. INCISARVM. IN. DVABVS. AHENELIS. PILIS. QVAE. SVNT. ROMAE. POSITAE.  
 EXEMPLAR. SVBIECTVM.

*Tabula prima intrantibus a leva.*

ANNOS . VNDEVIGINTI . NATVS . EXERCITVM . PRIVATO . CONSILIO . ET . PRIVATA . IMPENSA  
 COMPARAVI . PER . QVEM . REMPVBLICAM . obstINATIONE . FACTIONIS . OPPRESSAM  
 IN . LIBERTATEM . VINDICAVI . Senatvs . DECRETIS . HONORIFICIS . ornatus . IN . eum  
 ORDINEM . SVM . adlectus a CONSVLIBVS . inter consulares ut sententiam dice

REM . LOCVMque . et IMPERIVM . MIHI . DEDIT . RESPVBLICA . Vti . PRAETORI . SIMVL . CVM  
 CONSVLIBVS . Iratio et Pansa . Huic AVTEM . EODEM . ANNO . ME . suffectum  
 CONSVLEM . cum edidisset . ET . TRIVMVRVM . REIPVBLICAE . CONSTITVENDae  
 QVI . PARENTEM . coNIVrati occidissent IN . EXILIVM . EXPVLI . IVDICIIS . LEGI  
 TIMIS . VLTVS . POSTEA . BELLVM . INFERENTIS . REIPVBLICAE . . . . .  
 ARMA . TERRA . MARIQVE . . . . . signAQVE . TOTO . ORBE . TERRARVM . circumtuli  
 VICTORQVE . OMNIBVS . supplicibVS . CIVIBVS . PEPERCI . et in EXILio sponte sua de-  
 GENTES . QVIBVS . TVTO . liceret . SERVARI . QVAM . EXCIDERE . Malui . . . . .  
 MILLIA . CIVIVM . ROMANorum adacta SACRAMENTO . MEO . FVERVNT . CIRCIter . quingen-  
 TA . EX . QVIBVS . DEDVxi in colonias . AVT . REMISI . IN . MVNICIPIA . SVA . STIPENDiis solu-  
 TIS . MILLIA . ALIQVANTO . plus quam . TRECENTIS . ET . IIS . OMNIBVS . AGROS . Adsignavi  
 AVT . PECVNIAM . PROPriam ex . ME . DEID7 Longas NAVES . CEPI . SESCENTas . praeter ali-  
 AS . SIQVAE . MINORIS quam trirEMES FVERVNT7  
 BIS . OVAÑS . TRIVMPHavi tris egi caRVLIS . TRIVMPHOS . ET . APPELLAtus sum viciens et  
 semEL . IMPERATOR . cumque plurIS . TRIVMPHOS . MIHI . SENatus decrevisset . tis tamen  
 agendis suPERSEDI . et tantummodo laurVS . DEPOSVI . IN . CAPITOLIO . Delmatis et Illur-  
 tiis qVOQVE . BELLO . NVNC . perdomi7S . OB . RES . Aut ductu meo aut per lega-  
 TOS . AVSPICIIS . MEIS . TERRA . MARIQVE . PROSPERE . GESTAS . QVAesitamque bello re-  
 QVIEM . DECREVIT . SENATVS . SVPPlicandVM . ESSE . DIS . IMMORTalibus . . . . .  
 . . . . . QVO . ex SENATVS . CONSVLTO . SVPPlicatVM . EST . IN . DEORum . . . . .  
 . . . . . VO . . . . . VM . REC . . . . . AVT . R . . . . .  
 . . . . . AM . TER . DECIENS . . . . .  
 . . . . . AE . POTES . . . . .  
 . . . . . ME . IA . . . . .  
 . . . . . Cetera huic Tabulae inscripta cuncta penitus evanuerunt .

## Tabula secunda a leva.

PATRIORVM . NVMERVM . AVXI . CONSVL . QVINTVM . IVSSV . POPVLI . ET . SENATVS . SENA-  
 TVM . TER . LEGI . ET . IN . CONSVLATV . SEXTO . CENSVM . POPVLI . CONLEGA . M . AGRIPPA . EGI  
 LVSTRVM . POST . ANNVm . ALTERVM . ET . QVADRAGENSIVM . FECI . QVO . LVSTRO . CIVI-  
 VM . ROMANORVM . CENSA . SVNT . CAPITA . QVADRAGIENS . CENTVM . MILLIA . ET  
 SEXAGINTA . TRIA . MILLIA . AterVM . CONSVLARI . CVM . IMPERIO . LVSTRVM  
 censumque SOLVS . FECI . CENSORINO et ASINIO . COS . QVO . LVSTRO . CENSA . SVNT  
 CIVIVM . ROMANORVM . capita QVADRAGIENS . CENTVM . MILLIA . ET . DVCEN-  
 TA . TRIGINTA . TRIA . Millia . Tertium . CONSVLARI . CVM . IMPERIO . LVSTRVM  
 CONLEGA . TIB . CAesare feci SEX . POMPEIO . ET . SEX . APPVLEIO . COS .  
 QVO LVSTRO . ETiam censa sunt RomanORVM . CAPITVM . QVADRAGIENS .  
 CENTVM . Millia trigINTA . ET SEPTem MILLIA  
 LEGIBVS . NOVI8 latis EXEMPLA . MAIORVM . EXOLESCENTIA . revocavi . et fugientia  
 IAM . EX . NOSTro conspectu AVITARVM . RERVm . EXEMPLA . IMITANDA . proposui7  
 . . . . . ATVS . ET . SACERDOTES . . . . .  
 . . . . . V . TIS . . . . . EFEC . . . . .  
 . . . . . QVATTVOR . AMPLISSIMA . COLLEGia . . . . .  
 . . . . . MPEIAM . ET . MVNICIPI . . . . . M . VNI  
 . . . . . APVD . OMNIA . PVLVINARIA . PRO . VALETudine . . . . .  
 . . . . . VSVM . EST . IN . SALLARE . CARMEN . ET . SACROSAN . . . . .  
 . . . . . VO . . . . . EREA . . . . . TRIBVNITIA . POTESTAS . MIHI  
 . . . . . MVS . . . . . ITER . M . IN . . . . .  
 populo SACERDOTIVM . DEFERENTE . MIHI . QVOD . PATER . MEVS . procuravit  
 suscepi id SACERDOTIVM . ALIQVOD . POST . ANNOS . EO . MORtuo qui post patrem  
 meum illud procVRAVERAT . CVNCTA . EX . ITALIA  
 . . . . . valetVDINE . QVANTA . ROMAE . NVNquam . . . . .  
 . . . . . P . SulpICIO . C . VALGIO . CONSVLIBVS . . . . .  
 . . . . . aedis . HONORIS . ET . VIRTVTIS . AD . memORIAM . . . . .  
 . . . . . senATVS . CONSACRAVIT . IN . QVA . PON . . . . .  
 . . . . . aNNIVERSARIVM . SACRIFICIVM . FACERE . . . . .  
 . . . . . R . . . . . T . . . . . IN . VRBEM . EX . . . . .  
 . . . . . AVIT . . . . .  
 . . . . . PARS . . . . .  
 . . . . . ET . PRIN . . . . . A . MIHI  
 . . . . . ONOS . . . . . RAE . . . . .  
 res in HispanIA . Galliaque pROVINCIIS . PROSPere . . . . .



. . . . . NEP . QV . . . . . ARAM . . . . .  
 . . . . . *pro* REDITV . MEO . *Consecrari ut* AD . RAM . . . . .  
 . . . . . MAGISTRATVS . ET . SAC . . . . .  
 . . . . . IVM . . . . . C . . . . . P . . . . .  
 . . . . . CVSSVM . ESS . . . . .  
 . . . . . *peR* . TOTVM . *Imperium* . POPVLI . ROMANI . *parta est terra*  
*marique pAX* . CVM*que a condita urbe* . Ianum . *QuiRinum* BIS . OMNINO . CLAVSVM  
*fuisset* . PRODATVR . EVM . *Senatus* . PER . ME . PRINCIPEM . *ter cLAVDENDVM* . ESSE . *iussit*  
*Inter filios* MEOS . QVOS . *SINistra sors* MIHI . ERIPVIT . EORVM . CAIVM . ET . LVCIVM . CAESAR  
 ES . . . . .

*Tabula tertia a laeva.*

HONORIS . MEI . CAVSA . SENATVS . POPVLVSQVE . ROMANVS . ANNVM . QVINTVM . ET . DECI  
 MVM . AGENTIS . CONSVLES . DESIGNAVIT . VT . EVM . MAGISTRATVM . INIRENT . POST . QVIN  
 QVENNIVM . ET . EX . EO . DIE . QVO . DEDVCTI . SVNT . IN . FORVM . VT . INTERESSENT . CONSILIS  
 PVBLICIS . DECREVIT . SENATVS . EQVITES . AVTEM . ROMANI . VNIVERSI . PRINCIPEM  
 IVVENTVTIS . VTRumQVE eorVM . PARMIS ET . HASTIS . ARGENTEIS . DONATVM . AP  
 PELLAVERVNT  
 PLEBEI . ROMANAE . VIRITIM . SS . TRECENOS . NVMERAVI . EX . TESTAMENTO . PATRIS  
 MEI . ET . NOMINE . MEO . QVADRINGENOS . EX . BELLORVM . MANIBIS . CONSVL  
 QVINTVM . DEDI . ITERVM . AVTEM . IN . CONSVLATV . DECIMO . EX . PATRIMONIO  
 MEO . IIS . QVADRINGENOS . CONGIARI . VIRITIM . PERNVMERAVI . ET . CONSVL  
 VNDECIMVM . DVODECIM . FRVMENTATIONES . FRVMENTO . PRIVATIM . COEMPTO  
 EMENSVS . SVM . ET . TRIBVNITIA . POTESTATE . DVODECIMVM . QVADRINGENOS  
 NVMMOS . TERTIVM . VIRITIM . DEDI . QVAE . MEA . CONGIARIA . PERVENERVNT  
*ad sestertivm* . MILLIA . NVNQVAM . MINVS . QVINQVAGINTA . ET . DVCENTAZ  
 TRIBVNITIAE . POTESTATIS . DVODEVICINSIMVM . CONSVL . XII . TRECENTIS . ET . VIGINTI  
 MILLIBVS . PLEBEI . VRBANAE . SEXAGENOS . DENARIOS . VIRITIM . DEDI  
 ET . CVOIVIS . MILITVM . MEORVM . CONSVL . QVINTVM . EX . MANIBIS . VIRITIM  
 MILLIA . NVMMVM . SINGVLA . DEDI . ACCEPERVNT . ID . TRIVMPHALE . CONGIARIVM  
 IN . COLONIIS . HOMINVM . CIRCITER . CENTVM . ET . VIGINTI MILLIAZ CONSVL . TER  
 TIVM . DECIMVM . SEXAGENOS . DENARIOS . PLEBEI . QVAE . TVM . FRVMENTVM . PVBLICVM  
 ACCEPERVNT . DEDI . EA . MILLIA . HOMINVM . PVLO . PLVRA . QVAM . DVCENTA . FVERVNT  
 PECVNIAM . *pro* AGRIS . QVOS . IN . CONSVLATV . MEO . QVARTO . ET . POSTEA . CONSVLIBVS  
*M. Crasso et* CN . LENTVLO . AVGVRE . ADSIGNAVI . MILITIBVS . SOLVI . MVNICIPISZ EA  
 SESTERTIVM . CIRCITER . SEXSIENS . MILLIENS . FVIT . QVAM . *ex* COLLATIONIBVS . *pro*  
 PRAEDIIS NVMERAVI . ET . CIRCITER . BIS . MILLIENS . ET . SESCENTIENS . QVOD . PRO . AGRIS  
 PROVINCIALIBVS . SOLVIZ ID . PRIMVS . ET . SOLVS . OMNIVM . QVI . DEDVXERVNT  
 COLONIAS . MILITVM . IN . ITALIA . AVT . IN . PROVINCIIS . AD . MEMORIAM . AETATIS  
 MEAE . FECI . ET . POSTEA . TI . NERONI . ET . CN . PISONI . CONSVLIBVS . ITEMQVE . C . ANTISTIO  
 ET . D . LAELIO . COS . ET . C . CALVISIO . ET . L . PASIENO . CONSVLIBVS . ET . *Lentulo et* MESSALINO  
 CONSVLIBVS . ET . L . CANINIO . ET . Q . FABRICIO . CONSVLIBVS . *veteranis quos* . EME  
 RITEIS . STIPENDIS . IN . SVA . MVNCIPIA *reduxi* PRAEMIA *aere numerato*  
 PERSOLVI . QVAM . IN . REM . SESTERTIVM MILL . . . . .  
 IMPENDIZ  
 QVATER . PECVNIA . MEA . IVVI . AERARIVM . ITA . VT . SESTERTIVM . MILLIENS . ET  
 QVINQVIENS . AD . EOS . QVI . PRAEERANT . AERARIO . DETVLERIM . ET . M . AEMITIO  
 ET . L . ARVNTIO . COS . IN . AERARIVM . MILITARE . QVOD . EX . CONSVLIO . . . . .  
 CONSTITVTVM . EST . EX . *quo* PRAEMIA . DARENTVR . MILITIBVS . QVI . *Viginti*  
*stipendia* EMERVISSENT . HS . MILLIENS . ET . SEPTINGENTIENS *Tib. Caesaris*  
*nomine et* MEO . DETVLI . . . . .  
 . . . . . *quO* . CN . ET . P . LENTVLVS . *consVLES* . FVERVNT . CVM . D . CERENT . . . . .  
 . . . . . CENTVM . MILLIBVS . HOMINVM . . . . . IBVS . . . . . O . FRV . . . . .

*Tabula prima a dextra.*

CVRIAM . ET . CONTINENS . EI . CHALCIDICVM . TEMPLVMQVE . APOLLINIS . IN  
 PALATIO . CVM . PORTICIBVS . AEDEM . DIVI . IVLI . LVPERCAL . PORTICVM . AD . CIR  
 CVM . FLAMINIVM . QVAM . SVM . APPELLARI . PASSVS . EX . NOMINE . EIVS . QVI . PRI  
 OREM . BODEM . IN . SOLO . FECERAT . OCTAVIAM . PVLVINAR . AD . CIRCVM . MAXIMVM  
 AEDES . IN . CAPITOLIO . IOVIS . FERETRI . ET . IOVIS . TONANTIS . AEDEM . QVIRINI  
 AEDES . MINERVAE . ET . IVNONIS . REGINAE . ET . IOVIS . LIBERTATIS . IN . AVENTINO  
 AEDEM . LARVM . IN . SVMMA . SACRA . VIA . AEDEM . DEVM . PENATIVM . IN . VELIA  
 AEDEM . IVVENTATIS . AEDEM . MATRIS . MAGNAE . IN . PALATIO . FECIZ

CAPITOLIVM . ET . POMPEIVM . THEATRVM . VTRVMQVE . OPVS . IMPENSA . GRANDI . REFECI  
SINE . VLLA . INSCRIPTIONE . NOMINIS . MEIꝫ RIVOS . AQVARVM . COMPLVRIBVS . LOCIS  
VEFVSTATE . LABENTES . REFECI . ET . AQVAM . QVAE . MARCIA . APPELLATVR . DVPLICAVI  
FONTE . NOVO . IN . RIVVM . EIVS . IMMISSOꝝ FORVM . IVLIVM . ET . BASILICAM  
QVAE . FVIT . INTER . AEDEM . CASTORIS . ET . AEDEM . SATVRNI . COEPTA . PROFLIGATA  
QVE . OPERA . A . PATRE . MEO . PERFECI . ET . EANDEM . BASILICAM . CONSVMTAM . IN  
CENDIO . AMPLIATO . EIVS . SOLO . SVB . TITVLO . NOMINIS . FILIORVM . *meorum INCO*  
HAVI . ET . SI . VIVVS . NON . PERFECISSEM . PERFICI . AB . HEREDIBVS . *meis iussi*  
DVO . ET . OCTOGINTA . TEMPLA . DEVM . IN . VRBE . CONSVL  
. . . . . REFECI . NVLLO . PRAETERMISSO . QVOD . *eo TEMPore* . . . . .  
. . . . . MV . . . . . M . . . . . IRVMINEA . A . . . . . BI . . . . .  
. . . . . PRAETER . . . . . IVME . LINV . . . . . LVM . . . . .  
PRIVATO . SOLO . *dedicato* MARTIS . VLTORIS . TEMPLVM . FORVMQVE . AVGVSTVM . ET  
THEATRVM . AD . AEDEM . APOLLINIS . IN . SOLO . MAGNA . EX . PARTE . *Ad id* . . . .  
EMPTO . FECI . QVOD . SVB . NOMINE . M . MARCELLI . GENERI . NITESCITꝫ DONA . *ex*  
MANIBVS . IN . CAPITOLIO . ET . IN . AEDE . DIVI . IVLI . ET . IN . AEDE . APOLLINIS . ET . IN . AED  
DE . VESTAE . ET . IN . TEMPLO . MARTIS . VLTORIS . CONSACRAVI . QVAE . MIHI . CONSTI  
TERVNT . HS . CIRCITER . MILLIENSꝫ AVRI . CORONARI . PONDO . TRIGINTA . ET . QVIN  
QVE . MILLIA . MVNICIPIIS . ET . COLONIS . ITALIAE . CONFERENTIBVS . AD . TRIVMPHOS  
MEOS . QVINTVM . CONSVL . REMISI . ET . POSTEA . QVOTIENSVMQVE . IMPERATOR . AP  
PELLATVS . SVM . AVRVM . CORONARIVM . NON . ACCEPI . DECERNENTIBVS . MVNICIPIIS  
ET . *CONFereNtibvs quae tunc ADQVE* . ANTEA . DECREVERANTꝫ . . . . .  
*manVS* . GLADIATORIVM . DEDI . MEO . NOMINE . ET . QVINQVIENS . FILIORVM . MEO  
RVM . AVT . NEPOTVM . NOMINE . QVIBVS . MVNERIBVS . PVGNAVERVNT . *Hominum*  
*circiter* DECEM . MILLIA . . . . . BIS *dedi* FERARVM . VNDIQVE . ACCINCTARVM  
. . . . . *spectacvla* . PROPRIO *meo* NOMINE . ET . TERTIVM . NEPOTVM . . . . .  
. . . . . *Ludos* FECI . MEO . NOMINE . QVATER . ALIORVM . AVTEM . *Magistratum*  
*absentivm* . TER . ET . VIGIENS . . . . . *in colleGIO* . XV . VIRORVM . MAGISTER *ad*  
*lecto* IN COLLEGIVM . M . AGRIPPA . . . . . PER . QVINDECIM viros . C . FVRNIO . C . SILANDO . COS.  
*quiNtos feci* LVDOS . *saeculares nulli vivorum visos ante id* . TEMPVS . DEINDE . . . . .  
. . . . . *Venationes bestia*  
RVM . AFRICANARVM . MEO . NOMINE . ET . FILIORVM . MEORVM . ET . NEPOTVM . IN . CIR  
CO . AVT . IN . FORO . AVT . IN . AMPHITHEATRIS . POPVLO . DEDI . SEXIENS . ET . VIGIENS . QVIBVS  
CONNECTA . SVNT . BESTIARVM . CIRCITER . TRIA . MILLIA . ET . QVINGENTAEꝫ  
NAVALIS . PROELI . SPECTACVLVM . POPVLO . DEDI . TRANS . TIBERIM . IN . QVO . LOCO  
NVNO . NEMVS . EST . CAESARVM . CAVATO *solo in longitudinem mille*  
ET . OCTINGENTOS . PEDES . IN . LATITVDINE . *Mille erant et DVCENTI* . IN . QVO . TRI  
GINTA . ROSTRATAE . NAVES . TRIREMES . *et quadrivembS* . PLVRIS . AVTEM  
MINORES . INTER . SE . CONFLIXERVNT . *Atticis et Persicis* CLASSIBVS . PVGNAVE  
RVNT . PRAETER . REMIGES . MILLIA *hominum* triginta . CIRCITERꝫ  
IN . TEMPLIS . OMNIVM . CIVITATIVM . *Primarum Europae* ET . ASIAE . VICTOR . ORNA  
MENTA . REPOSI . QVAE . SPOLIATIS . TEMPLIS *is cum* QVO . BELLVM . GESSERAM  
PRIVATIM . POSSEDERAT . *Meae* STATVAE . PEDESTRES . ET . EQVESTRES . ET . IN  
QVADRIGEIS . ARGENTAEAE . STETERVNT . IN . VRBE . XXC . CIRCITER . QVAS . IPSE  
SVSTVLI . EXQVE . EA . PECVNIA . DONA . AVREA . IN . AEDE . APOLLINIS . MEO . NOMI  
NE . ET . ILLORVM . QVI . MIHI . STATVARVM . HONOREM . HABVERVNT . POSVI .

*Tabula secunda a dextra.*

MARE . PACAVI . A . PRAEDONIBVSꝫ EO . BELLO . SERVORVM . QVI . FVGISSENT . A . DO  
MINIS . SVIS . ET . ARMA . CONTRA . REMPUBLICAM . TVLERVNT . triginta . FERE . MILLIA . CAPTA  
DOMINIS . AD . SVPPLICIVM . SVMENDVM . TRADIDITꝫ IVRAVIT . IN . MEA . VERBA . TOTA  
ITALIA . SPONTE . SVA . ET . *Me pro* . VICTIS *duCibus* DVCEM . DEPOSCITꝫ IVRA  
VERVNT . IN . EADEM . Verba GALLIAE . HISPANIAE . AFRIKA . SICILIA . SAR  
DINIA . QVI . . . . . VE . . . . . *SenatoRES* . PLVRES  
QVAM . DCC . IN . . . . . CONSVLIBVS . FACTI . SVNT . AD . EVM . DIEM  
QVO . SCRIPTA . SVNT . . . . . CIRCITER . CLXXꝫ  
OMNIVM . PROVINCIARVM . . . . . QVIBVS . FINITIMAE . FVERVNT  
GENTES . QVAE . *Nondum subiectae erant Pop. Romano* . FINES . AVXI . GALLIAS . ET . HISP  
NIAS . PROVINCIASque . . . . . *guas alluit* . OCEANVS . A . GADIBVS . AD . OSTI  
VM . ALBIS . FLVMINIS . . . . . *ab usque regione* . EA . QVAE . PROXIMA . EST . HA  
DRIANO . MARI . *armis perlustravi* . NVLLI . GENTI . BELLO . PER . INVIARIAM  
INLATOꝝ *Classis Romana* . . . . . AB . OSTIO . RHENI . AD . SOLIS . ORIENTIS . RE  
GIONEM . VSQVE . AD . *orbis extrema* . NAVIGAVIT . QVO . NEQVE . TERRA . NEQVE









ἐμῆς οἰκίας ἀνετέθη. "Οπ[λ]ον τε χρυσούν ἐν τῷ βο[υλ]ευ-  
τηρίῳ ἀνατε[θῆ]ν ὑπό τε τῆς συνκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου  
τῶν Ῥω[μαί]ων διὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀρετῆν καὶ ἐπιείκειαν  
καὶ [δῆ]καισύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐμοὶ μαρτυρεῖ. . . ἀξίων τι  
πάντων διηγε . . . καὶ ἐξουσίας δὲ οὐδέν τι πλείον ἔσχον  
τῶν συναρξάντων μοι.

Τρισκαιδέκῃτην ὑπατεῖαν ἔγοντός μου ἦ τε σύνκλητος  
καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα ὅ τε σύνπας δήμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
προσηγόρευσε με πατέρα πατρίδος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ προ-  
πίλου τῆς οἰκίας μου καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ  
ἀγορᾷ τῇ σεβαστῇ ὑπὸ τῷ ἄρματι, [δ]μο[εῖ] δόγματι συν-  
κλήτου ἀνετέθη, ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐψηφίσατο. ὅτε ἔγραφον  
ταῦτα ἦγον ἔτος ἕβδομηκοστὸν ἔκτον.

Συνκεφαλαίως ἠριθμημένοι χρήματ' εἰς τὸ αἰράριον  
ἦ εἰς τὸν δήμον τῶν Ῥ[ωμαίων] ἢ εἰς τοὺς ἀπολελυμένους

στρατιώτας ἕξ μυριάδες μυριάδων. ἔργα καινὰ ἐγένετο  
ὑπάτου ναο[ῖ] μὲν Ἄρεως, Διὸς Βροντησίου καὶ Τροπαιο-  
φόρου . . . Πανδῶς, Ἀπόλλωνος, θεοῦ Ἰουλίου, Κυρείου,  
Ἄ[θη]νῶν, Ἡρας βασιλίδος, Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου, ἠρώων  
π[ατρι]ῶν, Νεότητος, Μητρὸς Θεῶν . . . σὺν Χαλκιδικῇ,  
ἀγορᾷ σεβαστῇ, θέατρον Μαρκέλλ[ου], βασι]λικὴ Ἰουλία,  
ἄλσος Καισάρων, στοὰ ἐν Παλα[τί]ῳ, σποῖ ἐν Ἰππο-  
δρόμῳ Φλαμίνῳ· ἐπεσκε[νᾶσ] ἡ τὸ Κα]πιτώλιον, ναοὶ  
ὀγδοήκοντα δύο, θέ[ατρο]ν Πο[μ]πῆιου, ὀδὸς Φλαμίνια,  
ἀγῶγος ὀδᾶτων. [Δαπ]ανα[ῖ] εἰς θεάς καὶ μονομάχους καὶ  
ἀθλήτα[ς] καὶ ναυμαχίαν καὶ θηρομαχίαν. δωρεὰ [ταῖς]  
ἀποικίας πόλεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεσιν ἐν ἐπαρχεῖαι  
σεισμῶ καὶ ἐντυρισμοῖς πεπονηκίαις, ἡ κατ' ἄνδρα φίλοις  
κ[αὶ] συνκλητικοῖς, ὧν τὰς τειμήσεις προσεξπλήρωσεν  
ἄπειρον πλῆθος.

## THE PARTS OF THE FASTI CAPITOLINI

COMPREISED WITHIN THE PERIOD OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, WITH THE EMENTATIONS  
AND CONJECTURAL ADDITIONS OF SIGONIUS.

N.B.—The original fragments are in Roman characters and the emendations and additions in Italic.

- B.C.
- 61 *M. Pupius M. F. Piso.*  
*M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Niger.*  
*Cn. Pompeius Sex. N. Magnus iii.* Pro. Cos. ex  
*Asia, Ponto, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia,*  
*Syria, Armenia Pirateis, Iberiâ Cretâ, de Reg-*  
*ibus Mithridate et Tigrae per biduum iii. prid.*  
K. Octo. An. dxcxii.
- 59 C. Julius C. F. C. N. *M. Calpurnius.*  
58 L. Calpurnius L. F. L. N. *Piso Cæsonin.*  
*A. Gabinius A. F.*  
57 P. Cornelius P. F. *Lentulus Spinther.*  
*Q. Cæcilius Q. F. Q. N. Metellus Nepos.*  
56 Cn. Cornelius P. F.—*N. Lentulus Marcellinus.*  
*L. Marcus L. F. Q. N. Philippus.*  
49 C. Claudius M. F. M. N. Marcellus.  
*L. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus.* Eodem anno.  
C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar Dict. *sine mag. Eq.*  
*comit. hab. caussâ.*  
48 C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar ii.  
*P. Servilius P. F. Cn. N. Vatia Isauricus.*  
47 C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar ii. Dict.  
M. Antonius M. F. M. N. Mag. *Eq.*  
Q. Fufius Q. F. C. N. Calenus.  
P. Vatinius P. F.  
*M. Aimilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus Pro. Pr. ex*  
*Hispaniâ. An. dccvi.*  
46 C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar iii.  
*M. Aimilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus.*  
*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar Cos. iii. de Galleis.*  
*An. dccvii.*  
*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar ii. Cos. iii. ex Ponto*  
*de Pharnace Rege. An. dccvii.*
- B.C.
- C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar iii. Cos. iii. ex*  
*Egypto. An. dccvii.*  
*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar iv. Cos. iii. ex Africâ*  
*de Jubâ Rege. An. dccvii.*  
45 C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar iii. Dict.  
M. Aimilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus Mag. eq.  
Eodem anno,  
C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar iv. Sine collegâ.  
Eodem anno,  
Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus in Mag. *mortuus*  
*est. In ejus locum factus est C. Caninius C. F.*  
*C. N. Rebilus.*  
C. Trebonius C. F.  
*C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar v. Cos. iv. ex His-*  
*paniâ. An. dccciii. = Octob.*  
Q. Fabius Q. F. Q. N. Maximus Cos. ex Hispaniâ.  
An. dccciii. iii. Idus Oct.  
Q. Pedius M. F. Pro. Cos. ex Hispaniâ. An.  
dccciii. Idib. Dec.  
44 C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar iiiii. Dict.  
M. Aimilius *M. F. Q. N. Lepidus ii. Mag. Eq.*  
*ut quom M. Aimilius Paludatus exisset iniret.*  
Cn. Domitius M. F. M. N. Calvinus. In in-  
sequentem annum *designatus* erat: non iniiit.  
C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar v. P. Cornelius P. F.  
*Dolabella.*  
*M. Antonius M. F. M. N. C. Julius C. F. C. N.*  
Cæsar vi. Dict. iiiii. orans ex Monte Albano.  
An. dcccix. vii. Kal. Febr.  
43 C. Vibius *C. F. C. N. Pansa.* In mag. *occis. E. In*  
*E. loc. fact. est*  
C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar qui postea Impe-

B.C.

- rator Cæsar Augustus appell. est. Abd. In ejus locum fact. est C. Carrinas C. F.
- A. Hirvius A. F. In mag. occis. E. In E. loc. fact. est
- Q. Pedius M. F. In mag. mort. est. In ejus locum factus est
- P. Ventidius P. F. Qui idem Prætor erat.
- M. Aimilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus } iii. viri R. P. C.  
 M. Antonius M. F. M. N. } ex A. D. V. K.  
 Imp. Cæsar C. F. C. N. } Dec. A. D. Pr. K.  
 } Jan. Sex.
- L. Munatius L. F. L. N. Plancus Pro. Cos. ex Galliâ. An. dccx. iii. K. Jan.
- M. Aimilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus ii. iii. vir R. P. C. Pro. Cos. ex Hispaniâ Pridie K. Jan.
- 42 L. Munacius L. F. L. N. Plancus.
- A. Postumius Albinus Brutus Anteq. iniret Damn. In E. loc. fact. E.
- M. Aimilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus ii. Cens. L. Antonius M. F. N. N. P. Sulpicius P. F. Quirinus. Lust. non fecer.
- P. Vatinius P. F. Pro. Cos. de Illurico pridie. . .
- 41 P. Servilius P. F. C. N. Vatia Isauricus ii. L. Antonius M. F. M. N.
- L. Antonius M. F. M. N. Cos. ex Alpibus.
- 40 Cn. Domitius M. F. M. N. Calvinus ii. abdicavit. In ejus loc. fact. est L. Cornelius P. F. Balbus. C. Asinius Cn. F. Pollio abdicavit. In ejus locum fact. est P. Camidius P. F. Crassus.
- Im. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. iii. vir R. P. C. ovans quod pacem cum M. Antonio fecit.
- M. Antonius M. F. M. N. iii. vir R. P. C. ovans quod pacem cum Imp. Cæsare fecit.
- 39 L. Marcius L. F. C. N. Censorinus. C. Calvisius C. F. Sabinus.
- L. Marcius L. F. C. N. Censorinus Cos. ex Macedoniâ. An. dccxiii. K. Jan.
- C. Asinius Cn. F. Pollio Pro. Cos. ex Parthineis. An. dccxiii. K. Novemb.
- 38 Ap. Claudius C. F. Pulcher. C. Norbanus C. F. Flaccus.
- P. Ventidius P. F. Pro. Cos. ex Tauro monte et Partheis. An. dccxv. K. Decem.
- 37 M. Aimilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus } iii. viri R. P.  
 M. Antonius M. F. M. N. } C. \* ad prid.  
 Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. } K. Quinct.
- M. Agrippa L. F.
- L. Caninius L. F. Gallus abdicavit. In ejus loc. fact. est
- T. Statilius T. F. Taurus.
- 36 L. Gellius L. F. L. N. Poplicola abdicavit. In ejus loc. fact. est L. Munacius L. F. L. N. Plancus.
- M. Cocceius M. F. abdicavit. In ejus loc. fact. est P. Sulpicius P. F. Quirinus.
- Eodem anno,
- M. Aimilius M. F. M. N. Lepidus iii. vir R. P. C. ii. coactus a conlegâ Imp. Cæsare Divi F. abdicavit.
- Cn. Domitius M. F. M. N. Calvinus Pro. Cos. ex Hispaniâ. An. dccxvii. \* xvii. K. Sext.

B.C.

- Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. ii. iii. vir R. P. C. ii. ovans. Ex Siciliâ An. dccxvii. Idib. Novemb.
- 34 L. Serbonius L. F. Libo abdic. In ejus loc. fact. est. \* \* \* \* \*
- M. Antonius M. F. M. N. ii. abdic. In ejus loc. fact. est
- L. Sempronius L. F. L. N. Atratinus.
- Ex K. Julis
- Pullus Aimilius L. F. M. N. Lepidus C. Memmius.
- Ex K. Nov.
- C. Herennius.
- T. Statilius T. F. Taurus Pro. Cos. Ex Africa A. dccxix. Pridie K. Jul.
- C. Sosius C. F. T. N. Pro. Cos. Ex Judæa. An. dccxix. iii. Nonas Sept.
- C. Norbanus C. F. Flaccus Pro. Cos. Ex Hispaniâ. An. dccxix. \* iii. Id. Octob.
- 31 Eodem anno,
- Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. ex A. D. iiii. Non. Sept. victo ad Actium M. Antonio iii. viro R. P. C. ii. solus Remp. tenuit.
- 29 Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. v. Sex Appuleius Sex. F. Sex. N.
- Ex K. Julis
- Potitus Valerius M. F. M. N. Messalla.
- Ex K. Nov. C. Furnius.
- C. Flavius.
- Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. iii. Cos. v. de Pannonicis Dalmateis Iapudibus et Galleis viii. Id. Sext. An. dccxxiii.
- C. Carrinas C. F. Pro. Cos. de Morineis Gallis et Sueveis. An. dccxxiii. viii. Id. Sext.
- Imp. Cæsar D. F. C. N. iiii. Cos. v. ex Macedonia. An. dccxxiv. vii. Id. Sextil.
- Imp. Cæsar D. F. C. N. V. Cos. v. ex Egypto. An. dccxxiv. vi. Id. Sextil.
- L. Autronius P. F. Crassus ex Africa. An. dccxxiii. xvii. K. Septemb.
- Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. Augustus.
- M. Agrippa L. F. Lustrum fecerunt lxx.
- 28 Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. vi.
- M. Agrippa L. F.
- M. Licinius M. F. M. N. Crassus Pro. Cos. ex Traeciâ et Getheis. An. dccxxv. \* Nons. Jul.
- 27 Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. vii.
- M. Agrippa L. F.
- M. Valerius M. F. M. N. Messalla Corvinus Pro. Cos. ex Galliâ. An. dccxxvii. vii. K. Oct.
- 26 Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. Augustus viii.
- T. Statilius T. F. Taurus ii.
- Sex Appuleius Sex. F. Sex. N. Pro. Cos. ex Hispaniâ. An. dccxxvii. vii. K. Febr.
- 25 Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. Augustus viiii.
- M. Junius D. F. M. N.
- 24 Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. Augustus x.
- C. Norbanus C. F. C. N. Flaccus.
- 23 Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C. N. Augustus xi. abd. In ejus loc. fact. est L. Sestius P. F. Vibi. N.
- A. Terentius Varro Murena. In mag. mort. est.



- B.C.
- In E. L. F. E. *Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Cn. N. Piso.*  
*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. August. postq. Dictator appellatus E. Abdic. Tribun. Pot.*
- 22 *M. Claudius M. F. M. N. Marcell. Cæserin. L. Arruntius L. F. L. N.*  
*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Tribun. Potes-tatis.*  
*Censor L. Munatius L. F. L. N. Plancus.*  
*Paulus Aimilius L. F. M. N. Lepid. Lust. non fecerunt.*
- 21 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. ii.*  
*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus xii. In inseq. Ann. desig. erat. Non iniit. In E. L. F. E.*  
*Q. Aimilius M. F. Lepidus.*  
*M. Lollius M. F.*  
*L. Sempronius L. F. L. N. Atratinus Pro. Cos. ex Africâ A. dcccxxxii. iiii. Idus Octob.*
- 19 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Tribun. Pot. iiii.*  
*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus xii. In inseq. Ann. desig. erat. Non iniit. In E. L. F. E.*  
*Q. Lucretius Q. F. Vespillo.*  
*C. Sentius C. F. C. N. Saturninus ex K. Julis.*  
*M. Vinucius P. F.*  
*L. Cornelius P. F. Balbus ex Africa An. dcccxxxiv. vi. K. April.*
- 12 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xi.*  
*M. Valerius M. F. M. N. Messalla Barbatus Æmilianus. In Mag. mortuus E. In E. L. F. E.*  
*C. Valgius C. F. Rufus. Abdic. In E. L. F. E.*  
*C. Caninius C. F. C. N. Rebil. In Mag. M. E.*
- A.D.
- 8 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxx.*  
*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Trib. Pot. ix.*  
*M. Furius P. F. P. N. Camil.*  
*Sex. Nonius L. F. L. N. Quinctilian.*  
*Ex K. Jul.*  
*L. Apronius C. F. C. N.*  
*A. Vibius C. F. C. N. Habitus.*
- 9 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxxi.*  
*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi. N. Trib. Pot. x.*
- A.D.
- C. Poppæus Q. F. Q. N. Sabinus.*  
*Q. Sulpicius Q. F. Q. N. Camerinus.*  
*Ex K. Jul.*  
*M. Papius M. F. M. N. Mutilus.*  
*Q. Poppæus Q. F. Q. N. Secund.*
- 10 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. xxxii.*  
*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Trib. Pot. xi.*  
*P. Cornelius P. F. P. N. Dolabella.*  
*C. Junius C. F. M. N. Silanus Flam. Mart.*  
*Ex K. Jul.*  
*Ser. Cornelius Cn. F.*  
*Cn. N. Lentul. Malug. Flam. Dial.*
- 11 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxxiii.*  
*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Trib. Pot. xii.*  
*M. Aimilius Q. F. Q. N. Lepidus.*  
*T. Statilius T. F. T. N. Taurus.*  
*Ex K. Jul.*  
*L. Cassius L. F. \* N. Longinus.*
- 12 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxxiiii.*  
*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Tri. Pot. xiii.*  
*Germanicus Cæsar Ti. F. Augusti N.*  
*C. Fonteius C. F. C. N.*  
*Ex K. Julis.*  
*C. Visellius C. F. C. N. Varro.*  
*Ti. Cæsar Divi F. Divi N. Pro. Cos. de Illuriis Pannonicis Dalmateis et Germaneis. An. dcccxliv.*
- 13 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. xxxv.*  
*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Tr. Pot. xiiii.*  
*C. Silius P. F. P. N.*  
*L. Munatius L. F. L. N. Plancus.*
- 14 *Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. xxxvi.*  
*Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Tr. Pot. xv.*  
*Sex. Pompeius Sex. F.*  
*Sex. Appuleius Sex. F.*  
*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus. Ti. Cæsar Augusti F. Lustrum F. lxxi.*  
*Hoc anno Imp. Cæsar Augustus ante diem xiiii. K. Sept. Mort. E. Ti. Cæsar Augustus Imperium excepit.*

STEMMA CÆSARUM.

N.B.—The numbers refer to the explanations of the Pedigree in the Ninth Volume of Valpy's Classics (Tacitus), p. 269.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, 1. M. AURELIA, 2.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, DICTATOR, 3.  
*m.* Pompeia, 4. Cornelia, 5. Pompeia, 10. Calpurnia, 13.  
*m.* C. Octavius, 15.

Julia, 12.  
 Atia, 14.  
*m.* C. Octavius, 15.  
 A son, 8. A daughter, 9.  
 Octavia, 16.  
*m.* firstly M. Antonius, the triumvir, 31.  
 C. Claudius Marcellus, 17.

Marcella the younger, 27.  
*m.* M. Vipsanius Agrippa, 47. Antonius, 29.  
 Issue, 28. L. Antonius, 30.  
 M. Valerius Messala, 23.  
 M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, 24.  
*m.* Domitia Lepida, 25.

Domitia, 40.  
 Domitius Messala Barbatus, 24.  
 M. Agrippina, Germanicus, 93.  
 Domitia Lepida, 25.  
 M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, 24.  
 M. Junius Silanus, 41.

Domitia Lepida, 25.  
 M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, 24.  
 M. Junius Silanus, 41.  
 Domitia Lepida, 25.  
 M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, 24.  
 M. Junius Silanus, 41.

L. DOMITIUS NERO IMPERATOR VI. 35.  
*m.* Octavia, 36. Poppæa Sabina, 37. Statilia Messallina, 39.  
 Claudia Augusta, 38.

Germanicus Caesar, 81.  
*m.* Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa, 51.  
 Sons, 80.  
 Caius Caesar, 85.  
 Caius Caesar, 85.  
 Caligula IMP. IV. 86.  
 Nero Caesar, 82.  
*m.* Julia, the daughter of Drusus Caesar, 74.

Germanicus Caesar, 81.  
*m.* Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa, 51.  
 Sons, 80.  
 Caius Caesar, 85.  
 Caligula IMP. IV. 86.  
 Nero Caesar, 82.  
*m.* Julia, the daughter of Drusus Caesar, 74.

Germanicus Caesar, 81.  
*m.* Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa, 51.  
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Germanicus Caesar, 81.  
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 Sons, 80.  
 Caius Caesar, 85.  
 Caligula IMP. IV. 86.  
 Nero Caesar, 82.  
*m.* Julia, the daughter of Drusus Caesar, 74.

C. OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, IMPERATOR, 49.  
*m.* Clodia, 44. . . . Scribonia, 45. . . .  
 Who had issue previously by Tiberius Nero.

Julia, 46.  
*m.* Marcellus, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, 47. Imperator, 68.  
 Lucius Caesar, 48.  
*m.* Livia, sister of Germanicus, 71.

Julia, 46.  
*m.* Marcellus, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, 47. Imperator, 68.  
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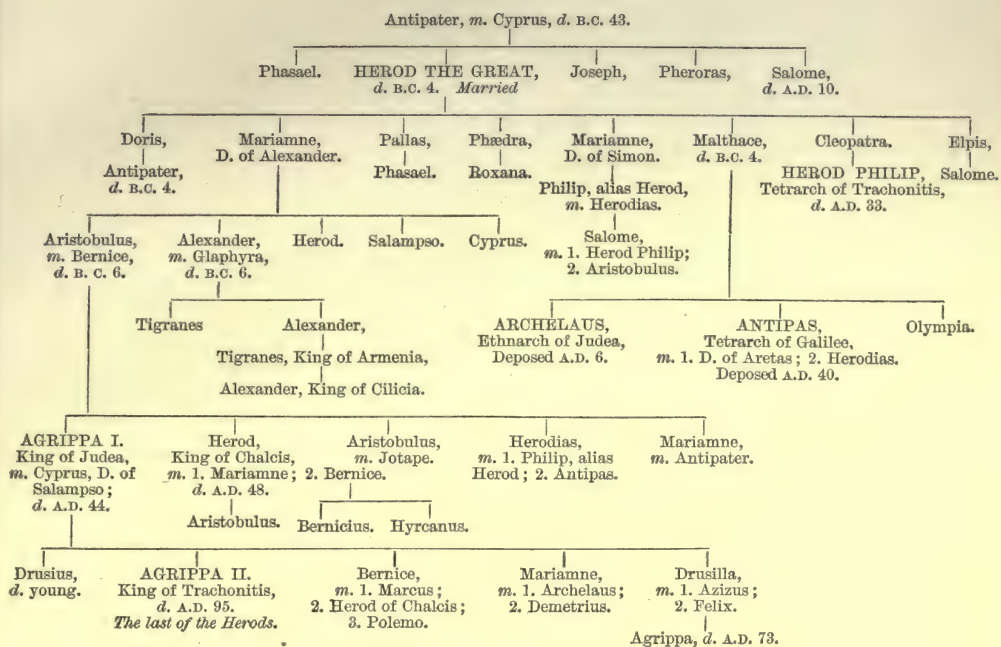
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*m.* Livia, sister of Germanicus, 71.



## THE FAMILY OF THE HERODS.







# INDEX.

N.B.—The Roman numbers refer to the pages of the Introduction. The Arabic numbers refer to the Tables and Appendix; the first number, where there are two, denoting the page, and the second the paragraph, and a single number denoting the page.

## ABA

**A** BAS, river of Albania, 6, 47.  
 Abdus and Sinnaces attempt to dethrone Artabanus, king of Parthia, 244, 1472.  
 Abia or Abijah, at what time, the course of, began its office, 109, 836. 115, 113. And xxviii.  
 Abias, king of Petra, 298, 1783.  
 Abijah, course of. *See* Abia  
 Abilene included in the kingdom of Lysanias, king of Chalcis, 8, 68.  
 — granted by Antony to Cleopatra, 64, 537.  
 — not included in the grant by Augustus to Herod, 90, 730.  
 — held by Lysanias the tetrarch, a descendant of Lysanias the king, 174, 1169.  
 — conferred on King Agrippa, 250, 1503. 271, 1619.  
 Acbar, king of Arabia, 281, 1731.  
 Achaia, one of the Senate's or People's provinces, 80, 666.  
 — transferred to the Emperor, 160, 1066.  
 — Poppeus Sabinus, prefect of, 216, 1361.  
 — restored to the people, 281, 1682.  
 — governed by a proconsul, quæstor, and legate, 145, 1009.  
 Achiabus a nephew of Herod, 129, 932.  
 Acra burnt, 360, 2151.  
 Acraba, chief city of one of the toparchies of Judæa, 147, 1413.  
 Acrabatene, a toparchy of Judæa, 147, 1013.  
 Aceras, a minion of Nero, 334, 1957. 339, 1990.  
 Acre taken by Tigranes, 3, 14.  
 Acte, a mistress of Nero, 304, 1819.  
 Actiad, reference to, as a measure of time, 77, 641.  
 Actian games founded or extended, 77, 641.  
 Actium, date of battle of, 72, 609.  
 Adiabene, Monobazus I. is king of, 255, 1525.  
 — Izates is king of, *ib.*  
 — sends hostages to Claudius and Artabanus, 272, 1628.  
 — restores Artabanus to his kingdom, 272, 1630.  
 — succeeded by Monobazus II., 329, 1935.  
 — invaded by Tigranes, *ib.*  
 Adria, Sea of, what it was, 322, 1900.  
 Advocates at Rome prohibited from taking fees, 96, 751.  
 — restricted to ten sestertia, 286, 1713.  
 Ægeæ overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093.  
 — Apollonius of Tyana is at, 160, 1072.  
 Ægeæ, Corbulo and Quadratus meet at, 305, 1824.  
 Ælia. *See* Jerusalem  
 Æneas. *See* Aretas  
 Ænon, where John baptized, site of, 184, 1209.

## AGR

— identified, 185, 1209.  
 — John the Baptist is at, 185, 1210.  
 Ænobarbus, Cn. D., the father of Nero, accompanies Caius to the East, 136, 964.  
 Afer, Dom., the advocate, dies, 318, 1878.  
 Afranius commands in Armenia, 5, 38.  
 — sent to Gordyene, 6, 50.  
 — to Mount Amanus, 7, 59.  
 —, army of, surrenders in Spain to Cæsar, 29, 248.  
 Afranius Burrhus. *See* Burrhus  
 Africa a senatorial and consular province, 80, 666.  
 — divided into two provinces, 263, 1572.  
 — war in, against Tacfarinas ends, 171, 1151.  
 Agabus comes to Antioch, 278, 1665.  
 — is at Cæsarea, 314, 1857.  
 Agrippa, Marcus, sent by Augustus to Siphus, 51, 449.  
 — summoned from Gaul to command the fleet, 56, 495.  
 — conducts the war against Antony, 50, 438.  
 — defeats Q. Nasidius, 72, 605.  
 — despatched from Actium to Italy, 73, 612.  
 — sent to command in Syria and the East, 86, 700.  
 — marries Augustus's daughter Julia, 89, 718.  
 — sent to Gaul and Spain, 93, 742.  
 — despatched to Syria, 96, 753, 754.  
 — visits Judæa, 97, 760.  
 — his expedition to the Black Sea, 97, 761 *et seq.*  
 — visits, with Herod Ephesus and Samos, 98, 764.  
 — grants privileges to the Jews, 98, 765.  
 — writes to Silanus, proconsul of Asia, 98, 766.  
 — takes Antipater, the son of Herod, to Rome, 99, 772 and 774.  
 — proceeds to Pannonia, 99, 774. 100, 776.  
 — dies, 100, 776.  
 Agrippa, Herod, king, the elder, grandson of Herod, is born, 103, 300.  
 — ordered to leave Rome, 215, 1359.  
 — retires to Malatha in Idumæa, 215, 1360.  
 — appointed ædile of Tiberias, 217, 1369.  
 — his intimacy with Caius, afterwards Caligula, 228, 1418.  
 — convicted of corruption before Flaccus, prefect of Syria, 228, 1424.  
 — sails to Rome, 245, 1482.  
 — imprisoned by Tiberius, but released by Caligula, and made king of Trachonitis, 250, 1503.  
 — how his reign is reckoned by Josephus, 280, 1678.  
 — sails for Judæa, 256, 1534. 257, 1535.  
 — mocked in effigy at Alexandria, 257, 1535.

## AGR

- returns from Judæa to Rome, 262, 1569.
- follows Caligula to Gaul, 263, 1578.
- intercedes with Caligula against the erection of his statue at Jerusalem, 266, 1599.
- rewarded by Claudius with Abilene and other territory, 271, 1619.
- sails for Judæa, 272, 1625.
- arrives at Jerusalem, 275, 1642 *et seq.*
- his usual residence there, 275, 1642.
- begins the outer walls of Jerusalem, 277, 1661.
- quarrels with Marsus, prefect of Syria, 277, 1662.
- persecutes the Christians, 279, 1670.
- beheads James, the brother of John, 279, 1671.
- and arrests Peter, 279, 1671.
- gives audience to the Tyrians and Sidonians, 280, 1676, 1677.
- his death, lxxix. And 280, 1678.
- Agrippa, king, the younger, educated at Rome, 281, 1678.
- made king of Chalcis, 288, 1726.
- becomes king of Trachonitis, &c., 299, 1788.
- how his reign is reckoned by Josephus, 289, 1726.
- levies forces against Parthia, 303, 1812. 305, 1824. 312, 1845.
- receives from the Romans Tiberias, Tarichea, Julias, and Abila, 305, 1823.
- ordered to attend on Corbulo, 305, 1824.
- hears Paul's defence, 320, 1897.
- raises his palace wall, 324, 1912.
- goes to Egypt to congratulate Tiberius Alexander, 343, 2004.
- tries to appease the Jews at the outbreak of the Jewish war, 344, 2016.
- goes with Vespasian to Ptolemais, 346, 2028.
- proceeds to Rome to congratulate Galba, 350, 2077.
- returns to Syria, 354, 2093.
- Agrippa, son of M. Agrippa and Julia, born, 100, 778.
- adopted by Augustus, 143, 994.
- thought to be mad and banished, 148, 1019.
- put to death by Tiberius, 158, 1055.
- Agrippa, Fonteius, prefect of Mœsia, 349, 2071.
- Agrippa, pseudo, appears in Gaul, 162, 1083.
- Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, sails from Syria to Rome, 166, 1116.
- enters Rome with the ashes of Germanicus, 167, 1124.
- her death, 228, 1421.
- Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, marries Domitius, 173, 1168.
- marries Claudius, 289, 1728.
- recalls Seneca from banishment, 289, 1729.
- her influence at Rome, 303, 1808.
- ejected by Nero from the palace, 304, 1821.
- her life attempted by Nero, her son, 317, 1868.
- assassinated by him, 317, 1871.
- games in honour of her memory, 317, 1875.
- Agrippina, sister of Caligula, banished, 263, 1576.
- restored, 272, 1626.
- Ain-et-Tin, a fountain in Gennesaret, 190, 1230.
- Ἀκολουθεῖ μοι, sense of, in the Gospels, 180, 1190.
- Alabarch, the governor of the Jews at Alexandria, so-called, 301, 1801.
- Alabauda reduced by Labienus, 51, 441.
- Albani, Oreses, king of, subdued by Pompey, 6, 46.
- Zober, king of, conquered by Canidius Crassus, 63, 535.
- Albanum, a town to which Augustus resorted, 86, 704.
- Albinus appointed procurator of Judæa, 327, 1929.
- arrives at Alexandria, 328, 1933.
- reaches Judæa, 328, 1933.
- succeeded by Gessius Florus, 334, 1961.

## AMB

- Albius, a river of Germany, 145, 1004.
- Alchaudonius, an Arabian chief, 39, 339.
- Alchedamus, an Arabian chief, 39, 339.
- Aletus, M., sent to Proconsular Asia on the occasion of the great earthquake, 163, 1094.
- Alexander, son of Aristobulus, sent to Rome, but escapes by the way, 10, 82.
- prevails against Hyrcanus, 13, 113.
- surrenders to Gabinius, 13, 115.
- again disturbs Judæa, 15, 131.
- again defeated by Gabinius on Mount Tabor, 15, 131.
- put to death, 30, 255.
- Alexander, son of Herod the Great, sent to be educated at Rome, 85, 695.
- brought back from Rome, 95, 747.
- marries Glaphyra, 96, 752.
- calumniated to Herod, 98, 768. 99, 772.
- invested with nominal royalty, 102, 795.
- accused by Herod to Augustus, 110, 844.
- tried before Herod, 113, 857.
- put to death, 114, 863.
- his children betrothed, 114, 866.
- Alexander, Tiber., made procurator of Judæa, 285, 1701.
- his character, 287, 1719.
- recalled, 287, 1719.
- accompanies Corbulo to Parthia, 332, 1948.
- becomes prefect of Egypt, 343, 2004.
- Alexander, son of Cleopatra and Antony, 68, 570.
- spared by Octavius, 76, 638.
- Alexander, king of Emesa and Arethusa, 73, 618.
- Alexander, a pretended son of Herod, 132, 954.
- Alexandra, queen of Judæa, sends an embassy to Tigranes, 1, 5.
- her death, 2, 10.
- Alexandra, daughter of Aristobulus, marries Ptolemy Mennæi, 30, 255.
- Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, asks the high-priesthood for her son, 64, 539.
- meditates flight but discovered, 67, 558.
- plots against Herod, 73, 613.
- put to death, 78, 659.
- Alexandria in Egypt, date of capture of, 76, 635.
- mockery of king Agrippa at, 257, 1537.
- outbreak against the Jews at, 257, 1537.
- peace restored by Claudius at, 271, 1625.
- Jews of, send embassy under Philo to Rome, 258, 1539.
- the envoys follow Caligula to Campania, 260, 1557.
- hear there of Caligula's despatch to Petronius, 260, 1559.
- their first audience, 259, 1551.
- their final audience, 267, 1600.
- Alexandria, by Issus, subject to Antiochus, king of Commagene, 250, 1505.
- Alexandrium, 8, 72, 73.
- Alexas sent by Antony on an embassy to Herod, 73, 616.
- put to death, 75, 631.
- Alexas, minister of Herod, liberates the chiefs imprisoned by Herod in the Hippodrome, 125, 916.
- Aliturus, an actor in time of Nero, 333, 1950.
- Allienus, A., sent by Dolabella to Egypt, 42, 363.
- joins Cassius in Judæa, 45, 383.
- Alpheus, same person as Cleophas, 182, 1198.
- Amanus, Mount, is cleared of bandits, 26, 214.
- Ambiani, or people of Amiens, 15, 136. 18, 149.
- Ambivius, Marcus, procurator of Judæa, 150, 1033.
- succeeded by Annus Rufus, 155, 1047.



## AMB

- Ambleteuse, one of Cæsar's ports, 16, 138.  
 Amiens, capital of the Ambiani, 15, 136.  
 Amisus visited by Pompey, 6, 51, 10, 86.  
 Amphipolis visited by Paul and Silas, 294, 1766.  
 Amphitheatre built by Herod at Jericho, 81, 672.  
 Amwās, the ancient Emmaus, one of the toparchies of Judæa, 147, 1013.  
 Amyntas deserts from Brutus to Octavius, 48, 415.  
 — made king of Pisidia, 55, 480.  
 — and of Galatia, 65, 551.  
 — raises forces for Antony, 72, 607.  
 — confirmed king of Galatia by Octavius, 73, 618.  
 — his death, 82, 675, 83, 676.  
 Ἀναλήψις, sense of, in Luke, 221, 1390.  
 Ananelus, highpriest, 65, 541, 67, 560.  
 Ananias and Sapphira, death of, 243, 1465.  
 Ananias (son of Nebedæus), highpriest, 286, 1715.  
 — sent to Rome, 296, 1775.  
 — returns to Judæa, 298, 1781.  
 — orders St. Paul to be smitten, 315, 1862.  
 — his great influence, 331, 1943.  
 — assassinated, 343, 2010.  
 Ananias of Damascus restores St. Paul's sight, 37, 1517.  
 Ananus, son of Seth, highpriest, 148, 1022.  
 — removed from the highpriesthood, 161, 1074.  
 Ananus, son of Annas, is sent to Rome bound, 296, 1775, 298, 1781.  
 — returns to Jerusalem, *ib.*  
 — highpriest, 327, 1930.  
 — causes James the Just and other Christians to be stoned, 327, 1931.  
 — deposed, 328, 1932.  
 Aneyra, Monument of, 377.  
 Andrew, St., a disciple of the Baptist, 176, 1174.  
 — tells Peter of the Messiah, 179, 1189.  
 — called to be an Apostle, 191, 1235.  
 Anileus, tetrarch of Babylonia, 164, 1097.  
 — poisons his brother Asinæus, 241, 1457.  
 — takes Mithridates prisoner and releases him, 241, 1457.  
 — slain in a battle with Mithridates, 243, 1464.  
 Anjar, the ancient Abila, 8, 68.  
 Annas made highpriest, 131, 952, 218, 1375.  
 — with Caiaphas, 174, 1170.  
 — Our Lord is brought before him, 233, 1440.  
 Annus Rufus, procurator of Judæa, 160, 1073.  
 — succeeded by Valerius Gratus, *ib.*  
 Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin, xxix. And 109, 837.  
 Anteius, P., prefect of Syria, 304, 1822.  
 Anthon given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639.  
 — laid in ruins, 343, 2011.  
 Ἀνθύπατοι, the prefects of the people's or senate's provinces, so called, 80, 666.  
 Antiochia besieged by the Parthians, 25, 211.  
 Antigonus (son of Aristobulus) sent to Rome, 10, 82.  
 — escapes from Rome, 14, 127.  
 — protected by Ptolemy Mennæi, 30, 255.  
 — exerts himself to become king of Judæa, 47, 403, 404.  
 — made king by the Parthians, 52, 453.  
 — cruelty of, to Hyrcanus, 52, 454.  
 — opposed by Herod, 55, 485 *et seq.*  
 — surrenders to Herod and Sosius, 62, 528.  
 — put to death by Antony, 62, 528.  
 Antioch in Pisidia visited by St. Paul, 285, 1703.  
 Antioch in Mygdonia or Nisibis taken by Lucullus, 4, 22.  
 Antioch in Syria besieged by the Parthians, 25, 208.  
 — siege abandoned, 25, 210.  
 — taken by the Parthians, 51, 440.

## ANT

- the Gospel preached there, 273, 1632.  
 — Christians first so called at, 278, 1665.  
 — sends alms to the Church at Jerusalem, 279, 1669.  
 — Olympic games instituted at, 282, 1685.  
 Antiochus Eupator besieges Bethsura in a sabbatic year, 68, 525.  
 — relieves the Acra from the siege by Judas Macca-bæus, xx.  
 — makes peace with him, *ib.*  
 Antiochus Asiaticus, last king of Syria, deposed by Pompey, 6, 52.  
 Antiochus Sides, campaign of, against the Parthians, xxxix.  
 — besieges Hyrcanus the elder in Jerusalem, 51, 525.  
 Antiochus I., king of Commagene, is subdued by Pompey, 6, 49.  
 — attacked by Ventidius, 57, 500.  
 Antiochus II., king of Commagene, put to death, 78, 653.  
 Antiochus III., king of Commagene, dies, 163, 1088.  
 Antiochus IV. king of Commagene, 250, 1505.  
 — deposed, 251, 1505.  
 — restored to Commagene with Cilicia Aspera, 271, 1622.  
 — subdues the Clitæ, 298, 1784.  
 — levies forces against Parthia, 303, 1812, 305, 1824, 312, 1845.  
 — invades Armenia, 312, 1847.  
 Antipater, father of Herod, marches against Aristobulus, 5, 40.  
 — sent to Pompey, 8, 65.  
 — assists Gabinius on his way to Egypt, 14, 128.  
 — has great influence at Jerusalem, 15, 131.  
 — joins Mithridates in succouring Cæsar, 33, 286.  
 — accused at Antioch before Cæsar, 34, 298.  
 Antipater, son of Herod, banished, 95, 748.  
 — recalled, 98, 768.  
 — accompanies Herod to meet Agrippa, 99, 771.  
 — goes with Agrippa to Rome, 99, 772.  
 — invested with nominal royalty, 102, 795.  
 — is looked upon as Herod's heir, and tries to conciliate the people, 114, 865.  
 — begins a system of terror, 118, 875.  
 — conspires against Herod, 118, 876.  
 — writes to his friends at Rome to summon him thither, 120, 888.  
 — sails to Rome, 121, 890.  
 — nominated Herod's successor, *ib.*  
 — sends Bathyllus from Rome to poison Herod, 121, 891.  
 — his guilt discovered, 121, 894.  
 — returns to Judæa, 122, 899.  
 — condemned in council, 123, 901.  
 — put in bonds, *ib.*  
 — attempts to escape and put to death, 125, 913.  
 Antipater Archon at Athens, 284, 1697.  
 Antiphilus, employed by Antipater to poison Herod, 122, 897.  
 Antistius accused, 326, 1918.  
 — besieges Bassus in Apamea, 39, 338.  
 Ἀντιστράτηγοι, the prefects of the imperial provinces so called, 80, 666.  
 Antonia educates Caius, 228, 1418.  
 — dies, 255, 1523.  
 Antonia, Fort, occupied by Antigonus, 62, 528.  
 — taken by the Jews, 343, 2008.  
 — taken by Titus, 359, 2136.  
 — razed, 359, 2138.  
 Antonius, Julius, proconsul of Asia, 98, 766.  
 Antonius, C., appointed to Macedonia, 42, 360.  
 Antonius, Lucius, triumph of, 49, 427.

## ANT

- Antonius, M., sent by Gabinius against Antigonus, 14, 127.
- master of the horse to Cæsar, 33, 284.
  - appointed to Macedonia, 42, 359.
  - exchanges Macedonia for Cisalpine Gaul, 42, 360, 364.
  - prepares for war against Octavius, 42, 361.
  - opposed by the senate, 44, 368.
  - besieges Decimus Brutus in Mutina, 44, 369.
  - defeated at Mutina, 44, 370.
  - joins Lepidus, 44, 371.
  - forms a triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus, 44, 376.
  - proceeds to Asia, 48, 417.
  - his favour to Herod and the Jews, 48, 418, 419.
  - puts down the tyrannies of Cassius in Syria, 49, 424.
  - is in Greece, 49, 430.
  - at Ephesus, 49, 430.
  - in Cilicia with Cleopatra, 49, 431.
  - at Antioch, 49, 433.
  - in Egypt, 51, 443.
  - sails to, and besieges, Brundisium, 51, 446, *et seq.*
  - comes to terms with Octavius, 52, 457, 458.
  - marries Octavia, the sister of Octavius, 53, 459.
  - his unpopularity, 53, 460.
  - changes the consuls, 54, 472.
  - negotiates with S. Pompey at Baiæ, 54, 475; and Misenum, 54, 476.
  - returns to Rome, 54, 478.
  - proceeds to Greece, 54, 479.
  - lingers at Athens, 56, 488.
  - assumes title of Imp. Iterum, 56, 488 a.
  - summoned by Octavius to Rome, 56, 492.
  - besieges Samosata, 57, 501.
  - leaves Samosata for Italy, 57, 505.
  - aids Octavius in Italy against Sextus Pompey, 58, 512, 514.
  - returns to Syria, 58, 515.
  - sends for Cleopatra, 63, 536.
  - invests her with dominions, 63, 537.
  - marches against Media, 65, 543 *et seq.*
  - makes a disastrous retreat, 65, 548.
  - returns to Egypt, 65, 550.
  - negotiates with the king of Armenia, 67, 556.
  - invades Armenia, 67, 564.
  - takes Artavasdes, king of Armenia, prisoner, 68, 568.
  - returns to Egypt, 68, 569.
  - joins the king of Media against Phraates, king of Parthia, 69, 574, *et seq.*
  - goes to Greece, 69, 579.
  - war between Antony and Octavius, 70, 583.
  - at Ephesus, 70, 588.
  - at Athens, 70, 589.
  - at Coreyra, 70, 590.
  - winters at Patræ, 70, 590.
  - advances to Actium, 71, 598.
  - allies of, 71, 600.
  - defeated at Actium, 72, 609.
  - flies to Peloponnesus, and thence to Egypt, 73, 610.
  - sends Alexas to Herod, 73, 616.
  - sends embassies to Octavius in Asia, 75, 623 *et seq.*
  - defeated by C. Gallus, 75, 628.
  - advances to Alexandria, and defeated, 76, 634.
  - his death, 76, 636.
- Antyllus, son of Antony, is sent by him to Octavius, 75, 625.
- put to death, 76, 638.
- Apamea razed by Pompey, 8, 68.
- occupied by Cæcilius Bassus, 39, 338.

## ARC

- taken by the Parthians, 61, 440.
- Apicata, wife of Sejanus, 215, 1358.
- Ἄριστος, sense of, as distinguished from Ἐκ, 180, 1190, 217, 1370.
- Ἀπογραφαί, ordered by Augustus, 102, 796. *See* Census.
- Apollo, Temple of, dedicated at Rome, 78, 657.
- Apollonia, in Macedonia, visited by Paul and Silas, 294, 1766.
- Apollonia, in Illyricum, taken by Cæsar, 30, 261.
- Apollonia Dia overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093.
- Apollonius (of Tyana) educated at Tarsus, 152, 1041.
- at Ægæ, 160, 1072.
  - visits Greece, 322, 1904. 324, 1910, 1911.
  - visits Parthia, India, and Babylon, 282, 1686, 285, 1702.
  - comes to Rome, 341, 2000.
  - at Messene in Sicily, 350, 2078.
  - passes into Greece, *ib.*
  - sails to Egypt, 356, 2109.
  - visits Ethiopia, 361, 2160.
  - congratulates Titus on capture of Jerusalem, *ib.*
- Apostles, the Twelve, ordained, 198, 1266.
- preach and work miracles, 203, 1289.
- Appius, Lucullus's ambassador, arrives at Antioch, 1, 4.
- wins over Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, 1, 6.
- Aquila, comes to Corinth, lxi. 295, 1773. 297, 1778.
- meets St. Paul there, 297, 1778.
  - goes to Ephesus, 300, 1792, 1794.
- Arabia. *See* Petra.
- visited and surveyed by Caius, son of Augustus, 138, 968.
  - extent of the word, 254, 1518.
- Archelais, given by Augustus to Salome, 131, 951.
- bequeathed by her to Livia, 177, 1179.
- Archelaus I., priest of Comana, 7, 56.
- marries Berenice of Egypt, 13, 110.
  - his death, 15, 130.
- Archelaus II., the son, priest of Comana, 35, 305.
- deprived of the priesthood, 35, 305.
- Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, son of Archelaus II., priest of Comana, 7, 56.
- made king of Cappadocia by Antony, 66, 551.
  - confirmed king of Cappadocia by Octavius, 73, 618.
  - invested with the Lesser Armenia, 90, 727.
  - escorts Herod to Zephyrium, 101, 792.
  - marries his daughter Glaphyra to Herod's son, Alexander, 96, 752.
  - reconciles Herod to his sons, 105, 815.
  - escorted by Herod to Antioch, where he is reconciled to M. Titius, 105, 816.
  - sends an embassy to Herod, 110, 843.
  - not summoned to the trial of Herod's sons, 113, 857.
  - receives back his daughter Glaphyra, 114, 864.
  - marries Pythadoris, 137, 966 a.
  - summoned to Rome, 160, 1070.
  - his death, 162, 1087.
- Archelaus, son of Herod, recalled by Herod from Rome, 121, 891.
- appointed Herod's successor, 125, 914.
  - greeted as king, 126, 917.
  - this circumstance referred to by St. Matthew, 128, 926.
  - goes up to the Temple, 126, 920.
  - his violence, 126, 922.
  - sails to Rome, 128, 927.
  - his audience before Augustus, 129, 941 *et seq.*
  - made ethnarch of Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, 130, 948.
  - returns to Jerusalem, 131, 952.



## ARC

- how the years of his reign computed, x. xiii. And 146, 1011.
- appoints Eleazar high-priest, *ib.*
- subdues Athronges, 135, 957 a.
- accused and banished, 146, 1011.
- Archelaus, son of Helcias, marries Mariamne, sister of King Agrippa, ii. 299, 1789.
- Archive at Jerusalem burnt, 360, 2151.
- Archons of Athens, 11, 98. 12, 102. 284, 1697. 301, 1798. 306, 1829 a. 338, 1982.
- Aretas I., king of Petra, 5, 40. 6, 43.
- attacked by Pompey, 8, 73. 9, 75. 10, 84.
- Aretas II., 110, 840.
- confirmed king by Augustus, 111, 846.
- accuses Syllæus at Rome, 121, 892.
- sends auxiliaries to Varus, 129, 936.
- daughter of, flies from her husband, Herod Antipas, to Arabia, 185, 1213, 1214.
- hostilities between him and Herod, 226, 1414.
- Vitellius ordered to make war upon, 249, 1498.
- Vitellius abandons the war, 251, 1507.
- possession of Damascus by, 256, 1533.
- name of a Greek form of the Arabic Hareth, 175, 1173.
- Arethusa, Jamblichus I. king of, 25, 206.
- who sends aid to Cæsar in Egypt, 33, 286.
- and is put to death by Antony, 72, 606.
- Alexander king of, 73, 618.
- Jamblichus II., 90, 727.
- Sampsigeramus I., 90, 727.
- Sampsigeramus II., 271, 1624. 277, 1662.
- Azizus, 299, 1789. 301, 1800.
- Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, 49, 425.
- deposed by Antony, 66, 551.
- put to death, 66, 551.
- Ariobarzanes I., king of Cappadocia, dethroned by Tigranes, 7, 57.
- restored by Pompey, 7, 57.
- Ariobarzanes II., 7, 57. 28, 239. 31, 269.
- put to death by Cassius, 48, 409. 31, 269.
- Ariobarzanes, king of Armenia, 141, 984.
- Aristarchus, king of Colchis, 7, 55.
- Aristarchus, the companion of St. Paul, 320, 1899.
- Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus, defeats Hyrcanus, and succeeds him as high-priest, 2, 11.
- attacked by Hyrcanus and Antipater, 5, 40.
- sends ambassadors to Scaurus, 5, 42.
- besieged in Jerusalem, 6, 43.
- sends ambassadors to Pompey, 8, 65, 71.
- retires to Alexandria, 8, 72.
- surrenders to Pompey, 9, 76.
- sent to Rome, 10, 82.
- length of reign of, 10, 83.
- escapes from Rome, 14, 127.
- defeated, and sent again to Rome, 14, 127.
- liberated by Cæsar, 29, 247.
- taken off by poison, *ib.*
- Aristobulus, son of Alexandra, is put forward by his mother for the high-priesthood, 64, 539.
- sent for by Antony, 65, 541.
- made high-priest by Herod, 65, 542.
- drowned by Herod, 67, 560.
- Aristobulus, Herod's son, sent to be educated at Rome, 85, 695.
- recalled from Rome, 95, 747.
- marries Berenice, 96, 752.
- calumniated to Herod, 98, 768.
- invested with nominal royalty, 102, 795.
- Herod's charge against, 110, 844 *et seq.*
- trial and death of, 113, 857 *et seq.*
- betrothal of children of by Herod after his death, 114, 866.

## ART

- Aristobulus, brother of King Agrippa, intercedes for the Jews concerning Caligula's statue, 262, 1569.
- Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, appointed king of Armenia Minor, 305, 1823.
- receives part of Armenia Proper, 319, 1887.
- Armenia under Tigranes, 1, 4.
- supervised by Africanus, 5, 38.
- under Artavasdes, 5, 34. 50, 239.
- conquered by Antony, 68, 568.
- by the Parthians, 69, 580.
- conferred by Augustus on Tigranes, brother of Artavasdes, 91, 734.
- on his death is ruled by another Tigranes, a nominee of the Parthians, 112, 850, 852.
- ceded by the Parthians to the Romans, 140, 975.
- visited by Caius, son of Augustus, 141, 984.
- who places Ariobazanes on the throne, 141, 984.
- subject to Erato as queen, 162, 1078.
- to Vonones, 162, 1078.
- to Zeno, or Artaxias, appointed by Germanicus, 164, 1102.
- to Arsaces, son of Artabanus, 242, 1461.
- invaded by the Iberi, at the instigation of Tiberius, 244, 1474, 1475.
- again invaded by the Iberi under Mithridates, who is placed on the throne, 276, 1651. 278, 1664.
- but who is defeated and put to death by Rhadamistus, 292, 1752. 293, 1754.
- in possession of the Parthians, and Tiridates is king of, 303, 1811.
- under Tigranes, a nominee of the Romans, 319, 1886.
- invaded by the Parthians, 329, 1935.
- conferred on Tiridates, 332, 1948. 338, 1987 *et seq.*
- Armenia Minor subject to Deiotarus, 7, 53.
- to Polemo, 69, 579.
- to Medus, 90, 727.
- to Archelaus, 90, 727.
- to Cotys, 256, 1533.
- to Aristobulus, 305, 1823. 319, 1887.
- Arminius defeated by Germanicus, 159, 1064. 162, 1079.
- Arruntius, L., detained at Rome from his province of Spain, 241, 1456.
- Arsaces succeeds Artaxias as king of Armenia, 227, 1414. 242, 1461.
- Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, 23, 188.
- opposes Cæsar, 33, 290.
- death of, 49, 432.
- Artabanus, king of Media, becomes king of Parthia, 161, 1077.
- conciliates Asinæus and Anilæus, 165, 1105.
- places his son Arsaces on the throne of Armenia, 227, 1414. 242, 1461.
- conspiracy against, 244, 1472 *et seq.*
- difficulties of, 244, 1474 *et seq.*
- flies to Hyrcania, 244, 1478.
- returns to Parthia, 246, 1486.
- comes to terms with Vitellius, 246, 1487 *et seq.*
- submits himself to Caligula, 254, 1519.
- ejected and flies to Izates, 272, 1630.
- restored by Izates, 272, 1630.
- death of, 275, 1648.
- Artabanus II., son of Artabanus I., assassinated, 275, 1648.
- Artabazus, an aspirant to the throne of Parthia, 139, 974.
- Artabazus. *See* Artaxias.
- Artagera, a town of Armenia, where Caius Cæsar was wounded, 142, 988.
- Artavasdes succeeds Tigranes as king of Armenia, 5, 34. 28, 239.

## ART

Artavasdes an ally of Antony against Parthia, 65, 543.  
 — taken prisoner by Antony, 68, 568.  
 — put to death, 68, 569.  
 Artaxata taken by the Iberi, 244, 1475.  
 — by Corbulo, 312, 1849.  
 Artaxerxes, decree of for the restoration of Jerusalem, xliii. And 238, 1444.  
 Artaxes. *See* Artaxias.  
 Artaxias, son of Artavasdes, is king of Armenia, 69, 580.  
 — otherwise called Artaxes, Artabazus, and Artavasdes, 91, 734.  
 — assassinated, 91, 734.  
 Artaxias, *alias* Zeno, son of Polemo I., 137, 966 a.  
 — becomes king of Armenia, 164, 1102.  
 — death of, 242, 1461.  
 Artoes, king of the Iberi, 6, 46.  
 Asander, king of Bosphorus, 35, 304.  
 — death of, 96, 755.  
 Ascension of Our Lord, 239, 1448.  
 'Αρεβέλα, laws of, abolished, 270, 1618.  
 Asia, what so called by the Romans, 11, 95.  
 — a senatorial and also a consular province, 80, 666.  
 — meaning of, in Luke, 294, 1763.  
 — earthquakes in, 100, 779. 163, 1093.  
 — proconsuls of, Flaccus, 11, 95. Quintus Cicero, 12, 105. Thermus, *ib.* Silanus, 98, 766. C. Norbanus Flaccus, *ib.* Julius Antonius, *ib.* C. Marcus Censorinus, *ib.* M. Lepidus, 169, 1131. C. Silanus, 169, 1140. Lucilius Capito, 169, 1137. Fonteius Capito, 171, 1152. M. Lepidus, 172, 1158. C. Cassius, 267, 1602. Junius Silanus, 302, 1806. Publius Celer, 307, 1832. 310, 1838. Publ. Sullius, 312, 1850. Manius Acilius Aviola, *ib.* Lucius Vetus, 336, 1975. Barea Soranus, 336, 1977. Fonteius Agrippa, 349, 2071.  
 'Ασιαρχαί, the presidents at the Ephesian games so called, 309, 1838.  
 Asinæus and Anilæus set up for themselves in Babylonia, 164, 1097.  
 — the former made Satrap of Babylonia, by Artabanus, 165, 1105.  
 — and poisoned by the wife of Anilæus, 241, 1457.  
 Asmonean princes, duration of dynasty of, 62, 528.  
 Aspis, Pompey winters at, 8, 66.  
 Aspurgiani capture Polemo I. king of Pontus, 137, 966.  
 Assizes in the Roman provinces, 27, 219 *et seq.*  
 Astrologers expelled from Rome, 68, 571. 162, 1080. 295, 1774.  
 Astrology, Tiberius devoted to, 228, 1419.  
 Astura, Augustus taken ill at, 157, 1052.  
 Astures in Spain rebel, 82, 674.  
 — subdued, 84, 685.  
 Ategua taken by Cæsar, 38, 328.  
 Athenion treacherously attacks Herod, 70, 593.  
 Athens taken by Cæsar's general, 33, 282.  
 — visited by Brutus and Cassius, 42, 358.  
 — favoured by Antony, 49, 430. 164, 1099.  
 — receives an increase of territory from him, 48, 422.  
 — mulcted by Octavius, 89, 720.  
 — visited by St. Paul, 294, 1762-72.  
 Athronges sets himself up as king on death of Herod, 129, 935.  
 — subdued by Archelaus, 135, 957 a.  
 Atrebatæ, the people of Arras, 15, 136.  
 Attalia, St. Paul embarks at, 285, 1706.  
 Attalus, king of Paphlagonia, 7, 55.  
 — death of, 50, 435.  
 Attalus, king of Pergamus, bequest of his kingdom by, to Rome, 11, 95.

## AUG

Audiences, public, heard by Augustus, and then by consular presidents, 145, 1010.  
 August, why the month so called, 106, 824.  
 Augusta, Paphos so called, 97, 759.  
 Augustalia, the games so called, 93, 743. 101, 785. 106, 823.  
 Augustani, Nero's band of adulators so called, 318, 1877.  
 Augustus, Caius Octavius Cæsar, birth of, 10, 88. 37, 321.  
 — accompanies Cæsar to Spain, 37, 321.  
 — educated at Apollonia, 41, 354.  
 — hastens on death of Cæsar to Rome, 42, 355.  
 — defeats Antony and saluted Emperor I., 44, 370.  
 — thwarted by the senate, but prevails against them, 44, 372, 373.  
 — enters into the Triumvirate, 44, 376.  
 — present at the battle of Philippi, 48, 414.  
 — returns to Italy, 48, 417.  
 — repulsed from Nursia and Sentinum, 49, 428.  
 — master of Italy, 50, 436.  
 — proceeds to Gaul, 50, 438.  
 — returns to Italy, 51, 448.  
 — comes to terms with Antony at Brundisium, 52, 457.  
 — returns to Rome, 53, 459 *et seq.*  
 — captivated by Livia, and divorces Scribonia, 54, 473.  
 — comes to terms with Pompey in Campania, 54, 476 *et seq.*  
 — returns to Rome, 54, 478.  
 — proceeds to Gaul, 54, 479.  
 — marries Livia, 56, 491.  
 — at war with S. Pompey, 56, 492.  
 — goes to Rhegium, 56, 494.  
 — renews the triumvirate, 58, 513.  
 — prosecutes the war against S. Pompey, 63, 531.  
 — promotes Mæcenas, 63, 532.  
 — defeats S. Pompey, 63, 533.  
 — ejects Lepidus from the triumvirate, 53, 534.  
 — sails to Sicily, 67, 557.  
 — intends to invade Britain, but prevented, 67, 563.  
 — consul for a few hours only, 69, 573.  
 — prepares for war with Antony, 70, 587.  
 — consul for part of the year, 71, 594.  
 — sails to Coreyra, 71, 598.  
 — to Actium, 71, 598.  
 — battle of Actium, 72, 609.  
 — saluted Emperor VI., 73, 609 a.  
 — sails to Athens and Asia, 73, 612.  
 — winters at Samos, 73, 612.  
 — settles various states, 73, 618.  
 — consul for part of the year, 74, 620.  
 — crosses to Brundisium, 74, 621.  
 — returns to Asia, *ib.*  
 — sails along the coast of Asia, 75, 623.  
 — has an interview with Herod at Rhodes, 75, 629.  
 — passes by way of Syria to Egypt, 75, 631.  
 — takes Pelusium, 76, 633.  
 — master of Alexandria, 76, 635.  
 — reduces Egypt to a province, 76, 640.  
 — founds Nicopolis in Egypt, 76, 641.  
 — institutes the Actian games, 77, 641.  
 — returns to Antioch in Syria, 77, 642.  
 — winters in Asia, 77, 643.  
 — makes terms with Phraates, king of Parthia, 77, 644.  
 — returns to Italy, 77, 647.  
 — celebrates three triumphs, 77, 648.  
 — shuts the temple of Janus, 77, 649.



## AUG

- settles the Roman constitution, and assumes the title of Emperor, 78, 651.
- consul for the whole year, 78, 656.
- dedicates the Temple of Apollo, 78, 657.
- completes a census, 78, 658.
- assumes the title of Augustus, 79, 661.
- accepts the supreme power for ten years, 79, 662.
- divides the Roman provinces between himself and the senate, 79, 665.
- again intends passing into Britain, but prevented, 81, 667.
- consul for the whole year, 81, 668.
- at Tarraco in Spain, 81, 668.
- consul for the whole year, 82, 673.
- again meditates an expedition to Britain, but prevented, and goes to Spain, 82, 674.
- shuts the Temple of Janus the second time, 83, 678.
- marries his daughter Julia to Marcellus, 83, 679.
- returns from Spain to Rome, 84, 684.
- recovers from an illness, 85, 698.
- receives the tribunitian power for life, 86, 699.
- retires to Albanum, 86, 704.
- conspired against by Murena, 88, 711.
- dedicates the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, 88, 712 a.
- visits Sicily, 88, 713.
- Greece, 89, 720.
- crosses to Samos, 89, 721.
- traverses Asia and Bithynia, 89, 724.
- visits Syria, xxii. And 90, 726.
- regulates the subject countries, 90, 727 *et seq.*
- sails to Samos, where he winters, 92, 739.
- proceeds to Rome, 93, 741, 743.
- receives a renewal of the supreme power for five years more, 93, 744.
- adopts Caius and Lucius as his sons, 95, 749.
- sets out for Gaul, 96, 753.
- returns to Rome, 99, 770.
- succeeds Lepidus as Pontifex Maximus, 99, 775.
- is at Milan, Ravenna, and Aquileia, 101, 787.
- hears Herod's accusation against his sons, and reconciles them, 101, 790.
- gives Julia in marriage to Tiberius, 102, 798.
- visits Gaul, 103, 801.
- returns to Rome, 103, 802.
- absent from Rome on New-year's Day, 105, 811.
- pronounces funeral oration over Drusus, 105, 813.
- enters Rome, 106, 819, 820.
- receives supreme power for ten years more, 106, 820.
- proceeds to Gaul, 106, 821.
- returns to Rome, 107, 827.
- refuses Herod's envoy an audience, 108, 835.
- threatens to treat Herod as a subject, *ib. et seq.* See 111, 847.
- authorises Herod to try his sons, 110, 846.
- whether he made a general census of the Roman empire, 116, 871.
- hears Archelaus and his opponents on the death of Herod, 129, 941 *et seq.*
- distributes Herod's dominions, 130, 948.
- styled Pater Patriæ, 136, 960.
- celebrates a naval fight and games, 136, 961.
- dedicates the Temple of Mars, 136, 961.
- receives supreme power for ten years more, 142, 986 *et seq.*
- makes a census of Italy, 144, 986.
- conspiracy against, 144, 997.
- hears causes personally, 145, 1010.
- at Ariminum, 149, 1024.
- orders all Gauls to quit Rome, 150, 1032.
- accepts the empire for five years more, 156, 1048.
- death of, 157, 1053.

## BAT

- duration of reign of, 158, 1053.
- Aulon, the plain of the Jordan between the Lake of Tiberias and Dead Sea, 175, 1171. 178, 1182.
- Auranitis formerly belonged to Ptolemy Menneï and his son Lysanias, 64, 537.
- included in the grant by Antony to Cleopatra, *ib.*
- farmed out to Zenon, or Zenodorus, *ib.*
- conferred by Augustus on Herod, 85, 696.
- and on his death on Herod Philip, 130, 950.
- and on his death attached to the province of Syria, 240, 1454.
- Aviola, M. Acilius, proconsul of Asia, 312, 1850.
- Azizus marries Drusilla, 299, 1789.
- wife of, elopes, 301, 1800.
- succeeded by Sohemus, 305, 1823.
- Azotus given, on death of Herod, to Salome, 131, 951.
- taken by Vespasian, 347, 2051.

**B**BABAS, sons of, betrayed to and slain by Herod, 81, 671.

Babylon, flight of Jews from, 243, 1464.

— insurrection in, 267, 1603.

— still a city A.D. 40, *ib.*

Bætica, one of the people's or senate's provinces, 80, 666.

— governed by a prætor, quæstor, and legate, 145, 1909.

Bagoas, one of Herod's eunuchs, 119, 884.

Balbillus, C., prefect of Egypt, 304, 1822.

Banai, a recluse like John the Baptist, 303, 1814. 174, 1171.

Baptism of Our Lord, date of, lii.

Barabbas, an insurrectionist against the Romans, and imprisoned, 225, 1407.

— released, 235, 1441. 237, 1441.

Barnabas sent by the Apostles to Antioch, 276, 1653.

— seeks Paul in Tarsus, 278, 1665.

— with Paul takes the alms of the Antiochian Church to Jerusalem, 279, 1669.

— returns to Antioch, 279, 1673.

— makes a circuit with Paul, 284, 1695.

— at Lystra, &c., 285, 1703 *et seq.*

— returns to Antioch, 285, 1706.

— sojourns there, 287, 1721.

— sent with Paul to Jerusalem on the question of the circumcision, 288, 1722.

— commences a second circuit with Silas, 290, 1738.

— goes up again with Paul to Jerusalem, 301, 1795.

Barsabas. See Judas.

Bartholomew, a disciple of the Baptist, 176, 1174.

Barzaphernes, the Parthian general, invades Syria, 51, 440.

Βασιλικός of Capernaum, 189, 1227.

Bassus, Cæcil, left by Cæsar in Syria with one legion, 35, 302.

— attempts to possess himself of Syria, 38, 325, 326.

— takes Tyre, 38, 326.

— procures the assassination of Jul. S. Cæsar, *ib.*

— besieged in Apamea, 39, 338. 43, 366.

— refuses to join Cassius, 45, 382.

Batanea included in the grant by Antony to Cleopatra, 64, 537.

— farmed out to Zenon, or Zenodorus, *ib.*

— granted to Herod, 85, 696.

— on his death to Herod Philip, 130, 950.

— annexed to Syria, 240, 1454.

Bathyllus sent from Rome by Antipater to poison Herod, 121, 891.

— arrives at Jerusalem, 122, 897.

Bathyra, a town on the borders of Batanea and Trachonitis, 117, 874.

## BAU

Baulos, the palace of Nero in Campania, 317, 1869.  
 Beautiful gate of the Temple, what it was, 240, 1452.  
 Bebriacum, battle of, 353, 2088.  
 Bellovaci, a people of Gaul, 15, 136.  
*Bévero*, a faction of Antioch, 263, 1579.  
 Berenice, queen of Egypt, marries Seleucus, and then Archelaus, priest of Comana, 13, 110. 14, 126.  
 — who is slain, 15, 130.  
 Bericus. *See* Vericus.  
 Bernice, daughter of Salome, marries Aristobulus, son of Herod, 96, 752.  
 Bernice, daughter of King Agrippa, 281, 1678.  
 — marries Polemo II., 301, 1801.  
 — deserts him, *ib.*  
 — pays a visit of ceremony to Festus, 320, 1897.  
 — hears St. Paul's defence, 320, 1898.  
 Bethabara, situation of, 179, 1185.  
 Bethany, etymology of, 217, 1371.  
 Betharamath, identical with Julius in Peræa, 204, 1295.  
 Bethesda, miracle at the Pool of, 196, 1256.  
 — situation of, 197, 1258.  
 Bethhoron, defeat of Cestius at, 344, 2022.  
 Bethlehem, the Nativity at, 115, 869.  
 — visit of the Magi to, 119, 881.  
 — murder of the Innocents at, 119, 885.  
 — population of, 120, 886.  
 — not the domicile of Joseph, 128, 926.  
 Bethleptephene, one of the Toparchies of Judæa, 147, 1013.  
 Bethsaida, or Julius, founded by Herod Philip, xiv.  
 — situation of, 191, 1231. 206, 1311.  
 Bethsura besieged by Antiochus Eupator in a Sabbatic year, xx. And 60, 525.  
 Bibulus, Marcus, prefect of Syria, 23, 190.  
 — at Ephesus, 25, 201.  
 — arrives in Syria, 25, 201, 204.  
 — suffers losses at Mount Amanus, 26, 215.  
 Bibulus, L. Calpurnius, prefect of Syria, 67, 555.  
 Billeting, practice of by the Romans, 26, 218.  
 Bithynia, what comprised in the province of, 160, 1068.  
 — one of the people's or senate's provinces, 80, 666.  
 — Cadius Rufus, proconsul of, 290, 1734.  
 — Tarquinius Priscus, proconsul of, 324, 1907.  
 Boadicea, revolt of, in Britain, 323, 1905.  
 Bosphorus, kingdom of under Pharnaces, 7, 55.  
 — Asander, 35, 304.  
 — Scribonius, 96, 755.  
 — Polemo I., 97, 761.  
 — subject to kings appointed by the Romans, 137, 966 a.  
 — conferred on Polemo II., 256, 1533.  
 — on Mithridates, 271, 1623.  
 — who is dethroned, 289, 1733.  
*Βουλή*, number of at Tiberias, 147, 1013.  
 Boulogne, the Portus Itius or Iccius of Cæsar, 15, 137.  
 Brethren of Our Lord, who were, 181, 1196.  
 — at what time converted, 239, 1449.  
 Breviarium of the empire kept by Augustus, 117, 871.  
 Britain invaded by Cæsar, 15, 134 *et seq.* 19, 162 *et seq.*  
 — thrice intended to be invaded by Augustus, 67, 563. 81, 667. 82, 674.  
 — conquered by Claudius, 274, 1641. 277, 1659, 1660.  
 — death of King Agrippa at the feast for celebrating the conquest of, by Claudius, lxx. And 280, 1676.  
 — under Suetonius Paulinus as proprætor, and Catus Decianus as procurator, 323, 1905.  
 — under Petronius Turpilianus as prefect, and Julius Classicianus as procurator, 324, 1906.

## CÆS

— revolt of, under Boadicea, 323, 1905.  
 Britannicus, son of Claudius, born, 270, 1616.  
 — poisoned by Nero, 304, 1820.  
 Britannicus, a title assumed by Claudius, 279, 1668.  
 Brixellum, battle of, 353, 2088.  
 Brutus, M. Jun., appointed by Cæsar to the province of Macedonia, 42, 356.  
 — leaves Rome for Campania, and thence proceeds to Athens, 42, 357.  
 — quits Athens for Macedonia, 45, 379.  
 — visits Eubœa, Thessaly, and Epidamnus, 45, 380.  
 — proceeds to Asia, *ib.*  
 — meets Cassius at Smyrna, and proceeds to Lycia, 47, 407.  
 — conquests of, in Lycia, 48, 410.  
 — meets Cassius in Asia, when both hasten to Macedonia, 48, 411.  
 — they advance to Philippi, and are defeated, 48, 413.  
 — death of, 48, 416.  
 Burial, time of, in Judæa, 126, 918. 218, 1374. 238, 1445.  
 Burning of the dead prohibited with fifteen furlongs from Rome, 56, 490.  
 — of the Rabbins at the stake by Herod, 124, 905.  
 Burrhus Afranius is appointed sole prefect of the Prætorium, 292, 1750.  
 — tries to check Nero, 303, 1808.  
 — summoned by Nero to Campania, 317, 1870.  
 — obliged to attend the Juvenalia, 317, 1876.  
 — has charge of St. Paul when prisoner at Rome, 325, 1916.  
 — death of, 326, 1919.  
 — error of Dion as to time of death of, 327, 1928.  
 Burrhus, secretary for Greece, 320, 1894.  
 Byblus freed from Cinyras, the tyrant, by Pompey, 8, 69.  
 CÆSAR, CAIUS JULIUS, elected Pont. Max., 10, 89.  
 — made prætor, 11, 96.  
 — employed in Spain, 11, 100.  
 — in Gaul, 13, 112.  
 — appointed to the province for five years, 14, 124.  
 — prepares for an expedition against Britain, 15, 134 *et seq.*  
 — marches in Morinos, 15, 136.  
 — assembles his forces at Portus Itius or Iccius, 15, 137.  
 — departs for and arrives off Britain, 16, 139 *et seq.*  
 — landing of, 16, 143 *et seq.*  
 — returns to Gaul, 17, 148.  
 — proceeds to Cisalpine Gaul, and thence to Illyricum, 18, 158.  
 — returns to Cisalpine Gaul, *ib.*  
 — orders the forces in Gaul to rendezvous at Portus Itius or Iccius, 19, 159.  
 — marches against the Treviri, 19, 160.  
 — returns to Portus Itius or Iccius, 19, 161.  
 — leaves Labienus to defend the ports, and sets sail again for Britain, 19, 162 *et seq.*  
 — encounters the Britons at Wye, 20, 166.  
 — crosses the Thames, 21, 174.  
 — takes the capital of Cassivelaunus, 21, 176.  
 — camp of, on the seashore assaulted, 21, 177.  
 — quits Britain and sails to Gaul, 21, 178.  
 — holds a council at Amiens, 21, 179.  
 — date of departure of, from Britain, 22, 180.  
 — at Ravenna, 29, 242.  
 — passes the Rubicon, &c., 29, 243.



## CÆS

- pursues Pompey to Brundisium, 29, 244.
- left Rome, when, 29, 245.
- returns to Rome, 29, 246.
- despatches Aristobulus to Syria, 29, 247.
- hastens to Spain and reduces Pompey's generals, 29, 248.
- returns from Spain, 29, 249.
- created Dictator, *ib.*
- arrives at Rome, 29, 250.
- starts for Brundisium, 29, 250.
- for Illyricum, 29, 251.
- wins Oricum and Apollonia, 30, 261.
- shuts up Pompey in Dyrrhachium, 30, 263.
- marches to Thessaly, 30, 264, 265. 31, 267.
- battle of Pharsalia, 31, 269.
- crosses to Asia, 32, 275, 276.
- sails to Rhodes and Alexandria, 32, 276.
- intrenches himself in the palace in Egypt, 32, 279.
- swims to his ship, 32, 280.
- created Dictator ii., 33, 284.
- releases Ptolemy, who is slain in a skirmish, 33, 289.
- confers kingdom of Egypt on Cleopatra, 33, 290.
- recovers Alexandria, 33, 291.
- sails about Egypt with Cleopatra, 33, 292.
- length of stay of, in Egypt, 34, 295.
- proceeds to Syria, 33, 294,
- at Antioch, 34, 296, 298.
- confirms Hyrcanus as high-priest, 34, 298.
- appoints Julius Sextus Cæsar governor of Syria, 35, 302.
- defeats Pharnaces at Zelea, 35, 303.
- returns to Italy, 35, 306, 307.
- appoints ten prætors, 36, 308.
- crosses into Africa, 36, 309.
- created Dictator iii., 36, 311.
- gains battle of Thapsus, 36, 312.
- returns to Rome, 36, 313.
- appointed Dictator for ten years, 36, 314.
- reforms the calendar, 36, 316.
- lives with Cleopatra at Rome, 37, 319.
- passes into Spain against Cn. Pompey, 37, 321.
- Dictator iv., 38, 327.
- takes Ategua in Spain, 38, 328.
- gains the battle of Munda, 38, 329.
- returns to Rome and triumphs, 38, 330, 331.
- appointed Dictator for life, and Consul for ten years, 39, 332.
- resigns the sole consulship, 39, 334.
- Dictator v., 40, 340.
- restores Carthage and Corinth, 40, 344.
- allows the walls of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, 41, 345.
- proposes to drain the Pontine marshes, 41, 346.
- appointed to conduct the Parthian war, 41, 347.
- resigns the consulship in favour of Dolabella, 41, 348.
- is deified, 41, 349.
- assassinated, 41, 350.
- Cæsar, Caius Octavius. *See* Octavius.
- Cæsar, Julius Sextus, appointed governor of Syria, 35, 302.
- appoints Herod captain-general of Syria and Samaria, 38, 323.
- assassinated by Bassus, 38, 326.
- Cæsar, Caius, son of Agrippa, born, 92, 740.
- adopted by Augustus, 95, 749.
- introduced to the army, 106, 822.
- consul designatus, 111, 848.
- receives the toga virilis, 120, 889.
- present at the hearing of Archelaus before Augustus, xiii. And 129, 943.

## CAL

- appointed to the command of the East, 136, 962 *et seq.*
- visits Greece, 136, 966.
- visits Egypt, the Red Sea, and Arabia, 138, 967, 968.
- sails along the coast of Syria, and refuses to worship at Jerusalem, 138, 969.
- winters at Samos, 138, 970.
- enters upon his consulship at Samos, 139, 973.
- advances into Syria, 139, 973.
- makes peace with Phraates, 139, 975.
- reconciled to Tiberius, 140, 979.
- permits Tiberius to return to Rome, 140, 980.
- victories of, in Armenia, 141, 984.
- hears of the death of Lucius, 142, 985.
- wounded at Artagera, 142, 988.
- loses his energy, 142, 989.
- recalled by Augustus, 142, 990.
- dies en route at Limyra in Lycia, 143, 991.
- Cæsar, Luc., birth of, 95, 749.
- assumes toga virilis, 135, 959.
- death of, 141, 962.
- Cæsar, Tiberius. *See* Tiberius.
- Cæsar, Caius. *See* Caligula.
- Cæsar, Claudius. *See* Claudius.
- Cæsar, Nero. *See* Nero.
- Cæsarea, built by Herod, 83, 681.
- date of completion of, xxii. And 103, 805.
- outbreak against the Jews, 343, 2006.
- feast at, for the conquest of Britain by Claudius, 279, 1674.
- Cæsarea Philippi, built by Herod Philip, 131, 953.
- Cæsarion, son of C. J. Cæsar by Cleopatra, 68, 570.
- put to death, 76, 638.
- Cæsius Cordus proconsul, 169, 1132.
- Cæsonia marries Caligula, 263, 1577.
- Caiaphas appointed highpriest, 163, 1096.
- spoken of as highpriest with Annas, 174, 1170.
- counsels the death of Jesus, 218, 1375.
- meeting at the house of, against Jesus, 231, 1438.
- has custody of Jesus during the night which preceded the Crucifixion, 233, 1440.
- removed, 249, 1496.
- Calendar—
- Jewish, 363 and 341, 2003.
- Jewish calendar for A.D. 70, 358, 2117.
- Syro-Macedonian, 364. *Attic, ib.* *Roman, ib.*
- reformation of, by Cæsar, 36, 316 *et seq.*
- Calenus, general of Cæsar, takes Athens, 33, 282.
- Caligula, Caius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, born, 155, 1045.
- pronounces the funeral oration over Livia, 176, 1176.
- resides with Tiberius at Caprææ, 228, 1418.
- appointed quæstor, 228, 1422.
- marries Claudia, daughter of M. Silanus, 244, 1470.
- becomes emperor, 250, 1501.
- follows the body of Tiberius from Campania to Rome, 250, 1502.
- releases Agrippa, and appoints him king of Trachonitis, 250, 1503.
- is consul, 254, 1520.
- suffers from illness, 254, 1521.
- marries Cornelia Orestina, 255, 1526.
- restores old form of electing magistrates, 255, 1529.
- makes a voyage to Sicily, 256, 1531 a.
- drives Macro and his wife to commit suicide, 255, 1530.
- marries Lollia Paulina, 256, 1521.
- divorces her, *ib.*
- redistributes the eastern provinces, 256, 1533.

## CAL

- titles assumed by, 259, 1548.
- consul for thirty days, 259, 1549.
- retires to Campania, 259, 1550.
- receives the Alexandrian embassy, 259, 1551.
- insults the senate, 259, 1552.
- altar of, demolished by the Jews at Jamnia, 259, 1553.
- visits Mevania, and designs to invade Germany and Britain, 260, 1556.
- retires to Campania, 260, 1557.
- enraged at the insult to his altar by the Jews, and resolves to erect his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem, 260, 1558.
- constructs a bridge from Baulos to Puteoli, 260, 1560.
- gives audience to Herod Antipas at Baia, 260, 1561.
- banishes Herod Antipas, 261, 1561. 265, 1592.
- puts him to death, 261, 1562.
- is at Rome on his birthday, 262, 1570.
- does away with popular elections, 263, 1571.
- starts for Gaul, 263, 1573.
- marches beyond the Rhine and to the coast opposite Britain, 263, 1574.
- exhibits games at Lyons, 263, 1575.
- banishes Agrippina and Julia, 263, 1576.
- marries Caesonia, 263, 1577.
- at Lyons on 1 January, A.D. 40. 265, 1588, 1589.
- consul for twelve days, 265, 1591.
- designs visiting Egypt, 266, 1594.
- puts Ptolemy (Juba's son) to death, 266, 1595.
- marches to the coast opposite Britain, 266, 1596.
- returns to Rome, 266, 1598.
- orders a colossal statue of himself to be made at Rome for erection in the Temple at Jerusalem, 267, 1599.
- dismisses the Alexandrian embassy, 267, 1600.
- plans the construction of a port at Rhegium, 268, 1604.
- consul till 7 January, A.D. 41, 269, 1611.
- not at Rome on 1 January, A.D. 41, 269, 1612.
- writes to Petronius to make away with himself, 269, 1613.
- assassinated, 269, 1614.
- Callirhoe, now Zerk Ma'in, hot spring at, 125, 907.
- Calvary, site of, 237, 1441.
- Camulodunum, now Colchester, 274, 1641.
- taken by Claudius, 277, 1660.
- Cana of Galilee, site of, 181, 1193.
- marriage feast at, lii. And 180, 1191.
- Cananite, meaning of the word, 181, 1192.
- Canatha, Herod defeated by the Arabians at, 70, 593.
- Candace invades Egypt, 84, 690.
- Canidius Crassus conquers the Iberi and Albani, 63, 535.
- Caninius, a consul suffectus, 136, 961.
- Cantabri, in Spain, revolt of, 82, 673. 84, 685.
- Capernaum, etymology and site of, 190, 1230.
- the home of Our Lord at, 193, 1243. 200, 1276.
- Capito, Cossutianus, accusation against as prefect of Cilicia, 307, 1832.
- Capito, Erennius, procurator of Jamnia, 245, 1482.
- hostility of, to the Jews, 259, 1553.
- Capito, Fonteius, proconsul of Asia, 171, 1152.
- accused for maladministration and acquitted, 171, 1155.
- Capito, Lucilius, proconsul of Asia, 169, 1137.
- accused for maladministration and acquitted, 171, 1149.
- Capitol, the new, commenced, 357, 2114.
- Cappadocia given by Pompey to Ariobarzanes I., 5, 35.
- who is succeeded by Ariobarzanes II., 7, 57.
- subject to Ariarathes, 49, 425.
- to Archelaus, 66, 551.

## CEN

- supervised by the prætor of Cilicia, 24, 191.
- becomes a Roman province, 162, 1087.
- Q. Veranius is legate of, 165, 1103.
- Julius Pelignus is legate of, 293, 1758.
- Caprinus Secundus sent to Asia by Nero, 334, 1957.
- Caractacus, son of Cunobelin, is defeated by A. Plautius in Britain, 274, 1641.
- sent to Rome, 291, 1744.
- Carthage restored by Cæsar, 40, 344.
- Carus put to death by Herod, 119, 884.
- Casium, the scene of the death of Pompey, 31, 273.
- Casperius, a Roman centurion in Armenia, 292, 1753.
- Cassius, C., saves Syria from the Parthians, 23, 185.
- surprises the Parthians by an ambush, 25, 211.
- takes Taricheæ, 26, 213.
- superseded by Bibulus as governor of Syria, 23, 186.
- appointed by Cæsar to the province of Syria, 42, 356.
- takes part in the assassination of Cæsar, 41, 350.
- quits Rome for Campania, 42, 356.
- sails to Greece and visits Athens, 42, 358.
- quits Athens for Syria, 45, 379.
- wins over Tarcondimotus, king of the Cilician Highlands, and is master of Tarsus, 45, 381.
- wins over seven legions in Syria, 45, 383.
- enters Judæa, 45, 383.
- obliges Allienus to join him, 45, 383.
- imposes tribute on Judæa, 45, 384.
- blockades Dolabella in Laodicea, 46, 395.
- crosses over to Cyprus, 46, 395.
- takes Laodicea, 46, 397.
- proceeds to Tarsus and thence to Smyrna, where he has an interview with Brutus, 46, 400.
- proceeds to Rhodes, 47, 407.
- defeats the Rhodians, 48, 408.
- puts Ariobarzanes II. to death, 48, 409.
- meets Brutus in Asia, 48, 411.
- advances with Brutus to Philippi, 48, 413.
- death of, 48, 414.
- Cassius, C., proconsul of Asia, 267, 1602.
- Cassivelaunus, generalissimo of the Britons against Cæsar, 21, 171.
- capital of, taken, 21, 176.
- makes terms with Cæsar, 21, 178.
- Castor, a king of Paphlagonia, 50, 435.
- Castra Scelerata, so called from the death of Drusus, 105, 813.
- Cataline, conspiracy of, 10, 87.
- slain, 11, 90.
- Cato sent to Cyprus to eject Ptolemy, 12, 107.
- at Rhodes, 12, 108.
- has an interview there with Ptolemy Auletes, ex-king of Egypt, 13, 110.
- returns from Cyprus to Rome, 14, 123.
- Catti send an embassy to Rome, 291, 1742.
- Cattle, when stalled, and when turned out, in Judæa, 115, 869.
- Celenderis, in Cilicia, fortified by Cn. Piso, 166, 1117.
- Celer, Domitius, sent to Syria by Piso, 166, 1114, 1115.
- lands at Laodicea, but has no success, 166, 1115.
- Celer, the tribune, ordered to Rome, 296, 1775.
- condemned, 298, 1781.
- Celer, Publius, assassinates Junius Silanus, 302, 1806.
- accusation against, 307, 1832.
- Celts ordered to leave Rome, 150, 1032.
- Cenchrea, St. Paul shaves his head at, 300, 1792.
- Cennata, a city subject to Polemo, 55, 480.
- Cenotaphium Pisanum, 376.
- Censorinus left by Antony to command in Greece, 49, 430.
- Censorinus, C. M., proconsul of Asia, 98, 766.
- prefect of Syria, 134, 955.
- death of, 140, 977.



## CEN

- Census commonly led to disturbances, 115, 867.  
 — of Herod's dominions ordered, 109, 835.  
 — at the birth of Christ, xxiv. And 115, 869, 870, 871.  
 — of Cyrenius, 148, 1021.  
 — of Roman empire generally at the birth of Christ, 116, 871.  
 — in Italy, 144, 996.  
 — of Roman citizens. *See* Lustrum.  
 Cerealis slaughters Samaritans on Mount Gerizim, 346, 2037.  
 Cernus, river, crossed and recrossed by Pompey, 6, 46, 47.  
 Cestius Gallus is prefect of Syria, 334, 1962.  
 — advances to Judæa, 344, 2013.  
 — attacked by the Jews, 344, 2014.  
 — occupies part of Jerusalem, 344, 2018.  
 — assaults the Temple, 344, 2020.  
 — retires to Scopus, *ib.*  
 — and thence to Gabao, 344, 2021.  
 — and thence to Bethhoron, where he suffers a loss, 344, 2022.  
 Chæreas assassinates Caligula, 269, 1614.  
 Chain of St. Paul, 325, 1916.  
 Chalcis, now called Anjar, 8, 68.  
 — subject in time of Pompey to Ptolemy Mennæi, *ib.*  
 — then to his son Lysanias, 51, 439.  
 — then to Cleopatra, 63, 537.  
 — conferred on Herod, the brother of King Agrippa, 271, 1621.  
 — and after his death on Agrippa II., 287, 1720, 288, 1726.  
 Chaldei, Jews so called by the Romans, 295, 1774.  
 Chapters, the division of New Testament into, the cause of confusion, 198, 1267. 199, 1270. 218, 1376.  
 Chatti subdued by Drusus, 103, 802.  
 Chersa. *See* Gergesa.  
 Cherusci defeated by Germanicus, 162, 1079.  
 Chloe, a member of the Corinthian Church, 308, 1835.  
 Chillaam, said to be a corruption of Julham, or Julius's Town, 21, 172.  
 Chorazin, site of, now called Kerâzeh, 191, 1232.  
 Christianity makes an impression at Rome, 286, 1714.  
 — confounded with magic, and Statilius Taurus perhaps a convert, 299, 1786.  
 — and perhaps Pætus and Soranus, 339, 1990.  
 — Pomponia Græcina a convert to, 307, 1831.  
 Christians hold their meetings in an upper room, 239, 1449.  
 — small number of at Jerusalem, 240, 1450.  
 — 5,000 converted at one time, 240, 1452.  
 — persecution of, in the time of Stephen, 252, 1513.  
 — Samaritans become, 258, 1543.  
 — persecuted by King Agrippa, 279, 1670.  
 — have rest, 268, 1607. 270, 1618.  
 — when first called Christians, 278, 1665.  
 — persecuted by Ananus at Jerusalem, 327, 1931.  
 — by Nero, after the fire at Rome, 333, 1956.  
 — edicts at Rome against, 341, 2000.  
 Cicero, M. T. (the orator), banished, 12, 106.  
 — recalled, 13, 119.  
 — appointed proconsul of Cilicia, 23, 189 *et seq.*  
 — journey of, to and from Cilicia, and operations there, 23, 191—28, 240.  
 — promulgates a code of laws for the province, 24, 200.  
 — saluted Imperator, 26, 314.  
 — death of, 44, 377.  
 Cicero, Quintus, brother of the orator, is proconsul of Asia, 11, 95.  
 — enters third year of proconsulship of Asia, 12, 105.

## CLA

- a legate in Cæsar's army, 18, 158.  
 Cicero Quintus, the orator's son, has an interview with Cæsar at Antioch, 34, 297.  
 Cicero M., the orator's son, is consul suffectus, 76, 637.  
 — prefect of Syria, 79, 660.  
 Cilicia subject to Tigranes, but taken from him by Lucullus, 3, 18.  
 — what it comprised in the time of Cicero, 23, 191.  
 — afterwards dismembered, *ib.*  
 Cilicia Amaniensis subject to Tarecondimotus I., 25, 206.  
 — to Tarecondimotus II., his son, 90, 727.  
 — to Philopater, 163, 1088.  
 — to Polemo II., 271, 1623.  
 Cilicia Aspera, part of, given to Polemo, 24, 191, 55, 480.  
 — and part to Cleopatra, 63, 537.  
 — and then to Amyntas, 73, 618. 82, 675.  
 — and on his death to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, 82, 675.  
 — on his death incorporated with the Roman province of Cilicia, 165, 1103.  
 — afterwards annexed to the kingdom of Commagene, 250, 1505.  
 — restored to Antiochus, king of Commagene, 271, 1627.  
 Cilicia Campestris, of which Tarsus was the capital, was formerly held jointly with Cyprus, 88, 712.  
 — then annexed to Syria, but governed by a separate proprætor, 24, 191. 132, 955. 160, 1071. 307, 1832.  
 Cilo, Junius, is procurator of Pontus, 290, 1734.  
 Cimber, Tilius, proconsul of Bithynia, and a partisan of Cassius, marches by way of Tarsus to Syria, 46, 396.  
 Cincius has the civil government of Syria, 331, 1946.  
 Cinnanus, sedition of, against Artabanus in Parthia, 272, 1630.  
 Cinyras, tyrant of Byblus, decapitated by Pompey, 8, 69.  
 Circumcision, the question of, as to heathen converts, 287, 1721 *et seq.*  
 — of Christ, 117, 872.  
 Circumvallation of Jerusalem by Titus, 359, 2129.  
 Cizicus deprived of its liberty by the Romans, 171, 1154.  
 Classicianus, Jul., is procurator of Britain, 324, 1906.  
 Claudia, island of, now Gozzo, 322, 1899.  
 Claudia, daughter of M. Silanus, marries Caligula, 244, 1470.  
 — death of, 255, 1526.  
 Claudius, Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, birth of, 103, 803.  
 — consul with Caligula, 254, 1520.  
 — succeeds Caligula, 270, 1615.  
 — enters the senate on the thirtieth day after, 270, 1617.  
 — abolishes the laws of *Ἄσβεβεια*, or Impietas, 270, 1618.  
 — assumption by, of large judicial powers, 303, 1810.  
 — restores the Jews to their privileges, 271, 1625.  
 — consul for two months, 274, 1635.  
 — builds Ostia, 274, 1639.  
 — conspired against by Vinicianus and Scribonianus, 274, 1640.  
 — consul for two months, 276, 1654.  
 — orders all prefects of provinces to quit Rome by the middle of April, 276, 1655.  
 — goes to Britain, 277, 1659, 1660.  
 — takes Camulodunum, or Colchester, 277, 1660.  
 — returns from Britain, 279, 1667, 1668.

## CLA

- called Britannicus, 279, 1668.
- feast at Cæsarea for safe return of, when King Agrippa is smitten by the hand of death, 279, 1674.
- restores Achaia and Macedonia to the people, 281, 1682.
- saluted many times Imperator, 283.
- orders prefects of provinces not to hold two prefectures continuously, 283, 1689.
- forewarns Rome of an eclipse of the sun, 284, 1696.
- Gallus conspires against, 285, 1699.
- intrigues of Messalina, the wife of, 285, 1700.
- consul for two months, 286, 1708.
- concludes a census, 287, 1716.
- puts Messalina to death, 287, 1717.
- marries Agrippina, 289, 1728.
- recalls Seneca, 289, 1729.
- adopts Nero, 291, 1740.
- consul for six months, 292, 1748.
- orders all Jews to quit Rome, 295, 1773.
- illness of, 302, 1802.
- death of, *ib.*
- Cleon, priest of Comana, 73, 618.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, is queen of Egypt jointly with her brother Ptolemy, 23, 188.
  - ejected by her brother from Egypt, 31, 268.
  - introduces herself to Cæsar, 32, 277.
  - restored by Cæsar, 33, 290.
  - sails about Egypt with him, 33, 292.
  - has a child by him, 33, 293, 68, 570.
  - lives in Cæsar's palace at Rome, 37, 319.
  - meets Antony at Tarsus, 49, 431.
  - puts her sister Arsinoë to death, 49, 432.
  - tries to detain Herod on his way to Rome, 52, 456.
  - influence of, over Antony, 63, 536.
  - invested by Antony with Phœnicia, Chalcis, part of Arabia, the palm-groves of Jericho, Cyprus, Cyrene, and Cilicia Aspera, 63, 537.
  - accompanies Antony to the Euphrates, 65, 544.
  - aids Antony on his retreat, 65, 549.
  - invested by Antony with Coele-Syria, 68, 565.
  - children of, by Cæsar and Antony, 68, 570.
  - induces Antony to postpone his expedition to Media, 69, 576.
  - accompanies Antony to Ephesus in the war against Octavius, 70, 588.
  - induces Antony to send Herod against Malchus, 70, 591.
  - general of, defeats Herod, 70, 593.
  - is with Antony at the battle of Actium, 72, 609.
  - flight of, 73, 610.
  - death of, advised by Herod, 73, 615.
  - sends embassies to Octavius in Asia, 75, 623 *et seq.*
  - death of, 76, 636.
- Cleopatra, daughter of Cleopatra by Antony, is invested nominally with Libya and Cyrene, 68, 570.
  - spared by Octavius, 76, 638.
  - marries Juba II., 76, 638.
- Cleophas, the same name as Alphæus, 182, 1198.
- Clitæ rebel against the Romans, 246, 1485.
  - revolt of, from Antiochus, king of Commagene, 298, 1784.
- Cocceius, Luc., a friend and envoy of Antony, 52, 458.
- Coele-Syria placed under Herod's command, 45, 385.
  - given to Cleopatra, 68, 565.
- Cælius appointed by Cicero to command in his absence in Cilicia, 27, 222.

## COI

## Coins of

- Agrippa, Herod, king of Judæa, 255, 1528. 264, 1587. 273, 1633. 338, 1983. 345, 2026. 348, 2061. 356, 2111.
- Alexandria, 140, 978 a. 148, 1016 a. 148, 1022 a. 149, 1026 a. 150, 1035 a. 151, 1038 a. 152, 1041 a. 155, 1047 a. 156, 1050 a. 159, 1062 a. 173, 1163 a. 216, 1361 a. 241, 1457 a. 273, 1632 a. 276, 1653 a. 278, 1666. 282, 1687 a. 284, 1698 a. 286, 1707 a. 295, 1772 a. 298, 1784 a. 301, 1798 a. 304, 1817 a. 307, 1829 a. 311, 1843 a. 316, 1867 a. 330, 1938 a. 332, 1948 a. 335, 1963 a. 338, 1983. 345, 2026. 348, 2061. 351, 2078 a. 357, 2111. 361, 2161.
- Antioch, liv. and 120, 888 a. 123, 902 a. 134, 956. 135, 958 a. 137, 966 b. 139, 972 a. 140, 978 a. 145, 1003 a. 148, 1016 a. 155, 1047 a. 156, 1050 a. 159, 1062 a. 161, 1076 a. 164, 1097 a. 241, 1457 a. 276, 1653 a. 284, 1698 a. 288, 1725 a. 307, 1829 a. 311, 1843 a. 316, 1867 a. 318, 1881 a. 323, 1904 a. 325, 1917 a. 330, 1938 a. 332, 1948 a. 345, 2026. 348, 2061. 351, 2078 a. 361, 2161.
- Antony, M., 47, 401 a. 50, 435 b. 54, 472 a. 56, 488 a. 63, 530 a. 66, 553 a. 67, 562. 69, 572 a. 74, 619 a.
- Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, 148, 1016 a.
- Archelaus, Ethnarch of Judæa, 134, 956.
- Augustus, 81, 667 a. 82, 672 a. 83, 683 a. 87, 709. 88, 717 a. 89, 723 a. 93, 740 a. 743 a. 95, 748 a. 96, 752 a. 757 a. 100, 783 a. 103, 800 a. 104, 810 a. 108, 832 a. 111, 847 a. 137, 966 b. 144, 997 a. 147, 1016 a. 148, 1022 b. 152, 1041 a. 156, 1050 a.
- M. J. Brutus, 43, 367 a.
- Cæsar, C. J., 38, 326 a. 40, 339 a. 43, 367 a.
- Caligula, 255, 1528. 259, 1548. 264, 1584 a. 268, 1610 a. 273, 1632 a.
- Cassius, C., 43, 367 a.
- Claudius, 273, 1632 a. 278, 1666. 282, 1687 a. 284, 1698. 286, 1707 a. 287, 1715 a. 290, 1739 a. 292, 1747 a. 295, 1772 a.
- Cotys, king of Bosphorus, 306, 1825 a. 318, 1881 a. 351, 2078 a.
- Cyprus under Cominius Proclus, 284, 1695.
- Damascus, 259, 1548.
- Galba, 350, 2078 a. 356, 2111.
- Herod the Great, 67, 562.
- Herod Antipas, 194, 1249. 202, 1284. 264, 1585, 1586. 268, 1610, and p. x.
- Herod Philip, 170, 1143. 194, 1250.
- Herod of Chalcis, 273, 1634. 279, 1666. 284, 1698.
- Judæa, 139, 972 a. 142, 990 a. 145, 1003 a. 150, 1035 a. 151, 1038 a. 152, 1041 a. 159, 1062 a. 161, 1076 a. 162, 1085 a. 167, 1123 a. 168, 1128 a. 169, 1134 b. 170, 1143. 171, 1152 a. 173, 1163 a. 295, 1772 a. 304, 1817 a. 317, 1867 a.
- Nero, 304, 1817 a. 306, 1825 a. 307, 1829 a. 311, 1843 a. 316, 1867 a. 318, 1881 a. 823, 1904 a. 325, 1917 a. 330, 1938 a. 332, 1948 a. 335, 1963 a. 340, 1996. 345, 2026.
- Otho, 356, 2111.
- Polemo I., 50, 435 a. 74, 619 a.
- Polemo II., 288, 1725 a. 299, 1784 a. 306, 1825 a. 307, 1829 a. 323, 1904 a. 325, 1917 a.
- Rhescuporis, king of Bosphorus, 194, 1250 a. 243, 1469 a.
- Seleucia, 164, 1097 a.
- Sinope, 87, 709. 97, 760 a. 105, 810 a. 259, 1548. 311, 1843 a. 318, 1881 a. 351, 2078 a.



## COI

- Coins of  
 — Tiberius, 151, 1038 a. 156, 1050 a. 159, 1062 a. 161, 1076 a. 162, 1085 a. 164, 1097 a. 165, 1105 a. 168, 1128 a. 169, 1134 b. 170, 1143. 171, 1149 a. 172, 1160 a. 176, 1175 a. 194, 1250 a. 202, 1284. 216, 1361 a. 143, 1469 a. 248, 1493 a.  
 — Vespasian, 356, 2111. 361, 2161.  
 — Vitellius, 356, 2111  
 Coins, note concerning inscriptions on, as to the title of consuls and imperators, 79 (note)  
 Colchester, the ancient Camulodunum, 274, 1641.  
 Colchis invaded by Pompey, 6, 47.  
 — under Aristarchus as king, 7, 55.  
 — under Polemo I., 65, 545.  
 — under Pythodorus, 137, 966 a.  
 Cold-water cure practised by Augustus, 85, 698.  
 Colossians, date of the Epistle to, 330, 1938.  
 Comana, Archelaus, priest of, 7, 56.  
 — then Archelaus, his son, *ib.*  
 — Lycomedes, 35, 305.  
 — Medeus, 73, 618.  
 — Cleon, *ib.*  
 — Dyteutus, *ib.*  
 Comet, B.C. 44. 41, 351.  
 — B.C. 43. 44, 374.  
 — B.C. 12. 100, 777.  
 — A.D. 54. 302, 1804.  
 — A.D. 60. 319, 1884.  
 — A.D. 64. 334, 1959.  
 — A.D. 69. 355, 2100.  
 Comitia usually held in latter half of the year, 11, 92.  
 — transferred from the people to the senate, 158, 1057.  
 — restored to the people, 255, 1529.  
 — transferred to the senate, 263, 1571.  
 Commagene, Antiochus, king of, 6, 49.  
 — Seleucia added to, 7, 54.  
 — invaded by Ventidius, 57, 500.  
 — Mithridates is king of, 57, 500.  
 — who was one of the allies of Antony at the battle of Actium, 71, 600.  
 — Antiochus II., king of, is put to death by Augustus, 78, 653.  
 — bestowed on Mithridates II., 90, 728.  
 — under Antiochus III., 163, 1088.  
 — made a Roman province, 165, 1104.  
 — given to Antiochus IV., 250, 1505.  
 — who is ejected by Caligula, but restored by Claudius, 271, 1622.  
 — and is entertained by King Agrippa, 277, 1662.  
 — and subdues the Clitæ, 298, 1784.  
 — and aids Corbulo against the Parthians, 305, 1824. 312, 1845.  
 — and reigned till A.D. 72. 251, 1505.  
 Confusion, year of, at the reformation of the calendar, 36, 316.  
 Conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces, 108, 834. 110, 839. 118, 878.  
 Conon archon at Athens, 306, 1830.  
 Consular provinces, meaning of, 13, 114.  
 — distributed by lot, 33, 283.  
 Consuls appointed for first time for fragments of years, 54, 474.  
 — the emperors designated as, in coins and inscriptions, 79.  
 — how appointed in time of Tiberius, 216, 1367.  
 Coponius, the first procurator of Judæa, 146, 1012.  
 — succeeded by M. Ambivius, 150, 1033.  
 Coptus, a town visited by Ælius Gallus in his retreat from Arabia, 87, 706.

## CRE

- Corban applied to relieve poor widows, 245, 1480.  
*See* Temple Tax.  
 Corbulo in Gaul and Germany, 286, 1709.  
 — appointed to conduct the Parthian war, 303, 1813.  
 — meets Quadratus at Ægeæ, 305, 1824.  
 — carries on the Parthian war with vigour, 312, 1845 *et seq.*  
 — takes Artaxata, 312, 1849.  
 — takes Tigranocerta, 319, 1886.  
 — succeeds Quadratus as prefect of Syria, 319, 1892.  
 — comes to terms with Vologeses, 329, 1935.  
 — has the military command in the East, 331, 1946 *et seq.*  
 — advances to the Euphrates, 332, 1947.  
 — obliges Tiridates to hold Armenia as feudatory of Rome, 332, 1948.  
 — put to death by Nero, 347, 2052.  
 Cordus, Cornelius, proconsul of Crete, 169, 1132.  
 Cordus, Cremutius, accused, 171, 1153.  
 Coreæ, the border town of Judæa, 8, 73.  
 Corinth restored by Cæsar, 40, 344.  
 — Isthmus of, proposed to be cut through by Cæsar, 41, 346.  
 — won over by Agrippa to the side of Octavius, 72, 605.  
 — length of voyage from Rome to, 295, 1773.  
 — the common route to and from Rome to and from the east in winter, 338, 1981.  
 — Nero tries to cut through the Isthmus of, 347, 2055.  
 — evangelized by St. Paul, 297, 1778.  
 — revisited by him, 311, 1843.  
 — and again, 334, 1963. 338, 1981.  
 Corinthians, date of the first Epistle to, 309, 1836.  
 — date of the second Epistle to, 310, 1841.  
 Corinthus, a conspirator against Herod, 113, 855.  
 Cornelius, Cnæus, conspires against Augustus, 144, 997.  
 Cornelius, the centurion, called, 268, 1608.  
 Cornificius, Q., has charge of Syria, 39, 337.  
 Cossus, C., makes a campaign against the Gætuli, 144, 1002.  
 Costobarus appointed governor of Idumæa and Gaza, 63, 530.  
 — marries Salome, the sister of Herod, 68, 567.  
 — divorced from her, 81, 671.  
 Cotys, king of Southern Thrace, put to death, 166, 1120.  
 — children of, receive Southern Thrace, 167, 1122.  
 Cotys, king of part of Arabia, 256, 1533.  
 Cotys, king of Bosphorus, 289, 1733.  
 Council at Jerusalem, 288, 1723.  
 Courses of priests, 109, 836.  
 Coway stakes, the place where Cæsar crossed the Thames, 21, 174.  
 Crassus appointed to the province of Syria, 14, 124.  
 — leaves Rome for Syria, 15, 133.  
 — sends his lieutenant forward, 18, 152.  
 — has an interview with Dejotarus, king of Galatia, 18, 153.  
 — arrives in Syria, 18, 154.  
 — crosses the Euphrates against the Parthians, 18, 155.  
 — returns to Syria and levies money, 18, 156.  
 — receives an embassy from Orodes, 22, 181.  
 — again crosses the Euphrates, 22, 182.  
 — defeated and slain at Carre, 22, 184.  
 Crassus the son slain, 22, 183.  
 Crassus, Marcus, wars against the Dacæ and Bastarnæ, 77, 645.  
 — and Getæ and Artacii, 78, 650.  
 Crassus Canidius. *See* Canidius.  
 Cremona, battle of, 353, 2088.  
 — destruction of, 354, 2097 a

## CRE

- Crete, war of, committed to Metellus, 3, 12.  
 — subdued, 4, 28.  
 — one of the people's or senate's provinces, 80, 666.  
 — governed by a proconsul, quæstor, and legate, 160, 1067.  
 Crispinus, prefect of the Prætorian guard, 286, 1712.  
 — removed, 292, 1750.  
 — marries Poppæa, 312, 1851.  
 — banished, 335, 1970.  
 — put to death, 338, 1985.  
 Crucifixion, date of, xxxi.  
 Cumanus, procurator of Judæa, 287, 1719.  
 — date of appointment of, according to Orosius, 290, 1736.  
 — commits a slaughter of the Jews, 293, 1759.  
 — tried by Quadratus, prefect of Syria, and sent to Rome, 296, 1775.  
 — date of the trial of, 297, 1777.  
 — banished, 298, 1781.  
 Cunobellinus, king of the Britons, has his palace at Camulodunum, or Colchester, 274, 1641.  
 — father of Caractacus and Togodumnus, *ib.*  
 — capital of taken by Claudius, 277, 1660.  
 Cydnus, Cleopatra sails up the, 49, 431 *et seq.*  
 Cydonia in Crete besieged by Metellus, 3, 19.  
 Cyprus on death of Ptolemy becomes a Roman province, 12, 109.  
 — comprised in the province of Cilicia, 24, 191.  
 — conferred by Antony on Cleopatra, 63, 537.  
 — originally an imperial province, 80, 666.  
 — becomes a senatorial or popular province, 88, 712.  
 — and as such is governed by a proconsul, as described by Luke, 284, 1695.  
 — evangelized by Paul and Barnabas, *ib.*  
 — revisited by Barnabas, 290, 1738.  
 Cyrene conferred by Antony on Cleopatra, 63, 537.  
 — one of the people's or senate's provinces, 80, 666.  
 Cyrenius (P. Sulpicius Quirinus), census of, 115, 870, 147, 1014, 148, 1021.  
 — prefect of Syria in B.C. 4, 132, 955.  
 — subdues the Homonadenses, 135, 958.  
 — recalled, 141, 980.  
 — attends Caius in his expedition to the East, 136, 963, 139, 971.  
 — marries Lepida, 141, 983.  
 — again prefect of Syria, 146, 1012.  
 — removes Jesus from the pontificate, and appoints Ananus, son of Seth, 148, 1022.  
 — superseded by Creticus Silanus, 155, 1046.  
 — death of, 169, 1134 a.  
 Cyrnus, Pompey winters on, 5, 39.  
 Cyrus, decree of in favour of the Jews, xliii. And 238, 1444.

## DACÆ, revolt of, 103, 801.

- Dagon besieged by Hyrcanus the elder in a Sabbath year, 61, 525.  
 Dalmanutha visited by Our Lord, 208, 1325.  
 Dalmatia originally one of the senate's or people's provinces, 80, 666.  
 — disturbances in, 96, 756.  
 — transferred to the emperor, 101, 788.  
 — revolt of, 101, 786, 103, 801, 145, 1005.  
 — subdued by Tiberius, 105, 812.  
 — committed to Messalinus as proprætor, 145, 1004.  
 — invaded by Germanicus, 148, 1020, 149, 1023.  
 Damascenus, Nicolas. *See* Nicolas.  
 Damascus taken by Lollius and Metellus, 5, 36.  
 — annexed to Syria, 7, 60.  
 — has a controversy with the Sidonians before Flaccus, prefect of Syria, 228, 1424.

## DIS

- subject to Aretas, king of Petra, 256, 1533.  
 Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks, xlii. And 238, 1444.  
 Darius, king of Media, subdued by Pompey, 6, 49.  
 Darius the Mede, decree of, for rebuilding temple, xliii. And 238, 1444.  
 Darius, son of Pharnaces, made king of Pontus, 35, 304, 55, 480, 64, 537.  
 Darius, son of Artabanus, given as a hostage to Vitellius, 246, 1488.  
 Darkness, supernatural, at the crucifixion, xlii. And 237, 1442.  
 David's tomb opened by Herod, 104, 806.  
 Deacons appointed, 245, 1480.  
 Dead, law against burying the, near Rome, 56, 490.  
 Decianus, Catus, procurator of Britain, 323, 1905.  
 Dedication, Feast of, attended by Jesus, 213, 1348.  
 — in what year this feast was, 213, 1352.  
 — origin of the feast of, 213, 1348.  
 Dejotarus, tetrarch of the Tolistoboi, 6, 53.  
 — made king of Galatia and other territories by Pompey, 6, 53.  
 — an ally of Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, 31, 269.  
 — has an interview with Crassus, 18, 153.  
 — death of, 350, 435.  
 Dejotarus Philadelphus confounded by Dion with Castor, 50, 435.  
 — king of Paphlagonia, *ib.*  
 — an ally of Antony against Octavius, 71, 600.  
 Delians' edict in favour of the Jews, 30, 258.  
 Delium, a fortress in Judæa, 8, 72.  
 Dellius, Quintus, an officer of Antony, 66, 540.  
 — levies troops for him, 72, 607.  
 Demetrius, king of Syria, length of reign of, xl, *note* (°).  
 Demetrius, alabarch of Alexandria, marries Mariamne, 301, 1801.  
 Demetrius the silversmith, riot of, at Ephesus, 309, 1838.  
 Demonax, a Parthian general, 276, 1651.  
 Demonic cured by Our Lord, 192, 1240.  
 Demostratus, archon at Athens, 338, 1982.  
 Derbe, Paul and Barnabas at, 285, 1705.  
 — revisited by Paul, 290, 1736.  
 Despatches, time occupied by, from Rome to Syria, 25, 207.  
 — from Rome to Britain, 20, 165.  
 Δευτεροπρωτον, meaning of, xlv. And 194, 1254.  
 Διά δεκαεσσάρων ἔτων, meaning of, lxvi.  
 Diana of Ephesus, privileges of the temple of, 169, 1138.  
 — games in honour of, called Ἐφέσια, 309, 1837.  
 Didius, Q., governor of Syria, 70, 581.  
 — induces the Arabians to burn the fleet of Antony, 73, 611.  
 — writes to Octavius in favour of Herod, 75, 627.  
 Didrachm, the amount of the poll-tax to the Temple treasury or Corban, 220, 1384.  
 Dinophilus, archon at Athens, 290, 1739.  
 Dionysidorus, archon at Athens, 301, 1798.  
 Dionysius, the geographer, sent to the East before the expedition of Caius, 136, 965.  
 Dionysius, the Areopagite, whether the same person as Dionysidorus, 301, 1798.  
 Dionysius Exiguus first introduced the Christian era, ix.  
 Dioseuri, a town in Colehis, 5, 32.  
 Diospolis, battle of, between Herod and Malchus, 70, 592.  
 Disciples, as to call of Our Lord's, 180, 1190, 191, 1235.



## DIU

- Dius, a month in the Tyrian calendar, 354, 2099.  
 Dolabella made consul, 41, 348.  
 — appointed to Syria, 42, 359.  
 — passes through Macedonia and Thrace, 42, 362.  
 — sends Allienus to bring up forces from Egypt, 42, 363.  
 — edict of, in favour of the Jews at Ephesus, 45, 387.  
 — puts Trebonius to death, and seizes Asia, 45, 389.  
 — enters Cilicia, 46, 390.  
 — rejected from Antioch and retires to Laodicea, 46, 394, 395.  
 — kills himself, 46, 397.  
 Domitian meets Vespasian at Beneventum, 357, 2113.  
 Domitius left in command of Asia by Cæsar, 55, 306.  
 Domitius, Cn., consul, joins Antony, 70, 584.  
 — deserts to Octavius, 72, 606.  
 Domitius, Marcus, marries Agrippina, 173, 1168.  
 Doriphorus, the freedman, put to death at Rome, 329, 1934.  
 Doris, city, insult offered to the Jews at, 275, 1645.  
 Doris, the wife of Herod, restored to favour, 98, 768.  
 — conspires against Herod, 118, 876.  
 — disgraced by Herod, 121, 895.  
 Draught of fishes, miracle of, 193, 1246.  
 Dream of Archelaus, 146, 1011.  
 — of Pilate's wife, 236, 1441.  
 Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, dies, 255, 1531.  
 — time of death of, 257, 1537.  
 Drusilla, daughter of Caligula, born, 263, 1577.  
 Drusilla, sister of Agrippa II., marries Azizus, 299, 1789.  
 — deserts him and marries Felix, 301, 1800.  
 — hears St. Paul plead, 316, 1867.  
 Drusus the elder and Tiberius overthrow the Rhæti, 97, 758.  
 — left by Augustus in Germany, 99, 770.  
 — victorious in Germany, and returns to Rome, 100, 782.  
 — again in Germany, 100, 784.  
 — nominated prætor, 100, 785.  
 — subdues the Chatti, 103, 802.  
 — death of, 105, 813.  
 Drusus, the younger son of Tiberius, is appointed consul, 156, 1049.  
 — suppresses a mutiny in Pannonian and German legions, 158, 1060.  
 — employed in Illyricum, 163, 1092.  
 — victories of, in Germany, 165, 1108.  
 — meets Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, at Terracina, 167, 1124.  
 — returns to Illyricum, 167, 1125.  
 — illness of, 169, 1133.  
 — invested with the tribunitian power, 169, 1136.  
 — death of, lvi. And 170, 1146.  
 Drusus, son of Agrippina, put to death, 228, 1420.  
 Durus, Q. Laberius, a tribune of Cæsar, slain in Britain, 21, 172.  
 Dynamis, widow of Asander, king of Bosphorus, marries Scribonius, 96, 755.  
 — marries Polemo I., 97, 761.  
 Dyrrhachium occupied by Pompey, 30, 262.  
 — where he is besieged by Cæsar, 31, 267.  
 Dyteutus, priest of Comana, 73, 618.

**E**AGLE, Roman, pulled down by the insurgents of Jerusalem, 124, 903.  
 Earthquake in Asia, 163, 1093.  
 — in Italy, 144, 999.  
 — in Judæa, xxi. And 71, 601.  
 Ebal, Mount, in Samaria, 187, 1221.

## EPH

- Eclipses, table of, 371.  
 — calculated by the ancients, 284, 1696.  
 — of the sun, 30, 260. 144, 999. 317, 1874.  
 — of the moon, 124, 905. 158, 1060. 354, 2097.  
 'Egyverno, sense of, in Luke ii. 2. 134, 955.  
 Egina, Athens deprived of, 89, 720.  
 Egypt under Ptolemy Auletes as king, 12, 102.  
 — who is displaced for Berenice, 13, 110.  
 — who is again displaced for Ptolemy, 15, 130.  
 — who is succeeded by Ptolemy, his son, and Cleopatra jointly, 23, 188.  
 — but Ptolemy ejects Cleopatra, 31, 268.  
 — conquered by Cæsar, 32, 276 *et seq.*  
 — made subject to Cleopatra by Cæsar, 33, 290.  
 — left by Cæsar under the charge of Rufion with three legions, 33, 294.  
 — on death of Cleopatra, becomes a Roman province, and subject to Cornel. Gallus, 76, 640.  
 — to Ælius Gallus, 81, 669.  
 — to Petronius, 84, 687.  
 — to Vetradius Pollio, 217, 1368.  
 — to Severus, *ib.*  
 — to Flaccus, *ib.*  
 — to Macro, 255, 1530.  
 — to C. Balbillus, 304, 1822.  
 — to Cæcina Tuscus, 340, 1997.  
 — to Tiberius Alexander, 343, 2004.  
 — in time of danger a common place of refuge, 119, 882.  
 — how the reigns of kings reckoned in, xix.  
 Egyptian, impostor, appearance of, 312, 1853.  
 — St. Paul mistaken for, 314, 1860.  
 — rites prohibited near Rome, 89, 719. 167, 1123.  
 'Eg, sense of, as distinguished from ἀπό, 180, 1190.  
 Elausa, the palatial residence of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, 101, 793.  
 — belongs to Antiochus, king of Commagene, 250, 1505.  
 Eleazar, high-priest, appointed by Archelaus, 131, 952.  
 — appointed by Gratus, 161, 1074. 162, 1085.  
 Eleazar, the brigand, 247, 1491.  
 — joined by a body of Jews and lays waste Samaria, 293, 1759.  
 — captured, 306, 1828.  
 Election of magistrates, old form of, restored by Caligula, 255, 1529.  
 — taken away again, 263, 1571.  
 Elijah, in what respects like John the Baptist, 175, 1171.  
 Elionæus appointed high-priest by Agrippa, 278, 1663.  
 — deposed by Herod of Chalcis, 284, 1693.  
 Elix, an insurgent against Phasaclus, 47, 401.  
 'Ἡμέρα ἐκεῖνη, sense of in Matthew, 200, 1278.  
 Emesa. See Arethusa.  
 Emmaus sold into slavery, 45, 385.  
 — one of the Toparchies of Judæa, now Amwâs, 147, 1013.  
 Emmaus, another, seven miles and a half from Jerusalem, 239, 1448.  
 'Εσπρή of John vi. 1, what it was, 195, 1255.  
 Epaphroditus takes the collection of the Philippians to Paul at Rome, 330, 1939.  
 — falls sick at Rome, 330, 1938.  
 Ephesia, games in honour of Diana at Ephesus, 309, 1837.  
 Ephesians, Epistle to, date of, 330, 1938.  
 Ephesus, St. Paul touches at, 300, 1794.  
 — resides for three years at, 303, 1816.  
 — suffers from an earthquake, 163, 1093.  
 — distance of, from Miletus, 314, 1857.

## EPH

- Ephraim, a city of Judæa, visited by Our Lord, 218, 1376.  
 — the site of, 218, 1377.  
 Epicureans dispute with St. Paul at Athens, 295, 1772.  
 Erastus sent by St. Paul to Macedonia, 306, 1829.  
 — accompanies St. Paul from Ephesus to Corinth, 338, 1981.  
 Erato, a queen of Armenia, 141, 984.  
 Eretria, Athens deprived of, by Augustus, 89, 720.  
 Esdraelon, the plain of, a great harvest-field, 224, 1400.  
 Esebonitis, a city of Peræa, built by Herod, 83, 681.  
 Ethiopians invade Egypt, 84, 690.  
 — invade Egypt a second time, and defeated at Premmis, 88, 714.  
 — send an embassy to Augustus, 89, 722.  
 Ethnarch, the Jewish chief magistrate so called, 256, 1533.  
 Etna, eruption of, 70, 586.  
 Eucharist instituted, 232, 1440.  
 Eunuch, Ethiopian, converted by Philip, 258, 1546.  
 Euphronius, an envoy from Antony and Cleopatra to Augustus, 75, 623.  
 Eurquilo. *See* Euroclydon.  
 Euroclydon, the north-east wind, 322, 1899.  
 Eurycles foments dissensions in Herod's family, 110, 842.  
 Euthydemus, the tutor of Apollonius Tyanæus, 152, 1041.  
 Executions not lawful amongst the Jews at the public festivals, xxxii. And 234, 1441. 328, 1931.  
 Ἐξήλασεν, in what sense used in N. T., 193, 1243. 194, 1252.
- F**ABATUS, the procurator of Augustus, is informed of Syllæus's plot against Herod, 112, 854.  
 — and discloses it to Herod, 113, 855.  
 — assassinated, 113, 856.  
 Fabius, Marcus, is defeated by Mithridates, 4, 23.  
 Fabius, Q., is consul suffectus, and death of, 39, 334.  
 Fabricius, Q., is consul suffectus, 136, 961.  
 Fadus, Cuspius, appointed procurator of Judæa, 281, 1679.  
 — executes rebellious Jews, 281, 1680.  
 — clears Judæa of bandits, *ib.*  
 — orders the pontifical robes and the crown of Agrippa to be laid up in Fort Antonia, 283, 1690.  
 — recalls the order, 283, 1691.  
 — captures and executes Theudas, an impostor, 284, 1694.  
 — succeeded by Tib. Alexander, 285, 1701.  
 — character of, 287, 1719.  
 Fairhavens, St. Paul advises to winter at, 321, 1899.  
 — still so called, *ib.*  
 Famine in Italy, 49, 429. 53, 460. 54, 475. 88, 710. 144, 999. 145, 1008. 274, 1639. 292, 1751.  
 — in Greece, 290, 1735.  
 — in Judæa, 83, 683. And *xxi.*  
 — the great, predicted by Agabus, 278, 1665.  
 — date of it, *lxix.*  
 — begins to be felt, 280, 1675.  
 — occurred when Queen Helena was at Jerusalem, 272, 1629.  
 Fasti Capitolini, 333.  
 Fasting of St. John's disciples, 202, 1282.  
 Feasts, Jewish, how calculated in the Tables, 2, 9, N.B., and 363.  
 Felix, procurator of Judæa, 297, 1777. 298, 1782.

## GAB

- marries Drusilla, 301, 1800.  
 — captures Eleazar, 306, 1828.  
 — disperses the Egyptian impostor's followers, 312, 1853.  
 — Paul accused before, 316, 1864.  
 — how long at this time he had been in office, 316, 1865.  
 — Paul's discourse before, 316, 1867.  
 — massacres the Jews, 318, 1879.  
 — recalled, 319, 1893.  
 — date of recall of, *lxxiii.*  
 — accused and acquitted of the Jewish massacre, 320, 1894.  
 Festus, procurator of Judæa, 319, 1893.  
 — arrives in Jerusalem, when the Jews desire that St. Paul may be sent for, 320, 1895.  
 — returns to Caesarea, and tries him there, 320, 1896.  
 — puts down the bandits and Sicarii, 322, 1902.  
 — suppresses a fanatic, 322, 1903.  
 — death of, 325, 1915.  
 Fidenæ, fall of amphitheatre at, 173, 1161.  
 Fig-tree withered by Our Lord, 231, 1437.  
 — parable of, 225, 1409.  
 Fig-tree Spring, 190, 1230.  
 Firmus, Plotius, prefect of the Prætorium, 353, 2085.  
 Flaccus, proconsul of Asia, 11, 95.  
 Flaccus, C. Norbanus, proconsul of Asia, 98, 766.  
 Flaccus, Lucius Pomponius, prefect of Mæsia, 166, 1121.  
 — prefect of Syria, 167, 1128.  
 — adjudicates between the Tyrians and Sidonians, 228, 1424.  
 — death of, 240, 1456.  
 Flaccus, prefect of Egypt, 216, 1368.  
 — arrested and sent to Rome, 257, 1538.  
 Flamen Dialis, disability of, to hold a consular province, 169, 1137.  
 Flavius's edict in favour of the Jews at Cos, 30, 257.  
 Florus, Gessius, procurator of Judæa, 334, 1961.  
 — sits like Pilate on the Gabbatha, 236, 1441.  
 — orders the treasure in the Temple to be seized, 343, 2006.  
 — massacres the Jews, *ib.*  
 Fortunatus's interview on behalf of Agrippa with Caligula, 260, 1561.  
 Frank mountain, formerly Herodium, 88, 716. 126, 918.  
 Frisii, war with, 173, 1166.  
 Fulvia, wife of M. Antony, quits Italy, 50, 436.  
 — meets Antony at Athens, 51, 444.  
 — falls ill at Sicyon, 51, 446.  
 — death of, 52, 457.  
 Fusail, the ancient Phasaelis, 131, 951.
- G**ABA, in Judæa, built by Herod, 83, 681.  
 Gabbatha, the Roman tribunal on tessellated pavement, 236, 1441.  
 Gabinus sent by Pompey to Syria, 5, 37.  
 — sent across the Euphrates, 6, 48. 147, 1013.  
 — sent to seize Jerusalem, 9, 76.  
 — succeeds Marcellinus as prefect of Syria, 13, 114.  
 — defeats Alexander, 13, 115.  
 — establishes an aristocracy in Judæa, and divides it into five sanhedrims, 13, 116.  
 — commits the care of the Temple to Hyrcanus, 13, 116.  
 — makes an expedition against the Parthians, 14, 125.  
 — passes the Euphrates, and then turns about and invades Egypt, 14, 126.  
 — returns from Egypt, and defeats Alexander, 15, 131.  
 — marches against the Arabians, 15, 132.



## GAB

- refuses to deliver up Syria except to Crassus himself, 18, 152.
- returns to Rome, 18, 157.
- brought to trial and banished, 18, 157.
- death of, 33, 281.
- Gadara given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639.
- people of, accuse Herod, 90, 729.
- whether visited by Our Lord, 201, 1279.
- massacre of the Jews at, 343, 2011.
- Galatia subject to Tigranes, but taken from him by Lucullus, 3, 18.
- supervised by the propretor of Cilicia, 24, 191.
- Dejotarus, king of, 28, 239.
- on his death by Pompey to Amyntas, 50, 435, 65, 551.
- on his death becomes a Roman province, 82, 675.
- evangelized by Paul and Silas, 292, 1747.
- revisited by Paul, 303, 1815.
- a collection made in, 303, 1816.
- Galatians, date of the Epistle to, 305, 1825.
- Galba born, 135, 957.
- appointed to the province of Spain, 319, 1888.
- accepts the empire with the title of Legate, 349, 2064.
- assumes, on death of Nero, the title of Cæsar, 349, 2067.
- enters Rome, 349, 2068.
- adopts Piso, 352, 2081.
- slain, 352, 2082.
- Galileans, a sect opposed to the Roman power, 147, 1016.
- Galilee, people of, receive Our Lord gladly, 189, 1226.
- slaughtered at their sacrifices, xlviii. And 224, 1407.
- slain on their way through Samaria, 293, 1759.
- extent and population of, 193, 1245.
- given on death of Herod to Herod Antipas, 130, 949.
- traversed throughout by Our Lord, 193, 1245.
- used in a large sense, 219, 1380.
- Gallia Narbonensis, an imperial province, 80, 666.
- made a senatorial or people's province, 88, 712.
- Gallio, Junius, banished, but recalled, 216, 1363.
- at what time proconsul of Achaia, lxiv. And 299, 1790.
- at Rome, 302, 1805.
- obliged to be present at the Juvenalia, 317, 1876.
- put to death, 335, 1792.
- Gallus, Cornelius, defeats Antony in Egypt, 75, 628.
- prefect of Egypt, 76, 640.
- disgraced and kills himself, 81, 669.
- Gallus, Ælius, prefect of Egypt, makes an expedition into Arabia, xxi. And 84, 686.
- proceeds to *Λευκή Κόμη*, 84, 689.
- enters country of Aretas, 86, 706.
- returns to Alexandria, 86, 706.
- Gallus, Asinius, conspires against Claudius, 285, 1699.
- Gallus, Vipsanius, dies, 163, 1091.
- Gamala, dispute about the boundaries of, between Herod Antipas and Aretas, 185, 1214.
- revolts from Rome, 343, 2012.
- assaulted by Vespasian, 347, 2043.
- and taken, 347, 2047.
- Gamaliel, son of Symeon, 118, 877.
- St. Paul a disciple of, 166, 1118.
- intercedes for Peter and John, 243, 1469.
- Garamantes subdued by Pub. Sulpicius Quirinus, 133, 955, 145, 1003.
- Gaul, disturbances in, 96, 756.
- people of, ordered to leave Rome, 150, 1032. 258, 1547.
- Gaulanitis assigned by Augustus to Herod Philip, 131, 953.

## GLA

- Gaza, the road to, from Jerusalem, 258, 1547.
- set free, 9, 81.
- given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639.
- laid in ruins, 343, 2011.
- Γεγονότος, sense of, in Josephus, 92, 738.
- Geminus executed for treason, 216, 1366.
- Geminus, Fufius, left in command of Illyria by Augustus, 67, 557.
- Γενέσια of Herod, what it was, 204, 1294.
- Gennath Gate, Jesus led out by, to Golgotha, 237, 1441.
- Gennesaret, western side of Lake Tiberias so called, 206, 1312.
- Γενομένων, sense of, 232, 1440.
- Gerasa, whether visited by Our Lord, 201, 1279.
- laid in ruins, 343, 2011.
- Gergesa, whether visited by Our Lord, 201, 1279.
- Gerizim, Mount, Samaritans meet in arms at, 247, 1491.
- the city of Sychar stood on, 187, 1221.
- Germanicus employed against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, 148, 1020.
- obliges them to sue for peace, 149, 1023.
- occupied in Dalmatia, 149, 1028.
- suppresses mutiny in Pannonian and German legions, 158, 1060.
- successes of, against the Catti and Cherusci, 159, 1064.
- successes of, in Germany, 162, 1079.
- triumph of, at Rome, 162, 1086.
- has charge of the provinces of the East, 163, 1089.
- visits Actium, Athens, Eubœa, Lesbos, Perinthus, Byzantium, Black Sea, Ilium, Colophon, and Rhodes, 164, 1099.
- arrives in Syria, 164, 1101.
- visits Egypt, 165, 1107.
- returns to Syria and quarrels with Piso, 166, 1100.
- illness and death of, 166, 1112.
- mourning for, 166, 1119.
- Germany, disturbances in, 96, 756.
- war breaks out in, 141, 981.
- first campaign of Tiberius in, 144, 995.
- second campaign in, 144, 998.
- third campaign in, 145, 1004.
- fourth campaign in, 148, 1017.
- Varus and his legions destroyed in, 150, 1031.
- Tiberius again sent to, 151, 1036.
- and continues the war, 152, 1039.
- concludes the war in, 153, 1042.
- mutiny of the legions in, 158, 1060.
- campaign of Germanicus in, 159, 1064.
- his victory over Arminius in, 162, 1079.
- the war in, conducted by Drusus, 165, 1108.
- war with the Frisii in, 173, 1166.
- Caligula crosses the Rhine to, 263, 1574.
- the Catti of, send an embassy to Rome, 291, 1742.
- A. Vitellius sent to, by Galba, 349, 2070.
- the legions of, revolt and proclaim A. Vitellius emperor, 352, 2079, 2080.
- Gessius Florus, procurator of Judæa, 334, 1961.
- Gessoriacum, now Boulogne, 15, 136.
- Geta, prefect of the Prætorium, 287, 1718.
- removed, 292, 1750.
- Gethsemane, why so called, 232, 1440.
- Ghor, the valley of the Jordan so called, 175, 1171.
- Gischala taken by Titus, 347, 2049.
- Gitton, the native city of Simon Magus, 258, 1543.
- Glabrio appointed to succeed Lucullus, 4, 26.
- Gladiators, a band of, force their way to Syria, 75, 627.
- dispersed, 78, 654.
- Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, marries Alexander, son of Herod, 96, 752.
- sent back to her father, 114, 864.

## GET

- marries Juba, 138, 968.
- Getuli, campaign of C. Cossus, against, 144, 1002.
- Golgotha, site of, 237, 1441. 238, 1446.
- Gophne sold into slavery, 45, 385.
- now Jufna, and one of the five Toparchies of Judæa, 147, 1013.
- Gordyene, Zarbienus, king of, 1, 6.
- given to Tigranes, the son, 5, 35.
- taken from the Parthians by Afranius, 6, 50.
- given to Ariobarzanes I., king of Cappadocia, 7, 57.
- Gospels, how arranged and distributed by the four Evangelists, 175, 1174.
- Gotarzes, son of Artabanus, king of Parthia, 275, 1648.
- succeeds to the throne, 275, 1649.
- ejected by Vardanes, *ib.*
- collects an army and renews the war, 276, 1650.
- comes to terms with Vardanes, 276, 1652.
- on death of Vardanes becomes king of Parthia, 285, 1702.
- death of, 291, 1745.
- Gozzo, the ancient Clauda, 322, 1899.
- Græcina, Pomponia, probably a Christian convert, 307, 1831.
- Γραμματεὺς the town-clerk of Ephesus, 309, 1838.
- Grass withered up in Judæa at Midsummer, 205, 1302. 208, 1324.
- Gratus, an officer of Archelaus the ethnarch, overthrows Simon, an insurgent in Perea, 129, 934.
- Gratus, Valerius, is procurator of Judæa, 160, 1073.
- appoints Ishmael, and then Eleazar, high-priest, 161, 1074.
- and then Simon, 162, 1085.
- and then Caiaphas, 163, 1096.
- succeeded by Pontius Pilate, 172, 1160.
- Greece a senatorial or people's province, 80, 666.
- proclaimed free by Nero, 347, 2053.
- Greek cities of Palestine demand their independence on death of Herod, 130, 946.
- Greek tongue commonly spoken in Rome, 162, 1081.
- Grisnez, Cape, the ancient Iccium, 16, 137.
- Gymnasium dedicated at Rome, 324, 1909.

**H**ARVEST, time of, in Judæa, 57, 498.

- Hebrews, date of Epistle to, 331, 1941.
- Hegesippus's account of the death of James the Just, 327, 1931.
- Helcias the hipparch, 275, 1644.
- Helcias the treasurer proceeds to Rome, 324, 1912, 1913.
- Helena, Queen, repairs to Jerusalem, 272, 1629.
- aid of, in the time of the great famine, 281, 1681.
- Helius assassinates Silanus, 302, 1806.
- left by Nero in charge of Rome, 340, 1994.
- summons Nero from Greece to Rome, 347, 2057.
- put to death, 349, 2068.
- Hellenists hold discourse with Jesus, 231, 1439.
- dispute with Paul, 264, 1582.
- complain of partiality in the distribution of alms, 245, 1480.
- Helvidius Priscus sent by Quadratus to Armenia, 293, 1755.
- recalled, 293, 1756.
- Herod the Great, son of Antipater, 5, 40.
- appointed captain of Galilee, by Antipater, 36, 310.
- summoned before the Sanhedrim, 38, 322.
- appointed captain of Cœle-Syria and Samaria by Julius Sextus Cæsar, 38, 323.
- appointed captain of Cœle-Syria by Cassius, 45, 385.

## HER

- puts Malachus to death, 46, 395.
- takes Masada, which had been seized by the brother of Malachus, 47, 401.
- defeats and expels Marion, the partisan of Antigonus, from Galilee, 47, 405.
- enters Jerusalem in triumph, 47, 406.
- betrothed to Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, 47, 406.
- accused by the Jews to Antony, but acquitted and made Tetrarch of Judæa, 49, 433.
- again accused by the Jews, but without effect, 50, 434.
- defeats the partisans of Antigonus, and shuts them up in the Temple, 52, 450.
- on the approach of Paerous flies to Masada, where he leaves his kinsfolk, and hastens to Malchus, king of Petra, 52, 452.
- thence to Egypt, 52, 456.
- sails from Egypt, along Pamphylia to Rhodes, 53, 463.
- to Brundisium, 53, 464.
- made king of Judæa, 53, 465.
- feasted by Antony, 53, 466.
- causes and date of exaltation of, 53, 467, 468.
- how the reign of is reckoned by Josephus, 58, 511. 74, 619. 83, 683. 104, 805.
- remains seven days at Rome, 54, 470.
- returns to Syria, 55, 485.
- date of his arrival, *ib.*
- wins over nearly all Galilee, *ib.*
- takes Joppa and raises the siege of Masada, 56, 486.
- besieges Jerusalem, but obliged, by treachery of Silo, to abandon it, *ib.*
- takes Sepphoris and disperses the bandits, and is master of all Galilee, 56, 487.
- summoned to join Ventidius, 57, 496.
- avenges the death of Ptolemy, who had been slain in Herod's absence, 57, 497.
- quarrels with Macheras, 57, 503.
- joins Antony at Samosata, *ib.*
- hears at Daphne, on his return, of his brother Joseph's death, 58, 507.
- marches to Acre, 58, 509.
- defeats army of Antigonus at Jericho, *ib.*
- and again in Samaria, *ib.*
- prevented from marching against Jerusalem by the severity of winter, 58, 510.
- besieges Jerusalem, 59, 517.
- marries Mariamne, 59, 518.
- takes Jerusalem, 59, 522.
- date of the capture, 59, 522 *et seq.*
- appoints Costobarus governor of Idumæa and Gaza, 63, 530.
- rents Cleopatra's palm-groves, 65, 544.
- plots Aristobulus's death, 67, 559, 560.
- how he computed his own reign, 67, 562.
- summoned by Antony to answer the death of Aristobulus, 68, 564.
- makes his peace with Antony, 68, 565, 566.
- escorts Antony to Armenia, 68, 566.
- puts his uncle Joseph to death, 68, 567.
- quarrels with Malchus, king of Petra, 70, 582, 583.
- levies troops for Antony, 70, 591.
- sent against Malchus, 70, 591.
- defeats him at Diospolis, 70, 592.
- defeated himself through the treachery of Cleopatra's general, Athenion, 70, 593.
- sues for peace, but his envoys are murdered by the Arabians, 72, 602.
- encourages his countrymen under the calamity of an earthquake, 72, 603.



## HER

- defeats the Arabians, and elected their champion, 72, 604.
- executes Hyrcanus, 73, 613.
- deserts Antony, 73, 615, 617.
- sends succours to Q. Didius, 75, 627.
- makes his peace with Octavius, 75, 629.
- returns to Judæa, 75, 630.
- escorts Octavius to Egypt, 76, 632.
- goes down to Egypt, and invested with various cities by Octavius, 76, 639.
- returns to Judæa, 77, 643.
- puts Mariamne to death, and is dangerously ill in consequence, 78, 655.
- institutes games in honour of Augustus, 82, 672.
- a band conspires to take the life of, 83, 680.
- becomes unpopular, and fortifies Samaria and other cities, 83, 681.
- sends auxiliaries to Ælius Gallus, 84, 687.
- procures corn from Egypt to relieve the famine in Judæa, 85, 693.
- sends his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome to be educated, 85, 695.
- dominions of, enlarged by the addition of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa, 85, 696.
- visits M. Agrippa at Mitylene, 87, 708.
- marries Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, 88, 715.
- builds Herodium, 88, 716.
- founds Cæsarea, 88, 717. 89, 703.
- defends himself before Augustus against the Gadarenes, 90, 729.
- procures his brother Pheroras to be appointed Tetrarch of Peræa, 90, 731.
- appointed perpetual procurator of Syria, 90, 732.
- escorts Augustus to Seleucia, 91, 736.
- erects a temple in his honour in Paneas, and remits taxes, 91, 737.
- designs rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem, lvi. And 91, 738. 94, 745.
- brings back his sons from Rome, 95, 747.
- banishes Antipater, 95, 748.
- marries his son Alexander to Glaphyra, and Aristobulus to Berenice, 96, 752.
- invites Agrippa to Judæa, 96, 754.
- receives Agrippa in Judæa, 97, 760.
- follows Agrippa to Sinope, 97, 762.
- defends the Ilians before Agrippa, 98, 763.
- is with Agrippa at Ephesus and Samos, 98, 764.
- returns to Judæa and remits taxes, 98, 767.
- embittered against his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, 98, 768.
- recalls Antipater, 98, 768.
- sails with Antipater to meet Agrippa in Asia, 99, 771.
- will not permit Syllæus to marry Salome unless he became a Jew, 100, 783.
- sails to Rome to accuse his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Augustus, 101, 789.
- reconciled to his sons, 101, 790.
- contributes 300 talents towards the public games at Rome, 101, 792.
- returns to Judæa, 101, 792.
- invests his sons Antipater, Alexander, and Aristobulus with nominal royalty, 102, 795.
- punishes the Trachonites, 103, 804.
- completes Cæsarea 103, 805.
- opens David's tomb in search of treasure, 104, 806.
- heals for a time the dissensions in his family, 104, 807.
- puts Alexander in bonds, 105, 814.
- reconciled to his sons by Archelaus, 105, 815.

## HER

- reconciles Archelaus to M. Titius, 105, 816.
- lays a complaint against the Trachonites before Saturninus, 106, 818.
- sails to Italy, and attends the Olympia by the way, 107, 830, 831.
- returns and razes Raeptra, and slays Nacebus, the Arabian commander, which gives offence to Augustus, who threatens to treat Herod as a subject, 108, 835.
- sends ambassadors to Augustus to explain, 108, 835.
- sends another embassy, 110, 841.
- complains of his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Augustus, 110, 844.
- is empowered to try his sons, 110, 846.
- appeases the wrath of Augustus, 110, 845.
- position of, at this time as regards Augustus, 111, 847.
- assembles a council to try his sons, 113, 857.
- procures their condemnation, and carries them to Tyre, 113, 858.
- meets with Nicolas Damascenus from Rome, 113, 859.
- and sails with him to Cæsarea, 114, 860.
- puts his sons to death at Samaria, 114, 863.
- sends Glaphyra back to her father, Archelaus, 114, 864.
- betrothes Alexander's and Aristobulus's children, as Antipater dictates, 114, 866.
- census of dominions of, ordered, 115, 867, 870, 116, 871.
- settles Zamaris at Bathyra, 117, 874.
- alarmed at the arrival of the Magi in search of the new-born King, 118, 879.
- enquires where Messiah should be born, 118, 880.
- puts the leading Pharisees who were expecting the Messiah to death, 119, 884.
- orders the massacre of infants at Bethlehem, 119, 885, 886.
- brings the wife of Pheroras to trial, 120, 887.
- sends Antipater to Rome, 121, 890.
- recalls Archelaus and Philip, 121, 891.
- discovers the guilt of Antipater, 121, 894.
- disgraces Doris, the mother of Antipater, 121, 895.
- deprives Simon of the High-priesthood, 121, 896.
- writes to Antipater to hasten home, 122, 899.
- puts Antipater in bonds, and writes to Augustus, 123, 901.
- falls ill, and makes his will in favour of Herod Antipas, 123, 901.
- writes again to Augustus, 123, 902.
- finds his disorder increase, and removes to Jericho for change of air, 124, 903.
- burns the Rabbins at the stake, 124, 905.
- grows worse, 124, 906.
- crosses the Jordan to Callirrhoe, 124, 907.
- uses the waters of Callirrhoe, 125, 908.
- is plunged into a vessel of oil, which nearly kills him, 125, 909.
- distributes a donation to the army, 125, 910.
- shuts up the chiefs of the nation in the Hippodrome, 125, 911.
- charges Salome and Alexas, after his demise, to put the chiefs to death, 125, 912.
- makes an attempt on his life, 125, 912.
- puts Antipater to death, 125, 913.
- makes a new will in favour of Archelaus, 125, 914.
- death of, 125, 915.
- date of it discussed, ix.
- funeral of, 126, 917 *et seq.*
- age of, xii.
- and reign, xvi. And 127, 925.

## HER

- Herod Agrippa. *See* Agrippa.  
 Herod Antipas named at one time in Herod's will as his successor, 123, 901.  
 — but the will altered, 125, 914.  
 — follows Archelaus to Rome, 128, 930.  
 — is made Tetrarch of Peræa and Galilee, 130, 949.  
 — fortifies Sepphoris, 131, 953.  
 — builds Julius in Peræa, *ib.*  
 — builds Tiberias, 173, 1163.  
 — conduct of, toward Christ and John the Baptist, 176, 1175.  
 — goes to Rome to condole with Tiberius on the death of Livia, 177, 1178.  
 — sees and becomes enamoured of Herodias, *ib.*, and *lvii.*  
 — wife of, the daughter of Aretas, escapes to Petra, 185, 1213.  
 — returns to Judæa, 185, 1214.  
 — imprisons John the Baptist 186, 1216.  
 — date of marriage of, to Herodias, 186, 1218.  
 — puts John the Baptist to death, 203, 1290 *et seq.*  
 — takes Jesus for John the Baptist risen from the dead, 204, 1297.  
 — seeks to see Jesus, 204, 1298.  
 — charged as an accomplice in Sejanus's plot, 215, 1355.  
 — quarrels with Pilate, 225, 1407.  
 — reconciled to him, 226, 1414.  
 — hostilities between him and Aretas, 226, 1414.  
 — general of, defeated, 226, 1414.  
 — cunning of, 226, 1412.  
 — calumniated by Herod Agrippa to Tiberius, 245, 1482.  
 — feasts Vitellius and Artabanus on the conclusion of peace, 246, 1489.  
 — sails to Rome to obtain the title of king, 260, 1555.  
 — accused by Herod Agrippa, and banished, 261, 1561.  
 — death of, 261, 1562.  
 — how reign of computed, *xiii.*  
 Herod Philip is educated at Rome, 121, 891.  
 — left by Archelaus in charge of Judæa, 128, 927.  
 — sails to Rome, 130, 945.  
 — made Tetrarch of Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Paneas, and Gaulanitis, 130, 950.  
 — how reign of reckoned, 240, 1454, and *xiii.*  
 — builds Cæsarea Philippi and Julius, or Bethsaida, 131, 953.  
 — character of, 207, 1319.  
 — death of, 240, 1454.  
 Herod Philip, another son of Herod, and called by Josephus Herod only, 177, 1178.  
 Herod, brother of Agrippa I., made king of Chalcis, 271, 1621.  
 — has charge of the Temple and the Corban, &c., 283, 1692.  
 — death of, 287, 1720.  
 Herodes, archon at Athens, 12, 102 a.  
 Herodians, who they were, 197, 1262. 208, 1327.  
 Herodias, wife of Herod Philip, compact of Herod Antipas with, 177, 1178.  
 — date of her marriage to him, 186, 1218.  
 — her treatment of John the Baptist, 186, 1216, 1217.  
 — instigates his death, 203, 1290 *et seq.*  
 Herodium seized by Aristobulus and his son, 14, 127.  
 — fortified by Herod, 88, 716.  
 — Herod the Great buried at, 126, 918.  
 Hierocæsarea, a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093.

## ILL

- 'High day,' the Sheaf-offering, so called by John, 239, 1447.  
 High-priests, number of, from Herod to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, 348, 2060.  
 High-priesthood, appointment to, given to Herod of Chalcis, 283, 1692.  
 — sometimes held by two jointly, 174, 1170.  
 High Town, what part of Jerusalem so called, 358, 2126.  
 — taken by the Romans, 360, 2154.  
 Hillel, the father of Symeon, 118, 877.  
 Hipparch of Judæa, Maryllus is appointed, 250, 1504.  
 Hippicus, now the Castle of David, 358, 2126.  
 Hippodrome or prison at Jericho, 125, 911.  
 Hippos given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639.  
 — massacre of the Jews at, 343, 2011.  
 Hirtius the consul slain at the battle of Mutina, 44, 370.  
 Holy Family retire to Egypt, 119, 882.  
 — return from Egypt, and retire to Nazareth, 127, 926.  
 Holy of Holies, Pompey enters, 9, 80.  
 Homonada, a city of Cilicia, subdued by Pub. Sulp. Quirinus, or Cyrenius, 132, 955. 135, 958.  
 Homonadenses slay Amyntas, 83, 676.  
 Horace, journey of, to Brundisium, 53, 458.  
 Horns of Hattin, site of, 199, 1268, 1269.  
 Hûm's heap. *See* Capernaum  
 Hyrania, a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093.  
 Hyrcania, revolt of, from Volageses, 312, 1848.  
 Hyrcanus, king of Judæa, 2, 10.  
 — resigns in favour of Aristobulus, 3, 11.  
 — marches against Aristobulus, 5, 40.  
 — sends ambassadors to Scæurus, 5, 42.  
 — besieges Jerusalem, 6, 43.  
 — obliged to raise the siege, 6, 44.  
 — sends embassy to Pompey, 8, 65, 71.  
 — confirmed high-priest by Pompey, 9, 81.  
 — aids Gabinus on his way to Egypt, 14, 128.  
 — accused before Cæsar at Antioch, but confirmed high-priest, 34, 298, 299.  
 — Roman edicts in favour of, 34, 299, 300, 301.  
 — allowed to fortify Jerusalem, 41, 345.  
 — made prisoner by the Parthians, 52, 451.  
 — delivered up to Antigonus, who cuts off his ears, 52, 454.  
 — comes from Babylon to Jerusalem, 64, 538.  
 — put to death by Herod, 73, 613.  
 — how reign of, reckoned, *xx.*  
 Hyrcanus the elder besieges Dagon in a Sabbatic year, 61, 524.  
 — embassy of, to Rome, *xl.*  
 Hythe, Cæsar lands at, on his first expedition to Britain, 17, 143.  
 — and on his second expedition, 19, 164.  
 IBERI, Artoces, king of, conquered by Pompey, 6, 46.  
 I — Pharnabazus, king of, conquered by Canidius Crassus, 63, 535.  
 — bribed to drive the Parthians out of Armenia, 227, 1414.  
 — invade Armenia, 244, 1475.  
 Ichniæ, success of Crassus at, 18, 155.  
 Iconium, the capital of Polemo I., 55, 480. 82, 675.  
 Idumæa given on death of Herod to Archelaus, 130, 948.  
 Ἱερὸν of the Temple at Jerusalem, 94, 745. 101, 791.  
 Iliahs defended by Herod before M. Agrippa, 98, 763.  
 Illyricum evangelized by St. Paul, 311, 1842.



## IMA

- Imanuentius restored by Cæsar to the kingdom of the Trinobantes, 21, 175.  
 Emperor, how that title used in coins and inscriptions, 79 (*note*).  
 Imperial Guard decreed double pay, 79, 664.  
 Impietas, laws of, abolished by Claudius, 270, 1618.  
 Imposts laid upon Palestine, 9, 81, 48, 423.  
 Innocents, murder of the, xxvi. And 119, 885.  
 Inscriptions *passim* at the foot of each year:—  
 — relating to Cyrenius, 132, 955, 133, 955.  
 — to Polemo I., 137, 966 b.  
 — to the Jews at Tripoli, 172, 1160 a.  
 — to the Christians in Spain, 338, 1983.  
 Intercalation, Jewish, 342, 2003.  
 Invasion, first, of Britain by Cæsar, 15, 134.  
 — second do., 19, 162.  
 Ioazar appointed by Herod high-priest, 124, 904.  
 — removed from the priesthood, 131, 952.  
 — exhorts submission to the census, 147, 1015.  
 Ἰουδα, city of, explained, 110, 838.  
 Isauria subject to Amyntas, 66, 551.  
 — Derbe, a city of, 285, 1705.  
 Isauricus, Servil., dies, 43, 367.  
 Ishmael appointed high-priest by Gratus, 161, 1074.  
 — written by Josephus in one place by mistake for Elionæus, 281, 1681.  
 Ishmael, the high-priest, appointed by Agrippa, 318, 1880.  
 — proceeds on an embassy to Rome, lxxx. And 324, 1912, 1913.  
 Isthmus of Corinth, Cæsar proposes to cut through, 41, 346.  
 — Nero attempts to cut through, 347, 2055.  
 Italian band, Cornelius a centurion of, 268, 1608.  
 Itius or Icius, Portus, now Boulogne, 15, 137, 16, 138, 17, 149, 19, 159.  
 Iturea, position of, 8, 68.  
 Ituræa Libani, under Tholomæus, 33, 286.  
 — under Soemus, 256, 1533.  
 — annexed to the province of Syria, 289, 1727.  
 Izates, king of Adiabene, 255, 1525, 289, 1731.  
 — sends hostages to Claudius and Artabanus, 272, 1628.  
 — relieves the Jews in the great famine, 281, 1681.  
 — unpopular with the Adiabenes, who call in Abias, king of Petra, and then Vologeses, king of Parthia, 298, 1783.  
 — proximate time of death of, 329, 1635.

## JACOB'S Well, description of, 187, 1221.

- Jairus, daughter of, raised from the dead, 202, 1283.  
 Jamblichus I., king of Emesa and Arethusa, 25, 206, 28, 239.  
 — assists Mithridates Pergamenus, on the side of Cæsar, 33, 286.  
 — put to death by Antony, 72, 606.  
 Jamblichus II. appointed king by Augustus, 90, 727.  
 James the Just, Our Lord's half-brother, 181, 1198, 288, 1723.  
 — carried up to *περὶ ἄνω* of the Temple, 178, 1183.  
 — not one of the twelve apostles, but Bishop of Jerusalem, 182, 1198.  
 — wrote the *Épistle General*, 182, 1198, 288, 1723.  
 — has an interview with St. Paul, 314, 1858.  
 — brought to trial by the Jews, and stoned, 327, 1931.  
 — date of the martyrdom, lxxix.  
 James the Greater, St., brother of John, and one of the Twelve, 191, 1235.  
 — a disciple of John the Baptist, 176, 1174.  
 — and John called the sons of Thunder, 222, 1394.  
 — relationship of, to Our Lord, 230, 1432.

## JES

- beheaded by King Agrippa, 279, 1671.  
 James, St., the Less, the son of Cleophas or Alphæus and Mary, one of the Twelve, 182, 1198.  
 Jamnia given by Augustus to Salome, 131, 951.  
 — now Yebna, *ib.*  
 — bequeathed by Salome to Livia, 177, 1179.  
 — Erennius Capito the procurator of, 245, 1482, 260, 1553.  
 — altar to Caligula erected at, 259, 1553.  
 — taken by Vespasian, 347, 2051.  
 — contingent furnished to the army by, 117, 871.  
 Janus, Temple of, shut for the first time by Augustus, 77, 649.  
 — the second time, 83, 678.  
 — the third time, 98, 769.  
 — decree for closing, 102, 797.  
 — shut by Nero, 339, 1989.  
 Japha, in Galilee, taken by Trajan, 346, 2036.  
 Jason lodges Paul and Silas at Thessalonica, 294, 1767.  
 Jefât. See Jotapata, 346, 2032.  
 Jehoiarib, the course of, viz. the 8th, 109, 836.  
 Jehudah, the same in Hebrew as Theudah, 124, 903.  
 Jerusalem occupied by Aristobulus, 8, 73, 9, 76.  
 — surrendered to Pompey, who enters the Holy of Holies, 9, 77 *et seq.*  
 — made tributary, 9, 81.  
 — plundered by Crassus, 18, 156.  
 — besieged by Herod, 56, 486, 59, 517 *et seq.*  
 — the Temple of, taken, 59, 521.  
 — captured by Herod, 59, 522 *et seq.*  
 — the meaning of *Ἰερὺς ἁγίος*, at the siege of, by Herod, 59, 522.  
 — Caius refuses to worship at the Temple of, 138, 969.  
 — disturbed by the arrival of the Magi, 118, 879.  
 — *émunte* at, by Judas and Matthias, 124, 903 *et seq.*  
 — visited by Our Lord at twelve years old, 149, 1026.  
 — at the Passover, 182, 1199.  
 — at the Pentecost, 195, 1255.  
 — at the Tabernacles, 209, 1333.  
 — at the Feast of Dedication, 213, 1348.  
 — at the Passover of the Crucifixion, 230, 1436.  
 — besieged by Titus, 357, 2116 *et seq.*  
 — captured and destroyed, xxii. And 360, 2154.  
 — rebuilt by Adrian under the name of *Ælia*, 239, 1446.  
 JESUS CHRIST, conception of, 110, 838.  
 — birth of, 115, 869. And xxiii.  
 — genealogy of, 182, 1198.  
 — circumcised, 117, 872.  
 — receives the adoration of the Magi, 119, 881.  
 — was a carpenter, 184, 1204.  
 — attends the Passover at twelve years of age, 149, 1026.  
 — baptized, 177, 1180, 178, 1181, 179, 1187.  
 — date of the baptism, lii.  
 — tempted, 178, 1182.  
 — returns to the Baptist, 179, 1187.  
 — how He designated Himself, 180, 1189.  
 — calls Philip, 180, 1190.  
 — changes the water into wine at Cana, 181, 1195.  
 — commences the first year of His ministry at Jerusalem at the Passover A.D. 29, 182, 1199.  
 — date of commencement of ministry of, xiv.  
 — arena of ministry of, 183, 1203.  
 — order in which He attended the feasts at Jerusalem, 184, 1203.  
 — expels the traders from the Temple, 184, 1204.  
 — miracles of, at the Passover, 184, 1206.  
 — predicts the manner of His death, 184, 1207.  
 — retires from Jerusalem to the country of Judæa, 184, 1208.  
 — makes many disciples in Judæa, 184, 1209.

## JES

- journey of, through Samaria to Galilee, 186, 1219 *et seq.*
- obliged to retire to Galilee, 187, 1219.
- rests by the way at Jacob's Well, 188, 1222.
- native country of, 189, 1225.
- arrives at Cana in Galilee, 189, 1226.
- cures the son of the courtier, 189, 1227.
- fixes His residence at Capernaum, 190, 1229.
- makes his first circuit, 191, 1234.
- calls Peter, Andrew, James, and John, 191, 1235.
- visits Nazareth, 192, 1236 *et seq.*
- returns to Capernaum, 192, 1239.
- cures the demoniac on the Sabbath, 192, 1240.
- cures Peter's wife's mother, 192, 1241.
- cures divers sick persons, 192, 1242.
- forbids unclean spirits to proclaim Him, 192, 1242.
- commences His second circuit, 193, 1243 *et seq.*
- cures the leper, 193, 1247, 1248.
- returns to Capernaum, 194, 1251.
- commences the second year of His ministry, A.D. 30. 194, 1251.
- enters upon His third circuit, 194, 1252.
- passes through the corn-fields on the Sabbath, 194, 1254.
- goes up to Jerusalem at Pentecost, 195, 1255.
- cures the cripple at Bethesda, 196, 1256.
- persecuted by the Jews, 197, 1259.
- restores the withered hand in Galilee, 197, 1262.
- withdraws to Gennesaret, 198, 1262.
- commands unclean spirits not to make Him known, 198, 1264.
- retires to a mountain to pray, 198, 1265.
- ordains the twelve Apostles, 198, 1266.
- preaches the Sermon on the Mount, 198, 1267.
- returns to Capernaum, 199, 1271.
- heals the centurion's servant, *ib.*
- commences His fourth circuit, 199, 1272.
- goes to Nain and heals the widow's son, 199, 1272.
- receives the messengers from John the Baptist, 200, 1274.
- goes through Galilee, 200, 1275.
- returns to Capernaum, 200, 1276.
- accused of being beside Himself, 200, 1277.
- delivers the parable of the sower, 200, 1278.
- crosses the Lake to Gergesa, 200, 1279.
- returns from Gergesa to Capernaum, 202, 1281.
- heals the woman of her bloody flux, 202, 1283.
- raises Jairus's daughter, *ib.*
- visits Nazareth a second time, 202, 1286.
- sends His apostles to preach in Galilee, 203, 1288.
- taken for John the Baptist, 204, 1297.
- informed of John's death, 204, 1299.
- crosses the Lake to Bethsaida, 205, 1300.
- feeds the five thousand, 205, 1302.
- sought to be made king, 205, 1303.
- retires from the multitude up the mountain, 205, 1305.
- sends His disciples away by boat, *ib. et seq.*
- walks on the sea, 205, 1308.
- appeases the storm, 205, 1309 *et seq.*
- followed by the multitude, 206, 1310, 1313.
- preaches in the synagogue of Capernaum, 206, 1313.
- commences the third year of His ministry, 207, 1315.
- discourses with the Pharisees on Jewish ceremonies, 207, 1316.

## JES

- goes through Galilee to the north, 207, 1317.
- reaches the borders of Tyre and Sidon, 207, 1318.
- descends to the Sea of Tiberias, 207, 1320.
- cures the deaf and dumb man, 207, 1321.
- feeds the four thousand, 207, 1322 *et seq.*
- descends southward to Dalmanutha, 208, 1325.
- Pharisees and Sadducees ask a sign from, 208, 1326.
- crosses the Lake to the west, 208, 1327.
- lands at Bethsaida, 208, 1328.
- restores sight to the blind man, 208, 1329.
- is challenged by His brethren to go up to Jerusalem at the Tabernacles, 208, 1330.
- goes privately to Jerusalem, 209, 1331.
- sought to be arrested by the Pharisees, 209, 1335 *et seq.*
- escapes from the Jews who would have stoned Him, and cures the blind man at the gate of the Temple, 210, 1344.
- retires to Bethabara, 213, 1347.
- visits Jerusalem at the Feast of Dedication, 213, 1348.
- acknowledges His divinity to the Jews, who try to stone Him, 213, 1349.
- returns to Bethabara, 213, 1350 *et seq.*
- makes disciples there, 217, 1370, 1372.
- is informed of Lazarus's illness, 217, 1370.
- returns to Bethany and raises Lazarus from the dead, 218, 1374.
- retires for safety to Ephraim, 218, 1376.
- Sanhedrim issue a warrant to take, 219, 1378.
- retires to Caesarea Philippi, 219, 1379.
- questions His disciples as to who He was, 219, 1380.
- foretells His death, *ib.*
- is transfigured, 220, 1381.
- charges His disciples not to make it known, 220, 1382.
- goes to Capernaum, 220, 1383.
- is asked to pay the Temple tax, 220, 1384.
- commences the fourth and last year of His ministry, 221, 1389.
- makes His last and great circuit, *xlvii.* And 221, 1390.
- meets with opposition at a Samaritan village, 222, 1394.
- appoints seventy disciples, 223, 1397.
- delivers the parable of the good Samaritan, 224, 1401.
- visits the village of Martha, 224, 1402.
- cures the dumb man, 224, 1403.
- delivers the parable of the foolish barn-builder, 224, 1404.
- hears of the slaughter of the Galileans, 224, 1407.
- delivers the parable of the fig-tree, 225, 1409.
- preaches in a synagogue on the Sabbath, 225, 1410.
- teaches on His way to Jerusalem, 225, 1411.
- warned against Herod, 225, 1412.
- eats with a Pharisee on the Sabbath, 226, 1413.
- pursues His course towards Jerusalem, 229, 1425.
- crosses the Jordan to the east, 229, 1426.
- blesses the infant children, 229, 1427.
- exercises His ministry in Perea, 229, 1428.
- answers concerning divorce, 229, 1429.
- discourses on riches, 229, 1430.
- delivers the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, 229, 1431.
- crosses from Perea to Judæa, 230, 1432.
- again foretells His death, 230, 1432.



## JES

- arrives at Jericho and lodges with Zacchæus, 230, 1433.
- arrives at Bethany on Friday, 230, 1434, 1435.
- rests there on Saturday, the Sabbath, 230, 1435.
- makes His entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, 230, 1436.
- enters the Temple and returns to Bethany, 231, 1436.
- on Monday withers the fig-tree, 231, 1437.
- expels the traders from the Temple, 231, 1437.
- returns to Bethany, *ib.*
- on Tuesday teaches in the Temple and predicts its fall, 231, 1438.
- quits His abode at Bethany and passes the night on the Mount of Olives, 231, 1438, 1439.
- on Wednesday remains in privacy, 231, 1439.
- on Thursday, the day of Paschal sacrifices, sends Peter and John to prepare the Passover, 231, 1440.
- institutes the Eucharist, 232, 1440.
- washes the disciples' feet, xxxiii.
- retires to the Mount of Olives, and withdraws to Gethsemane, 232, 1440.
- is arrested, 232, 1440.
- on Friday morning is brought before the Sanhedrim, 233, 1441.
- then before Pilate, 234, 1441.
- sent by Pilate to Herod Antipas, 235, 1441.
- who remits him to Pilate, *ib.*
- condemned by Pilate, 237, 1441.
- crucified, 237, 1441.
- buried by Joseph of Arimathea, 238, 1445, 1446.
- resurrection of, on Sunday, 239, 1448.
- appears to Mary Magdalene, 239, 1448.
- to two disciples, 239, 1448.
- to Peter, *ib.*
- to the ten apostles, *ib.*
- to the eleven, *ib.*
- to above 500 brethren, *ib.*
- to certain disciples in Galilee, *ib.*
- to James, *ib.*
- to all the apostles, *ib.*
- ascension of, *ib.*
- brethren and sisters of, 181, 1197, 1198.
- duration of ministry of, xlv. And 175, 1174. 176, 1175.
- age of, 178, 1180.
- Jesus (son of Dammæus) appointed by Agrippa high-priest, 328, 1932.
- removed, 334, 1960.
- Jesus (son of Fabi) appointed by Herod high-priest, 67, 561.
- removed, 88, 715.
- Jesus (son of Gamaliel) appointed by Agrippa high-priest, 334, 1960.
- removed, 336, 1979.
- Jesus (son of Siah) appointed high-priest by Archelaus, 131, 952.
- removed, 148, 1022.
- Jews, camp of, in Egypt, 33, 288.
- indignation of, against Herod, 83, 680 *et seq.*
- excused from serving in the army, or attending law-courts on the Sabbath, 98, 765.
- send embassy to Rome, to ask that Judæa may be annexed to Syria, 130, 944.
- edict at Rome against, 167, 1123.
- expelled from Rome, lxii. And 295, 1773.
- insurrection against, at Babylon, 243, 1464. 267, 1603.
- at Seleucia, 273, 1631.
- at Doris, 275, 1645.

## JOS

- outbreak against, at Alexandria, 257, 1537.
- of Alexandria send an embassy to Caligula, 258, 1539. 259, 1551. 260, 1557, 1559. 267, 1601.
- protected by Claudius, 271, 1625.
- synagogues of, at Antioch burnt, 263, 1579.
- massacre of, by Felix, at Cæsarea, 318, 1879.
- general massacre of, at Cæsarea and other cities, 343, 2011.
- war of, against the Romans begins, 343, 2005, 2006.
- John the Baptist, conception of, 109, 836.
- birth of, 112, 853.
- baptizes in the wilderness, lv.
- peculiarity of baptism of, 185, 1211. 203, 1290.
- announces the advent of the Messiah, 173, 1169. 174, 1171.
- had preached long before, 175, 1171.
- date of commencement of ministry of, xxix., liii.
- why called Elijah, 175, 1171.
- the scene of labours of, 175, 1171.
- baptizes Jesus, 177, 1180.
- embassy of Pharisees to, at Bethabara, 178, 1184, 1185.
- testifies to Jesus being the Christ, 179, 1188.
- baptizes at Ænon, 184, 1209.
- informed that Christ was baptizing, 185, 1210.
- expostulates with Herod about Herodias, and imprisoned, 186, 1216.
- arrest of, an important epoch in the ministry of Our Lord, 187, 1220.
- date of the imprisonment of, lvii.
- sends two of his disciples to enquire of Christ, 200, 1274.
- death of, 203, 1290.
- disciples of, found at Ephesus, 175, 1171.
- John, St., remarks on Gospel of, 189, 1229.
- supplemental character of Gospel of, 179, 1187.
- date of its publication, 196, 1257.
- a disciple of John the Baptist, 176, 1174.
- called to be an apostle, 191, 1235.
- relationship, of, to Jesus Christ, 230, 1432. 182, 1198.
- personally acquainted with the high-priest, 233, 1440.
- follows Jesus to the palace of Caiaphas, 233, 1440.
- cures, with Peter, the cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, 240, 1452.
- arrested by the Sadducees, 240, 1453.
- sent by the apostles to Samaria, 258, 1544, 1545.
- why he and James called sons of Thunder, 222, 1394.
- Jonathan, son of Annas, appointed high-priest by Vitellius, 249, 1496.
- removed, 251, 1506.
- goes to Rome, 296, 1775.
- returns, 298, 1781.
- assassinated by the Sicarii, 308, 1834.
- Joppa set free, 9, 81.
- taken by Herod, 56, 486.
- given to Herod by Octavius, 76, 639.
- Joseph. *See* Caiaphas.
- Joseph of Arimathea supports Jesus in the Sanhedrim, 209, 1332, 1339. 234, 1441.
- buries Jesus, 238, 1445.
- Joseph, son of Cami, high-priest, appointed by Herod of Chalcis, 284, 1693.
- removed, 286, 1715.
- Joseph, Herod's brother, left in command of Judæa, 57, 503.
- slain, 57, 504.

## JOS

- Joseph, Herod's uncle, left in command of Judæa, 68, 565.  
 — put to death, 68, 567.  
 Joseph, son of Simon, high-priest, appointed by Agrippa, 324, 1914.  
 — removed, 327, 1930.  
 Joseph, husband of Virgin Mary, goes with her to Bethlehem to be taxed, 115, 868.  
 — flies to Egypt, 119, 882.  
 — returns, 127, 926.  
 — not living at the Crucifixion, 239, 1449.  
 — or at the commencement of Our Lord's ministry, 181, 1194.  
 Josephus, the historian, born, 258, 1541.  
 — at Jerusalem, and then in the desert for three years, 303, 1814.  
 — becomes a Pharisee, 307, 1833.  
 — sails to Rome, 332, 1950.  
 — shipwrecked by the way, *ib.*  
 — the resemblance of shipwreck of, to that of St. Paul, 333, 1950.  
 — at Jerusalem at the outbreak of the war, 343, 2008.  
 — besieged in Jotapata, 346, 2034.  
 — made prisoner, 346, 2040.  
 Josephs, the half-brother of Our Lord, 181, 1198.  
 Jotapata besieged, 346, 2032 *et seq.*  
 — taken, *ib.* 2040.  
 Juba I. accompanies Caius Cæsar to the East, 138, 968.  
 — marries Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, *ib.*  
 — succeeded by Ptolemy, 171, 1151.  
 — length of reign of, 138, 968.  
 Juba II. marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, 76, 638.  
 Judæa subject to Alexandra, 1, 5.  
 — to Hyrcanus, 2, 10.  
 — to Aristobulus, 2, 11.  
 — restored to Hyrcanus, but made tributary to Rome, 9, 81. 48, 423.  
 — overrun by the Parthians, and given to Antigonus, 52, 453.  
 — Herod declared king of, by the Romans, 53, 465.  
 — census of, at the birth of Christ, xxiv.  
 — subject to Archelaus as ethnarch, 130, 948.  
 — annexed to the province of Syria, and governed by a procurator, 146, 1012.  
 — Coponius procurator of, 146, 1012. M. Ambivius, 150, 1033. Annius Rufus, 155, 1047. Gratus, 160, 1073. Pontius Pilate, 172, 1160.  
 — granted to Agrippa, 271, 1619.  
 — reannexed to Syria, and governed by a procurator, 281, 1679.  
 — Cuspius Fadus procurator of, 281, 1679. Tiberius Alexander, 285, 1701. Cumanus, 287, 1719. Felix, 298, 1782. Festus, 319, 1893. Albinus, 327, 1929. Gessius Florus, 334, 1961.  
 — feasts in, on Claudius's return from Britain, 279, 1674.  
 — on the verge of revolt, 293, 1759.  
 — revolts, 343, 2005.  
 — constitution of, under Romans, 147, 1013.  
 — climate of, 177, 1180. 180, 1190.  
 — rains in, 224, 1406.  
 — famine in, 83, 683.  
 — the great famine in, 280, 1675. 281, 1681.  
 — earthquake in, 71, 601.  
 Judas, of Damascus, lodges St. Paul, 253, 1516.  
 Judas, the Gaulonite, opposes the census of Cyrenius, 147, 1016.  
 — referred to by Gamaliel, 243, 1469.  
 Judas, the half-brother of Our Lord, 181, 1198  
 Judas Iscariot agrees to betray Jesus, 231, 1438.

## LAL

- Judas the Rabbin, an insurgent in the last days of Herod, 124, 903.  
 Judas, an insurgent in Galilee after the death of Herod, 129, 933.  
 — referred to by Gamaliel as Theudas, 243, 1469.  
 Judas, called Barsabas, sent by the Apostles from Jerusalem to Antioch, 288, 1724.  
 Judices, appeals from, to the senate, 319, 1891.  
 Judicia, restored to the Equites, 1, 1.  
 Judicial powers over the people's provinces committed by Nero to the senate, 303, 1810.  
 Jufna, the ancient Gophne, 147, 1013.  
 Julia, wife of Augustus. *See* Livia.  
 Julia, daughter of Augustus, marries Marcellus, 83, 679.  
 — marries Agrippa, 89, 718.  
 — marries Tiberius, 102, 798.  
 — disgrace of, 136, 961.  
 — death of, 159, 1061.  
 Julia, granddaughter of Augustus, banished, 149, 1025.  
 — dies, 173, 1165.  
 Julia, sister of Caligula, banished, 263, 1576.  
 — restored by Claudius, 272, 1626.  
 Julias. *See* Bethsaida.  
 Julius, in Peræa, fortified by Herod Antipas, 131, 953, 204, 1295.  
 Julius, in Gaulanitis, built by Herod Philip, 131, 953.  
 Juliber's grave, 21, 172.  
 Julius (a centurion) conducts St. Paul as a prisoner to Rome, 320, 1899.  
 Julius, month so called in honour of C. Julius Cæsar, 40, 342.  
 Julius Priscus, prefect of the Prætorium, 353, 2092.  
 Junia, sister of Brutus and wife of Cassius, dies, 170, 1142.  
 Jupiter, Julian, C. J. Cæsar so called, 41, 349.  
 Jupiter and Saturn, a conjunction of, 108, 834. 110, 839. 118, 878.  
 Jupiter Tonans, Augustus dedicates the Temple of, 88, 712 a.  
 Justus, Catonius, prefect of the Prætorium, put to death, 277, 1658.  
 Jutta, a city of Judah, 110, 838.  
 Juvenalia, games of, instituted by Nero, 317, 1876.  
 KANA AL JELIL, the ancient Cana of Galilee, 181, 1193.  
 Karûn Hattin. *See* Horus of Hattin.  
 Kaukaba, or Place of the Star, where the conversion of St. Paul occurred, 252, 1514.  
 Kefr Kenna, thought by some to be the ancient Cana of Galilee, 181, 1193.  
 Kerâjeh. *See* Chorazin, 191, 1232.  
 LABEO, Pomponius, prefect of Mæssia, 172, 1157.  
 — commits suicide, 242, 1460.  
 Laberius Durus, Q., an officer of Cæsar, slain in Britain, 21, 172.  
 Labienus left by Cæsar in command of Gaul while Cæsar was in Britain, 19, 162.  
 Labienus, a partisan of Brutus and Cassius, induces the Parthians to invade Syria, 51, 440, 441.  
 — invades Cilicia, and puts Saxas to death, 51, 441.  
 — defeated by Ventidius, and slain, 55, 481.  
 Laco, Cornelius, appointed prefect of the Prætorium, 349, 2069.  
 — death of, 353, 2085.  
 Laconata, a city of Cilicia Aspera, subject to Antiochus, 250, 1505.  
 Lænas Vipsanius, consul suffectus, 277, 1659.  
 Lalassis, a city subject to Polemo I., 55, 480.



## LAM

- Lamia, Lucius Ælius, prefect of Africa, 168, 1128.  
 — then of Syria, *ib.*  
 — succeeds Piso as prefect of the city of Rome, 216, 1365.  
 — death of, 240, 1455.  
 Lamia, Luc. Æmilius, left in Spain by Augustus, 84, 684, 685.  
 Laodicea occupied by Dolabella, 46, 394.  
 — taken by Cassius, 46, 397.  
 — made a free city, 48, 421.  
 — earthquake at, 319, 1889.  
 — winter quarters of the sixth legion at, 166, 1115.  
 Laodicea in Phrygia, St. Paul's Epistle to, 330, 1938.  
 Lapsæa. *See* Lasæa.  
 Lasæa, a city of Crete, near Fairhavens, 321, 1899.  
 Laude, a town of Italy, near Placentia, 18, 158.  
 Lazarus, a native of Bethany, 217, 1370.  
 — raised from the dead, 1. And 218, 1374.  
 Legates, number of, in the imperial and in the senate's or people's provinces, 145, 1009. 160, 1067.  
 Lenaon, an Ephesian month, 45, 388.  
 Lentulus's edict in favour of the Jews at Ephesus, 30, 256.  
 Leper, cure of, by Our Lord, 193, 1247.  
 Lepers, cure of the ten, 229, 1245.  
 Lepida betrothed to Lucius Cæsar, 141, 983.  
 — on his death, marries P. S. Quirinus or Cyrenius, 141, 983.  
 — trial of, 167, 1127.  
 Lepida, daughter of Antonia, death of, 301, 1799.  
 Lepidus, Pontifex Maximus, 10, 89. 41, 353.  
 Lepidus, M. Æmilius, master of the horse, 36, 311.  
 — again, 38, 327.  
 — again, 40, 340.  
 — one of the triumvirate with Antony and Octavius, and takes Africa as his share, 52, 457.  
 — summoned by Octavius to Rome, 56, 492.  
 — one of the renewed triumvirate, 58, 513.  
 — ejected from the triumvirate, 63, 534.  
 Lepidus, Marius, an officer under Tiberius in Dalmatia, 150, 1030.  
 — proconsul of Asia, 169, 1130. 172, 1158.  
 Letter, a barbarous, used in the coins of Antony, 66, 553 a.  
 Leucas taken by Agrippa, 72, 605.  
 Λευκή Κώμη, a town of Phœnicia, 65, 549.  
 — a town of Arabia, 84, 689. 86, 706.  
 Libya, one of the consular provinces, 80, 666.  
 Lilies of Judæa, 224, 1405.  
 Limyra, a town of Lycia, where Caius Cæsar died, 143, 991.  
 Limyrus, a river of Lycia, *ib.*  
 Livia capivates Octavius, 54, 473.  
 — marries Octavius, 56, 491.  
 — accompanies him to the East, 89, 724.  
 — illness of, 169, 1139.  
 — death of, 176, 1176.  
 Lollius takes Damascus, 5, 36.  
 Lollius, M., first proprætor of Galatia, 83, 677.  
 — accompanies Caius Cæsar to the East, 136, 963.  
 — hostility of to Tiberius, 138, 970.  
 — treachery and death of, 140, 976.  
 London, the capital of Cassivelaunus, 21, 171, 176.  
 — burnt by Boadicea, 323, 1905.  
 Longinus, C. Cassius, prefect of Syria, 281, 1679. 289, 1731.  
 — present at Jerusalem, 283, 1690.  
 — succeeded by Titus Ummidius Quadratus, 291, 1746.  
 Lucan dies, 335, 1969.  
 Lucius Cæsar. *See* Cæsar, Lucius.  
 Lucullus, at Ephesus, composes affairs of Asia, 1, 2.

## MAC

- proceeds to Pontus, 1, 3.  
 — takes Sinope, *ib.*  
 — declares war against Tigranes, 3, 13.  
 — enters Armenia, 3, 15.  
 — defeats Tigranes, 3, 16.  
 — takes Tigranocerta, 3, 17.  
 — strips Tigranes of Syria, &c., 3, 18.  
 — sends embassy to Phraates, 3, 20.  
 — follows Tigranes, 3, 21.  
 — takes Nisibis or Antioch in Mygdonia, 4, 22.  
 — superseded, 4, 26.  
 Ludi Apollinæ, 42, 357. 51, 445.  
 Ludi Circenses, 53, 461.  
 Ludi Sæculares, 95, 750.  
 Luke, St., accompanies St. Paul from Corinth to Jerusalem, 313, 1855.  
 — at Philippi at the Passover, 313, 1856.  
 — at Troas, 313, 1857.  
 — sails with Paul for Rome, 320, 1899.  
 — chronological accuracy of Gospel of, 189, 1229.  
 — wrote after Matthew and Mark, 193, 1247.  
 Lustrum or census concluded, 2, 9. 28, 658. 107, 828. 157, 1051. 287, 1716.  
 Lutro, Port, the ancient Phoenix, 321, 1899.  
 Lycaonia given to Polemo I, 55, 480.  
 — to Amyntas, 65, 551.  
 — and on his death to Antiochus, king of Commagene, 82, 675. 250, 1505. 285, 1703.  
 Lycia, formerly comprised in Cilicia, 24, 191.  
 — made free, 48, 420.  
 — plundered by the followers of Caius Cæsar, 143, 992.  
 — deprived of liberty, 277, 1656.  
 — annexed to Pamphylia, *ib.*  
 Lycopedes, priest of Comana, 35, 305.  
 — confirmed by Octavius, 73, 618.  
 Lydda sold into slavery, 45, 385.  
 — one of the Toparchies of Judæa, 147, 1013.  
 Lysanias, king of Chalcis, 51, 439.  
 — put to death by Antony, 63, 537.  
 Lysanias, Tetrarch of Abilene, 131, 950. 174, 1169.  
 — mentioned by St. Luke, *ib.*  
 — tetrarchy of, granted to Agrippa, 271, 1619, 1620. 250, 1503.  
 Lysias rescues St. Paul, 314, 1860 *et seq.*  
 Lysimachus, Alex., the Jewish Alabarch of Alexandria, arrested, 268, 1605.  
 Lystra visited by St. Paul, 285, 1703. 290, 1738.
- M**ACCABÆUS, Judas, besieges the Acra in Jerusalem, xx.  
 Maccabees, era adopted in the books of, 60, 525.  
 — length of dynasty of, how computed, xx.  
 Macedonia, a senatorial or people's province, 80, 666.  
 — transferred to the emperor, 160, 1066.  
 — disturbances in, 96, 756.  
 — restored to the Roman senate or people, 281, 1652.  
 — evangelized by Paul and Silas, 294, 1763.  
 — revisited by Paul, 310, 1839.  
 — and again, 334, 1963.  
 Machares, a partisan of the Romans in Bosphorus, 6, 45.  
 Machærus, the border fortress of Judæa towards Arabia, seized by Aristobulus and his son, 14, 127.  
 — the wife of Herod Antipas escapes to, 185, 1214.  
 — never belonged to the kings of Petra, 185, 1215.  
 — John the Baptist beheaded at, 203, 1292.  
 Macheras sent by Ventidius against Herod, 57, 499.  
 — attempts to betray Antigonus, 57, 503.  
 — quarrels with Herod, 57, 503.  
 Macro succeeds Sejanus as prefect of the Prætorium, 215, 1357.

## MAC

- appointed to the province of Egypt, 255, 1530.
- commits suicide, *ib.*
- Macrobius's testimony to the murder of the Innocents, xxvii. And 119, 886.
- Mæcenas assists in the pacification between Octavius and Antony, 52, 458.
- prime minister of Octavius, 63, 532.
- advises the form of the Roman constitution, 78, 651.
- death of, 107, 826.
- Mæsia, Pomponius Labeo prefect of, 168, 1128.
- revolt of, 354, 2096.
- Magadan, a place visited by Our Lord, 208, 1325.
- Magdala, read erroneously for Magadan, 208, 1325.
- site of, *ib.*
- Magdalene, Mary, Jesus appears to, after his resurrection, 239, 1448.
- Magi, the Eastern, come to Jerusalem, 118, 878 *et seq.*
- Magnesia overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093.
- Malachus, an influential person employed by Antipater to collect tribute in Judæa, 45, 384, 386.
- poisons Antipater, 46, 392.
- put to death by Herod, 46, 398.
- Malchus, the high-priest's servant whose ear was cut off by Peter, 233, 1440.
- Malchus, king of Petra, sends aid to Cæsar, 33, 286.
- refuses to receive Herod, 52, 456.
- part of dominions of, given by Antony to Cleopatra, 63, 537.
- has lease of them at a rent from Cleopatra, 65, 544.
- withholds rent from Cleopatra, 70, 582.
- attacked by Herod by command of Antony, 70, 591.
- defeated at Diospolis, 70, 592.
- defeats Herod at Canatha, 70, 593.
- defeated at Philadelphia, 72, 604.
- an ally of Antony, but not present at the battle of Actium, 71, 600.
- Malta, St. Paul's shipwreck at, 322, 1900.
- governed by a primate, *ib.*
- Malthace, mother of Archelaus the ethnarch, accompanies him to Rome, 128, 927.
- death of, 129, 942.
- Maluginensis, Servius, is flamen Dialis, and as such incapable of holding the province of Asia, 169, 1137.
- Manahem, an Essene, who foretold the length of Herod's reign, 127, 925.
- Marcellinus appointed prefect of Syria, 12, 101, 103.
- Marcellus, the first husband of Octavia, 55, 479.
- Marcellus, son of Octavia, marries Julia, daughter of Augustus, 83, 679.
- jealousy between him and Agrippa, 86, 700.
- when ædile gives a banquet in the forum, 86, 701.
- death of, 86, 702.
- Marcellus, Eprius, prefect of Lycia, accused, 307, 1832.
- Marcellus, Granius, prefect of Bithynia, indicted for treason, 160, 1068.
- Marcellus, the interim governor of Judæa, appointed by Vitellius, 247, 1494.
- Marcus, Quintus Crispus, prefect of Bithynia, brings aid to L. Staius Murcus, 43, 365, 366.
- takes the side of Cassius, 45, 382.
- Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, is betrothed to Herod, 47, 406.
- married to him, 59, 518.
- suspected of intriguing with Herod's brother Joseph, 68, 567.
- put to death, 78, 655.
- Mariamne, daughter of Simon, marries Herod, 88, 715.

## MED

- implicated in a plot against Herod, 121, 896.
- Mariamne, daughter of King Agrippa, 281, 1678.
- marries Archelaus, 299, 1789.
- deserts Archelaus, and marries Demetrius, the Alabarch of Alexandria, 301, 1801.
- Marion, a partisan of Antigonus in Judæa, 47, 403, 405.
- Mark, St., remarks on Gospel of, 189, 1228.
- accompanies Paul and Barnabas from Jerusalem to Antioch, 279, 1673.
- accompanies his uncle Barnabas in a circuit over Cyprus, 290, 1738.
- Marmaridæ, a people of Africa, subdued by P. S. Quirinus, 145, 1003.
- situation of, 133, 955.
- Marriage to brother's wife, after issue born to him, illegal amongst the Jews, 177, 1178.
- Mars, Temple of, dedicated by Augustus, 136, 961.
- Mars Ultor, Temple of, erected by Augustus, 93, 743.
- Marsus, Vibius, is prefect of Syria, 275, 1647.
- prevents Agrippa from walling in Jerusalem, 277, 1661.
- gives offence to Agrippa, 277, 1662.
- threatens Vardanes, 278, 1664.
- superseded, 281, 1679.
- Marsyas, the plain between Libanus and Antilibanus so called, 8, 68.
- Martha, what was the native place and domicile of, 217, 1370. 224, 1402.
- Martial the Epigrammatist at Rome, 341, 2001.
- Mary, Virgin, Annunciation to, 109, 837.
- visits Elizabeth, 109, 838.
- goes to Bethlehem to be taxed, 115, 868.
- Purification of, 118, 877.
- flight of, to Egypt, 119, 882.
- returns from Egypt, and retires to Nazareth, 127, 925.
- family of, 182, 1198.
- Mary, wife of Cleophas, who she was, 182, 1198.
- Mary, mother of James the Less and Joses, *ib.*
- visits the tomb of Our Lord, 239, 1448.
- Mary, the sister of Barnabas and mother of Mark, 279, 1671.
- Mary Magdalene stands by the Cross, 182, 1198.
- visits the tomb of Our Lord, 239, 1448.
- Maryllus appointed Hipparch of Judæa, 250, 1504.
- Masada seized by Malachus, but taken by Herod, 47, 401.
- Herod leaves his kinsfolk at, for safety, 52, 452.
- now called Sebbeh, *ib.*
- siege of, by the Parthians, raised by Herod, 56, 486.
- Mathematici ordered to quit Italy, 295, 1774. 354, 2095.
- Matthew, St., probably a disciple of the Baptist, 176, 1174.
- remarks on Gospel of, 189, 1228.
- called by Our Lord, 194, 1253.
- where his receipt of custom was, 194, 1253.
- Matthias, son of Theophilus, appointed high-priest by Herod, 121, 896.
- removed, 124, 904.
- Matthias, son of Margolothus, pulls down the Roman eagle, 124, 903.
- Matthias the Apostle appointed in the place of Judas Iscariot, 240, 1450.
- Matthias, brother of Jonathan, appointed high-priest by Agrippa, 275, 1646.
- removed, 277, 1663.
- Matthias, son of Theophilus, high-priest, 336, 1979.
- Mauritania divided into two provinces, 274, 1638.
- Maximus, Sanguinius, is prefect of the city, 259, 1549.
- Medeus, priest of Comana, 73, 618.



## MED

- Media, Darius is king of, 6, 49.  
 — subdued by the Parthians, and lost to Rome, 69, 580.  
 — Artabanus is king of, 161, 1077.  
 Mediæum, a town of Phrygia, where S. Pompey surrendered himself, 66, 554.  
 Medjefera, the ancient Magadan, 208, 1325.  
 Medus, king of the Lesser Armenia, 90, 727.  
 Meherdates sent from Rome to be king of Parthia, 289, 1730 *et seq.*  
 — goes to Armenia, 289, 1732.  
 — defeated, and delivered up to the Parthians, *ib.*  
 Mela, the father of Lucan, 335, 1969.  
 — put to death, 338, 1985.  
 Messala, prefect of Syria, 78, 654.  
 Messalina, the wife of Claudius, sells the freedom of Rome for a bauble, 277, 1657.  
 — puts Catonius Justus to death, 277, 1658.  
 — intrigues of, 285, 1700.  
 — marries Silius in the lifetime of Claudius, 287, 1716.  
 — put to death, 287, 1717.  
 Messalinus, proprætor of Dalmatia and Pannonia, 145, 1004.  
 — success of, 145, 1006.  
 Messiah, Our Lord did not announce himself as, till a late period of His ministry, 179, 1189. 192, 1242. 198, 1264. 219, 1380. 234, 1441.  
 Μετὰ ταῦτα, use of by St. John, 181, 1196.  
 Μετὰ ἕξη τρία, meaning of, lxvi. And 264, 1581. 340, 1996.  
 Metellus, Q. Cæcilius, has conduct of the war in Crete, 3, 12.  
 — besieges Cydonia, 3, 19.  
 — subdues Crete, 4, 28.  
 — triumph of, 11, 94.  
 Metellus, an officer of Pompey, takes Damascus, 5, 36.  
 Mevania, a town of Umbria, where the Cæsars had a palace, 260, 1556.  
 Mines, Copper, of Cyprus bestowed on Herod, 101, 792.  
 Ministry of Our Lord, duration of, xlv. And 182, 1200.  
 — of John the Baptist, commencement of, liii.  
 Miracles of Our Lord:—  
 — changing water into wine, 181, 1195.  
 — cure of the son of the courtier (*βασιλικός*) at Capernaum, 189, 1227.  
 — of the demoniac at Capernaum, 192, 1240.  
 — of Peter's wife's mother, 192, 1241.  
 — draught of fishes, 193, 1246.  
 — cure of the leper, 193, 1247.  
 — of the cripple at the pool of Bethesda, 196, 1256.  
 — restoration of the withered hand on a Sabbath, 197, 1262.  
 — cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum, 199, 1271.  
 — raising to life the young man of Nain, 199, 1272.  
 — of the herd of swine, 201, 1279.  
 — cure of the issue of blood, 202, 1283.  
 — raising of Jairus's daughter, *ib.*  
 — feeding the five thousand, 205, 1302.  
 — walking on the sea, 205, 1308.  
 — stilling of the wind, 205, 1309.  
 — healing of divers sick, 206, 1313.  
 — cure of the deaf and dumb, 207, 1321.  
 — feeding of the four thousand, 207, 1322.  
 — the blind restored to sight, 208, 1329.  
 — the raising of Lazarus, 218, 1374.  
 — the Transfiguration, 220, 1381.  
 — cure of the dumb man, 224, 1403.  
 — cure of the ten lepers, 229, 1425.  
 — withering of the fig-tree, 231, 1437.  
 — the resurrection, 239, 1448.

## MUR

- Misenum, conference between Antony, Octavius, and S. Pompey at, 54, 476.  
 Mithridates regains great part of his kingdom, and defeats M. Fabius, 4, 23.  
 — defeats Triarius, 4, 24.  
 — declines battle with Lucullus, 4, 25.  
 — presses Cappadocia, 4, 27.  
 — war against, committed to Pompey, 4, 29.  
 — defeated by Pompey, 5, 31.  
 — expels Machares from Bosphorus, 6, 45.  
 — schemes of, against Rome, 8, 64.  
 — death of, 9, 74.  
 Mithridates III., king of Parthia, 14, 125.  
 Mithridates Pergamenus, 32, 280.  
 — charged by Cæsar to bring succours from Syria to Egypt, 33, 286.  
 — assembles his forces at Ascalon, *ib.*  
 — takes Pelusium, 33, 287.  
 — defeats the Egyptians at the Jews' camp, 33, 288.  
 — made king by Cæsar with a Tetrarchy in Galatia, 35, 304.  
 Mithridates II., king of Commagene, 90, 728.  
 Mithridates, son of Artabanus, taken prisoner, and released by Anilæus the Jew, 241, 1457.  
 Mithridates, son-in-law of Artabanus, slain in battle by Anilæus, 243, 1464.  
 Mithridates, brother of Pharasmanes, nominated king of Armenia, 244, 1474.  
 — invades Armenia and defeats the Parthians, 276, 1651.  
 — besieged in Armenia by Pharasmanes and Rhadamistus, 292, 1752.  
 — surrenders and is put to death, 293, 1754.  
 Mithridates, king of Bosphorus, 271, 1623.  
 — sent prisoner to Rome, 289, 1733.  
 Mitylene, residence of M. Agrippa at, 86, 700. 87, 708.  
 Mizferah, the ancient Magadan, 208, 1325.  
 M'Kauer. *See* Machærus.  
 Mockery of King Agrippa at Alexandria, 257, 1536.  
 — of Our Lord, 233, 1440. 235, 1441.  
 Moneses, a Parthian refugee with Antony, 59, 516.  
 Moneses, a Parthian general, invades Armenia, 329, 1935.  
 — besieges Tigranocerta, *ib.*  
 Money-changers in the Temple, who they were, 231, 1437.  
 Monobazus, king of Adiabene, is succeeded by his son Izates, 255, 1525.  
 Monobazus, brother of Izates, becomes a Jewish proselyte, 298, 1783.  
 Monobazus, son of Izates, succeeds his father as king of Adiabene, 329, 1935.  
 Months, Jewish, the number of days in, 360, 2153.  
 — were lunar, 342, 2003.  
 — calendar of, for A.D. 70. 358, 2117.  
 Morini, position of, 15, 136.  
 — Cæsar's march to, *ib.*  
 — attack the crews of two of Cæsar's ships, 17, 149.  
 Moshene overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093.  
 Mount of Beatitudes, site of, 199, 1268, 1269.  
 Mourning, duration of, among the Jews, 126, 919.  
 — ordered for a year at Rome on the death of Livia, 177, 1176.  
 Mucianus is prefect of Syria, 347, 2044.  
 — Titus sent to, by Vespasian, 347, 2044.  
 — ordered by Vespasian to Italy, 355, 2107.  
 Munda, battle of, 38, 329.  
 Murena, L. Licinius Varro, conspiracy and death of, 88, 711.

## MUR

- Murcus, Lucius Statius, is prefect of Syria, 43, 365.  
 — besieges Bassus in Apamea, 43, 366.  
 — joins the party of Cassius, 45, 382.
- Musa, Antonius, applies the cold-water cure to Augustus, 85, 698.
- Mylassa reduced by Labienus, 51, 441.
- Myrhina, a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093.
- Myus Hormus, a town visited by Ælius Gallus, 87, 706.
- N**ACEBUS, an Arabian general, slain by Herod, 108, 835.
- Nevia, Ænnia, wife of Macro, commits suicide, 255, 1530.
- Nain, site of, 200, 1273.
- Nabōs of Temple at Jerusalem, 94, 745. 101, 791.
- Napate or Tanape taken by Petronius, 84, 691.
- Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, put to death, lxxviii. And 303, 1807.
- Narcissus, another freedman, put to death, 349, 2068.
- Nasidius defeated by M. Agrippa, 72, 605.
- Nathanael, a disciple of the Baptist, 176, 1174.  
 — brought by Philip to Jesus, 180, 1190  
 — native of Cana in Galilee, 181, 1192.
- Nativity, date of, xxiii. And 115, 869.
- Nazareth visited by Our Lord, 192, 1236.  
 — a second time, 202, 1286.
- Nazarites, the vow of, and expense attending it, 314, 1859. 275, 1642.  
 — the vow of, taken by St. Paul, 300, 1792.
- Neapolis visited by Paul and Silas, 294, 1764.
- Νεωκόπος, meaning of, as applied to Ephesus, 309, 1838.
- Νεπὰ Κώμη, a town of Arabia, 86, 706.
- Nero, Cl. Drusus, son of Livia, born, 56, 491.
- Nero, Claudius Cæsar, son of Agrippina and Domitius, born, 173, 1168. 255, 1527.  
 — pupil of Seneca, 289, 1729.  
 — adopted by Claudius, 291, 1740.  
 — assumes the toga virilis, 292, 1749.  
 — pleads before Claudius, 292, 1749.  
 — marries Octavia, 299, 1785.  
 — pleads for the Ilians and Rhodians, 299, 1785.  
 — succeeds Claudius as emperor, 302, 1803.  
 — assassinates C. Jun. Silanus, 302, 1806.  
 — puts Narcissus to death, 303, 1807.  
 — checked by Burrhus and Seneca, 303, 1808.  
 — renounces part of the judicial prerogative, 303, 1810.  
 — consul i. for two months, 304, 1818.  
 — enamoured of Acte, a courtesan, 304, 1819.  
 — removes Pallas from office, 304, 1819.  
 — poisons Britannicus, 304, 1820.  
 — ejects Agrippina from the palace, 304, 1821.  
 — low-lived amusements of, 306, 1826.  
 — consul ii. for six months, 307, 1830.  
 — consul iii. for four months, 312, 1844.  
 — banishes Sullius, 312, 1850.  
 — enamoured of Sabina Poppæa, 312, 1851.  
 — attempts the life of his mother Agrippina, 317, 1868, 1869.  
 — causes her to be assassinated, 317, 1871.  
 — retires to Naples, 317, 1872.  
 — returns to Rome, 317, 1873.  
 — celebrates games in honour of Agrippina, 317, 1875.  
 — forms a racecourse on the site of the Vatican, 317, 1875.  
 — institutes the Juvenalia, 317, 1876.  
 — forms the band of Augustani, 318, 1877.

## NUR

- consul iv. for six months, 318, 1882.
- institutes Quinquennalia called Neronia, 319, 1883.
- suffers from illness, 319, 1885.
- dedicates the gymnasium, 324, 1909.
- divorces Octavia and marries Poppæa, 326, 1924.
- banishes Octavia and recalls her, 326, 1925.
- again banishes her, 327, 1926.
- puts her to death, 327, 1927.
- puts Pallas and Doriphorus to death, 329, 1934.
- has a daughter by Poppæa, 331, 1944.
- appears on the public stage, 332, 1949.
- is at Beneventum on his way to Greece, 333, 1951.
- returns to Rome, 333, 1953.
- proposes to visit Egypt, *ib.*
- abandons the design, 333, 1954.
- at Antium at the great fire of Rome, 333, 1955.
- imputes it to the Christians and persecutes them, 333, 1956.
- builds the golden palace, 334, 1957.
- conspiracy of Piso against, 335, 1965.
- orders executions in consequence, 335, 1966 *et seq.*
- sings on the public stage, 336, 1973.
- puts Ostorius to death, 338, 1964.
- puts to death Mela the brother of Seneca, 338, 1985.
- goes to Baulos, 338, 1986.
- entertains Tiridates at Puteoli, 338, 1988.
- accompanies him to Rome, 339, 1989.
- crowns Tiridates *ib.*
- saluted emperor, *ib.*
- goes to Greece, 340, 1994.
- conquers at the Olympia, 340, 1996.
- puts Cæcina Tuscus to death for having used his baths, 340, 1997.
- issues edicts against the study of philosophy, 341, 2000.
- puts Corbulo to death, 347, 2052.
- crowned victor at the Isthmian and other games, 347, 2053.
- proclaims the liberty of Greece, 347, 2053.
- attempts to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth, 347, 2055.
- returns to Italy, 347, 2057.
- enters Rome &c. as Olympic victor, 348, 2058.
- death of, 349, 2066.
- Neronia, games so called, instituted, 319, 1883.
- Nicodemus, an envoy from Aristobulus to Pompey, 8, 65.
- Nicodemus, a member of the Sanhedrim, visits Jesus, 184, 1206.  
 — supports His cause in the Sanhedrim, 209, 1332.  
 — opposes the designs of the Pharisees against Jesus, 209, 1339.  
 — probably opposes the final sentence against Jesus, 234, 1441.
- Nicolaus of Damascus born, 8, 67.  
 — sent on embassy by Herod to Rome, 110, 844.  
 — appeases Augustus, 110, 845.  
 — returns from Rome and meets Herod at Tyre, 113, 859.  
 — sails with him to Cæsarea, 114, 860.  
 — accompanies Archelaus to Rome, 128, 927.
- Nicopolis at Actium founded, 76, 641.  
 — visited by Germanicus, 164, 1099.  
 — and by St. Paul, 334, 1963.
- Nicopolis, the ancient Emmaus, 147, 1013. 239, 1448.
- Nisibis or Antioch in Mygdonia, 4, 22.
- Nola, Augustus dies at, 157, 1053.
- Norbanus, C., sent by the Triumvirate to Greece, 48, 412, 413.
- Noricum, disturbances in, 96, 756.
- Nursia capitulates, 49, 428.



## OAT

- O**ATH of allegiance to Cæsar and Herod, 115, 867.  
 — to Herod only, *ib.*  
 Obodas is king of Petra, 84, 688.  
 — Syllæus chief minister of, 100, 783.  
 — illness of, 108, 835.  
 — death of, 110, 840.  
 Octavia, sister of Augustus, marries Marcellus, 55, 479.  
 — on his death marries Antony, 53, 459.  
 — has a child, 53, 479.  
 — sent by Antony to Italy, 58, 515.  
 — returns from Rome and is at Athens, 69, 575.  
 — returns to Rome, 69, 577.  
 — death of, 103, 798.  
 Octavia, daughter of Claudius, marries Nero, 299, 1785.  
 — divorced, 326, 1924.  
 — banished, 326, 1925.  
 — recalled, *ib.*  
 — again banished, 327, 1926.  
 — put to death, 327, 1927.  
 Octavius, C. *See* Augustus.  
 Οἰκουμένη, sense of, in Luke, 109, 835.  
 Olbe subject to Polemo I., 54, 480.  
 Olympia postponed by Nero, 335, 1964.  
 — Nero crowned at, 340, 1996.  
 — attended by Herod, 107, 830. 102, 793.  
 — celebrated at Antioch, 282, 1685.  
 Olympiad, Josephus's calculation of, 2, 10, and references there.  
 Olympius, Herod's envoy to Rome, 110, 844, 846.  
 Onesiphorus comforts Paul at Ephesus and Rome, 335, 1981.  
 Ophla burnt by Titus, 360, 2151.  
 Ophrah or Ephraim, now Taiyibeh, 219, 1377.  
 Oreses, king of the Albani, 6, 46.  
 Orestina, Cornelia, marries Caligula, 255, 1526.  
 Oricum taken by Cæsar, 30, 261.  
 — retaken by Pompey, 30, 262.  
 Orodes I., king of Parthia, 2, 8. 14, 125.  
 — resigns the crown and dies, 59, 516.  
 Orodes II., king of Parthia, 159, 1062.  
 — slain, *ib.*  
 Orodes, son of Artabanus, sent against the Iberi, 244, 1475.  
 — defeated and slain, 244, 1476.  
 Osaces, a Parthian general, slain by Cassius, 25, 211.  
 'Osef, force of, in Luke, 220, 1381.  
 Ostia, port of, built by Claudius, 274, 1639.  
 Ostorius, P., subdues and takes Caractacus in Britain, 291, 1744.  
 — put to death, 338, 1984.  
 Otho, husband of Poppæa, 312, 1851.  
 — becomes emperor, 353, 2084.  
 — dies, 353, 2088.  
 Ovid, date of exile of, 154, 1042.
- P**ACORUS brings aid to Bassus in Apamea, 39, 339.  
 — invades Syria, 51, 440, 442.  
 — gets possession of Jerusalem, 52, 451.  
 — makes Antigonus king of Judæa, 52, 453.  
 — slain by Ventidius, 57, 498.  
 Pacorus, son of Artabanus, 275, 1648.  
 Pætus, Cæsennius, is prefect of Armenia, 329, 1935.  
 — prefect of Syria, 361, 2159.  
 Pætus, Thrasea, put to death, 339, 1990, 1991.  
 Palace of Herod rebuilt, 88, 715.  
 — Golden, of Nero at Rome, 334, 1957.  
 Pallas (the freedman) the slave of Antonia, 215, 1354.  
 — in great favour at court, 287, 1717.  
 — the paramour of Agrippina, 303, 1808.

## PAR

- out of favour with Nero, 303, 1809.  
 — removed from office, 304, 1819.  
 — screens his brother Felix, 320, 1894.  
 — put to death, 329, 1934.  
 Palm Sunday, 230, 1436.  
 Pamphylia comprised under the republic Pisidia and Phrygia Minor, 103, 799.  
 — annexed to the province of Cilicia, 24, 191.  
 — governed by a proprator of its own, 103, 799.  
 — Lycia is annexed to, 277, 1656.  
 — part of, given by Antony to Amyntas, 65, 551.  
 — restored on his death to its former state, 82, 675.  
 — Lucius Piso prefect of, 103, 799.  
 Panathenæa, 100, 776.  
 Pareas included in the grant by Antony to Cleopatra, 64, 537.  
 — farmed out to Zenon or Zenodorus, *ib.*  
 — bestowed by Augustus on Herod, 90, 730.  
 — visited by Our Lord, 207, 1319.  
 Pannonia, disturbances in, 96, 756.  
 — revolts of, 101, 786. 105, 812. 145, 1005. 354, 2096.  
 — successes of Germanicus in, 148, 1020.  
 — sues for peace, 149, 1023.  
 — mutiny of legions of, 158, 1060.  
 Pantacapræum, death of Mithridates at, 9, 74.  
 Paphlagonia, subject to Attalus, 7, 55.  
 — on his death to Castor, 50, 435.  
 — then to Dejotarus Philadelphus, the last king, 50, 435.  
 — annexed to Bithynia, 50, 435.  
 Paphos, earthquake at, 97, 759.  
 — visited by Paul and Barnabas, 284, 1695.  
 Pappus, a general of Antigonus, defeated by Herod, 58, 509.  
 Parable of the Jew who fell among thieves, 224, 1401.  
 — of the foolish man that built new barns, 224, 1404.  
 — of the fig-tree, lxi. And 225, 1409.  
 — of the labourers in the vineyard, 229, 1431.  
 Pardon, ten days' reprieve decreed in favour of the condemned, to allow time for, 169, 1134.  
 Παρασκευή, meaning of, xxxv. And 236, 1441.  
 Παρελθών, in what sense used by Josephus, 91, 733.  
 Parium visited by Tiberius, 112, 850.  
 Parthians under Sanatruces, 2, 8.  
 — Phraates III., *ib.*  
 — Mithridates III., *ib.*  
 — Orodes I., *ib.*, and 28, 239.  
 — Phraates IV., 59, 516.  
 — Phraataces, 159, 1062.  
 — Orodes II., 159, 1062.  
 — Vonones I., 161, 1075.  
 — Artabanus, 161, 1077.  
 — Gotarzes, 275, 1649.  
 — Vardanes, *ib.*  
 — Gotarzes, 285, 1702.  
 — Vonones II., 291, 1745.  
 — Vologeses, *ib.*  
 — deprived of Gordyene by Pompey, 6, 50.  
 — invaded by Gabinius, 14, 125, 126.  
 — invaded by Crassus, 18, 155.  
 — again invaded by Crassus, 22, 182.  
 — Crassus, father and son, slain in battle with, 22, 183, 184.  
 — invade Syria, 25, 208.  
 — retreat of, 25, 210.  
 — at what time, 28, 240.  
 — successful ambush of Cassius against, 25, 211.  
 — peace of Romans with, 26, 212. 27, 221.  
 — aid Bassus, 39, 339.  
 — preparations by Cæsar for war with, 41, 347.

## PAR

- invade Syria, 51, 440, 442.
- take Jerusalem, and make Antigonus king, 52, 451, 453.
- defeated by Ventidius, 55, 482, 483.
- again defeated by Ventidius, 57, 498.
- invaded by Antony, 65, 543.
- disastrous retreat of Antony before, 65, 548.
- standards taken by, from Crassus and Antony, restored, 89, 725.
- deliver hostages to Titius, prefect of Syria, 104, 810.
- resign Armenia to the Romans, 139, 975.
- Roman war with, 303, 1811 *et seq.*
- carried on by Corbulo, 312, 1845 *et seq.*
- dates of proceedings in connection with, 329, 1935.
- embassy of, to Rome, 329, 1935. 331, 1945 *et seq.*
- war with, resumed, 331, 1946 *et seq.*
- Paschal sacrifices, on what day slain, xxxvii. And 230, 1434. 231, 1440.
- Passover, how calculated by the Jews, xxxvi. And 251, 1508.
- occurs during siege of Jerusalem by Hyrcanus and Aretas, 6, 43.
- whether *ἑσπέρη* of John v. 1, was a Passover, 195, 1255.
- time of, in the year of the Crucifixion, 230, 1434. 231, 1440.
- on what day it was eaten by Our Lord, xxxi.
- attended by Vitellius, 248, 1495.
- Paul and Luke at Philippi at time of, 313, 1856.
- great loss of life at, 290, 1736.
- a prisoner wont to be released by the Romans at, 235, 1441.
- next after the death of Herod, 126, 820. 127, 924.
- at the Crucifixion, 230, 1433. 231, 1440.
- usually attended by Joseph and Mary, 149, 1026.
- washing the head, hands, and feet, a usual ceremony before, 232, 1440.
- accompanied with hymns and prayer, *ib.*
- Passovers, Table of, 241, 1458.
- number of, during Christ's ministry, xlv. And 182, 1200.
- Passports, system of, under Augustus, 78, 652.
- Pater Patria, the title of, conferred on Augustus, 136, 960.
- Paterculus, Velleius, is quæstor, 148, 1017.
- legate under Tiberius, *ib.*
- Patræ taken by Agrippa, 72, 605.
- Patrobius, the freedman, put to death by Galba, 349, 2068.
- Paul, St., born, 150, 1035.
- at Tarsus, with Apollonius Tyaneus, 152, 1041. 290, 1738.
- leaves Tarsus, and placed under Gamaliel, 166, 1118.
- a young man at the death of St. Stephen, 252, 1512.
- a member of the Sanhedrim, *ib.*
- persecutes the Christians at Jerusalem, 252, 1514.
- starts for Damascus, *ib.*
- converted by the way at Kaukaba, *ib.*
- date of conversion of, lxxvi. And 252, 1515.
- arrives at Damascus, 253, 1516.
- restored to sight, 254, 1517.
- partially blind ever after, 315, 1862.
- retires to Arabia, 254, 1518.
- preaches at Damascus, 258, 1542.
- Jews seek the life of, at Damascus, 263, 1580.

## PAU

- returns to Jerusalem, 264, 1581.
- disputes with the Hellenists, 264, 1582.
- retires to Cæsarea-on-sea on his way to Tarsus, *ib.*
- preaches in Cilicia and Syria, 264, 1583.
- brought by Barnabas from Tarsus to Antioch, 278, 1665.
- goes with Barnabas to Jerusalem with the alms of the Antiochian Church, lxxix. And 279, 1673.
- experiences the rapture, 279, 1672.
- returns to Antioch, 279, 1673.
- makes his first circuit, 284, 1695.
- traverses Cyprus, *ib.*
- and Pamphylia and Lycaonia, 285, 1703.
- returns to Antioch, 285, 1706.
- duration of the first circuit of, 285, 1707.
- sojourns at Antioch, 287, 1721.
- goes with Barnabas to Jerusalem on the question of circumcision, 288, 1722 *et seq.*
- commences a second circuit with Silas, 290, 1738.
- traverses Syria and Cilicia, *ib.*
- adopts Timothy at Lystra, *ib.*
- plants churches in Phrygia and Galatia, 292, 1747.
- crosses to Macedonia, 294, 1763 *et seq.*
- scourged at Philippi, 294, 1765.
- passes on to Thessalonica, 294, 1766 *et seq.*
- retires to Berea, 294, 1768.
- is at Athens, 294, 1769 *et seq.*
- brought before the Areopagus, 295, 1772.
- retires to Corinth, 297, 1778.
- date of arrival of, there, lvii.
- writes first Epistle to the Thessalonians, 297, 1779.
- writes second Epistle to the Thessalonians, 298, 1780.
- indicted by the Jews before Gallio, 300, 1791.
- departs from Corinth, and shaves his head at Cenchrea, 300, 1792.
- duration of stay of, at Corinth, 300, 1793.
- touches at Ephesus, 300, 1794.
- goes to the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem, 300, 1794 *et seq.*
- time of visit of, 300, 1795.
- object of, 301, 1796.
- goes down to Antioch, 301, 1797.
- commences his third circuit, 303, 1815.
- visits Galatia and Phrygia, 303, 1815, 1816.
- makes a collection there for the poor saints, 303, 1816.
- comes to Ephesus, 303, 1816 *et seq.*
- writes the Epistle to the Galatians, 305, 1825.
- date of the Epistle, *ib.*
- sends Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia, 306, 1829.
- derangement of plans of, 308, 1835.
- writes first Epistle to the Corinthians, 309, 1836.
- date of the Epistle, *ib.*
- danger of, from the riot of Demetrius the silversmith, 309, 1838.
- leaves Ephesus, 310, 1839.
- at Troas and thence to Macedonia, *ib. et seq.*
- makes collection for the poor saints, 310, 1840.
- writes second Epistle to the Corinthians, 310, 1841.
- date of it, *ib.*
- preaches in Illyricum, 311, 1842.
- passes the winter at Corinth, 311, 1843.
- writes the Epistle to the Romans, 313, 1854.
- leaves Corinth for Jerusalem, 313, 1855.
- from an ambush laid against him, is obliged to go round by Macedonia, 313, 1855.
- at Philippi at the Passover, lxxv. And 313, 1856.
- at Troas, 313, 1857.
- preaches in Ephesus, 314, 1857.



## PAU

- arrives at Cæsarea, 314, 1857.
- at Jerusalem, *ib.*
- has an audience with James the Just, 314, 1858.
- pays the charge of the Nazarites who had taken a vow, 314, 1859.
- set upon, but rescued, in the Temple, 314, 1860.
- date of the arrest of, lxxii.
- brought before the Sanhedrim, 315, 1861, 1862.
- insulted by Ananias, 315, 1862.
- conspiracy of Jews against, 316, 1863.
- sent to Cæsarea, *ib.*
- accused before Felix, 316, 1864.
- discourses with Felix, 316, 1867.
- brought before Festus, and appeals to Cæsar, 320, 1895-8.
- sails for Rome, 320, 1899.
- date of the voyage of, *ib.*
- shipwrecked at Malta, 322, 1900.
- sails in the *Castor* and *Pollux* for Rome, 325, 1916.
- arrives at Rome, *ib. et seq.*
- writes the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and to Philemon, 330, 1938.
- writes the Epistle to the Philippians, 330, 1939.
- after a year is released, 331, 1940.
- date of release, lxxix.
- writes the Epistle to the Hebrews, 331, 1941.
- date of it, *ib.*
- sails to Jerusalem, 331, 1942.
- revisits Antioch and Colossæ, *ib.*
- sails to Crete, 334, 1963.
- returns to Ephesus, *ib.*
- visits Macedonia and Corinth, *ib.*
- writes Epistles to Timothy and Titus, *ib.*
- winters at Nicopolis in Epirus, 337, 1981.
- visits Dalmatia, *ib.*
- returns by way of Troas to Ephesus, *ib.*
- arrested at Ephesus and sent prisoner to Rome, 338, 1981.
- writes second Epistle to Timothy, 340, 1993.
- martyrdom of, 341, 1999.
- Paulina, Lollia, marries Caligula, 256, 1532.
- divorced, *ib.*
- Paulus, Sergius, proconsul of Cyprus, 284, 1695.
- Pedanius commissioned to take the census of Judæa, 109, 835.
- sits as one of the judges at the trial of Herod's sons, 113, 857.
- Pedanius Secundus, prefect of Rome, murdered, 324, 1908.
- Pelignus, Julius, is procurator of Cappadocia, 293, 1758.
- Pelusium, defeat of the Egyptians at, by Gabinius, 15, 129.
- taken by Mithridates, 33, 287.
- taken by Octavius Cæsar, 76, 633.
- Pentecost, how day of, calculated, xl.
- Jesus is at Jerusalem at the Feast of, 196, 1255.
- disturbance at, after the death of Herod, 128, 931.
- after the death of Caligula, 251, 1510.
- descent of the Holy Ghost on Day of, 240, 1451.
- Peræa, boundaries of, 229, 1426.
- Pheroras is made tetrarch of, 90, 731.
- given, on death of Herod, to Herod Antipas, 130, 949.
- Jesus crosses the Jordan into, 229, 1426.
- Jews of, at war with Philadelphians, 281, 1680.
- Perga visited by St. Paul, 285, 1703.
- Peritionium, Antony defeated at, 75, 628.
- Perusia taken by Octavius, 50, 436.
- Peter, St., a disciple of the Baptist, 176, 1174.
- a native of Bethsaida, 180, 1190.

## PHA

- domiciled at Capernaum, *ib.*
- called to be an apostle, 191, 1235.
- when first called Peter, 198, 1267.
- avows Jesus to be the Messiah, 219, 1380.
- a witness of the Transfiguration 220, 1381.
- abandons his wife and home to follow Christ, 229, 1430.
- follows Jesus to Caiaphas, 233, 1440.
- denies Him, *ib.*
- Jesus appears to, after the Resurrection, 239, 1448.
- cures the cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, 240, 1452.
- arrested by the Sadducees, 240, 1453.
- sent with John to evangelize Samaria, 258, 1544, 1545.
- receives Paul at Jerusalem, 264, 1581.
- circuit of, through Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, 268, 1607.
- arrested by King Agrippa, 279, 1671.
- delivered from prison by the angel, *ib.*
- rebuked by Paul at Antioch, 301, 1797.
- martyrdom of, 336, 1980.
- Peter, St., site of Cathedral of, at Rome, 317, 1875.
- Petra subject to Aretas, 5, 40.
- to Malchus, 33, 286.
- to Obodas, 84, 688.
- to Aretas, 110, 840. 256, 1533.
- to Abias, 298, 1783.
- expedition of Pompey against, 10, 84.
- of Gabinius against, 14, 125. 15, 132.
- Petronius, prefect of Egypt, xxi. And 84, 687.
- defeats the Ethiopians, 84, 691.
- defeats them a second time, 88, 714.
- Petronius, i. e., P. Petronius Turpilianus, is appointed prefect of Syria, 260, 1554.
- ordered to erect the statue of Caligula in the Temple, 260, 1558.
- perplexity of, 262, 1563.
- marches to Acre, 262, 1564 *et seq.*
- assembles the Jews at Tiberias, 262, 1568, 1569.
- returns with his army to Antioch, 266, 1593.
- and writes excuses to Caligula, 266, 1594.
- who disguises his anger, 266, 1597.
- ordered to drop the affair of the statue, and shortly afterwards ordered again to proceed with it, 267, 1599.
- ordered to make away with himself, 269, 1613.
- superseded as prefect, 275, 1647.
- propætor of Britain, 324, 1906.
- Pevensey thought by some to be the scene of Cæsar's landing, 21, 177-8.
- Phannias chosen high-priest, 348, 2059.
- Pharasmanes, king of the Iberi, 244, 1474.
- makes war on Mithridates, king of Armenia, 292, 1752.
- and puts him to death, 293, 1754.
- has grant from the Romans of part of Armenia, 319, 1887.
- Pharisees, the anti-Roman party, 208, 1327.
- spread report of the birth of the Messiah, 119, 883.
- punished by Herod, 119, 884.
- at first favour John the Baptist, 175, 1172.
- send to enquire into his pretensions, 178, 1184.
- plot against Christ, 186, 1219.
- Pharnabazes, king of Iberia, is conquered by Canidius Crassus, 63, 535.
- Pharnaces, king of Bosphorus, 7, 55.
- slain by Asander, 35, 304.
- Pharsalia, battle of, 31, 269.
- Phasaelis, given on death of Herod to Salome, 131, 951.

## PHA

- bequeathed by her to Livia, 177, 1179.
- Phasaelus, son of Antipater and brother of Herod, is captain of Judæa, 36, 310.
- puts down Elix, an insurgent, 47, 401.
- accused to Antony, 49, 433.
- defeats the partisans of Antigonus, 52, 450.
- goes on embassy to Barzaphernes the Parthian, and made prisoner, 52, 451.
- delivered up to Antigonus, 52, 454.
- kills himself, 52, 455.
- Phasis, a river of Colchis, visited by Pompey, 6, 47.
- Pheroras appointed tetrarch of Peræa, 90, 731.
- calumniate the sons of Mariamne to Herod, 98, 768.
- attempts to escape to the Parthians, 104, 808.
- the wife of, pays the fine laid on the Pharisees for refusing the oath of allegiance, 115, 867.
- conspires against Herod, 118, 876.
- charges against the wife of, 119, 884.
- trial of wife of, 120, 887.
- retires to Peræa, 121, 893.
- dies, 121, 894.
- Philadelpheia of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093.
- Philadelpheia of Palestine, defeat of Arabians by Herod at, 72, 604.
- massacre of the Jews at, 343, 2011.
- is at war with Jews of Peræa, 281, 1680.
- Philemon, date of Epistle to, 330, 1938.
- Philip, Herod. *See* Herod Philip.
- Philip, a disciple of John the Baptist, 176, 1174.
- called to be a disciple, 180, 1190.
- Philip, the deacon, evangelizes a city of Samaria, 258, 1543.
- converts the Ethiopian eunuch, 258, 1546, 1547.
- Philippi, battle of, 48, 414.
- visited by Paul and Silas, 294, 1764.
- they are scourged at, 294, 1765.
- Philippians, date of Epistle to, 330, 1939.
- Philippus is prefect of Syria, 12, 101.
- Philo sent on embassy to Rome, 258, 1539.
- proceedings of, there, 259, 1551. 260, 1557, 1559. 267, 1600.
- Philopator, son of Tarcondimotus, is deprived by Octavius of Cilicia Amaniensis, 73, 618.
- dies, 163, 1088. 271, 1623.
- Philosophy, Nero's edicts against the study of, 341, 2000.
- Phlegon, testimony of, to the supernatural darkness at the Crucifixion, xlii. And 237, 1442.
- Phœnicia subject to Tigranes, 3, 18.
- Phraataes usurps the crown of Parthia, 159, 1062.
- assassinated, 159, 1062.
- Phraates III., or Theus, succeeds his father as king of Parthia, 2, 8.
- is victor over Tigranes, 7, 62.
- reconciled to Tigranes, 7, 63.
- assassinated by his sons, 2, 8.
- Phraates IV., king of Parthia, puts his father and brother to death, 59, 516.
- makes terms with Octavius, 77, 644.
- corresponds with Augustus, 139, 972.
- makes peace with Caius, 139, 975.
- put to death, 159, 1062.
- Phraates, a candidate for the throne of Parthia, sent by Tiberius to Parthia, 244, 1473.
- dies by the way, *ib.*
- Phrygia evangelized by Paul and Silas, 292, 1747.
- revisited by Paul, 303, 1815.
- Pilate, Pontius, succeeds Gratus as procurator of Judæa, 172, 1160.
- character of, *ib.*
- quarrels with Herod, 225, 1407.

## POL

- pays Herod the compliment of sending Jesus to him for examination, 235, 1441.
- reconciled to Herod, 235, 1441.
- sentences Jesus to death, 237, 1441.
- accused by the Samaritans before Vitellius, 247, 1492.
- deposed, 247, 1493.
- date of removal of, *lxvii.*
- commits suicide, 268, 1606.
- Pindemissus taken by Cicero, 26, 214.
- Pisces, the dominant zodiacal sign of the Jews, 108, 834. 110, 839. 118, 878.
- Pisgah, Mount, thought by some to be the mount of the Temptation, 178, 1182.
- Pisidia formerly comprised in Cilicia, 24, 191.
- given to Amyntas, 55, 480.
- comprised in the province of Galatia, 82, 675. 285, 1703.
- Piso, C., conspiracy of, against Nero, 335, 1965.
- Piso, Cn., succeeds Silanus as prefect of Syria, 163, 1090.
- overtakes Germanicus at Rhodes, 164, 1100.
- proceeds to Syria, *ib.*
- quarrels with Germanicus, 166, 1110 *et seq.*
- takes him off by poison, 166, 1112.
- endeavours on his death to recover Syria, 166, 1114 *et seq.*
- besieged by Sentius, and surrenders, and sent to Rome, 166, 1117.
- goes to Illyricum to appease Drusus, 167, 1126.
- death of, *ib.*
- Piso, Lu., prefect of Pamphylia, 103, 799.
- Piso, Lu., prefect of Spain, is assassinated, 171, 1156.
- Piso, Lu., præfectus urbis, 156, 1050.
- death of, 216, 1365.
- Piso, Lu., adopted by Galba, 352, 2081.
- Plague in Judæa, 83, 683.
- in Italy, 88, 710. 336, 1976.
- Planasia, an island near Corsica, 148, 1019.
- Plancus appointed proconsul of Asia by Antony, 50, 434.
- Plancus, L. Munatius, is prefect of Syria, 66, 555. 68, 572. 69, 581.
- deserts from Antony to Octavius, 70, 585.
- Plautius, Aulus, sent to command in Britain, 274, 1641.
- surrenders his army to Claudius, 277, 1660.
- triumph of, 286, 1710.
- wife of, a Christian, 307, 1831.
- Plautus, while in Asia, calumniated at Rome, 326, 1921.
- put to death, 326, 1923.
- Players expelled from Italy, 306, 1826.
- Pleiades, setting of, at siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes, 61, 525.
- Poison, frequent use of, 122, 897.
- Polemo I. is priest of Olba, 50, 435. 65, 545, 546.
- king of part of Cilicia, 55, 480.
- negotiates with the king of Armenia, 67, 556.
- made king of Armenia Minor, 69, 579.
- enrolled 'Friend of Roman People,' 81, 670.
- sent against Scribonius, and made king of Bosphorus, 97, 761.
- is priest of the Temple of Augustus, 137, 966 b.
- still living in b. c. 2, 137, 966 a.
- captured in Bosphorus and slain, *ib.*
- Polemo II., son of Polemo I., assists Pythodoris in the government, 137, 966 a.
- is king of Colchis, Pontus, and Bosphorus, 256, 1533.
- deprived of Bosphorus, and receives instead part of Cilicia, 271, 1623.



## POL

- receives from the Romans part of Armenia, 319, 1887.
- resigns the kingdom of Pontus, 318, 1881.
- Polion, Rufrius, is prefect of the Prætorium, 281, 1684.
- Politarchs, magistrates of Thessalonica, 294, 1767.
- Pollio the Pharisee refuses the oath of allegiance to Herod, 115, 867.
- Pollio, a prefect of the Prætorium, 353, 2089.
- Polycleetus, a Roman surveyor, 40, 343.
- Pompeii suffers from an earthquake, 329, 1937.
- Pompeius, Paullinus, completes entrenchments on the Rhine begun by Drusus, 312, 1852.
- Pompey appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates, 4, 29.
  - meets Lucullus at Danala, 4, 30.
  - besieges Mithridates in Armenia, 5, 31.
  - receives submission of Tigranes, 5, 33.
  - pursues Mithridates into Albania and Iberia, 5, 38.
  - winters on the Cynrus, 5, 39.
  - carries on the war in Albania and Iberia, 6, 46.
  - enters Colchis, 6, 47.
  - subdues Commagene and Media, 6, 49.
  - and Gordyene, 6, 50.
  - holds a levee at Amisus, 6, 51.
  - deposes Antiochus Asiaticus, the last of the kings of Syria, 6, 52.
  - makes other political arrangements, 6, 53 to 7, 58.
  - enters Syria, 7, 59.
  - goes to Damascus, 7, 61.
  - reconciles Phraates and Tigranes, 8, 36.
  - winters at Aspis, 8, 66.
  - proceeds to Damascus, 8, 68-70.
  - receives Jewish embassy, 8, 71.
  - marches against Aristobulus, 8, 73.
  - and on his submission against Petra, 8, 73.
  - turns about and goes to Jerusalem, 9, 76.
  - renews operations against Petra, 10, 84.
  - leaves Scaurus in command of Syria, 10, 85.
  - goes to Amisus in Pontus, 10, 86.
  - sets out for Italy, 11, 91.
  - arrives there, 11, 92, 93.
  - triumph of, 11, 99.
  - appointed to Spain, 14, 124.
  - sole consul, 23, 187.
  - flies to Brundisium, 29, 244, 245.
  - winters at Thessalonica, 30, 254.
  - retakes Oricum, 30, 262.
  - besieged in Dyrrhachium, 30, 263. 31, 267.
  - follows Cæsar to Thessaly, 31, 267.
  - Battle of Pharsalia, 31, 269.
  - sails to Lesbos, 31, 270.
  - to Attalia, 31, 271.
  - to Cyprus, 31, 272.
  - assassinated at Casium, 31, 273. 32, 274.
- Pompey, Sextus, blockades Italy, 49, 429.
  - alliance of, with Antony, 51, 444.
  - ravages the coasts of Italy, 51, 445.
  - sails to Inaria, 54, 475.
  - meets Octavius and Antony at Misenum, 54, 476.
  - and again at Puteoli, when terms are arranged, 54, 477.
  - again at war with Octavius, 56, 492.
  - defeated by Octavius and flies to Lesbos, 63, 533.
  - despairs of aid from Antony, 66, 552.
  - communicates with the Parthians, 66, 553.
  - surrenders to Amyntas, 66, 554.
  - slain, *ib.*
- Pontifex Maximus, Metellus Pius, 10, 89.
  - C. J. Cæsar, *ib.*
  - Lepidus, 41, 353.
  - Augustus, 99, 775.

## PRE

- Tiberius, 159, 1063.
- Pontifical robes, custody of, committed by Vitellius to the Jews, 248, 1495.
- ordered to be kept in Antonia, 283, 1690.
- restored to the Jews by Claudius, 283, 1691.
- Pontine Marshes, draining of, proposed by Cæsar, 41, 346.
- Pontus, Dejotarus is king of, 6, 53.
  - bestowed on Darius, son of Pharnaces, 55, 480.
  - given to Polemo I., 64, 537. 65, 545.
  - part of, annexed to Bithynia, 290, 1734.
- Pontus Polemoniacus becomes a Roman province, 341, 1998. 318, 1881.
- Pontus, in Bithynia, Junius Cilo procurator of, 290, 1734.
- Poppæa Sabina gains an influence over Nero, 312, 1851.
  - a Jewish proselyte and friend of the Jews, 324, 1913.
  - married to Nero, 326, 1924.
  - patronises Josephus, 332, 1950.
  - calumniates Octavia, 327, 1926.
  - death and burial of, 336, 1974.
- Popular provinces, what were, 80, 666.
- Praaspa, capital of Media, besieged by Antony, 65, 546. 274, 1636.
- Prætors, number of, 39, 333. 40, 341. 56, 489. 86, 703. 152, 1040. 158, 1057. 274, 1636.
  - time of election of, *lxiv.*
  - comitia of, committed to the senate, 319, 1890.
  - practice of Tiberius as to appointment of, 216, 1367.
  - interval between time of office of, and prefecture of a province, 300, 1790.
- Prætorian camp at Rome formed by Sejanus, 170, 1145.
- Prætorium at Jerusalem was Herod's palace, 234, 1441.
- Prætorium at Rome, Seius Strabo was prefect of, 158, 1058.
  - Ælius Sejanus, *ib.*
  - Macro, 215, 1357.
  - Catonius Justus, 277, 1658.
  - Rufrius Polion, 281, 1684.
  - Crispinus, 286, 1712.
  - Geta, 287, 1718.
  - Burrhus, 292, 1750.
  - Tigellinus and Fenius Rufus, 326, 1919.
  - Nymphidius Sabinus, 335, 1968.
  - Corn. Laco, 349, 2069.
  - Plotius Firmus and Licinius Proculus, 353, 2085.
  - Pollio, 353, 2089.
  - Publius Sabinus and Jul. Priscus, 353, 2092.
  - Arrius Varus, 356, 2110.
- Πραῶνα*, a faction at Antioch, 263, 1579.
- Precipitation, Mount of, 192, 1236.
- Prefects, extraordinary lack of, 228, 1423.
  - continued on one occasion for two years in the senate's or people's provinces, 144, 1001.
  - in the imperial provinces, held office for three to six years, 168, 1128.
  - ordered to leave Rome by June, 160, 1069.
  - then by 1 April, 274, 1637.
  - then by middle of April, 276, 1655.
  - period of arrival of, in the provinces of the East, 117, 873.
  - ordered to return to Rome at the end of their prefecture, 283, 1689.
  - prohibited from celebrating games at the expense of their subjects, 307, 1830.
- Premmis taken by Petronius and fortified, 84, 691.
  - assailed by the Ethiopians, but relieved, 88, 714.
- Προβευρα*, the prefects of the imperial provinces so called, 80, 666.

## PRE

- Πρεσβύτης*, meaning of the word, as employed by St. Paul, 150, 1035.  
 Princeps Juventutis, Caius chosen, 111, 848.  
 Princeps, meaning of the word, as applied to Tiberius, 156, 1050.  
 Priscilla, the wife of Aquila, ordered to leave Rome, 295, 1773.  
 — meets with Paul at Corinth, 297, 1778.  
 — sails with Paul from Corinth, 300, 1792.  
 — parts from Paul at Ephesus, 300, 1794.  
 Proclus, Cominius, is proconsul of Cyprus, 284, 1695.  
 Proconsular power conferred on the emperors, 86, 699.  
 Proconsuls, governors of the senate's or people's provinces so called, 80, 666. *See* Prefects.  
 Proculus, Licinius, prefect of the Prætorium, 353, 2085.  
 Procurators, power of, increased by Claudius, 299, 1787.  
 — prohibited from exhibiting games at the expense of their subjects, 307, 1830.  
 Proprætors, technical meaning of the word under the Empire, 80, 666.  
 — usual time of tenure of a province by, 150, 1033.  
*Πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκαεσσάρων*, sense of, 279, 1672.  
*Πρώτη* used for *πρότερα*, 115, 870.  
 Provinces, distribution of, by Augustus, 79, 666.  
 — governed by a proprætor, quæstor, and legate, 145, 1009. 160, 1067. 169, 1140.  
 Pselche taken by Petronius, 84, 691.  
*Πτερύγιον* of the Temple explained, 178, 1183.  
 Ptolemais taken by Pæcorus, 51, 442.  
 Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, 12, 102.  
 — acknowledged by the Romans, 12, 104.  
 — ejected by his subjects, 13, 110.  
 — restoration of, decreed by Roman senate, 13, 120.  
 — but discussion renewed, 13, 121.  
 — retires from Rome to Ephesus, 14, 122.  
 — bribes Gabinius to restore him, 14, 126.  
 — replaced on the throne, 15, 130.  
 — death of, 23, 188.  
 Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns jointly with Cleopatra, 23, 188.  
 — ejects Cleopatra, 31, 268.  
 — marches to Casium, 31, 268.  
 — entices Pompey to come on shore, 31, 273.  
 — returns to Alexandria, 32, 276.  
 — released by Cæsar to the Egyptians, 33, 289.  
 — defeated and slain, *ib.*  
 Ptolemy the younger, another son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns nominally with Cleopatra, 33, 290.  
 Ptolemy king of Cyprus, 12, 107.  
 — poisons himself, 12, 109.  
 Ptolemy, son of Cleopatra by Antony, 68, 570.  
 — spared by Octavius, 76, 638.  
 Ptolemy, son of Juba, is king of Mauritania, 171, 1151.  
 — executed by Caligula, 266, 1595.  
 Ptolemy Mennæi, king of Chalcis, 8, 68.  
 — marries Alexandra, daughter of Aristobulus, 30, 255.  
 — death of, 51, 439.  
 Ptolemy Physcon besieged by Hyrcanus the elder in Dagon, during a Sabbatic year, 61, 525.  
 Ptolemy, an officer of Herod, is slain, 57, 497.  
 Publius, primate of Malta, 322, 1901.  
 Purification of the Virgin Mary, 118, 877.  
 Purim, Feast of, 212, 1346.  
 Puteoli, meeting of Octavius, Antony, and S. Pompey at, 54, 477.  
 — arrival of Herod Antipas and Fortunatus at, 260, 1561.

## ROY

- arrival of Josephus at, 332, 1950.  
 — bridge from Baulos to, 260, 1560.  
 Pythodoris, widow of Polemo I., succeeds to the greater part of her husband's kingdom, 137, 966 a.  
 — marries Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, *ib.*
- Q**UADRATUS, TITUS UMMIDIUS, prefect of Syria, 291, 1746.  
 — orders Pharasmanes to withdraw from Armenia, 293, 1755.  
 — receives the charge of the Samaritans against the procurator Cumanus, 293, 1761.  
 — condemns the Samaritans, 294, 1762.  
 — sends Cumanus to Rome, 296, 1775.  
 — goes to Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover, and returns to Antioch, 296, 1776.  
 — meets Corbulo at Ægeæ, 305, 1824.  
 — death of, 319, 1892.  
 Quæstors, number of, 39, 333. 162, 1082.  
 Quarantania, the place of Our Lord's temptation so called, 178, 1182.  
 Quinquatrus, two games so called, 317, 1869.  
 Quinquennalia instituted by Nero, 319, 1883.  
 — when first celebrated, 324, 1909.  
 — again celebrated, 336, 1973.  
 Quintilis, month of, changed to Julius, 40, 342.  
 Quirinus, Publius Sulpicius. *See* Cyrenius.
- R**ABBINS, burning of, by Herod, xi. And 124, 905.  
 Rabillius, C., consul, 39, 335.  
 Rack used by Herod, 114, 862.  
 Rains, commencement of, in Judæa, 224, 1406.  
 Rapture of St. Paul, 279, 1672.  
 Rationarium of the Empire kept by Augustus, 117, 871.  
 Rebilus, Caninius, is consul, 39, 334, 335.  
 Reigns of kings, how reckoned by Josephus, xix. And 62, 528.  
 — by the Jews, *ib.*  
 — by the Egyptians, *ib.*  
 Resurrection of Our Lord, 239, 1448.  
 Rhadamistus besieges Mithridates, king of Armenia, 292, 1752.  
 — executes Mithridates, 293, 1754.  
 — driven out of Armenia, 293, 1756.  
 — recovers Armenia, but expelled by Vologeses, 293, 1756, 1757.  
 — again recovers Armenia, *ib.*  
 Rhæti overthrown by Drusus and Tiberius, 97, 758.  
 Rhegium, a port at, contemplated by Caligula, 268, 1604.  
 Rhescuporis, king of Bosphorus, 137, 966 a.  
 Rhescuporis, king of Northern Thrace, 166, 1120.  
 — taken captive and sent to Rome, 167, 1122.  
 Rhodians have their possessions extended, 48, 420.  
 — deprived of their liberty, 281, 1683.  
 Rhemetalecs, king of Northern Thrace, 167, 1122.  
 — assists Sabinus, 172, 1157.  
 Robes, pontifical, and crown of Agrippa placed in custody of the Jews, 283, 1690, 1691.  
 Robinson, Dr., an error of, corrected, 225, *note*.  
 Romans, date of Epistle to, 313, 1854.  
 Rome, freedom of, conferred on Cisalpine Gaul, 30, 253.  
 — freedom of, sold in time of Claudius for the merest trifle, 277, 1657.  
 — part of, burnt down, 173, 1161.  
 — length of voyage from, to Corinth, 295, 1773.  
 — great fire at, 333, 1955.  
 Romney Marsh, Cæsar lands at, 17, 143. 19, 164.  
 Royalty, a white robe the emblem of, amongst the Jews, 235, 1441.



## RUF

- Rufus, Annius, is procurator of Judæa, 155, 1047.  
 — superseded by Valer. Gratus, 160, 1073.  
 Rufus, Cadius, is proconsul of Bithynia, 290, 1734.  
 Rufus, Fenius, is prefect of the Prætorium, 326, 1919.  
 — depressed by his colleague Tigellinus, 326, 1921.  
 — death of, 335, 1967.  
 Rufus, Lucius, sent by Cassius against Tarsus, 46, 396.  
 Rufus, Musonius, banished by Nero, 335, 1971.  
 — is with Nero at the cutting of the Isthmus of Corinth, 347, 2056.  
 Rufus, Q. Curtius, is consul suffectus, 277, 1659.  
 Rufus, Trebellianus, is governor of Southern Thrace, 167, 1122.  
 Rullus, Servilius, an officer of Octavius, defeated by Antony, 61, 449.  
 Rumetalces, the dominions of Cotys given to, 256, 1533.
- S**ABBATH, Jerusalem said to have been taken on,  
 by Pompey, 9, 79.  
 — by Herod, 61, 527.  
 — by Titus, 360, 2154.  
 Sabbatic year, Jews exempted from tribute in, 34, 300.  
 — how observed, 34, 300. 87, 707.  
 — Jerusalem besieged by Herod in, 60, 525.  
 Sabbatic years, what years B.C. and A.D. were, 60, 525. 84, 692. 91, 737.  
 Sabinus takes an inventory of Herod's property at his death, 128, 927, 929.  
 — besieged in Herod's palace, 128, 931.  
 Sabinus, Poppæus, subdues a rebellion in Thrace, 172, 1157.  
 — prefect of Macedonia and Mœsia, 244, 1479.  
 — death of, *ib.*  
 Sabinus, Nymphidius, appointed prefect of the Prætorium, 335, 1968.  
 Sabinus, a Roman soldier, attempts to scale the wall of Antonia, 359, 2135.  
 Sabinus, Titus, put to death at Rome, 173, 1164.  
 Sacrifice, daily, at Jerusalem ceases, 359, 2139.  
 Sadducees, the party of Annas and Caiaphas, 240, 1453.  
 — unscrupulousness of, 218, 1375.  
 — were a Romanising party, 218, 1375. 208, 1327.  
 — at first favourable to the Baptist, 175, 1172.  
 St. Alban's, the ancient Verulamium, 21, 171.  
 Salassi in Spain rebel, 82, 674.  
 Salem, the site of, 184, 1209.  
 — the modern Sheikh Sâlim, 185, 1209.  
 Salome, sister of Herod, is wife of Joseph, 68, 565.  
 — on death of Joseph marries Costobarus, 68, 567.  
 — divorces herself, 81, 671.  
 — calumniates the sons of Mariamne to Herod, 98, 768.  
 — captivates Syllæus, the chief minister of Petra, 100, 783.  
 — holds secret intercourse with Syllæus, 104, 808.  
 — reports Antipater's cabal to Herod, 118, 876.  
 — keeps a jealous watch over Antipater, 120, 888.  
 — liberates the chiefs imprisoned by Herod in the Hippodrome, 125, 916.  
 — receives, on death of Herod, Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaelis, and Archelais, 131, 951. *See* 125, 914.  
 — bequeaths Jamnia, &c., to Julia wife of Augustus, 151, 138.  
 — death of, *ib.*  
 Salome, sister of the Virgin Mary and wife of Zebedee, 182, 1198.

## SCO

- request of James and John, the sons of, to Jesus, 230, 1432.  
 Salome, daughter of Herodias, asks the head of John the Baptist, 203, 1290.  
 — marries Herod Philip, 204, 1296.  
 — and on his death Aristobulus, 204, 1296.  
 Samaria (city) given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639.  
 — fortified by Herod, 83, 681.  
 Samaria (province) given on death of Herod to Archelaus, 130, 948.  
 — on his banishment is governed by the Roman procurator of Judæa, 146, 1012.  
 — granted to King Agrippa, 271, 1619.  
 — on his death is subject to the Roman procurator of Judæa, 281, 1679.  
 — outbreak in, under Cumanus, 293, 1759 *et seq.*  
 — a city of, converted to Christianity, 258, 1543.  
 Samaritans oppose Our Lord's progress, 222, 1394.  
 — animosity of, to the Jews, 223, 1396.  
 — insurrection of, in time of Pilate, 247, 1491.  
 Sameas refuses the oath of allegiance to Herod, 115, 867.  
 Samorobriua, now Amiens, 15, 136.  
 — Cæsar holds a council at, 22, 179.  
 Samosata, siege of, by Antony, 57, 501.  
 — siege of, abandoned, 57, 505.  
 Samothrace visited by Paul and Silas, 294, 1764.  
 Sampsigeramus I, king of Emesa and Arethusa, 90, 727.  
 Sampsigeramus II., king of Emesa and Arethusa, 271, 1624.  
 Sanatruces, king of Parthia, dies, 2, 8.  
 Sanhedrim, number of members of, *ib.*  
 — send to enquire into the pretensions of John the Baptist, 179, 1184.  
 — power of, 232, 1440.  
 — sat only by day, 233, 1441.  
 Sanhedrims, Judæa divided into, 13, 116. 147, 1013.  
 Sapphira, death of, 243, 1465.  
 Sardes overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093.  
 Sardinia, one of the people's or senate's provinces, 80, 666.  
 Saturday. *See* Sabbath.  
 Saturn and Jupiter, conjunction of, 108, 834. 110, 839. 118, 878.  
 Saturnalia, 5, 38.  
 Saturninus, C. Sentius, is prefect of Syria, 106, 817.  
 — hears complaint of Herod against Syllæus, 107, 829.  
 — gives Herod leave to levy distress in Arabia, 108, 835.  
 — sends Corinthus a conspirator to Rome, 113, 855.  
 — sits on the trial of Herod's sons, 113, 857.  
 — is courted by Antipater, 114, 865.  
 — superseded by P. Quinctilius Varus, 117, 873.  
 Saturninus, L. Volusius, is prefect of Syria, 144, 1000.  
 Saul. *See* Paul, St.  
 Sauromates, king of Bosphorus, 137, 966 a.  
 Saxas, Decidius, a general of Antony and Octavius, 48, 412, 413.  
 — proconsul of Syria, 50, 434.  
 — escapes from the Parthians to Cilicia, 51, 440.  
 — put to death by Labienus, 51, 441.  
 Scaurus sent to Syria by Pompey, 5, 36.  
 — goes to Judæa, 5, 41.  
 — hears ambassadors of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, 5, 42.  
 — favours Aristobulus, 6, 44.  
 — appointed to the command of Syria, 10, 85.  
 — marches against Aretas, 11, 97.  
 Scipio, prefect of Syria, 29, 241.  
 Scodra, border town between Dalmatia and Illyria, 52, 457.

## SCO

- Scourging of Jesus, 235, 1441.  
 Scribonia divorced by Octavius, 54, 473.  
 Scribonianus, Furius Camillus, conspiracy of, 274, 1640.  
 Scribonius marries Dynamis, and assumes to be king of Bosphorus, 96, 755.  
 — assassinated, 97, 761.  
 Scriptures, Holy, a copy of, burnt in mockery by a Roman soldier, 290, 1737.  
 Sebaste, Elæusa so called, 250, 1505.  
 Sebaste, a city laid waste by the Jews, 343, 2011.  
 Sebbeh, the ancient Masada, 52, 452.  
 Sejanus, Ælius, accompanies Caius to the East, 136, 964.  
 — appointed prefect of the Prætorium, 158, 1058.  
 — rises in power, 162, 1084.  
 — increases in power, 170, 1141.  
 — at height of his power, 170, 1145, 1146.  
 — is with Tiberius in Campania, 173, 1167.  
 — great influence of, 177, 1177.  
 — conspires against the emperor, and is executed, 215, 1353.  
 — adherents of, prosecuted, 216, 1364.  
 — co-conspirators of, executed, 228, 1417.  
 Seleucia in Syria, the port of Syria, 166, 1111.  
 Seleucia in Babylonia, annexed to Commagene, 7, 54.  
 — revolts from Artabanus, 246, 1486.  
 — outbreak against the Jews at, 273, 1631.  
 — besieged by Vardanes, 275, 1649. 276, 1652.  
 — taken, 276, 1652.  
 Seleucus of Syria, first husband of Berenice, 13, 110.  
 Senate, Roman, provinces of, 80, 666. 88, 712.  
 Seneca born, 148, 1022 a.  
 — banished, 272, 1627.  
 — recalled, 289, 1729.  
 — prætor and tutor to Nero, 289, 1729. 300, 1790.  
 — at Rome at death of Claudius, 302, 1805.  
 — tries to check Nero, 303, 1808.  
 — attends Nero in Campania, 317, 1870.  
 — obliged to be present at the Juvenalia, 317, 1876.  
 — withdraws from public life, 326, 1920.  
 — shuts himself up in his house, 334, 1958.  
 — death of, 335, 1966.  
 Sentinum taken, 49, 428.  
 Sentius, Cnæus, prefect of Syria, 166, 1113.  
 — sends Piso to Rome, 166, 1117.  
 Sapphoris taken by Herod, 56, 487.  
 — taken and burnt by Varus, 129, 937.  
 — fortified by Herod Antipas, 131, 953.  
 Sepulchre, site of the Holy, 238, 1446.  
 Sermon on the Mount, 198, 1267-70.  
 Servæus, Quintus, is proprætor of Commagene, 165, 1104.  
 Servilius, admiral of Pompey, 6, 47.  
 — sent by Gabinus against Aristobulus and Antigonus, 14, 127.  
 Sestius, Lucius, is consul suffectus, 86, 704.  
 Seventy disciples chosen, 223, 1397.  
 Seventy weeks, prophecy of, 238, 1444.  
 Severus, procurator of Egypt, dies, 216, 1368.  
 Sextilis called August, 106, 824.  
 Sheaf-offering, called by St. John a high day, 239, 1447.  
 — at what time observed, xxxvi.  
 Shechem, or Sychar, site of, 187, 1221.  
 Sheepgate, position of, at Jerusalem, 196, 1258.  
 Sheikh Sâlim, the ancient Salem, 185, 1209.  
 Shorthand, a kind of, invented by Mæcenas, 107, 826.  
 Sicarii, rise of, 308, 1834.  
 — referred to by Lysias on the arrest of Paul, *ib.*  
 — why so called, *ib.*  
 Sicily, one of the people's provinces, 80, 666.

## SOH

- Sicima. *See* Sychar.  
 Sidon taken by Pacorus, 51, 442.  
 — deprived of liberty, 90, 726.  
 — has a controversy with the Damascenes, 228, 1424.  
 Silanus, Creticus, is prefect of Syria, 155, 1046.  
 — receives Vonones as a refugee, 162, 1078.  
 — superseded by Piso, 163, 1090.  
 Silanus, Caius, proconsul of Asia, accused, 169, 1140.  
 Silanus, Marcus, commits suicide, 255, 1524.  
 Silanus, M. Junius, proconsul of Asia, 98, 766.  
 Silanus, M. Junius, the younger, proconsul of Asia, assassinated, 302, 1806.  
 Silanus, Torquatus, put to death, 333, 1952.  
 Silas appointed hipparch by Agrippa, 275, 1644.  
 — removed, *ib.*  
 Silas, or Sylvanus, sent by the Apostles to Antioch, 288, 1724.  
 — remains at Antioch, 288, 1725.  
 — accompanies Paul on his second circuit, 290, 1738.  
 — is in Phrygia and Galatia, 292, 1747.  
 — in Macedonia, 294, 1763-8.  
 — scourged at Philippi, 294, 1765.  
 — is at Thessalonica, 294, 1766 *et seq.*  
 — at Beroëa, 294, 1768.  
 — remains behind at Beroëa after Paul's departure, 294, 1769.  
 — rejoins Paul at Corinth, 297, 1779.  
 Silus marries Messalina, the wife of Claudius, 287, 1716.  
 Silo left in command in Palestine by Ventidius, 55, 484.  
 — treachery of, to Herod, 56, 486.  
 — called back by Ventidius, 52, 496.  
 Siloam, fall of the Tower of, 225, 1408.  
 Simon, an-insurgent in Peræa on the death of Herod, 129, 934.  
 — put down by Varus, 129, 938.  
 Simon, son of Boethus, made high-priest, 88, 715.  
 — removed, 121, 896.  
 Simon, son of Boethus, called Cantheras, high-priest, 275, 1643.  
 — removed, 275, 1646.  
 Simon, son of Gioras, gets possession of Jerusalem, 355, 2101.  
 Simon, son of Camithus, high-priest, 162, 1085.  
 — removed, 163, 1096.  
 Simon (Cyrenian) bears the cross of Our Lord, 237, 1441.  
 Simon Magus, a native of Gitton, 258, 1543.  
 — induces Drusilla to desert Azizus and marry Felix, 301, 1800.  
 Simon, half-brother of Our Lord, 181, 1198.  
 Simon Barjonas. *See* Peter.  
 Simon the Leper, house of, 230, 1435.  
 Sinnaces tries with Abdus to dethrone Artabanus, 244, 1472.  
 Sinope taken by Lucullus, 1, 3.  
 Sinorega, Mithridates flies to, 5, 32.  
 Sion, the ancient High Town now so called, 358, 2126.  
 Siphus taken by Antony, 51, 447.  
 — retaken by M. Agrippa, 51, 449.  
 Siscia, Tiberius winters at, 148, 1018.  
 Sisenna sent by Antony against Aristobulus and Antigonus, 14, 127.  
 — contends for the kingdom of Cappadocia before Antony, 49, 425.  
 Sisters of Our Lord, 181, 1197. 200, 1277.  
 Slavery, cities sold into, 45, 385.  
 Soemus, king of Ituræa Libani, 256, 1533.  
 — death of, 289, 1727.  
 Sohemus succeeds Azizus, as king of Emesa and Arcithusa, 305, 1823.



## SOL

- Soldiers come to John the Baptist, 175, 1173.  
 Solomon's Porch, disciples assemble in, 243, 1466.  
 Son of God and Son of Man, the titles assumed by Our Lord, 180, 1189. 236, 1441.  
 Sophene subject to Tigranes, but taken from him by Lucullus, 3, 18.  
 — given to Tigranes the younger as king, 5, 35.  
 — annexed to Cappadocia, 7, 57.  
 — given to Sohemus, king of Emesa and Arethusa, 305, 1823.  
 Soranus, Barea, is proconsul of Asia, 336, 1977.  
 — put to death, 339, 1990-1.  
 Sorcerers expelled from Rome, 68, 571. 162, 1080.  
 Sosius left by Antony in command of Syria and Cilicia, 57, 506.  
 — assists Herod in Judæa, 58, 508.  
 — joins Herod at Jerusalem, 59, 519.  
 — takes Jerusalem, 59, 521 *et seq.*  
 — delivers up Antigonus to Antony, 62, 528.  
 — triumph of, at Rome, 68, 572.  
 — takes the part of Antony against Octavius, 70, 584.  
 — defeats Luc. Taresius, 72, 608.  
 — defeated by Agrippa and slain, *ib.*  
 Spain, disturbances in, 96, 756.  
 — L. Piso is prefect of, 171, 1156.  
 Sparta honoured by Augustus, 89, 720.  
 Standards, Roman, agreed to be restored by the Parthians to Augustus, 86, 705.  
 — actually restored, 89, 725.  
 Star at the Nativity, xxix. And 118, 878.  
 Statianus, an unsuccessful Roman officer, 65, 546.  
 Statilius, Taurus, is prefect of the city, 156, 1050.  
 Stephen, martyrdom of St., lxvii. And 252, 1510.  
 Σαβὰ βασιλική, Sabbath proclaimed from, 178, 1183.  
 Stoics encounter St. Paul at Athens, 295, 1772.  
 Strabo the geographer, time when he wrote, 138, 968.  
 Strabo, Seius, prefect of the Prætorium, 158, 1058.  
 Straight Street in Damascus, 253, 1516.  
 Straton's Tower (Cæsarea) set free, 9, 81.  
 — given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639.  
 — rebuilt by Herod under the name of Cæsarea, 89, 723. *See* Cæsarea.  
 Struthion Pool, site of, at Jerusalem, 359, 2127.  
 Suetonius, Paullinus, is proprætor of Britain, 323, 1905.  
 Suevi, Vannius made king of, by Drusus, 291, 1743.  
 — reign of, for thirty years, and expulsion, *ib.*  
 Suius, P., is banished by Nero, 312, 1850.  
 Sulla, a Roman, calumniated by Tigellinus, 326, 1921.  
 — executed, 326, 1922.  
 Συμπληροῦσθαι, sense of, in St. Luke, 221, 1390.  
 Survey of Roman Empire ordered by Cæsar, 40, 343.  
 Sycamine found only in Lower Galilee, 227, 1415.  
 Sychar, site of, 187, 1221.  
 Sychem. *See* Sychar.  
 Syllæus, chief minister of Obodas, king of Petra, 84, 688.  
 — forbidden to marry Salome unless he became a Jew, 100, 783.  
 — harbours the rebellious Trachonites, 102, 794. 103, 804.  
 — meeting of, with Herod before Saturninus, 107, 829.  
 — sails to Rome, 108, 832.  
 — calumniates Herod to Augustus, 110, 840.  
 — condemned to death, 110, 845.  
 — returns to Arabia, *ib.*  
 — plots against Herod's life, 112, 854.  
 — accuses Fabatus to Cæsar, 113, 855.  
 — causes Fabatus to be assassinated, 113, 856.  
 — sails to Rome, 121, 892.

## TAR

- put to death, 111, 845. 113, 856.  
 Symeon testifies to Jesus being the Messiah, 118, 877.  
 Syracuse constituted a Roman colony by Augustus, 89, 720.  
 Syria subject to Tigranes, but taken from him by Lucullus, 3, 18.  
 — committed by Pompey to Scæurus, 10, 85.  
 — under Philippus, 12, 101.  
 — Marcellinus, 12, 103.  
 — Gabinus, 13, 114.  
 — henceforth becomes a consular province, 13, 114. But see 75, 627.  
 — under Crassus, 18, 154.  
 — Cassius, 23, 185-6. 42, 356. 45, 382.  
 — Bibulus, 23, 190.  
 — Scipio, 29, 241.  
 — Jul. Sextus Cæsar, 35, 302.  
 — Cæcilius Bassus, 38, 326.  
 — Q. Cornificius, 39, 337.  
 — L. Statius Murcus, 43, 365.  
 — Saxas, 50, 434.  
 — Ventidius, 53, 458.  
 — Sosius, 57, 506.  
 — L. Munatius Plancus, 66, 555.  
 — Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus, 69, 581.  
 — Q. Didius, 73, 611.  
 — Messala, 78, 654.  
 — M. Tullius Cicero (son of the Orator), 79, 660.  
 — Varro, 85, 697.  
 — M. Agrippa, 86, 700.  
 — M. Titius, 99, 773.  
 — C. Sentius Saturninus, 106, 817.  
 — P. Quinctilius Varus, 117, 873.  
 — P. Sulpicius Quirinus, 132, 955. 146, 1012.  
 — ordered to be taxed by him, 147, 1012.  
 — under Censorinus, 134, 955.  
 — L. Volusius Saturninus, 144, 1000.  
 — Creticus Silanus, 155, 1046.  
 — Cnæus Piso, 163, 1090.  
 — Germanicus, 163, 1089.  
 — Cnæus Sentius, 166, 1113.  
 — L. Pomponius Flaccus, 167, 1128.  
 — L. Arruntius, 241, 1456.  
 — L. Vitellius, 242, 1462.  
 — P. Petronius Turpilianus, 260, 1554.  
 — Vibius Marsus, 275, 1647.  
 — C. Cassius Longinus, 281, 1679.  
 — P. Ummidius Quadratus, 291, 1746.  
 — P. Anteius (nominally), 304, 1822.  
 — Corbulo, 319, 1892.  
 — Cincius, 331, 1946.  
 — Cestius Gallus, 334, 1962.  
 — Mucianus, 347, 2045.  
 — Cæsennius Pætus, 361, 2159.
- TABERNACLES**, Feast of, attended by Our Lord, lix. And 208, 1330 *et seq.*  
 Tabor, Mount, referred to by Our Lord, 199, 1269.  
 — supposed by some to have been the mount of Transfiguration, 220, 1381.  
 Tacfarinas, end of war with, 171, 1151.  
 Taiyibeh, the ancient Ephraim, 219, 1377.  
 Tarcondimotus I. king of Cilicia Amaniensis, 25, 206. 28, 239.  
 — is on the side of Pompey at Pharsalia, 31, 269.  
 — an ally of Antony, 71, 600.  
 — slain, 72, 608.  
 Tarcondimotus II. promoted to his father's kingdom by Augustus, 90, 727.  
 — succeeded by Philopator, 163, 1088.  
 Taresius, Lucius, defeated by Socius, 72, 608.

## TAR

- Taricheæ taken by Cassius, 26, **213**.  
 — taken by Vespasian, 347, **2042**.  
 — given to Agrippa the younger, 304, **1823**.  
 Tarquinius Priscus accuses Statilius Taurus, 299, **1786**  
 — prefect of Bithynia, and convicted of extortion, 324, **1907**.  
 Tarsians compelled to join Cassius, 45, **381**.  
 — oppose Tillius Cimber, the partisan of Cassius, 46, **396**.  
 — subdued by Lucius Rufus, who mulets them and sells numbers as slaves, *ib*.  
 — made free by Octavius and Antony, 48, **421**.  
 — how governed, 48, **422**.  
 — importance of the city of, 314, **1860**.  
 Taurus, Statilius, is accused of magic (semble Christianity), 299, **1786**.  
 Taxes remitted by Herod, 91, **737**. 98, **767**.  
 — for support of Temple, 221, **1385**.  
 — remitted by Vitellius, 248, **1495**.  
 — by Agrippa, 275, **1644**.  
 Teddington, so called from being Tide-end Town, 21, **174**.  
 Tell-hum. *See* Capernaum.  
 Τελαῖον of Matthew the publican, where it was, 194, **1253**.  
 Temnus, a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, **1093**.  
 Temple, The, Beautiful Gate of, described, 240, **1452**.  
 — decrees for rebuilding, after the Babylonish captivity, *xliii*.  
 — assailed and taken by Pompey, 9, **77**, **78**.  
 — restoration of, designed by Herod, *lvi*. And 92, **738**.  
 — restoration of, begun, 94, **745**.  
 — in progress in time of Our Lord's ministry, 94, **745**. 184, **1205**.  
 — completed, 336, **1978**. 95, **746**.  
 — tax for support of, *xlvi*. And 221, **1385**.  
 — tax for, demanded of Our Lord, 220, **1384**.  
 — rich offerings in, 231, **1438**.  
 — western wall of, raised by the Jews, 324, **1912**.  
 — preternatural light in, 341, **2002**.  
 — siege of, by Titus, 359, **2140 et seq.**  
 — fired, 360, **2147 et seq.**  
 — on what day of the month, *xxviii*. And 109, **836**. 360, **2149**.  
 Teron expostulates with and is racked and executed by Herod, 114, **862**.  
 Thamna, a city of Judæa, sold into slavery, 45, **385**.  
 — now Tibneh, one of the toparchies of Judæa, 147, **1013**.  
 Thapsus, battle of, 36, **312**.  
 Theatre built by Herod at Jerusalem, 81, **672**.  
 Theodorus of Gadara, the instructor of Tiberius, 112, **851**.  
 Theodotus, an imperial surveyor, 40, **343**.  
 Theodotus in Greek answers to Matthias in Hebrew, 124, **903**.  
 Theophilus appointed high-priest by Vitellius, 251, **1506**.  
 — was high-priest at the stoning of Stephen, 252, **1510**.  
 — and at the mission of Paul to Damascus, 252, **1515**.  
 — removed by Agrippa, 275, **1643**.  
 Theophilus, archon at Athens, 11, **98**.  
 Thermus, procurator of Asia, 12, **105**.  
 Thessalonians, date of first Epistle to, 297, **1779**.  
 — date of second Epistle to, 298, **1780**.  
 Theudas, referred to by Gamaliel, was Judas, an insurgent in the last days of Herod, 124, **903**. 243, **1469**.

## TIB

- thought by others to be Matthias, *ib*.  
 — and by others to be Judas, an insurgent after the death of Herod, 129, **933**.  
 Theudas, an impostor in the time of Fadus, 284, **1694**.  
 Thimnath, the ancient Thamna, one of the toparchies of Judæa, 147, **1013**.  
 Tholomæus, son of Soemus, king of Ituræa Libani, 33, **286**.  
 Thrace, disturbances in, 96, **756**.  
 — Rhescuporis is king of Northern, 166, **1120**.  
 — Cotys, king of Southern, is put to death, *ib*.  
 — Rhescuporis, king of, is kidnapped by Pomponius Flaccus and sent to Rome, 167, **1122**.  
 — Northern, given to Rhemetalces, and Southern, to the sons of Cotys, *ib*.  
 — Southern, given by Caligula to Rhemetalces, 256, **1533**.  
 — P. Velleius employed in, 168, **1128**.  
 — Rhemetalces assists Sabinus in, 172, **1157**.  
 Thrasyllus, an astrologer in the time of Tiberius, 140, **980**.  
 Tiber, inundation of, 144, **999**.  
 Tiberias in Galilee built by Herod Antipas in honour of Tiberius, 173, **1163**.  
 — avoided by Our Lord, 194, **1253**.  
 — Herod Agrippa was ædile of, 217, **1369**.  
 — given to Agrippa the younger, 305, **1823**.  
 Tiberius, Claudius, father of the emperor, defeats the Egyptian fleet on the Nile, 33, **285**.  
 Tiberius, Claudius Drusus Nero (emperor), birth of, 49, **426**.  
 — assumes the toga virilis, 79, **663**.  
 — sent by Augustus to Armenia, 91, **734**.  
 — visits Rhodes on his way back, 91, **735**.  
 — overthrows the Rhæti, 97, **758**.  
 — sent to Pannonia, 100, **780**, **781 et seq.**  
 — victories of, there, 100, **781**.  
 — conducts the war against the Dalmatians and Pannonians, 101, **786**.  
 — marries Julia, 102, **798**.  
 — sent against the Dacæ and Dalmatians, 103, **801**, **802**.  
 — again reduces the Dalmatians and Pannonians, 105, **812**.  
 — proceeds to Gaul and crosses the Rhine, 106, **821**.  
 — is styled Imperator, 106, **825**.  
 — returns to Rome, 107, **827**.  
 — is at Rome on New-year's day, 108, **833**.  
 — proceeds to Germany, *ib*.  
 — invested with the Tribunitian power for five years, 112, **849**.  
 — again invested with it, 135, **958a**.  
 — sent to settle affairs in Armenia, but retires to Rhodes, 112, **850**.  
 — remains there seven years complete, *ib*.  
 — attends the lectures of Theodorus there, 112, **851**.  
 — visits Caius at Samos, 138, **970**.  
 — hostility of Lollius to, 138, **970**.  
 — reconciled to Caius, 140, **979**.  
 — permitted to return to Rome, 140, **980**.  
 — invested with the Tribunitian power for ten years, 143, **993**.  
 — adopted by Augustus as his son, 143, **994**.  
 — goes to Germany, 144, **995**.  
 — campaign of, in Germany, 145, **1004 et seq.**  
 — continues the war, 148, **1017**.  
 — winters at Siscia, 148, **1018**.  
 — continues the war, 149, **1023**.  
 — returns to Rome, 149, **1027**.  
 — sent to Dalmatia, 150, **1029**.  
 — sent to Germany, 151, **1036**, **1037**. 152, **1039**. 153, **1042**.



## TIB

- decreed to have co-ordinate power with Augustus over the armies and provinces, 154, **1043, 1044.**
- Tribunitian power renewed to, 156, **1048.**
- succeeds as emperor, 158, **1054 et seq.**
- how the years of his reign were computed, liii., liv. And 154, **1044.**
- procures assassination of Agrippa (son of Julia), 158, **1055.**
- at first refuses divine honours, 158, **1059.**
- is Pontifex Max., 159, **1063.**
- restores laws of treason, 160, **1065.**
- consul for a few days, 164, **1098.**
- enforces the laws of treason with rigour, 165, **1106.**
- consul for three months, 168, **1129.**
- withdraws into Campania, 169, **1130.**
- returns to Rome, 169, **1139.**
- government of, changes for the worse, 170, **1144.**
- affects indifference at the death of Drusus, 170, **1147.**
- retires to Campania, 171, **1148.**
- finally retires to Campania, 172, **1159.**
- visits the continent, 173, **1161.**
- returns to Capræ, 173, **1162.**
- attended by the senate at Capræ, 173, **1167.**
- consul for the last time, 202, **1285.**
- at Capræ for nine months after death of Sejanus, 215, **1356.**
- discovers that Drusus had been poisoned by Sejanus, 215, **1358.**
- orders Herod Agrippa to leave Rome, 171, **1147.**
- sails up the Tiber, 216, **1362.**
- comes near to Rome, 228, **1416.**
- returns to Capræ, 228, **1418.**
- devotes himself to astrology, 228, **1419.**
- appoints Caligula quæstor and his successor, 228, **1422.**
- visits Albanum and Tusculum, 242, **1459.**
- is at Antium at the marriage of Caligula and Claudia, 244, **1470.**
- intrigues against Artabanus, 244, **1474.**
- retires to Misenum, 248, **1494.**
- death of, 249, **1500.**
- Tiberius, son of Drusus, put to death by Caligula, 255, **1522.**
- Tibneh, the ancient Thamna, 147, **1013.**
- Tigellinus, Sofonius, appointed prefect of the Prætorium, 326, **1919-21.**
- goes into power, 326, **1921.**
- goes with Nero to Greece, 340, **1994.**
- death of, 353, **2086.**
- Tigranes is engaged in reducing some cities of Phœnicia, 1, 4.
- interview of, with Appius, 1, 7.
- is reconciled to Mithridates, *ib.*
- and refuses to deliver him up, *ib.*
- war declared against, by Lucullus, 3, 13.
- takes Acre, 3, 14.
- defeated by Lucullus, 3, 16.
- loses his capital Tigranocerta, 3, 17.
- stripped of great part of his dominions, 3, 18.
- sends embassies to Phraates, 3, 20.
- makes his submission to Pompey, 5, 33.
- worsted by Phraates, 7, 62.
- sends to Pompey for aid, *ib.*
- and Phraates reconciled, 8, 63.
- Tigranes, the son, is king of Gordyene and Sophene, 5, 35.
- but deposed and led in triumph, *ib.*
- Tigranes, brother of Artaxias, is king of Armenia, 91, **734.**
- death of, 112, **850.**
- Tigranes, a Parthian candidate for the throne of Armenia, 112, **850. 2.**

## TIT

- solicits the crown from Augustus, who finesses, 139, **974.**
- Tigranes, the Roman candidate, is king of Armenia, 319, **1886.**
- invades Adiabene, 329, **1935.**
- besieged by the Parthians, 329, **1935.**
- Tigranocerta taken by Lucullus, 3, 17.
- taken by Corbulo, 319, **1886.**
- besieged by Moneses, a Macedonian general, 329, **1935.**
- Timagenes the sophist comes to Rome, 18, **150.**
- Time, how reckoned by the ancients, 236, **1441.**
- how by astronomers, 236, **1441.** 179, **1188.**
- Timothy adopted by St. Paul, 290, **1738.**
- stays behind at Bœræ, 294, **1769.**
- arrives at Athens, 294, **1771.**
- sent from Athens to Thessalonica, *ib.*
- returns to Corinth, 297, **1779.**
- sent from Ephesus to Macedonia, 306, **1829.**
- sent from Rome to Philippi, 331, **1940.**
- left at Ephesus, 334, **1963.**
- sent for to Rome, 340, **1993.**
- date of first Epistle to, 334, **1963.**
- of second Epistle to, 340, **1993.**
- Tiridates ejected by Phraates, and received by Augustus, 77, **644.**
- pleads against a Parthian embassy at Rome, 86, **705.**
- Tiridates, son of Phraates, sent by Tiberius from Rome to Parthia, 244, **1473.**
- accompanied by Vitellius to the Euphrates, 246, **1483.**
- crowned at Seleucia, 246, **1486.**
- expelled by Artabanus, *ib.*
- Tiridates, son of Artabanus, appointed to Armenia by the Parthians, 275, **1648.**
- expelled by Corbulo, 319, **1886.**
- makes his submission to Corbulo, 332, **1948.**
- arrives in Rome, 338, **1987.**
- crowned by Nero, 339, **1989.**
- returns home, 339, **1992.**
- Titius, an officer of Antony, slays Sextus Pompey, 66, **554.**
- deserts Antony for Octavius, 70, **555.**
- Titius, M., appointed prefect of Syria, 99, **773.**
- Parthian hostages delivered to, 104, **810.**
- reconciled to Archelaus by Herod, 105, **816.**
- succeeded by C. Sentius Saturninus, 106, **817.**
- Titus Vespasianus (emperor), born, 268, **1609.**
- employed in Britain, 286, **1709.**
- sent to Alexandria, 346, **2027.**
- goes to Ptolemais, 346, **2029.**
- sent to Mucianus, 347, **2044.**
- is present at the taking of Gamala, 347, **2047.**
- takes Gischala, 347, **2049-50.**
- returns to Cæsarea, *ib.*
- sails to Rome to congratulate Galba, 350, **2077.**
- hears by the way of the death of Galba, and returns to Judea, 352, **2083.**
- advances to Cæsarea, 357, **2115.**
- reaches Jerusalem, 357, **2116.**
- encamps on Scopus, 358, **2118.**
- encamps before Psepinus, 358, **2120.**
- besieges Jerusalem, 358, **2121 et seq.**
- takes the first wall, 358, **2123.**
- the second wall, 358, **2124.**
- draws a wall of circumvallation round the city, 359, **2129.**
- takes Antonia, 359, **2136.**
- orders the Temple to be fired, 360, **2147.**
- tries to extinguish the flames, but in vain, 360, **2148.**
- holds a parley with the Jews in the High Town, 360, **2150.**

## TIT

- takes the High Town, 360, **2154**.
- quits the ruins of Jerusalem for Cæsarea, 360, **2155**.
- visits Antioch, 361, **2157**.
- goes by way of Jerusalem to Alexandria, 361, **2157**.
- returns to Rome, 361, **2158**.
- Titus, companion of St. Paul, is sent from Ephesus to Corinth, 309, **1836**.
- again sent from Macedonia to Corinth, 310, **1841**.
- goes with Paul to Crete, 334, **1963**.
- sent to Dalmatia, 337, **1981**.
- date of Epistle to, 334, **1963**.
- Tmolus, a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, **1093**.
- Toga virilis, time of taking, 79, **663**. 130, **943**.
- taken by Tiberius, 79, **663**.
- by Caius, 120, **889**.
- by Lucius, 135, **959**.
- Togodumnus, son of Cunobelin, 274, **1641**.
- Tolistoboi, Dejotarus, king of, 6, **53**.
- Toparchies of Judæa, 147, **1013**.
- Tóre, use of, in St. Matthew, 233, **1440**.
- Trachonites rebel against Herod, and being defeated, are harboured by Syllæus, 100, **783**. 102, **794**.
- ravage the country of Herod, 106, **818**. 107, **829**.
- Trachonitis included in the grant by Antony to Cleopatra, 64, **537**.
- farmed out to Zenon or Zenodorus, *ib*.
- granted to Herod, 85, **696**.
- to Herod Philip, 130, **950**.
- annexed to Syria, 240, **1454**.
- conferred on Agrippa, 250, **1503**.
- Trajan takes Japha, 346, **2036**.
- Transfiguration, 220, **1381**.
- Treason, laws of, restored by Tiberius, 163, **1095**.
- still further strained, *ib*.
- enforced with rigour, 165, **1106**. 228, **1417**.
- Our Lord suffers for alleged breach of, 228, **1417**. 236, **1441**.
- Trebellius, Marcus, sent against the Clite, 246, **1485**.
- Trebonius, Caius, consul suffectus, 39, **334**.
- an adherent of Cassius, 45, **381**.
- put to death by Dolabella, 45, **389**.
- Treviri subdued by Cæsar, 19, **160**.
- Triarius raises the siege of Cabira, 4, **23**.
- defeated by Mithridates, 4, **24**.
- Tribute, Judæa made subject to, by Pompey, 9, **81**.
- by Cassius, 45, **384**.
- was not the money demanded of Our Lord, which was the Temple-tax, *xlvi*. And 220, **1384-9**.
- Triers. *See* Treviri.
- Trinobantes, how bounded, 21, **174**.
- Triumvirate of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, 44, **376**.
- renewed for five years, 58, **513**.
- Troas visited by Paul and Silas, 294, **1763**.
- revisited by Paul, 310, **1839**. 313, **1857**. 337, **1981**.
- Trophimus left by Paul at Miletus, 338, **1981**.
- Troxoboris, rebellion of, in Cilicia, 250, **1505**.
- Tryphon racked and executed by Herod, 114, **862**.
- Turpillianus, Publius Petronius. *See* Petronius.
- Turullius, Publius, delivered up to Octavius and executed, 75, **624**.
- Tuscus, Cæcina, put to death by Nero, 340, **1997**.
- Tutor, prefect of Cilicia, 307, **1832**.
- Tyba, camp of Pacorus at, 25, **206**.
- Tychicus carries the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, 330, **1938**.
- Tyre deprived of liberty, 90, **726**.
- borders of, visited by Our Lord, 207, **1318**.
- sends embassy to King Agrippa, 280, **1676**.

## VES

- UNDERGIRDING a ship, 322, **1899**.
- Unleavened bread, Feast of, at what time observed, *xxxvi*.
- Urbis Condite*, the 725th year mentioned by Dion, 77, **646**.
- VALERIUS ASIATICUS dies, 286, **1711**.
- Vannius appointed king of the Quadi by Drusus, 166, **1108**.
- expelled, 291, **1743**.
- Vardanes, son of Artabanus, 275, **1648**.
- defeats Gotarzes, 282, **1687**.
- comes to terms with him and retains the kingdom, 276, **1652**.
- takes Seleucia, *ib*.
- attempts taking possession of Armenia, but threatened by Marsus and desists, 278, **1664**.
- was king of Parthia in time of Apollonius Tyanensis, 282, **1686**.
- slain by his subjects, 285, **1702**.
- Vardanes, son of Vologeses, aspires to the throne of Parthia, 305, **1824**.
- Varro, L. Licinius Muræna, conspiracy of, 88, **711**.
- Varro, prefect of Syria, 85, **697**.
- Varus, Pub. Quinctilius, prefect of Syria, 117, **873**.
- tries Antipater, son of Herod, at Jerusalem, 123, **901**.
- returns to Antioch, 123, **901**.
- has an interview with Archelaus at Cæsarea, 128, **927**.
- goes up to Jerusalem and thence to Antioch, 128, **928**.
- returns by way of Acre to Jerusalem, 129, **936, 937**.
- suppresses disturbances in Judæa, 129, **938, 939**.
- returns to Antioch, 129, **940**.
- superseded, 132, **955**.
- destroyed with his legions in Germany, 150, **1031**.
- some captives taken by, are subsequently liberated, 291, **1741**.
- character of, 117, **873**.
- Varus, Arrius, prefect of the Prætorium, 356, **2110**.
- Vatican inclosed by Nero for horse-racing, 317, **1875**.
- Veadar, the Jewish intercalary month, 342, **2003**.
- Veiento, Fabricius, accused, 326, **1918**.
- Velleius, Paterculus, goes with Tiberius to Germany, 144, **995**.
- made quæstor, 148, **1017**.
- Velleius, Publius, prefect of Mœsia, 168, **1128**.
- Ventidius appointed by Antony to command in Asia, 53, **458**.
- defeats and slays Labienus, 55, **481, 482**.
- recovers Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine, 55, **483**.
- is bribed by Antigonus, 55, **484**.
- marches with Herod against the Parthians, 56, **496**.
- defeats them in Cyrrhæstia, 57, **498**.
- sends aid to Herod, 57, **499**.
- marches against Commagene, 57, **500**.
- triumph of, at Rome, 57, **502**.
- Vernanius, Q., is legate of Cappadocia, 165, **1103**.
- Vericus, or Bericus, ejected from Britain by Cuno-bellinus, 274, **1641**.
- Verulamium, the supposed capital of Cassivellaunus, 21, **171**.
- taken by Cæsar, 21, **176**.
- Vespasianus, Titus Flavius, born, 150, **1034**.
- employed in Britain, 286, **1709**.
- hears Nero sing at the theatre, 336, **1973**.
- appointed to command in Judæa, 345, **2025**.
- arrives in Syria, 346, **2027**.
- marches to Ptolemais, 346, **2028**.
- takes Gadara, 346, **2031**.
- besieges Jotapata, 346, **2032 et seq.**



## VES

- takes it, 346, 2040.
- returns to Acre, and thence marches to Cæsarea Philippi, 346, 2041.
- assaults and takes Gamala, 347, 2043-7.
- retires to Cæsarea, 347, 2048.
- takes Jamnia and Azotus, 347, 2051.
- is at Gadara, 349, 2072.
- returns to Cæsarea, 350, 2073.
- marches to Jericho, 350, 2075.
- returns to Cæsarea to prepare for the siege of Jerusalem, 350, 2076.
- on hearing of the death of Nero sends Titus to congratulate Galba, 350, 2077.
- advances on Jerusalem, 355, 2102.
- returns to Cæsarea, 355, 2103.
- proclaimed emperor, 355, 2105.
- at Berytus, 355, 2106.
- at Antioch, 355, 2107.
- at Egypt, 355, 2108.
- sails for Rome, 357, 2112.
- arrives in Italy, 357, 2113.
- Vestinus, Lucius, employed to restore the Capitol, 357, 2114.
- Vetus, Lucius, proconsul of Asia, dies, 336, 1975.
- Vindex, revolt of, in Gaul, 348, 2062.
- Vincianus, Annianus, conspiracy of, 274, 1640.
- Vitellius, Lucius, appointed prefect of Syria, 242, 1462, 1463.
- threatens to invade Mesopotamia, 244, 1477.
- accompanies Tiridates to the Euphrates, 246, 1483.
- returns to Antioch, 246, 1484.
- subdues the Clitæ, 246, 1485.
- comes to terms with Artabanus, 246, 1487, 1488.
- returns to Antioch, 247, 1490.
- judges Pilate, 247, 1492.
- and deposes him, 247, 1493.
- visits Jerusalem at the Passover, 248, 1495.
- bounty of, to the Jews, *ib.*
- removes Caiaphas from the Pontificate and appoints Jonathan high-priest, 249, 1496.
- starts on his return to Antioch, 249, 1497.
- ordered by Tiberius to make war on Aretas, 249, 1498.
- goes to Acre, *ib.*
- at Jerusalem at Pentecost, *ib.*
- removes Jonathan and appoints Theophilus high-priest, 251, 1506.
- hears there of the death of Tiberius, 251, 1507.
- returns to Antioch, 251, 1509.
- succeeded by Petronius, 260, 1554.
- regent at Rome in the absence of Claudius, 277, 1659.
- Vitellius, Aulus (emperor), born, 161, 1076.
- sent to command in Germany, 349, 2070.
- proclaimed emperor, 352, 2030.
- is in Gaul at the death of Otho, 353, 2090.
- visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, 353, 2091.
- at Rome, *ib.* And 354, 2094.
- retires from the palace in mourning, 354, 2098.
- is slain, 354, 2099.
- Vologeses, son of Artabanus, 275, 1648.
- becomes king of Parthia, 291, 1745.
- expels Rhadamistus from Armenia, 293, 1756.
- obliged to retire, 293, 1757.
- called in by the Adiabenes, 298, 1783.
- recovers possession of Armenia, 303, 1811.
- retires from Armenia, 305, 1824.
- is alarmed, and gives hostages to Corbulo, *ib.*
- appoints Tiridates king of Armenia, 329, 1935.
- resumes the war, *ib.*
- comes to terms with Corbulo, 329, 1935.
- resumes the war, 331, 1946.

## ZOB

- Volumnius, an ambassador of Herod to Rome, 110, 844, 846.
- Volumnius, a procurator of Syria in the time of Herod, 107, 829.
- sits on the trial of Herod's sons, 113, 857.
- Volusenius sent by Cæsar to survey the coast of Britain, 15, 135.
- Volusius, Lucius, death of, 306, 1827.
- Vonones I. is king of Parthia, 141, 984. 161, 1075.
- expelled by Artabanus, 161, 1077.
- takes possession of Armenia, 162, 1078.
- retires to Syria, *ib.*
- tries to escape and is slain, 166, 1109.
- Vonones II. is king of Parthia, 291, 1745.
- succeeded by Vologeses, *ib.*
- Voyage, length of time required for, from Rome to Judæa, 121, 894. 122, 899. 123, 900. 251, 1508. 269, 1613.
- from Rome to Britain, 20, 165.
- from Rome to Ephesus, 24, 192-6.
- from Tarsus to Brundisium, 28, 238.
- from Tarsus to Rome, *ib.*
- from Rome to Greece, 295, 1773.

WALTON-ON-THAMES, the scene of Cæsar's passage over the Thames, 21, 174.

Washing, a usual ceremony before eating the Passover, 232, 1440.

Whitsunday answers to Pentecost, xli.

Wilderness, what so called, 178, 1182.

Wye, Cæsar is at, 21, 168.

ΞΥΛΟΦΟΡΙΑ, time of celebration of, 343, 2007.

YEAR, Jewish, 363.

- Syro-Macedonian, 364.
- Attic, *ib.*
- Roman, *ib.*

Years, parallel, 369.

- current, instances of, 127, 925. 141, 981. 143, 991.
- the two kinds of Jewish, 342, 2003.

Yebna, the ancient Jamnia, 131, 951.

Yûtta, a city near Hebron, 110, 838.

ZACHÆUS entertains Our Lord, 230, 1433.

- Zacharias, vision of, in the Temple, 109, 836.
- prophecy of, 112, 853.
- entered upon his office, when, xxviii.

Zamaris, a Jew, settled by Herod at Bathyra, 117, 874.

Zarbienu, king of Gordylene, 1, 6.

- put to death by Tigranes, *ib.*

Zebedee, the husband of Salome, sister of the Virgin Mary, 182, 1198.

Zelea, battle of, 35, 303.

Zenodorus, or Zenon, farms Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa, 64, 537. 85, 696.

- deprived of them, *ib.*
- farms also Paneas, 64, 537.
- which is given on his death to Herod, 90, 730.
- dies at Antioch, 90, 730.

Zenodotia plundered by Crassus, 18, 155.

Zenodotus, a surveyor employed by Cæsar, 40, 343.

Zenon. See Artaxias. Zenodorus.

Zerka Ma'in, the ancient Callirrhoe, 125, 907.

Zeugma, the ordinary place of passage over the Euphrates, 22, 182.

Zober, king of Albania, conquered by Canidius Crassus, 63, 535.

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## ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

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- Page 13, no. 114. As to Syria being from this time a consular province, see B.C. 30, no. 627.
- „ 61, second column, top line, for “Dion, xlix. 23,” read “Dion, xlix. 22.”
- „ 63, no. 537, *dele* “(whom Antony also puts to death).”
- „ 75, no. 627, at the end add, “But see B.C. 57, no. 114.”
- „ 78, no. 658, for “B.C. 70, no. 79,” read “B.C. 70, no. 9.”
- „ 109, no. 836, for “entered upon their office on the first day of the week,” read “entered upon their office on the Sabbath.”
- „ 110, no. 840, at the end add “(see A.D. 38, no. 1833).”
- „ 160, no. 1054, for “Armenius,” read “Arminius.”
- „ 244, no. 1479, for “A.D. 34, no. 1411,” read “see A.D. 34, no. 1460.”
- „ 255, no. 1525, for “see A.D. 62, no. 1936,” read “see A.D. 62, no. 1935.”
- „ 297, no. 1778, for “returns from Athens,” read “retires from Athens.”
- „ 301, no. 1796, to “Philo de Septen. s. 6,” add “δι' ἐτῶν δὲ πλείονων. Acts xxiv. 17.”
- „ 304, no. 1822, to “see A.D. 50, no. 1746,” add “A.D. 60, no. 1892.”
- „ 305, no. 1824, at the end add “(see A.D. 54, no. 1811).”
- „ 319, no. 1890, for “see A.D. 32,” read “see A.D. 39.”
- „ 338, no. 1984, at the end add “(see A.D. 50, no. 1744).”
- „ 353, no. 2085, for “*infra*, no. 2110,” read “*infra*, no. 2089.”
- „ 353, no. 2089, at the end add “see *supra*, no. 2085,” and “*infra*, no. 2092.”
- „ 354, no. 2092, for “see *supra*, no. 2085,” read “see *supra*, no. 2089.”











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