

**Literary Parallels between Livy's Description of the Bacchanalian Conspiracy, Flavius Josephus' Accounts of Judean Rabble-Rousers and the Testimonium Flavianum**

Column: Source of text Row: Topic(s) in each cell.	Livy's History of Rome <i>Ab Urbe Condita Libri</i>  Original Language: Latin, c. 25 BCE-9CE.	Flavius Josephus, War of the Jews  Original Language: Greek, c. 75 CE.					Flavius Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews  Original Language: Greek, c. 95 CE	
	Livy, History of Rome Book 39.  Excerpted from: Titus Livius; Rev. Canon Roberts, translator; Ernest Rys, editor; "The History of Rome, Vol. 6"; J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1905.	Jewish War*:2.13.4  Felix and the sort who deceived the people.  (See AJ 20.1.6 (20.166))	Jewish War: 2.13.5  Felix and the Egyptian.  (See AJ 20.8.6 (20.169))	Jewish War: 2.13.6  Felix and the company of deceivers and brigands.  (See AJ 20.8.10(20.184))	Jewish War: 2.17.8 et seq.  Menahem the Messianic pretender	Jewish War: 7.11.1 (7.437-450)  Jonathan the Weaver  See Vita 13.77 (424 et seq).	Antiquities of the Jews:  18.3.3  Pilate and Jesus  "The Testimonium Flavianum"	Antiquities of the Jews  20.6.1  Cuspius Fadus and Theudas
The Preceding Disaster(s)	39.1-39.5 War in Leguria and Gaul  39.8 During the following year the consuls ... had their attention diverted from the army and the wars, and the administration of provinces, by the necessity of putting down a domestic conspiracy. ... Both the consuls were charged with the investigation into the secret conspiracies.	2.13.3: 254 With the country purged of these, another sort of brigands called Sicarii grew up in Jerusalem, who killed people in broad daylight even in the city itself.	(258 Another band of the wicked gathered, ... )	264 After this had calmed down, the sickness broke out in another place, as in a diseased body.  (See Livy <i>History</i> , Vol. 6 [39.9]; "This pestilential evil penetrated from Etruria to Rome like a contagious disease."*)	(2.17.7: 430 Next day, the fifteenth of the month Lous, they attacked the Antonia and after besieging its garrison for two days they captured and killed the guards and set the fort on fire. ...)	437 The madness of the Sicarii infected even the cities around Cyrene.	18.3.2 Josephus' list of Pontius Pilate's oppressive acts ...  062 Since the civilians were unarmed and were caught by men trained for action, many of them were killed on the spot while others ran away wounded; and this put an end to the revolt.	097 While Fadus was procurator of Judea,
Introducing the Rabble-Rouser(s)	A low-born Greek went into Etruria first of all, but did not bring with him any of the numerous arts which that most accomplished of all nations has introduced amongst us for the cultivation of mind and body.	2 13 4  258 Another band of the wicked gathered, purer in their actions, but even worse in their intentions, which ruined the prosperity of the city no less than did these murderers.	261 Even more harm was done to the Jews by an Egyptian charlatan	A company	Meanwhile a certain Manahem, son of Judas surnamed the Galilean,	438 A rogue named Jonathan,	063 Jesus lived about this time,	a magician (other translations: a charlatan) named Theudas
Unflattering description of the Rabble-Rouser (showing low social status or moral deficiency), except in the case of Jesus and John the Baptist.	(A low-born Greek...) He was a hedge-priest and wizard, not one of those who imbue men's minds with error by professing to teach their superstitions openly for money, but a hierophant of secret nocturnal mysteries.	(258 Another band of the wicked gathered ... )	(an Egyptian charlatan) claiming to be a prophet	of deceivers and brigands got together an	a shrewd debater	(438 A rogue named Jonathan,) a weaver by trade,	a wise man,	(a magician (other translations: a charlatan) named Theudas)
							if one may properly call him a man, for he performed wonderful works,	
The Rabble-Rouser deceived people	At first these were divulged to only a few;  (...and the attractions of wine and feasting increased the number of his followers.)	259 These were the sort who deceived	who led astray a	persuaded		took refuge there and winning the attention  (439 He concealed his knavery from the others and fooled them)	and was a teacher to those who receive the truth with pleasure*.	persuaded
and recruited more followers.	then they began to spread amongst both men and women, and the attractions of wine and feasting increased the number of his followers.	the people under pretext of divine inspiration,	throng of thirty thousand who put their trust in him.	the Jews	who had formerly, under Quirinius, taunted the Jews,	of a number of the poorer class	He drew to himself many of the Jews and many Gentiles too.	many of the people
The people were urged to revolt and seek liberty. There was disorder and loss of social constraints.  There is no matching phrase in the Testimonium Flavianum.	When they were heated with wine and the nightly commingling of men and women, those of tender age with their seniors, had extinguished all sense of modesty, debaucheries of every kind commenced; each had pleasures at hand to satisfy the lust he was most prone to. Nor was the mischief confined to the promiscuous intercourse of men	but were in favour of revolt and upheaval and drove the people mad		to revolt and urged them to assert their liberty,	that under God they were subject to the Romans*			to take their property with them and

	and women; false witness, the forging of seals and testaments, and false informations, all proceeded from the same source, as also poisonings and murders of families where the bodies could not even be found for burial. Many crimes were committed by treachery; most by violence, which was kept secret, because the cries of those who were being violated or murdered could not be heard owing to the noise of drums and cymbals.							
An unmatched phrase found only in the Testimonium Flavianum.							He was the person anointed with oil.	
The Rabble-Rouser led his followers to a place.	[39.9]This pestilential evil penetrated from Etruria to Rome	and led them into the wilderness,	262 These he led round from the wilderness to what is called the Mount of Olives,		retreated to Masada with his company ... With these as his bodyguard he returned to Jerusalem in royal state,	he led them out into the desert		follow him to the river Jordan,
The Rabble-Rouser promised miracles and planned to upset the established order (by swelling his sect's numbers and influence).	like a contagious disease*. (See Jewish War: 2.13.6, "...the sickness broke out in another place, as in a diseased body.")	claiming that God would there show them signs of liberation.	intending to force his way into Jerusalem, and if he defeated the Roman garrison		to become leader of the revolt, and ordered the siege to continue	with the promise of showing them signs and visions. 439 He concealed his knavery from the others and fooled them,		for he told them he was a prophet and that at his command he would divide the river and provide them an easy passage over it.
The Rabble-Rouser abused or deceived his followers.	At first, the size and extent of the City allowing more scope and impunity for such mischiefs, served to conceal them,		he would tyrannize the people, with his fellow invaders as his bodyguard.	punishing with death any who stayed submissive to Roman rule and saying that those who chose slavery should be forestalled.	(2.17.9) 442 ... so elated (was) Manahem that he became fiercely harsh, and seeing nobody with whom he had to share power, he became an intolerable tyrant. ... 444 ...adorned with royal robes, with his Zealots fully armed.			098 Many were taken in by his words,
The authorities learn of a threat to their rule and take action.	but information at length reached the consul, mainly through the following channel. (39.9 -39.14. Here follows the story of how a prostitute, a freedwoman named Hispala Fecenia, informed the consul Sp. Postumius Albinus, about the Bacchanalian conspiracy and the threat it posed to her lover, P. Aebutius, and to the status quo. ) (39.15- 39.17. The authorities respond to the threat and proscribe the conspirators.)	260 Felix saw this as the start of a revolt,	263 Felix thwarted his attempt			but the highest ranking the Jews of Cyrene told Catullus, the ruler of the Libyan Pentapolis, about his exodus and what he planned for it.	064 When Pilate, prompted by our leading men,	but Fadus did not let them go on with this madness,
A group of armed men: Guards or cavalry and infantry.	39.17 ...During the night following the disclosure of the affair in the Assembly, guards were posted at all the gates,	so he sent some cavalry and armed infantry,	and met him with his Roman soldiers,			440 So he sent out cavalry and infantry in pursuit,		but sent a troop of cavalry out against them
Confronting the miscreants.	and many who tried to escape were arrested by the police commissioners and brought back.		while all the people joined in his attack. But in the battle, the Egyptian fled with a few others,		445 But Eleazar's group rushed at him and the rest of the people took up stones and threw them at the charlatan, ... .			attacking them unexpectedly
Killing followers and fugitives. (See Killing the Leader, below)	Many names were handed in, and some of these, both men and women, committed suicide. It was asserted that more than 7000 of both sexes were implicated in the conspiracy.	who killed many of them.	while most of his supporters were either killed,	265 These divided up into groups and prowled up and down the country, looting the houses of the great and killing their owners and setting villages on fire, until all Judea was full of their madness.		and defeated them easily, as they were unarmed. Many of them were killed in the fight,		and killing many of them

<p>The ringleaders</p> <p>Taking prisoners</p> <p>The captured leaders were killed. (See Punishment in the row below.)</p> <p>Prisoners brought to the authorities</p>	<p>The ringleaders were, it appears, the two Atinii, Marcus and Caius, both members of the Roman plebs; L. Opiternius of Falerium, and Minius Cerrinius, a Campanian. They were the authors of all the crime and outrage, the high priests and founders of the cult. Care was taken that they should be arrested as soon as possible, and when brought before the consuls they at once made a complete confession.</p>		<p>or taken alive,</p>		<p>446 Manahem and his party resisted for a while, but when they saw the whole crowd attacking them, they fled however they could. Those who were caught were killed and those who hid themselves were hunted.</p>	<p>and some were taken alive and brought to Catullus. (441 The leader of this affair, Jonathan, escaped for a time, but ... was finally captured. When he was brought to Catullus ... )</p>	<p>condemned him to the cross,</p>	<p>while capturing many more alive, including Theudas, whose head they cut off and brought to Jerusalem</p>
<p>Escaping/ fleeing /scattering</p> <p>Prominent People</p> <p>Hiding</p> <p>Go Back Home</p> <p>Punishment</p> <p>Investigating / Hunting the guilty.</p> <p>In public</p>	<p>[39.18]So great, however, was the number of those who fled from the City that law-suits and rights of property were in numerous cases lost by default, and the praetors were compelled through the intervention of the senate to adjourn their courts for a month, to allow the consuls to complete their investigations. Owing to the fact that those whose names were on the list did not answer to the summons, and were not to be found in Rome, the consuls had to visit the country towns and conduct their inquiries and try the cases there. Those who had simply been initiated, who, that is, had repeated after the priest the prescribed form of imprecation which pledged them to every form of wickedness and impurity, but had not been either active or passive participants in any of the proceedings to which their oath bound them, were detained in prison. Those who had polluted themselves by outrage and murder, those who had stained themselves by giving false evidence, forging seals and wills and by other fraudulent practices, were sentenced to death. The number of those executed exceeded the number of those sentenced to imprisonment; there was an enormous number of men as well as women in both classes. The women who had been found guilty were handed over to their relatives or guardians to be dealt with privately; if there was no one capable of inflicting punishment, they were executed publicly.</p>		<p>and the rest of the people scattered to their homes and hid themselves.</p>		<p>(446 Manahem and his party resisted for a while, but when they saw the whole crowd attacking them, they fled however they could. Those who were caught were killed and those who hid themselves were hunted.)</p> <p>447 A few of them secretly escaped to Masada. ... 448 Manahem himself went into hiding in a place called Ophla, but they took him alive, brought him out in public and subjected him to many tortures and finally killed him, as well as the captains under him, including Apsalom, his main lieutenant in the tyranny</p>	<p>441The leader of this affair, Jonathan, escaped for a time, but ... was finally captured. When he was brought to Catullus, he found a way to escape punishment himself, but which caused Catullus to do a large amount of harm, 442 for he falsely accused the richest of the Jews of being the instigators of the whole thing.</p>		
<p>The fate of the sect.</p>	<p>The next task awaiting the consuls was the destruction of all the Bacchanalian shrines, beginning with Rome, and then throughout the length and breadth of Italy; those only excepted where there was an ancient</p>						<p>those who loved him from the beginning did not cease**, for he appeared to them alive again the third day. The tribe of Christians, so named after him, survive to the</p>	

	altar or a sacred image. The senate decreed that for the future there should be no Bacchanalian rites in Rome or in Italy. If any one considered that this form of worship was a necessary obligation and that he could not dispense with it without incurring the guilt of irreligion, he was to make a declaration before the City praetor and the praetor was to consult the senate. If the senate gave permission, not less than one hundred senators being present, he might observe those rites on condition that not more than five persons took part in the service, that they had no common fund, and that there was no priest or conductor of the ceremonies.						present day***.	
More Unfortunate Events	39.20 Q. Marcius and the Ligurian disaster.	261 Even more harm was done to the Jews by an Egyptian charlatan claiming to be a prophet who led astray a throng of thirty thousand who put their trust in him. (See adjacent column to the right for continuation of the text.)	(2.13.6) 264 After this had calmed down, the sickness broke out in another place, as in a diseased body. (See adjacent column to the right for continuation of the text.)	So the flame of war was daily fanned more and more. (2.13.7). 266 There was another disturbance in Caesarea when the Jews who were there mixed in with the Syrians rioted against them.	and finally killed him, as well as the captains under him, including Apsalom, his main lieutenant in the tyranny.	(450 But Vespasian still had some suspicion about the matter and enquired how far it was true, ... , and sentenced Jonathan as he deserved, for he was first tortured and then burned alive.)	18.3.4,(065) About the same time another tragedy rocked the Jews ... 18.3.5 (081) There was a Jew, a wicked man in every way ... 18.4 (085) But the Samaritan nation did not escape disturbance either.	099 These were the disasters that occurred among the Jews in the time of Cuspius Fadus's rule. 20.5.2 100 After Fadus came his successor Tiberius Alexander ... 101 Under these procurators the great famine happened in Judea ...
Endnotes to column.	* Josephus' co-authors made the spread of liberty, in this case Judean independence from Rome, analogous to the spread of a contagious disease.	*Patrick Rogers, Translator, Dublin 2001. **In his preface to War of the Jews, Flavius Josephus stated that he had written an Aramaic draft. This version has not survived.		* Compare the place to place spread of the metaphorical "sickness " or "pestilential evil" with: "It was in the time of Gessius Florus as governor that the nation began to grow mad with this illness, when by the abuse of his authority he caused them to revolt from the Romans." <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> 18 1 6. "For we have found this man (Paul) a plague (i.e. disease carrier), and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes." <i>Acts</i> 24:5. "I (Claudius) order the Jews (of Alexandria) ... not to bring or admit Jews who sail from Egypt or from Syria, otherwise I will by all means take vengeance on them as fomenters of a general plague infecting the whole world." <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i> 19 5 2. "... the deadly superstition again erupted, not only in Judea, the origin of the evil, but even in the city (Rome) where all atrocious and shameful things from everywhere converge and are celebrated." Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> , 15.44.	* "subject to the Romans", the opposite of liberty.		*"received with pleasure" occurs in the Greek text at Ant 18: 6, 59, 63, 70, 236, 333; Ant 19: 127, 185 ** "did not cease" is the opposite of the fleeing or scattering found in the parallel phrases. *** The Christian tribe's survival might be considered an Unfortunate event belonging in the next row.	
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