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JOSEPHUS

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JOSEPHUS  
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES  
BOOKS XIV-XV

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΙΔ

(i. 1) Τῶν δὲ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδραν τὴν βασίλισσαν καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν βίβλῳ δεδηλωμένων, τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα καὶ προσεχῆ νῦν ἐροῦμεν, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἢ διὰ 2 κάματον τῆς μνήμης προμηθούμενοι.<sup>1</sup> τὴν γὰρ ἱστορίαν καὶ τὴν μήνυσιν τῶν ἀγνοουμένων τοῖς πολλοῖς πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα δεῖ μὲν<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας<sup>3</sup> κάλλος, ὅσον δὴ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἔκ τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀρμονίας καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις συμβάλλεται κόσμον 3 τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις ἔχειν, ὡς ἂν μετὰ χάριτός τινος καὶ ἡδονῆς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν παραλαμβάνοιεν, πάντων δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀκριβείας τοὺς συγγραφεῖς στοχάζεσθαι,<sup>4</sup> μηδὲν<sup>5</sup> τοῦ τάληθῆ λέγειν τοῖς περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσασιν αὐτοὶ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς μέλλουσιν προτιμῶντας.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> προθυμούμενοι PF<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> δεῖ μὲν P Lat. : δίίμεν rell.

<sup>3</sup> P : ἐπαγγελίας rell.

<sup>4</sup> + δεῖ FLVW et Lat. vid. : + δεῖν AM.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ FLAMVW.

<sup>6</sup> προτιμῶντας om. LAMVW.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "to be accurate and speak."

<sup>b</sup> For similar observations on the duty of the historian see *B.J.* i. 16, *Ant.* i. 4 et al. Reinach stresses the fact that

## BOOK XIV

(i. 1) HAVING related the history of Queen Alexandra and her death in the preceding book, we shall now speak of the events that followed immediately thereafter, keeping in mind one thing above all else, which is not to omit anything whether through ignorance or fault of memory. For while the relation and recording of events that are unknown to most people because of their antiquity require charm of exposition, such as is imparted by the choice of words and their proper arrangement and by whatever else contributes elegance to the narrative, in order that readers may receive such information with a certain degree of gratification and pleasure, nevertheless what historians should make their chief aim is to be accurate and hold everything else of less importance than speaking<sup>a</sup> the truth to those who must rely upon them in matters of which they themselves have no knowledge.<sup>b</sup>

Introduc-  
tion to  
Book XIV.

with Book XIV Josephus begins to use Nicolas of Damascus as his chief source (continuing to *Ant.* xvii. 206), but it should be noted that Josephus has freely drawn on Nicolas in the preceding book as well, as some of the notes indicate; see also the Appendix on sources in the last volume of this translation. The reader may also be referred to the detailed but often speculative study of the parallelism between *Ant.* xiv. and *B.J.* i. by R. Laqueur in *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus*, 1920, pp. 128-221.

4 (2) Παραλαβόντος γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν<sup>1</sup> Ὑρκανοῦ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδος, ὑπατεύοντος Ῥωμαίων Κυίντου Ὀρτησίου καὶ Κυίντου Μετέλλου, ὃς δὴ καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκαλεῖτο, πόλεμον εὐθύς ἐκφέρει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τῆς μάχης αὐτῷ γενομένης πρὸς Ἰεριχοῦντι πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιω-  
 5 τῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτομολοῦσιν. οὗ γενομένου φεύγει πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Ὑρκανός, ἔνθα συνέβαινε κατεῖρχθαι<sup>2</sup> τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν<sup>3</sup>. καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας δὲ καταφυγόντας εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ περίβολον αἰρεῖ  
 6 προσβαλῶν.<sup>4</sup> καὶ λόγους ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ συμβάσεως καταλύεται τὴν ἔχθραν ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, αὐτὸν δὲ ζῆν ἀπραγμόνως, καρπούμενον ἀδεῶς τὴν ὑπάρ-  
 7 χουσαν αὐτῷ κτήσιν. ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῖς<sup>5</sup> ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> παραλαβόντος . . . βασιλείαν PF: ἀρξαμένου τοίνυν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης *rell.*, *om.* Lat.

<sup>2</sup> κρατεῖσθαι LAMWE *marg.*

<sup>3</sup> *post προειρήκαμεν lacunam statuit Niese.*

<sup>4</sup> + δὲ LAMWE: καθὼς . . . προσβαλῶν *om.* Lat.

<sup>5</sup> τούτοις Hudson.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 4-8 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 120-123.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "the high priesthood." The reading "royal power" (βασιλείαν) is supported by *B.J.* i. 120 and other passages, referred to in the following notes.

<sup>c</sup> The Olympiad and consular years correspond to 70/69 B.C.; thus Hyrcanus would have assumed royal power two years before the death of Alexandra, if she died in 67 B.C., as is most probable. Moreover we are told in *Ant.* xiv. 97 and xx. 244 that Aristobulus reigned 3 years and

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 4-7

(2) <sup>a</sup>Now when Hyrcanus assumed royal power,<sup>b</sup> in the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh Olympiad, the Roman consuls being Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, the same who was surnamed Creticus,<sup>c</sup> Aristobulus promptly declared war on him, and in the battle which he fought near Jericho many of the soldiers of Hyrcanus deserted to his brother. Upon this he fled to the citadel, where Aristobulus' wife and children had been confined by his mother, as we have said before.<sup>d</sup> And those of the opposite faction who had taken refuge in the precincts of the temple he attacked and seized.<sup>e</sup> And after proposing to his brother that they come to an agreement, he ended hostilities on the terms that Aristobulus should be king, while he himself should live without taking part in public affairs, and be undisturbed in the enjoyment of the possessions that he then had.<sup>f</sup> This pact they made under the auspices

Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II make an agreement whereby Aristobulus becomes king.

6 months, and in *Ant.* xv. 180 that after Alexandra's death Hyrcanus was king 3 months; this makes a total of 3 years and 9 months for the two reigns; reckoning back from 63 B.C., when Pompey ended Aristobulus's reign, we arrive at 67 B.C. for the accession of Hyrcanus. Schürer, i. 256 n. 1, is probably right in assuming that Josephus has here relied on a chronological hand-book and has given a date inconsistent with native tradition. <sup>d</sup> *Ant.* xiii. 426.

<sup>e</sup> *B.J.* i. 120 says more concretely that Hyrcanus seized Aristobulus' wife and children as hostages.

<sup>f</sup> Josephus here and in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 121, does not make it clear whether Hyrcanus gave up the high priesthood as well as the throne to Aristobulus, though the language in both passages (especially *Ant.* xiv. 7) suggests that he did. However, in *Ant.* xiv. 41, 97 and xx. 243-244 Josephus says plainly that Aristobulus became high priest in place of Hyrcanus. There is therefore no reason to assume, as some scholars do, that Hyrcanus continued as high priest between 67 and 63 B.C. See further A. Schalit, *BJPOS* 6 (1939), 145-148.

ἱερῶ συνθέμενοι καὶ ὄρκοις καὶ δεξιαῖς πιστωσάμενοι τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ κατασπασάμενοι τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ὄρωντος ἀλλήλους ἀνεχώρησαν, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασιλεία, Ὑρκανὸς δ' ὡς ἰδιώτης τυγχάνων<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου.

- 8 (3) Φίλος δέ τις Ὑρκανοῦ Ἰδουμαῖος, Ἀντίπατρος λεγόμενος, πολλῶν μὲν εὐπορῶν χρημάτων, δραστήριος δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὦν καὶ στασιαστής, ἀλλοτρίως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ διαφό-  
 9 ρως διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εὐνοίαν. Νικόλαος μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς τοῦτον εἶναι γένος ἐκ τῶν πρώτων Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικομένων. ταῦτα δὲ λέγει χαριζόμενος Ἡρώδῃ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ, βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τύχης τινὸς γενομένῳ, περὶ οὗ κατὰ  
 10 καιρὸν δηλώσομεν. οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος Ἀντίπας τὸ πρῶτον ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο<sup>2</sup> ἦν τὸ ὄνομα, ὃν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν ἀποδειξάντων ὅλης τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, ποιήσασθαι φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> τυγχάνων om. FLAMVWE.

<sup>2</sup> + γὰρ P.

<sup>a</sup> Laqueur, pp. 134-136, pointing out that *Ant.* gives Hyrcanus a less important position than *B.J.* (which says that "Hyrcanus, while abdicating the throne, should enjoy all his other honours as the king's brother"), attributes this slight difference, as similar ones, to Josephus' altered attitude toward the Herodians, whose ancestor Antipater was responsible for Hyrcanus' later triumph over Aristobulus.

<sup>b</sup> Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 52, says that Antipater was an Ascalonite; Julius Africanus, *ap.* Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 7. 11, says that Antipater's father Herod was a temple-slave of Apollo at Ascalon and that Antipater was



## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XIV. 7-10

of the temple, and after confirming their agreement by oaths and pledges and embracing one another in the sight of all the people, they withdrew, Aristobulus to the palace, and Hyrcanus, as one who was now a private citizen,<sup>a</sup> to the house of Aristobulus.

(3) But there was a certain friend of Hyrcanus, an Idumaeen called Antipater, who, having a large fortune and being by nature a man of action and a trouble-maker, was unfriendly to Aristobulus and quarrelled with him because of his friendliness toward Hyrcanus. Nicolas of Damascus, to be sure, says that his family belonged to the leading Jews who came to Judaea from Babylon.<sup>b</sup> But he says this in order to please Antipater's son Herod, who became king of the Jews by a certain turn of fortune, as we shall relate in the proper place.<sup>c</sup> This Antipater, it seems, was first called Antipas, which was also the name of his father,<sup>d</sup> whom King Alexander<sup>e</sup> and his wife appointed governor of the whole of Idumaea, and they say that he made friends of the neighbouring

The rise  
of the  
Idumaeen  
Antipater.

carried off by Idumaeen robbers as a boy; see further next note.

<sup>a</sup> In *Ant.* xv. In *B.J.* i. 123 Josephus says merely that Antipater was an Idumaeen by race and that "his ancestry, wealth and other advantages put him in the front rank of his nation." For a discussion of Josephus' varying attitude toward the father of Herod the Great and his apologist, Nicolas of Damascus, see Schürer i. 292 n. 3, Laqueur, pp. 136-139, Otto, *Her.* pp. 15, 17-18 and Jacoby, *FGII* ii. 381 and Commentary to fr. 96, p. 255. The latter argues that Nicolas really did invent a Babylonian Jewish ancestry for Herod, and that Hölscher, in *PW* ix. 1971 f., is wrong in believing that a Jewish polemicist has falsified Nicolas' account.

<sup>d</sup> According to Julius Africanus (see above, note *b*), Antipater's father was named Herod.

<sup>e</sup> Jannaeus.

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- ὁμοροῦντας αὐτῷ Ἄραβας καὶ Γαζαίους καὶ Ἄσκαλωνίτας λέγουσι, πολλαῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ μεγάλαις  
 11 ἐξιδιωσάμενον δωρεαῖς. τὴν οὖν τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου  
 δυναστείαν ὁ νεώτερος Ἀντίπατρος ὑφορώμενος, καὶ  
 δεδιὼς μή τι πάθῃ διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μῖσος, ἐπισυνιστᾷ κατ' αὐτοῦ κρύφα διαλεγόμενος  
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς δυναστεύοντας, ἄδικον εἶναι λέγων  
 περιορᾶν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀδίκως ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρχήν,  
 καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν ταύτης ἐκβεβληκότα πρεσβύτερον  
 ὄντα, κατέχοντα δ' αὐτὴν οὖσαν ἐκείνου  
 12 διὰ τὸ πρεσβεῖον. τούτους δὲ<sup>1</sup> συνεχῶς πρὸς τὸν  
 Ἰρκανὸν ποιούμενος διετέλει τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ὅτι  
 κινδυνεύσει τὸ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ φυλάξαιτο ποιήσας αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐκποδῶν· τοὺς γὰρ φίλους τοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου  
 μηδένα παραλείπειν καιρὸν ἔλεγε συμβουλεύοντας  
 αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὡς τότε βεβαίως ἔξοντα  
 13 τὴν ἀρχήν. τούτοις Ἰρκανὸς ἠπίσται τοῖς λόγοις, φύσει  
 χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ διαβολὴν δι' ἐπιείκειαν οὐ προσιέμενος  
 ῥαδίως. ἐποίει δ' αὐτὸν τὸ ἄπραγμον καὶ τὸ παρειμένον  
 τῆς διανοίας τοῖς ὀρώσιν ἀγεννή καὶ ἄνανδρον  
 δοκεῖν· τῆς δ' ἐναντίας φύσεως ἦν Ἀριστόβουλος,  
 δραστήριος καὶ διεγυγερμένος τὸ φρόνημα.
- 14 (4) Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος οὐ προσέχοντα  
 ἑώρα τοῖς λόγοις τὸν Ἰρκανόν, οὐ διέλιπεν ἐκάστης  
 ἡμέρας πλαττόμενος καὶ διαβάλλων πρὸς αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> τε PFV.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: αὐτὸν codd. E.

Arabs and Gazaeans and Ascalonites, and completely won them over by many large gifts. Now the younger Antipater looked jealously on Aristobulus' power,<sup>a</sup> and fearing that he might suffer harm because of his hatred for him, he stirred up the powerful<sup>a</sup> Jews against him in secret conversations, saying that it was wrong to ignore the fact that Aristobulus wrongly held royal power and had driven his brother from the throne although he was the elder, and now occupied it though it belonged to the other by right of seniority. These were the arguments he unceasingly continued to address to Hyrcanus, adding that he was in danger of losing his life unless he insured his safety by taking himself out of his way.<sup>b</sup> For Aristobulus' friends, he said, were losing no opportunity of advising him to do away with Hyrcanus, as he would then hold power securely. But Hyrcanus gave no credence to these words, for he was naturally a decent man and because of his kindness did not readily listen to slander. But his ineffectualness<sup>c</sup> and weakness of will made him seem ignoble and unmanly to those who observed him. Aristobulus, however, was of the opposite nature, being a man of action<sup>c</sup> and alert spirit.

(4) <sup>d</sup> And so when Antipater saw that Hyrcanus was paying no attention to what he said, he did not let a day go by without bringing false charges against Aristobulus before him, and slandering him by saying

Antipater persuades Hyrcanus to seek help from the Arab king Aretas against Aristobulus.

<sup>a</sup> Gr. *δυναστείαν . . . δυναστεύοντας*. Two similar repetitions of a root occur in this section: *ἄδικον . . . ἀδίκως* and *πρεσβύτερον . . . πρεσβείον*.

<sup>b</sup> Text slightly emended. MSS.: "putting him (Aristobulus) out of the way."

<sup>c</sup> On this Thucydidean contrast of *τὸ ἀπραγμον* and *δραστήριος* see *Ant.* xiii. 408 note a.

<sup>d</sup> §§ 14-19 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 124-126.

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τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι θέλοντα, καὶ  
 μόλις ἐγκείμενος πείθει πρὸς Ἀρέταν αὐτῷ συμβου-  
 λεύσας φυγεῖν τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα· πεισθέντι  
 15 γὰρ ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς σύμμαχος ὑπισχνεῖτο. ὁ  
 δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούων συμφέρειν, ἦν<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὸν  
 Ἀρέταν ἀποδρᾶναι, ἔστι δὲ ὁμορος τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἢ  
 Ἀραβία, καὶ δὴ πέμπει πρῶτον Ὑρκανὸς πρὸς τὸν  
 τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ληψόμενον  
 πίστεις ὡς οὐκ ἐκδώσει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἰκέτην αὐτοῦ  
 16 γενόμενον. λαβὼν δὲ τὰς πίστεις ὁ Ἀντίπατρος  
 ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ  
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως  
 ὑπεξελθὼν νύκτωρ καὶ πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὁδόν, ἤκεν  
 ἄγων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Πέτραν, ὅπου τὰ  
 17 βασιλεία ἦν τοῦ Ἀρέτα. μάλιστα δὲ ὢν φίλος τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ κατάγειν τὸν Ὑρκανὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν  
 παρεκάλει· καὶ τοῦθ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ποιῶν καὶ  
 οὐκ ἀνιείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεὰς προϊέμενος, πείθει τὸν  
 18 Ἀρέταν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ὑπέσχετο  
 αὐτῷ καταχθεῖς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κομισάμενος  
 ἀποδώσειν τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὰς δώδεκα<sup>3</sup> πόλεις  
 ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀράβων  
 ἀφείλετο. ἦσαν δ' αὗται Μήδαβα, Λίββα, Δα-

<sup>1</sup> συμφέρειν ἦν P: ἔλεγε σύμφορον (συμφέρον V) εἶναι rell.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ] ἐπὶ τὸ FL: τὸ V.

<sup>3</sup> decem Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Aretas III; cf. *Ant.* xiii. 360 note e.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 391 note f.

<sup>c</sup> Petra is more than a hundred miles from Jerusalem as the crow flies. For a convenient account of the Hellenistic

that he wished to kill Hyrcanus; and by dint of constant pressure he persuaded him to take his advice and flee to Aretas,<sup>a</sup> the Arab king, promising that if he followed his advice, he too would be his ally. When Hyrcanus heard that this would be to his advantage, he was ready to flee to Aretas, for Arabia borders on Judaea.<sup>b</sup> However, he first sent Antipater to the Arab king to receive sworn assurances that if he came to him as a suppliant, Aretas would not deliver him up to his enemies. When Antipater had received these sworn assurances, he returned to Hyrcanus at Jerusalem; and not long afterward he slipped out of the city by night, taking Hyrcanus with him, and after travelling a great distance,<sup>c</sup> brought him to the city called Petra, where the palace of Aretas was. Being a very good friend of the king, he urged him to bring Hyrcanus back to Judaea; and as he did this every day without intermission and offered him gifts in addition, he finally persuaded Aretas.<sup>d</sup> Moreover Hyrcanus also promised him that if he were restored and received his throne, he would return to him the territory and the twelve cities which his father Alexander had taken from the Arabs.<sup>e</sup> These were Medaba,<sup>f</sup> Libba,<sup>g</sup> Dabaloth,<sup>h</sup> Ara-

city see G. Robinson, *The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization*, 1930.

<sup>a</sup> Antipater also used flattery, according to *B.J.* i. 124-126.

<sup>b</sup> Some of the cities (which are not mentioned in *B.J.*) had been captured by Hyrcanus I. The correct forms of some of the names are very doubtful; cf. the list in *Ant.* xiii. 395.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 255.

<sup>g</sup> Variants "Libanthra," "Livias."

<sup>h</sup> Conjectured, by Abel, *GP* ii. 148, for ms. "Nabaloth," "Naballo"; it is prob. bibl. Beth Diblathaim, mod. *Deleilat*, c. 5 miles N.E. of Libba.

βαλώθ,<sup>1</sup> Ἀράβαθα,<sup>2</sup> Ἄγαλλα, Ἀθώνη,<sup>3</sup> Ζώραρα,  
᾽Ωρωναιῖν, Γοβολίς, Ἄρυδδα,<sup>4</sup> Ἄλουσα,<sup>5</sup> ᾽Ωρυβδα.<sup>6</sup>

- 19 (ii. 1) Τούτων αὐτῶ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων γενομένων  
Ἀρέτας ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον μετὰ  
πέντε μυριάδων ἵπποτῶν ἅμα καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς,  
καὶ νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ. πολλῶν δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην  
πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν αὐτομολησάντων μονωθεὶς ὁ Ἀρι-  
20 στόβουλος ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ὁ δὲ τῶν  
Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀγαγὼν  
καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπολι-  
όρκει, προστιθεμένου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῷ Ὑρκανῷ  
καὶ συμπολιορκοῦντος αὐτῷ, μόνων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων  
21 τῷ Ἀριστοβούλῳ προσμενόντων. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
Ἀρέτας ἐξῆς βαλόμενος στρατόπεδα τῶν Ἀράβων  
καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἰσχυρῶς ἐνέκειτο τῇ πολιορκίᾳ.  
τούτων δὲ γινομένων κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τῶν  
ἄζύμων ἑορτῆς, ἣν φάσκα<sup>8</sup> λέγομεν, οἱ δοκιμώτατοι  
τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκλιπόντες τὴν χώραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον  
22 ἔφυγον. Ὀνίας δὲ τις ὄνομα, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Λίββα Δαβαλώθ Abel: Λίββα Ναβαλώθ P: Ναβαλλῶ Λιβ-  
βανθρα F: Ναβαλλῶ Λιβίας LAMVW.

<sup>2</sup> ᾽Ραβαθά F: Βαρβαθα L: Θαράβαθα A<sup>1</sup> M<sup>1</sup>: Θαραβασά V:  
Θαραβαθά W.

<sup>3</sup> Γάλαν Θώνη P: Γαλανθῶν F.

<sup>4</sup> ᾽Ορωναιῖν, Γοβολίς, Ἄρυδδα Niese: ᾽Ωρωναιδιγωβασιλι-  
σαρυδδα P: ᾽Ορωναι Γοβολός Σαρυδδά F: ορων Λιγμων ᾽Ρύδδα  
L: ᾽Ορῶν Λιγμῶ(ν) Μάρι(σ)σα rell.

<sup>5</sup> Λούσα LA<sup>1</sup>W: Λούσσα V: om. M.

<sup>6</sup> ᾽Ορυβα LAMVW.

<sup>7</sup> Ἰδουμαίων P.

<sup>8</sup> πάσχα PF<sup>1</sup>E.

<sup>a</sup> Variants "Rabatha," "Barbatha," "Tharabatha"; it  
is bibl. Rabbath Moab, mod. *Rabba*, c. 15 miles E. of the  
Dead Sea and S. of its centre.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "Galan"; cf. *Ant.* xiii. 397 note *t*.

batha,<sup>a</sup> Agalla,<sup>b</sup> Athone,<sup>c</sup> Zoara,<sup>d</sup> Oronain,<sup>e</sup> Gobolis,<sup>f</sup> Arydda,<sup>g</sup> Alusa<sup>h</sup> and Orybda.<sup>i</sup>

(ii. 1) Because of these promises which were made to him, Aretas marched against Aristobulus with an army of fifty thousand horsemen and footsoldiers as well,<sup>j</sup> and defeated him in battle. After his victory many deserted to Hyrcanus, and Aristobulus, being left alone, fled to Jerusalem. Thereupon the Arab king took his whole army and attacked the temple, where he besieged Aristobulus; and the citizens, joining Hyrcanus' side, assisted him in the siege, while only the priests remained loyal to Aristobulus. And so Aretas placed the camps of the Arabs and Jews<sup>k</sup> next to one another, and pressed the siege vigorously. But as this action took place at the time of observing the festival of Unleavened Bread, which we call *Phaska*,<sup>l</sup> the Jews of best repute left the country and fled to Egypt. Now there was a certain Onias,<sup>m</sup> who, being a righteous man and dear to God,

Aretas and the partisans of Hyrcanus besiege Aristobulus in the temple during Passover.

The saintly Onias prays for peace but is stoned to death.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "Thone"; cf. *Ant.* xiii. 397 note *u*.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 397 note *v*.

<sup>e</sup> The following three names are restored by Niese. On Oronain cf. *Ant.* xiii. 397 note *s*.

<sup>f</sup> According to Abel, *GP* ii. 148, this is Gabalos, mod. *el-Jebalin*, c. 6 miles E. of Zoara; cf. also *Ant.* ii. 6 note *o*.

<sup>g</sup> The mss. have "Sarydda," "Rydda," "Marisa." Abel locates Arydda near mod. *Naqb el-'Arūd* in the Negeb.

<sup>h</sup> Variant "Lus(s)a." Elusa, mod. *Khalasa*, was an important city of the Negeb in Roman and Byzantine times.

<sup>i</sup> Variant "Oryba." Abel, *GP* ii. 148, suggests mod. 'Abda, c. 20 miles S.E. of Elusa.

<sup>j</sup> *B.J.* i. 126, "fifty thousand, both horsemen and footsoldiers."

<sup>k</sup> Variant "Idumaeans."

<sup>l</sup> Variant "Pascha," cf. *Ant.* ix. 263 note *a*. This Passover must have fallen in April 65 B.C., see below, § 25.

<sup>m</sup> For the rabbinic parallel to the following story of Onias see Derenbourg, pp. 112-113.

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- θεοφιλῆς, ὃς ἀνομβρίας ποτὲ οὔσης ηὔξατο τῷ θεῷ  
 λῦσαι τὸν αὐχμὸν καὶ γενόμενος ἐπήκοος ὁ θεὸς  
 ὕσεν, ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν στάσιν ὄραν  
 ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιμένουσαν, ἀναχθέντα δ' εἰς τὸ στρα-  
 τόπεδον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἤξιουν ὡς ἔπαυσε τὴν  
 ἀνομβρίαν εὐξάμενος, ἔν' οὕτως ἀρὰς θῆῃ κατὰ  
 Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ τῶν συστασιαστῶν<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ.
- 23 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντιλέγων καὶ παραιτούμενος ἐβιάσθη ὑπὸ  
 24 τοῦ πλήθους, στὰς μέσος αὐτῶν εἶπεν. “ὦ θεὸς  
 βασιλεῦ τῶν ὄλων, ἐπεὶ οἱ μετ' ἐμοῦ νῦν ἐστῶτες  
 σοὶ δῆμὸς ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἱερεῖς  
 σοί, δέομαι μήτε κατὰ τούτων ἐκείνοις ἐπακοῦσαι  
 μήτε κατ' ἐκείνων ἃ οὗτοι παρακαλοῦσιν εἰς τέλος  
 ἀγαγεῖν.” καὶ τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εὐξάμενον περι-  
 στάντες οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατέλευσαν.
- 25 (2) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ταύτης αὐτοὺς παραχρῆμα ἐτι-  
 μωρήσατο τῆς ὠμότητος, καὶ δίκην εἰσεπράξατο  
 τοῦ Ὀνίου φόνου τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ· πολιορκου-  
 μένων τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου συνέβη  
 τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιστῆναι τὴν καλουμένην φάσκα, καθ'  
 26 ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πολλὰ θύειν τῷ θεῷ. ἀπορ-  
 οῦντες δὲ θυμάτων οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον  
 ἤξιῶσαν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παρασχεῖν, χρή-  
 ματα λαβόντας ἀντὶ τῶν θυμάτων ὅσα θέλουσιν.  
 τῶν δέ, εἰ βούλονται λαβεῖν, χιλίας δραχμὰς ὑπὲρ  
 ἑκάστης κεφαλῆς καταβαλεῖν κελευόντων, προ-  
 θύμως ὅ τε Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ὑπέστησαν,  
 καὶ διὰ τῶν τειχῶν καθιμήσαντες ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς  
 27 τὰ χρήματα. καὶ οἱ λαβόντες οὐκ ἀπέδωκαν τὰ

<sup>1</sup> στρατιωτῶν LAMW.

<sup>a</sup> This second mention of Passover (cf. § 21) and the two  
 14



had once in a rainless period prayed to God to end the drought, and God had heard his prayer and sent rain; this man hid himself when he saw that the civil war continued to rage, but he was taken to the camp of the Jews and was asked to place a curse on Aristobulus and his fellow-rebels, just as he had, by his prayers, put an end to the rainless period. But when in spite of his refusals and excuses he was forced to speak by the mob, he stood up in their midst and said, "O God, king of the universe, since these men standing beside me are Thy people, and those who are besieged are Thy priests, I beseech Thee not to hearken to them against these men nor to bring to pass what these men ask Thee to do to those others." And when he had prayed in this manner the villains among the Jews who stood round him stoned him to death.

(2) But God straightway punished them for this savagery, and exacted satisfaction for the murder of Onias in the following manner. While the priests and Aristobulus were being besieged, there happened to come round the festival called *Phaska*, at which it is our custom to offer numerous sacrifices to God.<sup>a</sup> But as Aristobulus and those with him lacked victims, they asked their countrymen to furnish them with these, and take as much money for the victims as they wished. And when these others demanded that they pay a thousand drachmas for each animal they wished to get, Aristobulus and the priests willingly accepted this price and gave them the money, which they let down from the walls by a rope. Their

God  
punishes  
the Jews  
for killing  
Onias.

different reasons given, in §§ 25 and 28, for the divine visitation show that Josephus has been careless in combining his sources.

- θύματα, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο πονηρίας ἤλθον ὥστε παραβῆναι τὰς πίστεις καὶ ἀσεβῆσαι εἰς τὸν θεόν, τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν μὴ παρασχόντες τοῖς δεομένοις.
- 28 παρασπονδηθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἠΰξαντο τῷ θεῷ δίκην αὐτῶν εἰσπράξασθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πνεῦμα πολὺ καὶ βίαιον ἐπιπέμφας τὸν καρπὸν ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας διέφθειρεν, ὡς τὸν μῶδιον τοῦ σίτου τότε αὐτοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἐξωνεῖσθαι δραχμῶν ἔνδεκα.
- 29 (3) Ἐν τούτῳ πέμπει καὶ<sup>2</sup> Σκαῦρον εἰς Συρίαν Πομπήιος, αὐτὸς ὢν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ πολεμῶν ἔτι Τιγράνῃ. ὃ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν Λόλλιον μὲν<sup>3</sup> καὶ Μέτελλον νεωστὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡρηκότας
- 30 εὐρῶν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἠπειέγετο. παραγενομένου δὲ πρέσβεις ἤκον πρὸς αὐτὸν παρὰ τε Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ, συμμαχεῖν<sup>4</sup> ἀξιούντων ἑκατέροις. ὑπισχνουμένου δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου μὲν τετρακόσια δώσειν τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ Ὑρκανοῦ τούτων οὐκ ἐλάττονα παρέξειν, προσδέχεται τὴν
- 31 Ἀριστοβούλου ὑπόσχεσιν· καὶ γὰρ εὖπορος χρημάτων καὶ μεγαλόψυχος ἦν καὶ μετριωτέρων ἡξίου τυγχάνειν, ὃ δὲ καὶ πένης ἦν καὶ γλίσχρος καὶ περὶ

<sup>1</sup> A: αὐτοῖς rell. E.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ om. P.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν om. P.

<sup>4</sup> συμμαχίαν P: εἰ βούλοιο συμμαχεῖν FLAMW.

<sup>a</sup> In the rabbinic story the besiegers send up a pig for sacrifice.

<sup>b</sup> Graetz, *op. Derenbourg*, p. 114 n. 3, in this connexion cites a passage from Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 11, concerning an earthquake in Asia in 64 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> The *modius* = c.  $\frac{1}{4}$  bushel. On the price of wheat in this period see *Ant.* xii. 140 note a and, further, F. Heichelheim,

countrymen, however, after receiving the money did not deliver the victims, but went to such lengths of villainy that they violated their pledges and acted impiously toward God by not furnishing the sacrificial victims to those who were in need of them.<sup>a</sup> But the priests, on suffering this breach of faith, prayed to God to exact satisfaction on their behalf from their countrymen; and He did not delay their punishment, but sent a mighty and violent wind to destroy the crops of the entire country,<sup>b</sup> so that people at that time had to pay eleven drachmas for a *modius* of wheat.<sup>c</sup>

(3) <sup>a</sup> Meanwhile Pompey sent Scaurus also <sup>e</sup> to Syria, as he himself was in Armenia, still making war on Tigranes.<sup>f</sup> And when Scaurus came to Damascus, he found that Lollius and Metellus had just taken the city, and so he hurried on to Judaea. On his arrival envoys came to him from both Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, each of whom asked him to come to his aid. Aristobulus offered to give him four hundred <sup>g</sup> talents; and though Hyrcanus promised him no less a sum, he accepted the offer of Aristobulus, for he was both wealthy and generous and asked for more moderate terms, whereas Hyrcanus was poor and

The Roman general Scaurus favours Aristobulus and forces Aretas to raise the siege of the temple.

“Syria,” in T. Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. iv. 1938.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 29-34 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 127-131.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* in addition to Gabinius. One ms. omits “also.”

<sup>f</sup> Tigranes surrendered to Pompey in the autumn of 66 B.C. Scaurus was sent to Damascus the following spring. M. Cary in *CAH* ix. 381 n. 1 states that “The chronology of the Roman occupation of Syria as given in Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities* (§§ 34-36 as against 29-33) is sadly confused.” He does not make clear, however, wherein the confusion lies.

<sup>g</sup> 300, according to *B.J.* i. 128.

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μειζόνων τὴν ἄπιστον προύτεινεν ἐπαγγελίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἴσον ἦν βία πόλιν ἐλεῖν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ὄχυρὰν καὶ δυνατὴν, ἢ φυγάδας ἐκβαλεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ναβαταίων πλήθους οὐκ εὖ πρὸς πόλεμον διακειμένων.

32 τούτῳ τοίνυν προσθέμενος διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας, λαβὼν τὰ χρήματα λύει τὴν πολιορκίαν, κελεύσας ἀναχωρεῖν τὸν Ἀρέταν ἢ πολέμιον αὐτὸν  
33 ἀποδειχθήσεσθαι Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Σκαῦρος μὲν εἰς Δαμασκὸν πάλιν ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τε Ἀρέταν καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἐστράτευσεν, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Παπυρῶνα<sup>2</sup> νικᾷ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κτείνει περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν πολεμίων, μεθ' ὧν ἔπεσε καὶ Φαλλίων<sup>3</sup> ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου ἀδελφός.

34 (iii. 1) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀφικομένου καὶ κοίλῃν Συρίαν ἐπιόντος ἤκον παρ' αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ἐξ ὅλης Συρίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας· ἔπεμψε γὰρ αὐτῷ μέγα δῶρον Ἀριστόβουλος, ἄμπελον χρυσῆν ἐκ πεντακοσίων  
35 ταλάντων. μέμνηται δὲ τοῦ δώρου καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ, λέγων οὕτως· “ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου πρεσβεία καὶ στέφανος ἀπὸ χρυσῶν τετρακισχιλίων καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἶτε ἄμπελος

<sup>1</sup> PE: ἐπὶ rell.

<sup>2</sup> Capiron Lat.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ Θαλλίων] Κεφαλλίων LA<sup>2</sup>: Κεφαλίων A<sup>1</sup>WE: Cephalon Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> B.J. i. 128 has “Three hundred talents offered by Aristobulus outweighed considerations of justice.” Laqueur, pp. 143-145, attributes the more favourable attitude toward Aristobulus and the criticism of Hyrcanus in *Ant.* to Josephus' later anti-Herodian bias.

<sup>b</sup> Schlatter, p. 393 n. 1, conjectures that this place, otherwise unknown, was somewhere near Jericho.

niggardly and held out untrustworthy promises for greater concessions.<sup>a</sup> Nor was it as easy to take by force a city which was among the most strongly fortified and powerful, as to drive out some fugitives together with the host of Nabataeans, who were not well fitted for warfare. And so he took Aristobulus' side for the reasons mentioned above, and accepting the money, put an end to the siege by commanding Aretas to withdraw or else be declared an enemy of the Romans. Then Scaurus again withdrew to Damascus, while Aristobulus with a large force marched against Aretas and Hyrcanus, and on engaging them at a place called Papyron,<sup>b</sup> defeated them in battle and killed some six thousand of the enemy, among the fallen being Phallion,<sup>c</sup> the brother of Antipater.

(iii. 1) When Pompey not long afterward came to Damascus and was advancing into Coele-Syria,<sup>d</sup> there came to him envoys from all of Syria and Egypt and Judaea. Aristobulus, for example, sent him a fine gift, which was a golden vine worth five hundred talents. This gift is also mentioned by Strabo of Cappadocia in the following words. "There also came from Egypt an embassy and a crown worth four thousand pieces of gold, and from Judaea

Pompey at Damascus receives gifts from the Jews.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "Cephalion." He is not mentioned elsewhere, except in *B.J.*, which has "Phallion."

<sup>d</sup> Note that §§ 34-36 refer to the spring of 63 B.C., while §§ 37 ff. (also from Strabo) go back to the autumn of 64 B.C. Josephus has again been careless in combining his new source, Strabo, with his earlier source in *B.J.*, namely Nicolas of Damascus. Pompey's relations with the Jewish factions are also described in Diodorus xl. 2. Cf. further Laqueur, pp. 145-148, who conjectures that the common source of Strabo and Diodorus was Theophanes of Mytilene, the friend and biographer of Pompey.

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εἶτε κῆπος· τερπωλὴν ὠνόμαζον τὸ δημιούργημα.  
 36 τοῦτο μέντοι τὸ δῶρον ἱστορήκαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 ἀνακείμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ  
 Καπετωλίου, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον Ἀλεξάνδρου<sup>1</sup> τοῦ  
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως. ἐτιμήθη δὲ εἶναι πεντα-  
 κοσίων ταλάντων. Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο  
 λέγεται πέμψαι τὸν Ἰουδαίων δυνάστην.”

37 (2) Μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἤκον πάλιν πρέσβεις πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> Ἀντίπατρος μὲν ὑπὲρ Ὑρκανοῦ, Νικόδημος<sup>3</sup>  
 δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃς δὴ καὶ κατηγορεῖ τῶν  
 λαβόντων χρήματα Γαβινίου μὲν πρότερον Σκαύρου  
 δὲ ὕστερον,<sup>4</sup> τοῦ μὲν τριακόσια τοῦ δὲ τετρακόσια  
 38 τάλαντα, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τούτους ἐχθροὺς  
 αὐτῷ κατασκευάζων. κελεύσας δὲ ἤκειν<sup>5</sup> τοὺς  
 διαμφισβητοῦντας, ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλα-  
 βῶν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> Ἀριστοβούλου E: Aristoboli filii Alexandri Lat.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὸν Πομπήϊον L: πρὸς αὐτὸν Πομπήϊον AM.

<sup>3</sup> Nicomedes Lat.

<sup>4</sup> δεύτερον LAMW.

<sup>5</sup> ad Damascum venire Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> From the description of the object as a vine or garden it may be conjectured that its Heb. name was *eden* = “delight.”

<sup>b</sup> Does the citation from Strabo end with the preceding sentence, as Naber assumes, or continue to the words “five hundred talents,” as Niese assumes, or further, to the words “ruler of the Jews,” as Reinach and, apparently, Schürer assume? On this depends the answer to the problem who is meant by “we ourselves.” Schürer, i. 295 n. 12, points out that if Josephus were here writing in the first person he would have mentioned the burning of the temple of Jupiter in A.D. 69. Reinach, moreover, argues that the phrase τὸν Ἰουδαίων δυνάστην, “ruler of the Jews,” is not in the style of either Josephus or Nicolas. Though this is not

either a vine or garden; *terpōlē* (delight)<sup>a</sup> is what they called this work of art. Moreover we ourselves<sup>b</sup> have examined this gift, which has been set up in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, and has an inscription reading, 'From Alexander,<sup>c</sup> the king of the Jews.' It was valued at five hundred talents. And it is said to have been sent by Aristobulus, the ruler of the Jews."

(2) And not long afterward<sup>d</sup> envoys again came to him, Antipater on behalf of Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus<sup>e</sup> on behalf of Aristobulus; the latter, indeed, also accused Gabinius<sup>f</sup> and Scaurus of taking money from him, Gabinius first getting three hundred talents, and Scaurus later four hundred talents; and so Aristobulus made these men his enemies in addition to the others he had. Pompey thereupon told the disputants to come to him,<sup>g</sup> and at the beginning of spring, took his force from their winter quarters, and set out for the region of Damascus.

Pompey, after campaigning in Syria, hears the charges of the Jews against Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

certain, so far as Nicolas is concerned, it must be admitted that it is more in the style of Strabo. For these reasons I also have assumed that "we ourselves" means Strabo.

<sup>c</sup> The Epitome has "Aristobulus," Lat. has "Aristobulus, son of Alexander"; these are probably scribal corrections. It is quite possible that Aristobulus presented a gift with the name of his father Alexander (Jannaeus) inscribed on it, the gift having originally been meant for presentation by Alexander. One may also render the Gr. here, "having an inscription of Alexander, the king of the Jews," *i.e.* Alexander's name may not have appeared as that of the donor. See Reinach, *Textes*, p. 93 n. 3.

<sup>d</sup> In the autumn of 64 B.C. (see § 34 note *d*), when Pompey was at Aspis (exact location unknown) in Syria, according to Dio Cassius xxxvii. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Lat. "Nicomedes."

<sup>f</sup> Gabinius has not been mentioned before; *cf.* § 29 note *e*.

<sup>g</sup> Lat. "to come to Damascus."

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τῆς Δαμασκηνῆς. καὶ τὴν τε ἄκραν ἐν παρόδῳ τὴν  
 ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ κατέσκαψεν, ἣν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐτείχισεν  
 39 Ἀντίοχος, καὶ τὴν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Μειναίου  
 χώραν κατεπόνησεν,<sup>1</sup> ἀνδρὸς πονηροῦ καὶ οὐδὲν  
 ἐλάττονος<sup>2</sup> Διονυσίου τοῦ Τριπολίτου τοῦ πελε-  
 κισθέντος, ὅσπερ καὶ κηδεύων ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ,  
 χιλίοις μέντοι ταλάντοις ἐξωνησαμένου τὴν ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τιμωρίαν, οἷς Πομπήσιος τοὺς  
 40 στρατιώτας ἐμισθοδότησεν. ἐξείλε δὲ καὶ Λυσιάδα  
 χωρίον, οὗ τύραννος ἦν Σίλας ὁ Ἰουδαῖος. δι-  
 ελθὼν δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὴν τε Ἡλιούπολιν καὶ τὴν  
 Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ διεῖργον ὄρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν κοίλην  
 προσαγορευομένην Συρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης<sup>3</sup> εἰς  
 41 Δαμασκὸν ἦκεν.<sup>4</sup> ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δι-  
 ἤκουσε καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων αὐτῶν, οἱ πρὸς τε  
 ἀλλήλους διεφέροντο ὅ τε Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστό-  
 βουλος, καὶ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, τὸ μὲν οὐκ  
 ἀξιοῦν βασιλεύεσθαι· πάτριον γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι  
 τοῦ τιμωμένου παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοῦ πειθαρχεῖν, ὄντας  
 δὲ τούτους ἀπογόνους τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ἄλλην μετ-  
 άγειν ἀρχὴν τὸ ἔθνος ζητῆσαι, ὅπως καὶ δοῦλον  
 42 γένοιτο. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ κατηγορεῖ ὅτι πρεσβύτερος

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: κατενόησεν codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> ἔλαττον Niese cum E.

<sup>3</sup> Πέλλης FLAMV: Πέλλεις W.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὸ . . . ἦκεν] in medio positum montem ascendit et ad inferiorem Syriam Damascumque pervenit Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 392, 418.

<sup>c</sup> Possibly to be identified with the Bacchius Judaeus men-



And on the way he demolished the citadel at Apamea, which Antiochus Cyzicenus had built, and he also devastated<sup>a</sup> the territory of Ptolemy, the son of Mennacus,<sup>b</sup> a worthless fellow, no less than was Dionysius<sup>c</sup> of Tripolis, a relative of his by marriage, who was beheaded; but Ptolemy escaped punishment for his sins by paying a thousand talents, with which Pompey paid the wages of his soldiers. He also destroyed the fortress of Lysias,<sup>d</sup> of which the Jew Silas was lord. And passing the cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, he crossed the mountain that divides the region called Coele-Syria from the rest of Syria,<sup>e</sup> and came to Damascus. Here he heard the case of the Jews and their leaders, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were quarrelling with one another, while the nation was against them both and asked not to be ruled by a king, saying that it was the custom of their country to obey the priests of the God who was venerated by them, but that these two, who were descended from the priests, were seeking to change their form of government in order that they might become a nation of slaves. As for Hyrcanus, he charged that though he was the elder

Hyrcanus  
and  
Aristobulus  
accuse each  
other before  
Pompey.

tioned on a coin of A. Plautius, aedile in 54 B.C., as suggested by Reinach, *ap. Schürer* i. 295 n. 14.

<sup>a</sup> Exact site unknown, but somewhere in the Lebanon region.

<sup>e</sup> The variant "Pella" is excluded by the context. Pompey marched from N. to S.—Apamea to Heliopolis to Chalcis to Damascus. The distinction between Coele-Syria = Palestine and Transjordan and the rest of Syria = Northern Syria is also made in § 79 (if we accept Niese's reading) and Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 36, as earlier commentators have pointed out. The mountain referred to is Anti-Lebanon. For Talmudic reference to this mountainous country see Derenbourg, p. 100 n.

- ὧν ἀφαιρεθείη τὸ πρεσβεῖον ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου,  
 καὶ μικρὸν ἔχοι μέρος τῆς χώρας ὑφ' αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ  
 43 ἄλλην βίαν λαβὼν Ἀριστόβουλος· τὰς τε κατα-  
 δρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμόρους καὶ τὰ πειρατήρια  
 τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν συστήσαντα  
 διέβαλεν, οὐκ ἂν οὐδ' ἀποστήναι λέγων τὸ ἔθνος  
 αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ βίαιός τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ παραχώδης ὑπῆρχεν.  
 συνηγόρουν δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα λέγοντι πλείους ἢ χίλιοι  
 τῶν δοκιμωτάτων Ἰουδαίων Ἀντιπάτρου παρα-  
 44 σκευάσαντος. ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ἠτιᾶτο, ἄπρακτον οὖσαν  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὐκαταφρόνητον, αὐτὸν δὲ ἔλεγε  
 φόβω<sup>2</sup> τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλους μεταστήναι τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτὴν ὑπελθεῖν, προσαγορεύεσθαι δὲ  
 αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὅπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν πατέρα.  
 45 καὶ δὴ μάρτυρας τούτων ἐκάλει τοὺς νέους καὶ  
 σοβαρωτέρους, ὧν ἐβδελύττοντο τὰς πορφυρίδας  
 καὶ τὰς κόμας καὶ τὰ φάλαρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον  
 κόσμον, ὃν ὥσπερ οὐ δίκην ὑφέξοντες, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰς  
 πομπὴν προῖόντες περιέκειντο.<sup>3</sup>  
 46 (3) Πομπήμιος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας καὶ καταγνοὺς  
 Ἀριστοβούλου βίαν, τότε μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψε  
 διαλεχθεῖς πρῶως, ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν  
 ἔλεγε διατάξειν ἕκαστα,<sup>4</sup> ἐπειδὴν τὰ τῶν Ναβα-  
 ταίων πρῶτον ἴδῃ. τέως δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν

<sup>1</sup> τις P.<sup>2</sup> non tantum pro regni ambitione quantum metu Lat.<sup>3</sup> ὑπέκειντο FLVW.<sup>4</sup> + καλῶς LAMW.<sup>a</sup> Probably in Idumaea, where Antipater was strongest.<sup>b</sup> We do not know what part Aristobulus played in the pirate raids which were a great menace in the early part of

brother, he had been deprived of his rights as first-born by Aristobulus, and that he had but a small part of the country under his rule,<sup>a</sup> while Aristobulus had the rest, which he had taken by force. He also denounced him as the one who had instigated the raids against neighbouring peoples and the acts of piracy at sea,<sup>b</sup> and added that the nation would not have rebelled against him if he had not been a man given to violence and disorder. In making these accusations he was supported by more than a thousand of the most reputable Jews, whom Antipater had provided for that purpose. Aristobulus, on the other hand, blamed Hyrcanus' fall from power on his own character, which was ineffectual and therefore invited contempt; as for himself, he said that he had of necessity taken over the royal power for fear<sup>c</sup> that it might pass into the hands of others, and that his title was exactly the same as that of his father Alexander. He then called, as witnesses to these statements, some young swaggerers, who offensively displayed their purple robes, long hair, metal ornaments and other finery, which they wore as if they were marching in a festive procession instead of pleading their cause.<sup>d</sup>

(3) When Pompey had heard these claims, he condemned Aristobulus for his violence, but for the moment dismissed the claimants with a courteous speech, saying that he would settle all these matters<sup>e</sup> when he came to their country, after he had first seen how things were with the Nabataeans. Until the 1st century B.C., especially off the coast of Cilicia, and which Pompey was appointed to suppress in 67 B.C.

Pompey  
defers his  
decision.  
Aristobulus  
prepares  
to resist.

<sup>a</sup> Lat. "not so much out of desire to reign as for fear."

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the description of Herod's appearance on a similar occasion in § 173.      <sup>e</sup> The variant adds "satisfactorily."

- ἄγειν, θεραπεύων ἅμα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, μὴ τὴν  
 χώραν ἀποστήσῃ καὶ διακλεισθῆ<sup>1</sup> τῶν παρόδων.  
 47 ἔτυχε μέντοι τοῦτο ἐξ Ἀριστοβούλου γενόμενον·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲν ὦν διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ὁ Πομπήιος, εἰς Δίον<sup>2</sup> πόλιν ἦλθε, κακέϊθεν εἰς  
 τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπήρεν.  
 48 (4) Ὁργίζεται δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πομπήιος, καὶ τὴν  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Ναβαταίους ἀναλαβὼν στρατιάν<sup>3</sup> ἔκ τε  
 Δαμασκοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Συρίας ἐπικουρίαν, σὺν  
 τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων τάγμασιν ἐ-  
 49 στράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. ὡς δὲ παρ-  
 αμειψάμενος Πέλλαν καὶ Σκυθόπολιν εἰς Κορέας  
 ἦκεν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἰουδαίας διεξιόντι τὴν  
 μεσόγειον, ἐνταῦθα εἰς τι περικαλλὲς ἔρυμα ἐπ'  
 ἄκρου τοῦ ὄρους ἰδρυμένον Ἀλεξάνδρειον<sup>4</sup> Ἀριστο-  
 βούλου<sup>5</sup> συμπεφευγότες, πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν ἦκειν  
 50 πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ παραινούντων πολλῶν μὴ πο-  
 λεμῆν Ῥωμαίοις κάτεισι, καὶ δικαιολογησάμενος  
 πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, πάλιν εἰς τὴν  
 ἀκρόπολιν ἀναβαίνει Πομπηίου συγχωρήσαντος.  
 51 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίησε δις καὶ τρίς, ἅμα μὲν κολακεύων

<sup>1</sup> Niese: διακλεισθείη codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> ex B.J. Spanheim: Δεῖλον P: Δήλιον rell.

<sup>3</sup> στρατείαν Lat.

<sup>4</sup> VE: Ἀλεξάνδριον rell.

<sup>5</sup> εἰς ὃ (ὃ om. W) Ἀριστοβούλου FLAMVW Lat. vid.:  
 εἶσω Ἀριστοβούλου Gutschmid.

<sup>a</sup> Conjectured from B.J. (Διοσπόλεως) for ms. Deilum or Delium. On the site of Dium cf. *Ant.* xiii. 393 note c. Some scholars take B.J. i. 132 to mean that Pompey led Aristobulus from Damascus to Dium before the latter set out for Judaea. But this is a doubtful interpretation.

then he told them to keep the peace ; at the same time he treated Aristobulus with deference for fear that he might incite the country to rebellion and block his passage through it. This, however, was, as it happened, the very thing which Aristobulus did, for without waiting for any of the things to be done of which Pompey had spoken to him, he came to the city of Dium,<sup>a</sup> and from there set out for Judaea.

(4) <sup>b</sup>But Pompey, who was angered by this action, took the army that he had prepared against the Nabataeans, and the auxiliaries from Damascus and the rest of Syria, as well as the Roman legions already at his disposal, and marched against Aristobulus. After passing through Pella and Scythopolis, he came to Coreae,<sup>c</sup> which is the beginning of Judaea as one goes through the interior, and from there sent to Aristobulus, who had taken refuge in Alexandreion,<sup>d</sup> a very beautiful<sup>e</sup> stronghold situated on the top of a mountain, and commanded him to come to him. Thereupon Aristobulus, whom many of his men urged not to make war on the Romans,<sup>f</sup> came down and after arguing with his brother about his right to the throne, again went up to the citadel with Pompey's consent ; and this he did two or three times, for on

Pompey orders Aristobulus to yield, and is unwillingly obeyed.

<sup>b</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 48-56 and *B.J.* i. 133-140 see Laqueur, pp. 158-161.

<sup>c</sup> Mod. *Tell Mazār* near *Qarawā*, c. 3 miles N.W. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers, and the same distance N.E. of Alexandreion ; cf. Abel, *GP* ii. 301 and Moulton in *BASOR* 62 (April 1936), 14.

<sup>d</sup> Mod. *Qarn Sarṣabeh*, cf. *Ant.* xiii. 417 note c.

<sup>e</sup> *B.J.* "lavishly equipped."

<sup>f</sup> *B.J.* mentions "the irresistible might of the Romans." Laqueur thinks that this phrase is omitted in *Ant.* because Josephus "had freed himself from the official Roman *Politik.*" But cf. § 72 note b.

## JOSEPHUS

τὴν<sup>1</sup> ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδα καὶ πρὸς  
 ἕκαστον ὧν κελεύσειε Πομπήϊος ὑπακούειν ὑπο-  
 κρινόμενος, ἅμα δὲ ἀναχωρῶν εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ μὴ καταλύειν αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν  
 ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ<sup>4</sup> παρασκευαζόμενος, δεδιὼς μὴ τὴν  
 52 ἀρχὴν<sup>5</sup> εἰς Ἰρκανὸν περιστήσῃ. κελεύοντος δὲ  
 Πομπηίου παραδιδόναι τὰ ἐρύματα καὶ τοῖς φρουρ-  
 ἀρχοῖς ἐπιστέλλειν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ (παραδέχεσθαι  
 δὲ ἄλλως ἀπείρητο), πείθεται μὲν, δυσανασχετῶν  
 δὲ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ  
 53 τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐγίνετο. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Πομπηίῳ  
 στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄγοντι καθ' ὁδὸν ἀφικόμενοί  
 τινες ἐκ Πόντου τὴν Μιθριδάτου τελευτὴν ἐμήνυον  
 τὴν ἐκ<sup>6</sup> Φαρνάκου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην.  
 54 (iv. 1) Στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ περὶ Ἱεριχοῦντα,  
 οὗ τὸν φοῖνικα τρέφεσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ τὸ ὀπο-  
 βάλαμον μύρων ἀκρότατον, ὃ τῶν θάμνων  
 τεμνομένων ὄξει λίθῳ ἀναπιδύει ὥσπερ ὀπός,  
 55 ἔωθεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐχώρει. καὶ μετανοήσας  
 Ἀριστόβουλος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Πομπήϊον, καὶ  
 χρήματα διδούς καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτὸν  
 εἰσδεχόμενος παρεκάλει παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου  
 καὶ πράττειν μετ' εἰρήνης ὃ τι βούλεται. συγγνοὺς

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὴν Gutschmid.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ ἐρύματα LAMW Lat.

<sup>3</sup> A: αὐτὸν rell.

<sup>4</sup> A: αὐτῷ rell.

<sup>5</sup> post ἀρχὴν verba ἑαυτὸν ἀφελόμενος excidisse coni. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>6</sup> τὴν ἐκ PE: διὰ rell.

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<sup>a</sup> Conjectured variant "he flattered him (Pompey) because of the hope."

<sup>b</sup> Variant "strongholds."

<sup>c</sup> It has been conjectured that the words "depose him"

the one hand he cherished the hope <sup>a</sup> that he would obtain the kingdom from Pompey, and so feigned obedience to everything he commanded, and on the other hand, he retired to the stronghold <sup>b</sup> in order not to weaken his force and to prepare for himself supplies for making war, as he feared that Pompey might transfer <sup>c</sup> the royal power to Hyrcanus. Pompey, however, commanded him to deliver up his strongholds and give the orders therefor to his garrison commanders in his own handwriting—for they had been forbidden to accept orders in any other form,—and so he obeyed, but retired resentfully to Jerusalem and set about preparing for war. And not long afterward Pompey led his army against him ; and on the way there came to him messengers from Pontus, who informed him of the death of Mithridates at the hands of his son Pharnaces. <sup>d</sup>

(iv. 1) He then encamped near Jericho, <sup>e</sup> where they cultivate the palm tree and opobalsamum, that most excellent of ointments, which, when the shrubs are cut with a sharp stone, oozes out like sap, and at dawn set out for Jerusalem. <sup>f</sup> And Aristobulus, thinking better of his plan, <sup>g</sup> came to Pompey and promising to give him money and admit him into Jerusalem, begged him to stop the war and do as he liked peace-

Aristobulus fails to carry out his agreement with Pompey and is placed under arrest.

and” have fallen out before “transfer.” *Ant.* is rather fuller on the subject of Aristobulus’ motives than the parallel in *B.J.*

<sup>d</sup> In the spring of 63 B.C. Appian, *Mithr.* 111-112, says that Mithridates was killed, at his own request, by one of his bodyguard after his son’s revolt.

<sup>e</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 138 the news of Mithridates’ death reached Pompey near Jericho.

<sup>f</sup> A full description of Jericho and its vegetation is given in *B.J.* iv. 459-475.

<sup>g</sup> He was “terrified,” according to *B.J.* i. 139.

δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτῷ δεομένῳ, πέμπει Γαβίνιον καὶ  
 56 στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ  
 μὴν ἐπράχθη τι τούτων, ἀλλ' ἐπανήλθεν ὁ Γαβίνιος  
 τῆς τε πόλεως ἀποκλεισθεὶς καὶ τὰ χρήματα μὴ  
 λαβῶν, τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου στρατιωτῶν<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐπι-  
 57 τρεψάντων τὰ συγκεείμενα γενέσθαι. ὀργῇ δ' ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις Πομπήιον λαμβάνει, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστό-  
 βουλον ἐν φυλακῇ καταστήσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 ἔρχεται, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα οὔσαν ὀχυράν, μόνῳ  
 δὲ τῷ βορείῳ μέρει φαύλως ἔχουσιν· περιέρχεται  
 γὰρ αὐτὴν φάραγξ εὐρείᾳ τε καὶ βαθεῖα, ἐντὸς  
 ἀπολαμβάνουσα τὸ ἱερόν, λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρ-  
 τερωῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον.

58 (2) Ἦν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔνδον στάσις οὐχ  
 ὁμοιοῦντων περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν  
 ἐδόκει παραδιδόναι Πομπηίῳ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ τὰ  
 Ἀριστοβούλου φρονοῦντες ἀποκλείειν τε καὶ πο-  
 λεμῆν παρῆνον τῷ κάκεινον ἔχεσθαι δεδεμένον.  
 φθάσαντες δὲ οὗτοι τὸ ἱερόν καταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ  
 τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν  
 59 ἔκοψαν,<sup>2</sup> εἰς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. οἱ δὲ  
 ἕτεροι δεξάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐνεχείρισαν Πομ-  
 πηίῳ τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Πομπήιος δὲ  
 Πείσωνα τὸν ὑποστράτηγον πέμψας σὺν στρατιᾷ  
 τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐφρούρει, καὶ τὰς  
 οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἔξω περὶ τὸ  
 60 ἱερόν ὠχύρου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λόγους συμ-

<sup>1</sup> στασιωτῶν Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ἔκοψαν om. PE Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Conjectured variant "partisans," which would agree more closely with *B.J.* i. 140.



ably. On his making this request Pompey pardoned him and sent Gabinius and some soldiers to get the money and take over the city. None of these promises was carried out, however, and Gabinius returned after being shut out of the city and failing to receive the money; for Aristobulus' soldiers<sup>a</sup> had not permitted the agreement to be carried out. And<sup>b</sup> Pompey, being seized with anger at this, placed Aristobulus under arrest, and himself went to the city, which was strongly fortified on all sides except on the north, where it was weak. For it is surrounded by a broad and deep ravine which takes in the temple, and this is very strongly protected by an encircling wall of stone.<sup>c</sup>

(2) But among the men within the city there was dissension, for they were not of one mind concerning their situation; to some it seemed best to deliver the city to Pompey, while those who sympathized with Aristobulus urged that they shut Pompey out and make war on him because he held Aristobulus prisoner. It was this party that made the first move and occupied the temple, and cutting the bridge that stretches from it to the city,<sup>d</sup> prepared themselves for a siege. But those of the other faction admitted Pompey's army and handed over to him the city and the palace. Pompey thereupon sent his legate Piso with an army to guard the city and the palace;<sup>e</sup> and fortified the houses adjoining the temple and the places round the temple outside. His first step was to

The  
partisans of  
Aristobulus  
in Jerusalem  
prepare to  
resist  
Pompey.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 57-79 have parallels in *B.J.* i. 141-158; on the parallelism see Laqueur, pp. 161-163.

<sup>c</sup> See the fuller description of Jerusalem and its natural divisions in *B.J.* v. 136-141.

<sup>d</sup> The Upper City, on the western hill.

<sup>e</sup> Of the Hasmonaeans, *cf.* *B.J.* ii. 344.

- βατηρίους τοῖς ἐντὸς προσέφερον, οὐχ ὑπακούοντων  
 δὲ εἰς ἃ προεκαλεῖτο<sup>1</sup> τὰ περίξ ἐτείχιζε<sup>2</sup> χωρία,  
 πρὸς ἅπαντα Ὑρκανοῦ προθύμως ὑπηρετοῦντος.  
 Πομπήιος δὲ ἔωθεν<sup>3</sup> στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸ βό-  
 61 ρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέρος, ὅθεν ἦν ἐπίμαχον. ἀν-  
 εστήκεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι πύργοι καὶ  
 τάφρος τε ὀρώρυκτο καὶ βαθεῖα περιείχετο φά-  
 ραγγι· ἀπερρώγει γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν (τῆς  
 γεφύρας ἀνατετραμμένης) ἐφ' οὗ δὴ<sup>4</sup> Πομπήιος καὶ  
 τὸ χῶμα ὁσημέραι ταλαιπῶρος<sup>5</sup> ἐγήγερτο, τεμνόν-  
 62 των τὴν περίξ ὕλην Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ'  
 εἶχεν ἰκανῶς, μόλις πλησθείσης τῆς τάφρου διὰ  
 βάθος ἄπειρον, προσβαλὼν μηχανὰς καὶ ὄργανα ἐκ  
 Τύρου κομισθέντα ἐπιστήσας κατήρασσε τὸ ἱερὸν  
 63 τοῖς πετροβόλοις. εἰ δὲ μὴ πάτριον ἦν ἡμῖν ἀργεῖν  
 τὰς ἐβδομάδας ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἂν ἠνύσθη τὸ χῶμα  
 κωλύοντων ἐκείνων· ἄρχοντας μὲν γὰρ μάχης καὶ  
 τύπτοντας ἀμύνασθαι δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἄλλο δέ τι  
 δρῶντας τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἐᾷ.  
 64 (3) Ὁ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι συνιδόντες, κατ' ἐκείνας  
 τὰς ἡμέρας, ἃς δὴ σάββατα καλοῦμεν, οὔτ' ἔβαλλον

<sup>1</sup> E: προσεκαλεῖτο codd.

<sup>2</sup> ἐτείχισε FLAMVW.

<sup>3</sup> P Lat.: ἔσωθεν rell. E: ἔξωθεν Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> ἐφ' οὗ δὴ P: ἐφ' οὗ διῆγε rell.: in qua valle Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ταλαιπωρούμενος P: ταλαιπωρούμενον FLV: ταλαιπωρου-  
 μένοις E.

<sup>a</sup> A Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. v. 76. 1). The parallel in *B.J.* i. 144 has λόγους συμβῆναι. A variation of the Thucydid-  
 ean phrase is λόγων συμβατικῶν in *Ant.* xviii. 102.

offer conciliatory terms <sup>a</sup> to those within, but as they would not listen to his proposals, he fortified the surrounding places with walls, with Hyrcanus willingly assisting him in all ways. And at dawn <sup>b</sup> Pompey pitched his camp on the north <sup>c</sup> side of the temple, where it was open to attack. But even here stood great towers,<sup>d</sup> and a trench had been dug, and the temple was surrounded by a deep ravine; for there was a steep slope on the side toward the city after the bridge was destroyed, and at this spot Pompey by great labour day by day had caused earthworks to be raised, for which the Romans cut down the timber round about. And when these were high enough, though the trench was filled up with difficulty because of its immense depth, he moved up and set in place the siege engines and instruments of war that had been brought from Tyre, and began to batter the temple with his catapults. But if it were not our national custom to rest on the Sabbath day, the earthworks would not have been finished, because the Jews would have prevented this; for the Law permits us to defend ourselves against those who begin a battle and strike us, but it does not allow us to fight against an enemy that does anything else.<sup>e</sup>

(3) <sup>f</sup> Of this fact the Romans were well aware, and on those days which we call the Sabbath, they did

Pompey captures Jerusalem. The heroism of the Jewish priests.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "within" (the city): conjectured variant "without."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 57. What follows here indicates that Pompey attacked the temple from the west as well as north.

<sup>d</sup> The towers are not mentioned in *B.J.* They were probably those of the Hasmonaean fortress N.W. of the temple (the later Antonia), cf. *Ant.* xiii. 307 note.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xii. 277 (and note) for a different formulation of this principle.

<sup>f</sup> §§ 64-68 have only a few verbal parallels in *B.J.* i. 146-148.

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τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐτ' εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ὑπήντων,  
 χοῦν δὲ καὶ πύργους ἀνίστασαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα  
 προσήγον, ὥστε αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐνεργὰ  
 65 ταῦτα εἶναι. μάθοι δ' ἂν τις ἐντεύθει τὴν ὑπερ-  
 βολὴν ἧς ἔχομεν περὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ τὴν  
 φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων, μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας διὰ  
 φόβον ἐμποδιζομένων πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας, ἀλλὰ  
 δις τῆς ἡμέρας πρωῖ τε καὶ περὶ ἑνάτην ὥραν  
 ἱερουργούντων ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ μηδ' εἴ τι περὶ  
 τὰς προσβολὰς δύσκολον εἶη τὰς θυσίας παριέντων.<sup>1</sup>  
 66 καὶ γὰρ ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως περὶ τρίτον μῆνα τῆ  
 τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρα κατὰ τὴν ἑνάτην καὶ ἑβδομη-  
 κοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ὑπατευόντων  
 Γαῖου Ἀντωνίου καὶ Μάρκου Τυλλίου<sup>2</sup> Κικέρωνος,  
 οἱ πολέμιοι μὲν εἰσπεσόντες ἔσφαττον τοὺς ἐν τῷ  
 67 ἱερῷ, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θυσίαις οὐδὲν ἤττον ἱερουργ-  
 γούντες διετέλουν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ περὶ  
 τῆς ψυχῆς οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἤδη φονευο-  
 μένων ἀναγκασθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι, πᾶν δ' ὅ τι δέοι  
 παθεῖν τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπομείναι τοῖς βωμοῖς  
 κρεῖττον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ παρελθεῖν τι τῶν

<sup>1</sup> παυόντων P.

<sup>2</sup> Τυλαίου P: Τουλίου FLAMW.

<sup>a</sup> 3 P.M. On these daily sacrifices see *Ant.* iii. 237 note d.

<sup>b</sup> Not the third month of the Jewish year (roughly June) but the third month of the siege, as we are told in *B.J.* i. 149; see next note.

<sup>c</sup> The 179th Olympiad (first year) extended from July 64 to July 63 B.C.; the consulship of Antonius and Cicero was in 63 B.C.; the combination of the two dates gives us the first half of 63 B.C. for the capture of the city. This date cannot be harmonized with the mention of the Fast Day, if by this Josephus means the Day of Atonement, which falls on the 10th of Tishri (roughly October). A plausible ex-

not shoot at the Jews or meet them in hand to hand combat, but instead they raised earthworks and towers, and brought up their siege-engines in order that these might be put to work the following day. And one may get an idea of the extreme piety which we show toward God and of our strict observance of the laws from the fact that during the siege the priests were not hindered from performing any of the sacred ceremonies through fear, but twice a day, in the morning and at the ninth hour,<sup>a</sup> they performed the sacred ceremonies at the altar, and did not omit any of the sacrifices even when some difficulty arose because of the attacks. And indeed when the city was taken, in the third month,<sup>b</sup> on the Fast Day, in the hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, in the consulship of Gaius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero,<sup>c</sup> and the enemy rushed in and were slaughtering the Jews in the temple, those who were busied with the sacrifices none the less continued to perform the sacred ceremonies; nor were they compelled, either by fear for their lives or by the great number of those already slain, to run away, but thought it better to endure whatever they might have to suffer there beside the altars than to neglect any of the

planation of the difficulty was given long ago by Herzfeld (cited by Schürer i. 298 n. 23 and Reinach). Josephus is here supplementing Nicolas' account from those of Strabo and other historians, who, like many pagan writers, erroneously referred to the Sabbath as a fast day; *cf.* Strabo xvi. 763, who says Pompey took Jerusalem "on a fast day, they say, when the Jews refrain from all work," and Dio Cassius xxvii. 16, who says that the city was taken "on the day of Kronos" (=the Sabbath). The city probably fell about July 63 B.C. if, as Josephus (or Nicolas) says, the siege lasted three months, since Pompey apparently started operations in the spring of 63 B.C. (*cf.* § 53 note *d*).

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- 68 νομίμων. ὅτι δὲ οὐ λόγος ταῦτα μόνον ἐστὶν ἐγκώμιον ψευδοῦς εὐσεβείας ἐμφανίζων, ἀλλ' ἀλήθεια, μαρτυροῦσι πάντες οἱ τὰς κατὰ Πομπήιον πράξεις ἀναγράψαντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ Στράβων καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς Τίτος Λίβιος ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς.
- 69 (4) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μηχανήματος προσαχθέντος σεισθεῖς ὁ μέγιστος τῶν πύργων κατηνέχθη καὶ παρέρρηξέν τι χωρίον, εἰσεχέοντο μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι, πρῶτος δὲ αὐτῶν Κορνήλιος Φαῦστος Σύλλα παῖς σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπέβη τοῦ τείχους, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Φούριος<sup>1</sup> ἑκατοντάρχης ἄμα τοῖς ἐπομένοις κατὰ θάτερον μέρος, διὰ μέσων δὲ Φάβιος καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκατοντάρχης σὺν στίφει καρ-  
70 τερῶ. φόνου δ' ἦν πάντα ἀνάπλευα. καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀνηροῦντο, εἰσὶν δ' οἱ καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν καὶ πῦρ ἐνιέντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπραντο, τὰ γινόμενα καρτερεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένοντες.
- 71 ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων εἰς μυρίους<sup>2</sup> καὶ δισχιλίους, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πάνυ ὀλίγοι. ἐλήφθη δὲ αἰχμάλωτος καὶ Ἀψάλωμος, θεῖος ἄμα καὶ πενθερὸς Ἀριστοβούλου. παρενομήθη δὲ οὐ μικρὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἄβατόν τε ὄντα ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ  
72 καὶ ἀόρατον· παρῆλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ εἶδον ὅσα μὴ

<sup>1</sup> ed. gr. Lat.: Φρουρίας P: Φρούριος rell.

<sup>2</sup> δισμυρίους LAMW Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> That is, by Jews of the opposite faction, as we are told in *B.J.* i. 150.

ordinances. And that this is not merely a story to set forth the praises of a fictitious piety, but the truth, is attested by all those who have narrated the exploits of Pompey, among them Strabo and Nicolas and, in addition, Titus Livius, the author of a History of Rome.

(4) Now when the siege-engine was brought up, the largest of the towers was shaken and fell, making a breach through which the enemy poured in; first among them was Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sulla, who with his soldiers mounted the wall, and after him the centurion Furius, with those who followed him, on the other side, and between them Fabius, another centurion, with a strong and compact body of men. And there was slaughter everywhere. For some of the Jews were slain by the Romans, and others by their fellows<sup>a</sup>; and there were some who hurled themselves down the precipices,<sup>b</sup> and setting fire to their houses, burned themselves within them, for they could not bear to accept their fate. And so of the Jews there fell some twelve thousand,<sup>c</sup> but of the Romans only a very few.<sup>d</sup> One of those taken captive was Absalom, the uncle and at the same time father-in-law of Aristobulus.<sup>e</sup> And not light was the sin committed against the sanctuary,<sup>f</sup> which before that time had never been entered or seen. For Pompey and not a few of his men went into it and

The Romans slaughter the defenders of the temple.

Pompey respects the sanctity of the temple.

<sup>b</sup> A Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. vii. 44. 8), also found in the parallel in *B.J.*

<sup>c</sup> Variant "twenty-two thousand"; *B.J.* has "twelve thousand."

<sup>d</sup> *B.J.* adds that many Romans were wounded.

<sup>e</sup> *Cf. Ant.* xiii. 323.

<sup>f</sup> The Temple building itself, called τὸ ἅγιον in *B.J.* (*cf. Ant.* viii. 71), as opposed to its precincts.

## JOSEPHUS

θεμιτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἢ μόνοις τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν. ὄντων<sup>1</sup> δὲ τραπέζης τε χρυσῆς<sup>2</sup> καὶ λυχνίας ἱερᾶς<sup>3</sup> καὶ σπονδείων<sup>4</sup> καὶ πλήθους<sup>5</sup> ἀρωμάτων, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς δύο χιλιάδας ταλάντων, οὐδενὸς ἤψατο δι' εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ τῆς περὶ  
 73 αὐτὸν ἀξίως ἔπραξεν ἀρετῆς. τῇ τε ὑστεραία καθαίρειν παραγγείλας τὸ ἱερόν τοῖς ναοπόλοις καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἐπιφέρειν τῷ θεῷ, τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπέδωκεν Ὑρκανῷ διὰ τε τὰλλα ὅσα χρήσιμος ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαίους Ἀριστοβούλῳ συμπολεμεῖν ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πολέμου τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο. τὸν δὲ Φαῦστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι τῷ  
 74 τείχει προθύμως ἐπέβησαν τῶν πρεπόντων ἀριστείων ἠξίωσεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ὑποτελῆ φόρου Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, ἃς δὲ πρότερον οἱ ἔνοικοι πόλεις ἐχειρώσαντο τῆς κοίλης Συρίας ἀφελόμενος ὑπὸ τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατηγῷ ἔταξε, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> εὐρών L<sup>1</sup>AMW: invenerunt Lat.

<sup>2</sup> χρυσᾶς τραπέζας L: τραπέζας χρυσᾶς AM: τραπέζας τε χρυσᾶς W: mensam auream Lat.

<sup>3</sup> περίξ LAMW Lat.

<sup>4</sup> σπονδεία LW: σπονδία AM.

<sup>5</sup> πλήθος LAMW Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> So also says Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 67. However, Dio Cassius, xxvii. 16. 4, says that "all these things were plundered." Meyer, *Ursprung*, ii. 312 n. 1, calls the latter statement "unquestionably false." There seems to be no allusion to any plundering by Pompey in the apocryphal collection, *Psalms of Solomon*, which date from about this period.

<sup>b</sup> Pompey's "piety" and "virtuous character" are not mentioned in *B.J.* This omission in *B.J.*, not commented



saw what it was unlawful for any but the high priests to see. But though the golden table was there and the sacred lampstand and the libation vessels and a great quantity of spices, and beside these, in the treasury, the sacred moneys amounting to two thousand talents, he touched none of these<sup>a</sup> because of piety, and in this respect also he acted in a manner worthy of his virtuous character.<sup>b</sup> And on the morrow he instructed the temple servants to cleanse the temple and to offer the customary sacrifice to God, and he restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus because in various ways he had been useful to him and particularly because he had prevented the Jews throughout the country from fighting on Aristobulus' side; and those responsible for the war he executed by beheading. He also bestowed on Faustus and the others who had mounted the wall with alacrity fitting rewards for their bravery. And he made Jerusalem tributary<sup>c</sup> to the Romans, and took from its inhabitants the cities of Coele-Syria which they had formerly subdued,<sup>d</sup> and placed them under his own governor<sup>e</sup>;

Pompey's reorganization of the Jewish state.

upon by Laqueur, seems to contradict his theory (*cf.* § 50 note *f*) that *Ant.* conforms less to the "official Roman *Politik*" than does *B.J.* On the other hand it must be admitted that his theory is supported by the fact that *Ant.* omits, in § 73, the statement in *B.J.* i. 153, "by these methods, in which goodwill played a larger part than terrorism, he (Pompey), like the able general he was, conciliated the people."

<sup>c</sup> ὑποτελεῖ φόρου is a Thucydidean phrase (*Thuc.* i. 66), not found in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 154, which has ἐπιτάσσει φόρον.

Jerusalem is here mentioned as the political centre of the Jewish state.

<sup>d</sup> *Cf.* the partial list of conquered cities in *Ant.* xiii. 395.

<sup>e</sup> The legate of the province of Syria, *cf.* § 76.

τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος, ἐπὶ μέγα πρότερον αἰρόμενον,  
 75 ἐντὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὄρων συνέστειλεν. καὶ Γάδαρα  
 μὲν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν κατασκαφείσαν<sup>1</sup> ἀνέκτισε,  
 Δημητρίῳ χαριζόμενος τῷ Γαδარεὶ ἀπελευθέρῳ  
 ἑαυτοῦ· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς Ἴππον καὶ Σκυθόπολιν καὶ  
 Πέλλαν καὶ Δίον καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἔτι τε Μάρισαν  
 καὶ Ἄζωτον καὶ Ἰάμνειαν καὶ Ἀρέθουσαν τοῖς  
 76 οἰκήτορσιν ἀπέδωκεν. καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐν τῇ  
 μεσογειῷ χωρὶς τῶν κατεσκαμμένων, Γάζαν δὲ  
 πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Δῶρα καὶ  
 Στράτωνος πύργον (ἧ, κτίσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρώδου  
 μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ λιμέσιν τε καὶ ναοῖς κοσμή-  
 σαντος, Καισάρεια μετωνομάσθη) πάσας ὁ Πομπήσιος  
 ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρως καὶ προσέειπε τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ.

77 (5) Τούτου τοῦ πάθους τοῖς<sup>2</sup> Ἱεροσολύμοις αἴτιοι  
 κατέστησαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος πρὸς ἀλ-  
 λήλους στασιάσαντες· τὴν τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν ἀπ-  
 εβάλομεν καὶ ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις κατέστημεν, καὶ  
 τὴν χώραν ἦν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐκτησάμεθα τοὺς Σύρους  
 ἀφελόμενοι, ταύτην ἠναγκάσθημεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς  
 78 Σύροις, καὶ προσέτι πλείω ἢ μύρια τάλαντα  
 Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰσεπράξαντο,  
 καὶ ἡ βασιλεία πρότερον<sup>3</sup> τοῖς κατὰ γένος ἀρχ-

<sup>1</sup> κατασκαφείσαν P: dirutam Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἐν AMW.

<sup>3</sup> ἡ πρότερον AMW.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 356, where its capture, but not its destruction, is mentioned.

<sup>b</sup> Dium is not mentioned in the parallel in *B.J.*

<sup>c</sup> Arethusa, not mentioned previously in *Ant.*, should be a city on the coast, to judge from its position in the list, and is therefore presumably to be distinguished from the Arethusa (mod. *Restān*) in northern Syria, near Emesa (*Homs*).

<sup>d</sup> To this list of cities we should add several more in the

and the entire nation, which before had raised itself so high, he confined within its own borders. He also rebuilt Gadara,<sup>a</sup> which had been demolished a little while before, to please Demetrius the Gadarene, his freedman; and the other cities, Hippus, Scythopolis, Pella, Dium,<sup>b</sup> Samaria, as well as Marisa, Azotus, Jamneia and Arethusa,<sup>c</sup> he restored to their own inhabitants.<sup>d</sup> And not only these cities in the interior, in addition to those that had been demolished, but also the coast cities of Gaza, Joppa, Dora and Straton's Tower—this last city, which Herod refounded magnificently and adorned with harbours and temples, was later re-named Caesarea<sup>e</sup>—all these Pompey set free and annexed them to the province.<sup>f</sup>

(5) <sup>g</sup> For this misfortune which befell Jerusalem <sup>h</sup> Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were responsible, because of their dissension. For we lost our freedom and became subject to the Romans, and the territory which we had gained by our arms and taken from the Syrians we were compelled to give back to them, and in addition the Romans exacted of us in a short space of time more than ten thousand talents; and the royal power which had formerly been bestowed

The Jewish leaders' responsibility for the national misfortune.

Decapolis, as Schürer remarks, i. 299 n. 25, the era of which begins with their liberation by Pompey. Josephus here mentions only the most important cities in this region.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xv. 331 ff.

<sup>f</sup> Of Syria, as *B.J.* i. 157 explicitly says. On the civic status of Judaea and the surrounding territory under Roman rule, see works cited in Appendix L, preceding volume.

<sup>g</sup> §§ 77-78 have no parallel in *B.J.* Laqueur, p. 162, sees in these sections another (indirect) attack of Josephus on the Herodian usurpers. One wonders why Josephus should here disguise a sentiment expressed so clearly elsewhere in *Ant.*, e.g. § 491.

<sup>h</sup> Variant "those in Jerusalem."

## JOSEPHUS

ιερεῦσιν διδομένη, τιμῇ<sup>1</sup> δημοτικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν.

79 Πομπήιος δὲ τὴν τε κοίλην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην<sup>2</sup> Συρίαν ἕως Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ Αἰγύπτου Σκαύρω παραδοὺς καὶ δύο τάγματα Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν ὤχετο, ἐπειγόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην. ἐπήγετο δὲ μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον δεδεμένον· δύο γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ θυγατέρες καὶ τοσοῦτοι υἱεῖς, ὧν εἷς<sup>3</sup> Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἀπέδρα, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος<sup>4</sup> Ἀντίγονος συναπεκομίζετο<sup>5</sup> εἰς Ῥώμην ἅμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς.

80 (v. 1) Σκαύρου δ' ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῆς Ἀραβίας στρατεύσαντος καὶ διὰ τὸ δυσεμβολωτάτην<sup>6</sup> εἶναι τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ δηοῦντος αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος λιμήναντος,<sup>7</sup> Ἀντίπατρος κατ' ἐντολὴν Ὑρκανοῦ σίτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅσων ἐνέδει,

81 παρείχεν.<sup>8</sup> πεμφθεῖς τε πρὸς Ἀρέταν πρεσβευτῆς ὑπὸ Σκαύρου διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν<sup>9</sup> ξενίαν, πείθει καὶ<sup>10</sup> αὐτὸν ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δηωθῆναι τὴν χώραν δοῦναι, καὶ αὐτὸς<sup>11</sup> ἐγγυητῆς τριακοσίων

<sup>1</sup> τιμῇ om. AM Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν τε κοίλην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Niese: τὴν τε κοίλην ἄλλην P: τὴν κοίλην rell. Lat. <sup>3</sup> εἷς om. P.

<sup>4</sup> νεώτατος PAMW Lat.

<sup>5</sup> συνεπεκομίζετο FAMW: συνεπικομίζετο L: συνεκομίζετο V: ἀνεκομίζετο Gutschmid.

<sup>6</sup> δυσάλωτον P.

<sup>8</sup> παρείχετο FLV.

<sup>10</sup> καὶ om. P.

<sup>7</sup> P: λιμώττοντος rell.

<sup>9</sup> P: ὑποῦσαν rell.

<sup>11</sup> αὐτοῖς P.

on those who were high priests by birth became the privilege of commoners. But of this we shall speak in the proper place.<sup>a</sup> Now <sup>b</sup> Pompey gave over to Scaurus Coele-Syria and the rest of Syria <sup>c</sup> as far as the Euphrates river and Egypt, and two Roman legions, and then went off to Cilicia, making haste to reach Rome.<sup>d</sup> And with him he took Aristobulus in chains, together with his family; for he had two daughters and as many sons; but one of them, Alexander, got away, while the younger son, Antigonus, was carried off to Rome together with his sisters.<sup>e</sup>

Pompey carries Aristobulus and his family as captives to Rome.

(v. 1) Scaurus then <sup>f</sup> marched against Petra in Arabia, and because it was difficult of access,<sup>g</sup> ravaged the country round about it, but as his army suffered from hunger, Antipater, at the command of Hyrcanus, furnished him with grain from Judaea and whatever other provisions he needed. And when Antipater was sent by Scaurus as an envoy to Aretas because of their friendly relations, he persuaded him to pay a sum of money to save his country from being ravaged, and himself be-

Antipater reconciles Scaurus with Aretas.

<sup>a</sup> In *Ant.* xv.

<sup>b</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 79-126 and *B.J.* i. 157-186, see Laqueur, pp. 163-165.

<sup>c</sup> Conjectured by Niese. ms. P omits "and" after "Coele-Syria"; the other mss. omit "and the rest of Syria." Niese's conjecture is supported by *B.J.* i. 157.

<sup>d</sup> Pompey spent the winter of 63-62 B.C. in Asia Minor, and did not reach Rome until the following winter, 62-61 B.C. Here too, as in § 34, Josephus' chronology is rather confused.

<sup>e</sup> Antigonus later escaped from Rome with his father, cf. § 96.

<sup>f</sup> The "then" (Gr. δέ) is merely transitional. *B.J.* has "meanwhile," which is chronologically smoother, as Scaurus marched on Petra in 62 B.C.

<sup>g</sup> Variant "difficult to capture."

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ταλάντων γίνεται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον Σκαῦρος, οὐχ ἦττον αὐτὸς ἢ συνέβαινε Ἀρέταν ἐπιθυμῆναι τοῦτο γενέσθαι βουλόμενος.

- 82 (2) Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατατρέχοντος τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδός, στρατηγὸς Γαβίνιος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς Συρίαν ἦκεν, ὃς ἄλλα τε λόγου ἄξια διεπράξατο καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐστράτευσε, μηκέτι Ὑρκανοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ῥώμην ἀντέχειν δυναμένου, ἀλλ' ἀνεγείρειν ἤδη καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχος ἐπιχειροῦντος, ὅπερ  
83 καθεῖλε<sup>1</sup> Πομπήιος. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπέσχον οἱ ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι. περιῶν δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν χώραν πολλοὺς ὤπλιζε τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ συνέλεξε ταχὺ μυρίους μὲν ὀπλίτας πεντακοσίους δὲ πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις ἵππεῖς, Ἀλεξάνδρειόν τε ὠχύρου τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Κορέαις ἔρυμα καὶ Μαχαι-  
84 ροῦντα πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίοις ὄρεσιν. ἔρχεται οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Γαβίνιος, Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον προπέμψας σὺν ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσιν· οἱ δὲ ὀπλίσαντες Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐπομένους καὶ σὺν τούτοις τοὺς ὑπηκόους Ἰουδαίους, ὧν Πειθόλαος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Μάλιχος, προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου ἑταιρικὸν

<sup>1</sup> P Lat.: εἶλε rell.

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. *B.J.* i. 159, "and the Arab king was persuaded to pay three hundred talents." Laqueur does not comment on this discrepancy, which, incidentally, is difficult to reconcile with his theory about the anti-Herodian changes in *Ant.*

<sup>b</sup> Gabinius had been consul in 58 b.c. and came to Syria as proconsul in 57 b.c. In *B.J.* i. 160 Josephus says that he came as successor to Scaurus, overlooking the two intervening governors, cf. Dr. Thackeray's note *ad loc.* On Gabinius' extortions from the provincials see Dio Cassius xxxix. 55-56 and Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 43.

came surety for three hundred talents.<sup>a</sup> And on these terms Scaurus ended the war, being no less eager to have this come about than was Aretas.

(2) But some time later, while Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, was overrunning Judaea, Gabinius came to Syria from Rome as governor,<sup>b</sup> and after achieving many other things worthy of note, also marched against Alexander; for Hyrcanus was no longer able to hold out against the strength of Alexander, who was actually attempting to raise again the wall of Jerusalem which Pompey had destroyed. But this he was stopped from doing by the Romans there.<sup>c</sup> He then went round the country and armed many of the Jews, and soon collected ten thousand heavy-armed soldiers and fifteen hundred horse, and fortified the strongholds of Alexandreion near Coreae and Machaerūs<sup>d</sup> near the mountains of Arabia.<sup>e</sup> Gabinius therefore went out against him, sending ahead Mark Antony with some other officers. These armed the Romans who accompanied them,<sup>f</sup> and beside them the Jews who were submissive, led by Peitholaus and Malichus, and taking along

Gabinius becomes governor of Syria and defeats Alexander the son of Aristobulus

<sup>a</sup> Schalit, p. 35, suggests that these Romans were *negotiatores* or business agents who had come to exploit Judaea's farms and industries.

<sup>d</sup> On these two fortresses see *Ant.* xiii. 417 notes *c* and *d*. Aristobulus had earlier yielded them to Pompey, *cf.* §§ 50-52. Presumably Alexander now refortified them.

<sup>e</sup> *Ant.* omits the fortress of Hyrcania, mentioned in *B.J.* i. 161 (on its location see *Ant.* xiii. 417 note *b*). Laqueur, p. 217, explains its omission here by supposing that Josephus was ignorant of its location. This seems doubtful, particularly because of its being mentioned together with the other two fortresses below, in § 89.

<sup>f</sup> These Romans (perhaps also *negotiatores*, *cf.* above, note *c*) are not mentioned in *B.J.*

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85 ὑπήντων Ἀλεξάνδρω· ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ Γαβίνιος σὺν τῇ φάλαγγι. καὶ ἀναχωρεῖ μὲν ἐγγὺς Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀλέξανδρος, συμπεσόντων δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐκεῖ καὶ μάχης γενομένης κτείνουσι μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τρισχιλίουσ, ζωγροῦσι δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους.

86 (3) Ἐν τούτῳ Γαβίνιος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἐλθὼν προυκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἔνδον εἰς διαλύσεις, συγγνώσεσθαι περὶ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ἡμαρτημένων ὁμολογῶν. στρατοπεδευομένων δὲ πολλῶν πρὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος πολεμίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἀνήεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ἐπιφανῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας ἔδοξεν ἡριστευκένας.

87 Γαβίνιος μὲν οὖν μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐνταυθοῖ καταλιπὼν, ἕως<sup>1</sup> ἂν ἐκπολιορκηθῆ<sup>2</sup> τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὸς ἐπήει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ὅσαις γε<sup>3</sup> ἐπετύγχανε καθηρημέναις τῶν πόλεων κτίζειν παρεκελεύετο. καὶ ἀνεκτίσθησαν Σαμάρεια καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ Σκυθόπολις καὶ Ἀθηδὼν καὶ Ῥαφία καὶ Ἄδωρα<sup>4</sup> Μάρισά τε καὶ Γάζα καὶ ἄλλαι οὐκ ὀλίγαι. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων πειθομένων οἷς ὁ Γαβίνιος προσέταττε, βεβαίως οἰκηθῆναι τότε συνέβαινε τὰς πόλεις, πολὺν χρόνον ἐρήμους γενομένας.

89 (4) Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ<sup>5</sup> τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ὡς codd. E: ut Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκπολιορκηθείη FLAMW.

<sup>3</sup> γε om. P.

<sup>4</sup> P: Δῶρα rell.

<sup>5</sup> PE: εἰς rell.

<sup>a</sup> ἑταιρικόν is a Thucydidean term (Thuc. viii. 48. 3), for which *B.J.* has οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus omits to say here, as he does in *B.J.* i. 163, that



Antipater's guard<sup>a</sup> also, went to meet Alexander. Gabinius himself followed them with his main body. Alexander therefore retired to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where the two forces fell upon each other and a battle took place, in which the Romans killed about three thousand of the enemy, and captured as many alive.<sup>b</sup>

(3) Meanwhile Gabinius came to Alexandreion and invited those within to cease hostilities,<sup>c</sup> agreeing to pardon them for their past offences. But as many of the enemy were encamped before the stronghold, the Romans set upon them; and Mark Antony, who fought with distinction<sup>d</sup> and killed many men, was voted the prize for bravery. Finally Gabinius left a part of his army there until the fortress should be taken by siege, and himself went through the rest of Judaea, and whenever he came upon a ruined city, he gave directions for it to be rebuilt. And so there were rebuilt Samaria, Azotus, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Adora, Marisa, Gaza and not a few others.<sup>e</sup> And as the people obeyed Gabinius' orders, these cities, which had long been desolate, could now be safely inhabited.<sup>f</sup>

Gabinius rebuilds ruined cities in Judaea.

(4) Having taken these measures throughout the country, Gabinius returned to Alexandreion, and as

Alexander submits to Gabinius.

Alexander fled to Alexandreion, which explains why Gabinius attacked it, *cf.* §§ 86, 89.

<sup>c</sup> *προκαλείτο εἰς διαλύσεις* is another Thucydidean borrowing (Thuc. iv. 19. 1), not found in *B.J.*

<sup>d</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 165 Antony had always fought bravely on every battlefield (*πανταχοῦ . . . ἀεί*).

<sup>e</sup> *B.J.* adds Apollonia, Jamneia and Gamala (variants: Gabala, Gadara). Possibly "Gamala" is a corruption of "Gaza."

<sup>f</sup> *βεβαίως οἰκηθῆναι* is the third Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 2. 1) in this passage.

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αὐτοῦ κρατύνοντος,<sup>1</sup> διαπρεσβεύεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος, συγγινώσκειν τε αὐτῷ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων δεόμενος καὶ παραδιδούς τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ὑρκανίαν τε καὶ Μαχαιροῦντα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ  
 90 Ἀλεξάνδρειον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Γαβίνιος κατέσκαψεν. τῆς δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης, ἣ ἐφρόνει τὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τέκνων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐχομένων, συνεχώρησεν αὐτῇ ταῦθ' ἄπερ ἡξίου, καὶ διοικησάμενος τὰ πρὸς αὐτήν, Ὑρκανὸν κατήγευ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, σχήσοντα τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπιμέλειαν.  
 91 πέντε δὲ συνέδρια καταστήσας εἰς ἴσας μοίρας διένειμε τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις οἱ δὲ ἐν Γαδάρσι<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι, τέταρτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἐν Σαπφώροις<sup>3</sup> τῆς Γαλιλαίας.<sup>4</sup> καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένοι δυναστείας ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῆγον.<sup>5</sup>  
 92 (vi. 1) Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ διαδράντος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ὅπερ ἦν νεωστὶ κατεσκαμμένον ἀνακτίζειν<sup>6</sup> προαιρουμένον,

<sup>1</sup> P: κρατύναντος rell. E.

<sup>2</sup> Γαδώροις P.

<sup>3</sup> Σαφούροις P: Σεπφόροις F: Σεπφώρει A<sup>2</sup>LM: Σαπφόροις V: Σαμφώροις W: Σαπφύροις E: Sefforis Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Ἰουδαίας AMVW.

<sup>5</sup> ἦσαν PF<sup>1</sup>LE.

<sup>6</sup> P Lat.: ἀνατειχίζειν rell.

<sup>a</sup> B.J. i. 168 adds "to prevent their serving as a base of operations for another war."

<sup>b</sup> For *synhedria* B.J. has "synods" (*συνόδους*).

<sup>c</sup> On these terms and the nature of Gabinius' administrative measures in Judaea see works cited in Appendix L.

<sup>d</sup> So also B.J., but with the majority of scholars we must correct "Gadara" to "Gazara" (in N.W. Judaea); cf.

he pressed the siege strongly, Alexander sent envoys to him, asking pardon for his offences and giving up the strongholds of Hyrcania and Machaerūs, and afterwards Alexandreion as well. And so Gabinius demolished them.<sup>a</sup> For Alexander's mother, who was on the side of the Romans, since her husband and her other children were held at Rome, came to him with the request that he do this, and he granted it; and after settling matters with her, he brought Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, to have charge of the temple. He also set up five councils (*synhedria*),<sup>b</sup> and divided the nation into as many districts<sup>c</sup>; these centres of government were: first, Jerusalem, next, Gadara,<sup>d</sup> third, Amathūs,<sup>e</sup> fourth, Jericho, and fifth, Sepphoris in Galilee.<sup>f</sup> And so the people were removed from monarchic rule and lived under an aristocracy.<sup>g</sup>

The five districts set up by Gabinius.

(vi. 1) But Aristobulus escaped from Rome to Judaea,<sup>h</sup> and proposed to rebuild Alexandreion, which had just been demolished, whereupon Gabinius sent

Aristobulus escapes from Rome and raises an army in Judaea.

Schürer i. 339 n. 5, whose historical argument is sound, although his explanation of "Gadara" as an Aramaized form of "Gazara" is philologically questionable, since *d* in Aramaic corresponds to *z* in Heb. only when the latter = proto-Semitic *ḏ* (but cf. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 336 n. 10. It may be that Josephus or a scribe wrote "Gadara" for "Gazara" because the former city lay near Amathūs, the next on the list. Albright, in *JBL* 56 (1937), p. 162 n. 52, insists that Gadara is not Gazara but "one of the many towns derived from the stem *gdr*." Schalit, p. 31, also reading "Gadara," identifies it with Gadora (mod. *Tell Jadūr* near *es-Salt*) in Transjordan; but Schürer's objections to the similar theory of Schlatter, p. 224, still hold.

<sup>a</sup> In Transjordan, cf. *Ant.* xiii. 356 note *d*.

<sup>f</sup> The variant "Judaea" must be a scribal error.

<sup>g</sup> By "aristocracy" Josephus means priestly rule, as he explains in *Ant.* xi. 111.

<sup>h</sup> In 56 B.C.

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πέμπει Γαβίνιος ἐπ'<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν στρατιώτας καὶ ἡγεμόνας Σισένναν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον καὶ Σερουίλιον<sup>2</sup> κωλύσοντάς τε τὸ χωρίον αὐτὸν καταοχεῖν καὶ  
 93 συλληφομένους αὐτόν. πολλοὶ δ' Ἀριστοβούλω τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν εὐκλείαν προσέρρεον, καὶ δὴ καὶ νεωτέροις χαίροντες ἀεὶ<sup>3</sup> πράγμασιν· Πειθόλαος γοῦν τις, ὑποστράτηγος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὢν, μετὰ χιλίων ἠτομόλησε πρὸς αὐτόν· πολλοὶ δέ<sup>4</sup> τῶν προστιθεμένων ἦσαν ἄνοπλοι.  
 94 διεγνωκῶς δὲ εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα ἀπανίστασθαι Ἀριστόβουλος τούτους μὲν ἀπέλυσεν ἀπόρους ὄντας (οὐ γὰρ ἐγίνοντο αὐτῷ χρήσιμοι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα)· τοὺς δὲ ὠπλισμένους περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄντας  
 95 ἀναλαβὼν ὥχετο. καὶ προσπεσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καρτερῶς ἠττῶνται τῇ μάχῃ, γενναίως<sup>5</sup> οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ<sup>6</sup> προθύμως ἀγωνισάμενοι, βιασαμένων τε τῶν πολεμίων εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. καὶ φονεύονται μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς πεντακισχιλίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σκεδασθέντες ὡς ἐδύναντο σώζειν αὐτοὺς  
 96 ἐπειρῶντο. χιλίων μέντοι πλείονας ἔχων Ἀριστόβουλος εἰς Μαχαιροῦντα διέφυγεν, ὡχύρου τε τὸ χωρίον, καὶ πράττων κακῶς οὐδὲν ἠττον ἐλπίδος ἀγαθῆς εἶχετο. δύο δ' ἡμέρας ἀντισχῶν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτος

<sup>1</sup> PE: πρὸς rell.

<sup>2</sup> edd.: Σερούϊλον P: Σερουΐδιον FL: Σαρουΐδιον AMW: Σερουΐλιον V.

<sup>3</sup> ἀεὶ P: om. rell. Lat.

<sup>4</sup> πολλοὶ δέ] οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ PE.

<sup>5</sup> γενναίως om. FLAMV Lat.

<sup>6</sup> καίπερ AM et Lat. vid.

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<sup>a</sup> Variants "Servidius" and (in *B.J.*) "Servianus."

<sup>b</sup> "always" is found only in ms. P.

against him a body of soldiers led by Sisenna, Antony and Servilius<sup>a</sup> to prevent him from occupying the place and to arrest him. For many of the Jews had flocked to Aristobulus, both on account of his former glory and especially because they always<sup>b</sup> welcomed revolutionary movements. Among others a certain Peitholaus, who was legate<sup>c</sup> at Jerusalem, deserted to him with a thousand men. Many<sup>d</sup> of those who joined him, however, were unarmed. But Aristobulus, who had decided to retire to Machaerūs, dismissed these men, who were without equipment—for they were of no use to him in action,—and taking the men who were armed, amounting to some eight thousand, marched away. And as the Romans fell upon them valiantly, they were defeated in battle; for though the Jews fought manfully<sup>e</sup> and eagerly, the enemy were too strong for them, and they were put to flight. Some five thousand of them were slain, while the rest were scattered and tried to save themselves as best they could. Aristobulus, however, escaped<sup>f</sup> to Machaerūs with more than a thousand men, and fortified the place, and though he was faring badly, none the less he was still of good hope.<sup>g</sup> But after withstanding a siege of two days and receiving many wounds,<sup>h</sup> he was taken prisoner and brought to

Aristobulus is taken captive to Rome a second time.

<sup>a</sup> “Legate” (Lat. *legatus*) here probably has the sense of “deputy-governor” of the province.

<sup>b</sup> Variant “most.” <sup>c</sup> Most mss. omit “manfully.”

<sup>f</sup> *B.J.* i. 172 says that two thousand took refuge on a hill, and that Aristobulus and the remaining thousand cut their way through the Roman lines.

<sup>g</sup> Of raising another army, according to *B.J.* i. 173.

<sup>h</sup> His wounds are not mentioned in *B.J.*, which says instead that he held out “beyond his strength” (*ὑπὲρ δύναμιν*); perhaps Josephus refers to the wounds of his men rather than his own.

μετ' Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ παιδός, ὃς δὴ καὶ συνέφυγεν  
 97 ἐκ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ, πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἄγεται. καὶ  
 τοιαύτη μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος χρησάμενος τύχῃ πάλιν  
 εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναπέμπεται, καὶ δεθεῖς αὐτόθι κατε-  
 εἶχετο, βασιλεύσας μὲν καὶ ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη τρία  
 καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, ἀνὴρ δὲ λαμπρὸς καὶ μεγαλόψυχος  
 γενόμενος. τὰ μέντοι τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκεν ἢ σύγ-  
 κλητος Γαβινίου γράψαντος τοῦθ' ὑποσχέσθαι τῇ  
 μητρὶ παραδόσθαι τὰ ἐρύματα. καὶ ταῦτα<sup>1</sup> μὲν εἰς  
 τὴν Ἰουδαίαν<sup>2</sup> ἐπανερχεται.

98 (2) Γαβινίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύοντι καὶ τὸν  
 Εὐφράτην ἤδη πεπεραιωμένῳ μετέδοξεν εἰς Αἴ-  
 γυπτον ὑποστρέψαντι καταστήσαι Πτολεμαῖον εἰς  
 αὐτήν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται.

99 Γαβινίῳ μέντοι κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν<sup>3</sup> καθ' ἃ Ἰρ-  
 κανὸς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ<sup>4</sup> Ἀντίπατρος ὑπηρέτησε  
 σίτον καὶ ὄπλα καὶ χρήματα, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Πη-  
 λούσιον τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος<sup>5</sup> αὐτῷ προσηγάγετο  
 100 τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβολῶν. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> E Lat.: μετὰ ταῦτα P: τότε rell.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰδουμαίαν AMVW.

<sup>3</sup> E: στρατιάν codd. Lat.

<sup>4</sup> καθ' ἃ Ἰρκανὸς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ conl.: ἦν ἐφ' Ἰρκανὸν ἐστείλατο codd. E: ἦν ἐπ' Ἀρχέλαον ἐστείλατο Hudson: ἦν ἐστείλατο Ἰρκανὸς (καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ὑπηρέτησαν) Montacutius: ἦν ὑπὲρ Ἰρκανοῦ Holwerda: ἦν ἀφ' Ἰρκανοῦ Gutschmid.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτὸς P: ὄντας Naber.

<sup>a</sup> This refers to the period before Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 63 B.C., cf. § 4 note c.

<sup>b</sup> Variants "after this," "then."

<sup>c</sup> The variant "Idumaea" is a scribal error.

<sup>d</sup> Gabinius came to Egypt in the spring of 55 B.C. with Ptolemy XI Auletes, to restore him to the throne then held

Gabinius together with his son Antigonus, who had, by the way, fled from Rome with him. And having met with such ill fortune, Aristobulus was sent to Rome a second time; and there he was kept in chains, after being king and high priest three years and six months<sup>a</sup>; he was, moreover, a man of distinction and magnanimity. His children, however, were released by the Senate because Gabinius wrote that he had promised their mother this when she surrendered the strongholds. And so<sup>b</sup> they returned to Judaea.<sup>c</sup>

(2) Now while Gabinius was on an expedition against the Parthians and had already crossed the Euphrates, he changed his mind and returned to Egypt to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom.<sup>d</sup> But these events have been related elsewhere.<sup>e</sup> On this campaign, moreover, Gabinius, in accordance with Hyrcanus' instructions to him,<sup>f</sup> was supplied with grain, arms and money by Antipater, who also won over the Jews above Pelusium to his side and made them his allies to act as guards of the entrances to Egypt.<sup>g</sup> But when Gabinius returned from Egypt,

Gabinius in Egypt is assisted by Antipater and Hyrcanus.

by a certain Archelaus of Pontus who had married Queen Berenice III, *cf.* Bevan, *Ptol.* pp. 355-357.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* by other historians.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* to Antipater. The text has been slightly emended; the mss. read "on the campaign which he (Gabinius) had undertaken against Hyrcanus." Some scholars correct "Hyrcanus" to "Archelaus" (see note *d* above), but my emendation is supported by *B.J.* i. 175 which mentions Hyrcanus together with Antipater; *cf.* also § 80 above, where Antipater performs a similar service *κατ' ἐντολήν Ἑρκανού*.

<sup>g</sup> On Jews as river-guards in Egypt see *Ap.* ii. 64 (cited by Dr. Thackeray in his note on *B.J.* i. 175) and Fuchs, pp. 65-66. *Cf.* also below, §§ 130-131.

## JOSEPHUS

Αἰγύπτου καταλαμβάνει τὴν Συρίαν στάσει καὶ  
 ταραχῇ νοσοῦσαν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοβούλου παῖς Ἀλέξ-  
 ανδρος παρελθὼν ἐξ ὑστέρου πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 κατὰ βίαν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέστησε,  
 στρατεύματι δὲ μεγάλῳ τὴν χώραν ἐπερχόμενος  
 ἔκτεινε πάντας ὅσοις<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτύχοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς  
 τε<sup>3</sup> ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Γαριζεῖν συμφυγόντας  
 προσέκειτο<sup>4</sup> πολιορκῶν.

101 (3) Ὁ δὲ Γαβίνιος τοιαῦτα τὰ<sup>5</sup> κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν  
 καταλαβών, Ἀντίπατρον (συνετὸς γὰρ ἦν) προ-  
 πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς νεοσηκότας, εἰ παῦσαι δυνηθείη  
 τῆς παραφροσύνης αὐτοὺς καὶ πείσαι πρὸς τὸν  
 102 ἀμείνω λογισμὸν ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πολλοὺς  
 μὲν ἐσωφρόνισε καὶ προσηγάγετο τῷ δέοντι, τὸν  
 δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἠδυνήθη κατασχεῖν· στρατοῦ  
 γὰρ ἔχων οὗτος τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀπήντησε  
 Γαβινίῳ, καὶ συμβαλὼν ἠττᾶται, πεσόντων αὐτῷ  
 μυρίων περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος.

103 (4) Καταστησάμενος δὲ Γαβίνιος τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, ὡς ἦν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θέλοντι,  
 ἐπὶ Ναβαταίους ἔρχεται, καὶ κρατεῖ μὲν τούτων τῇ  
 μάχῃ, Πάρθων δὲ φυγάδας Μιθριδάτην καὶ Ὀρ-  
 σάνην πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας προὔπεμψε, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ

<sup>1</sup> εἰς P.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: ὅσους codd.

<sup>3</sup> τε P: τὸ rell.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ προσέκειτο FLAMVW.

<sup>5</sup> τὰ add. Gutschmid.

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<sup>a</sup> Antipater's "good sense" is not mentioned in the parallel in *B.J.* This fact may be adduced as another detail



he found Syria a prey to uprisings and disorder; for Aristobulus' son Alexander had later come into power a second time and had forced many of the Jews to revolt, and was marching over the country with a large army and killing all the Romans he met, and was closely besieging those who had taken refuge on Mount Gerizim, as it is called.

(3) On finding Syria in this condition, Gabinius sent Antipater, who was a man of good sense,<sup>a</sup> to the unruly elements, to see whether he could put a stop to their mad behaviour and persuade them to return to a more reasonable frame of mind. And so he came and brought many of them to their senses and induced them to do their duty; but he could not restrain Alexander, who with an army of thirty thousand Jews went to meet Gabinius, and was defeated in an engagement near Mount Tabor, in which ten thousand of his men fell.<sup>b</sup>

Gabinius defeats Alexander a second time.

(4) Gabinius then settled affairs at Jerusalem in accordance with the wishes of Antipater,<sup>c</sup> and marched against the Nabataeans, whom he overcame in battle<sup>d</sup>; and he also sent on their way Mithridates<sup>e</sup> and Orsanes,<sup>f</sup> fugitives from the Parthians, who had come to him, though the story was that they escaped from

Gabinius, after a successful career as governor of Judaea, returns to Rome.

in the argument against Laqueur's theory that *Ant.* is more anti-Herodian than *B.J.*

<sup>b</sup> *B.J.* i. 177 adds "and the remainder fled and dispersed."

<sup>c</sup> ὡς ἦν θέλοντι is reminiscent of the Thucydidean phrase βουλομένῳ ἦν (*Thuc.* ii. 3. 2, iv. 80. 2 *et al.*), not imitated in the parallel in *B.J.*; the precise Thucydidean phrase is used in *Ant.* xv. 48.

<sup>d</sup> In the spring of 55 B.C.

<sup>e</sup> Mithridates III of Parthia, *cf.* Debevoise, pp. 75-95.

<sup>f</sup> Debevoise gives the name as "Orsames," a form I have not found in the ancient sources; if this form is correct, it probably represents Iranian *Aršama*, written 'rśm in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine.

## JOSEPHUS

- 104 ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν<sup>1</sup> δράσας ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ῥώμην, Κράσσω παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν. περὶ δὲ τῆς Πομπηίου καὶ Γαβινίου στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους γράφει Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ, οὐδὲν ἕτερος ἐτέρου καινότερον λέγων.
- 105 (vii. 1) Κράσσος δὲ ἐπὶ Πάρθους μέλλων στρατεύειν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρήματα, ἃ Πομπήιος καταλελοίπει (δισχίλια δὲ ἦν τάλαντα) βαστάσας οἴός τε ἦν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα (τάλαντα δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν ὀκτακισχίλια)
- 106 περιδύειν τοῦ ναοῦ. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ δοκὸν ὀλοσφυρήλατον χρυσῆν ἐκ μνῶν τριακοσίων πεποιημένην· ἣ δὲ μνᾶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰσχύει<sup>2</sup> λίτρας δύο καὶ ἥμισυ. παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν δοκὸν ὁ τῶν χρημάτων<sup>3</sup> φύλαξ ἱερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος ὄνομα, οὐ
- 107 διὰ πονηρίαν (ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ δίκαιος) ἀλλὰ πεπιστευμένος τὴν τῶν καταπετασμάτων τοῦ ναοῦ φυλακὴν, ὄντων θαυμασίων τὸ κάλλος καὶ πολυτελῶν τὴν κατασκευήν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δοκοῦ ταύτης ἐκκρεμαμένων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἑώρα περὶ τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ<sup>4</sup> γινόμενον συλλογὴν, δείσας περὶ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> στρατιὰν P: στρατείαν V Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἰσχει PFAMVW: existimantur Lat.

<sup>3</sup> PF<sup>2</sup>E Lat.: θησαυρῶν rell.

<sup>4</sup> χρυσοῦ P.

<sup>a</sup> τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν is also Thucydidean (Thuc. i. 128. 5); cf. Dr. Thackeray's note on another phrase from the same passage in Thucydides in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 178.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "during the campaign."

<sup>c</sup> M. Licinius Crassus came to Syria as proconsul in the spring of 54 B.C.; on his Parthian campaign see the full bibliography in Debevoise, p. 78 n. 36.

him.<sup>a</sup> And so, having performed great and brilliant deeds during his term as governor,<sup>b</sup> Gabinius sailed for Rome, handing over his province to Crassus.<sup>c</sup> Now the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews have been written about by Nicolas of Damascus and Strabo of Cappadocia, neither of whom differs in any respect from the other.<sup>d</sup>

(vii. 1) Crassus, intending to march against the Parthians, came to Judaea and carried off the money in the temple, amounting to two thousand talents, which Pompey had left, and was prepared to strip the sanctuary of all its gold, which amounted to eight thousand talents.<sup>e</sup> He also took a bar of solid beaten gold, weighing three hundred *minae*; the *mina* with us is equal to two and a half pounds.<sup>f</sup> This bar was given to him by the guardian of the money,<sup>g</sup> a priest named Eleazar, not because of rascality—for he was a good and upright man,—but because, being entrusted with the keeping of the curtains of the sanctuary, which were of admirable beauty and costly workmanship, and hung from this bar, he saw Crassus intent on gathering up the gold, and had fears for

Crassus succeeds Gabinius and plunders the temple at Jerusalem.

<sup>a</sup> This bibliographical note indicates that for part of §§ 106-118, which have no parallel in *B.J.*, Josephus has used Strabo to supplement his earlier source, Nicolas; *cf.* the Appendix on Josephus' sources in the last volume of this translation.

<sup>e</sup> That is, the gold was worth 8000 talents of silver, as Reinach remarks.

<sup>f</sup> In the only other reference to the *mina* in Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 33, he equates it loosely with the Heb. *shekel*. According to Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* ii. 406, the Heb. *mina* weighed only  $1\frac{1}{4}$  Roman pounds. Reinach gives 728 grammes for the Heb. *mina* and 818 for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Roman pounds. Thus Josephus' equation here is inaccurate.

<sup>g</sup> Variant "treasuries."

## JOSEPHUS

- παντὶ κόσμῳ τοῦ<sup>1</sup> ναοῦ, τὴν δοκὸν αὐτῷ τὴν  
 108 χρυσὴν λύτρον ἀντὶ πάντων ἔδωκεν, ὄρκους παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ λαβὼν μηδὲν ἄλλο κινήσειν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ,  
 μόνῳ δὲ ἀρκεσθήσεσθαι τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοθησομένῳ,  
 πολλῶν ὄντι μυριάδων ἀξίῳ. ἡ δὲ δοκὸς αὕτη ἦν  
 ἐν ξυλίνῃ δοκῷ κενῇ, καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους  
 ἐλάνθανεν ἅπαντας, ὁ δὲ Ἐλεάζαρος μόνος ἠπί-  
 109 στατο. ὁ μέντοι Κράσσος καὶ ταύτην, ὡς οὐδενὸς  
 ἀψόμενος ἄλλου τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, λαμβάνει, καὶ  
 παραβὰς τοὺς ὄρκους ἅπαντα τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ χρυσὸν  
 ἐξεφόρησεν.
- 110 (2) Θαυμάσῃ δὲ μηδεὶς εἰ τοσοῦτος ἦν πλοῦτος  
 ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἱερῷ,<sup>2</sup> πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκου-  
 μένην Ἰουδαίων καὶ σεβομένων τὸν θεόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς αὐτὸ  
 111 συμφερόντων ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ χρόνων. οὐκ ἔστι  
 δὲ ἀμάρτυρον τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προειρημένων χρη-  
 μάτων, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας ἡμετέρας καὶ περιτ-  
 τολογίας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξαίρεται πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ  
 πολλοὶ τε ἄλλοι τῶν συγγραφέων ἡμῖν μαρτυροῦσι  
 112 καὶ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως· “πέμψας  
 δὲ Μιθριδάτης εἰς Κῶ<sup>3</sup> ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα ἃ παρ-  
 ἔθετο ἐκεῖ Κλεοπάτρα ἡ βασίλισσα, καὶ τὰ τῶν  
 113 Ἰουδαίων<sup>4</sup> ὀκτακόσια τάλαντα.” ἡμῖν δὲ δημόσια  
 χρήματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ μόνα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δῆλον  
 ὅτι ταῦτα μετήνεγκαν εἰς Κῶ τὰ χρήματα οἱ ἐν

<sup>1</sup> VE et Lat. vid. : καὶ τοῦ rell.

<sup>2</sup> ναῷ F<sup>2</sup>LAMW.

<sup>3</sup> εἰς Κῶ om. P.

<sup>4</sup> τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων] τὰ δημόσια τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὄντα περι  
 Holwerda.

the whole ornamentation of the sanctuary ; and so he gave him the bar of gold as a ransom for all the rest, receiving his sworn assurance that he would not remove anything else from the sanctuary but would be content merely with what was to be given him by the priest—a present worth many tens of thousands (of drachmas). Now this bar was in a hollow wooden bar, a fact which was unknown to all others, and which Eleazar alone knew. Crassus, however, although he took this bar with the understanding that he would not touch anything else in the temple, violated his oath and carried off all the gold in the sanctuary.

(2) But no one need wonder that there was so much wealth in our temple, for all the Jews throughout the habitable world, and those who worshipped God,<sup>a</sup> even those from Asia and Europe, had been contributing to it for a very long time. And there is no lack of witnesses<sup>b</sup> to the great amount of the sums mentioned, nor have they been raised to so great a figure through boastfulness or exaggeration on our part, but there are many historians who bear us out, in particular Strabo of Cappadocia, who writes as follows. “ Mithridates<sup>c</sup> sent to Cos and took the money which Queen Cleopatra had deposited there, and eight hundred talents of the Jews.” Now there is no public money among us except that which is God’s, and it is therefore evident that this money was transferred to Cos by the Jews of Asia because

The wealth and influence of the Jews of the Diaspora.

<sup>a</sup> These were undoubtedly pagan semi-proselytes ; cf. the ancient references in Juster i. 274 n. 6.

<sup>b</sup> οὐκ ἀμάτρυρον is another Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. ii. 41. 4).

<sup>c</sup> Mithridates VI Eupator, who defeated the Roman army in Asia Minor in 88 B.C.

## JOSEPHUS

τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τὸν ἐκ Μιθριδάτου φόβον· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, πόλιν τε ὀχυρὰν ἔχοντας καὶ τὸν ναόν, πέμπειν χρήματα εἰς Κῶ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικοῦντας Ἰουδαίους πιθανὸν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ ποιῆσαι, μηδὲν

114 Μιθριδάτην δεδιότας. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς<sup>1</sup> Στράβων ὅτι καθ' ὃν καιρὸν διέβη Σύλλας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολεμήσων Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ Λεύκουλλον πέμψας<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Κυρήνῃ στάσιν<sup>3</sup> τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ὡς αὐτῶν<sup>4</sup> ἡ οἰκουμένη πεπλή-

115 ρωτο, λέγων οὕτως· “ τέτταρες δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Κυρηναίων,<sup>5</sup> ἧ τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεωργῶν, τρίτη δ' ἡ τῶν μετοίκων τετάρτη δ' ἡ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς ὁ tr. FLAMVW.

<sup>2</sup> πέμψαι FLAMVW: ἔπεμψεν Gutschmid.

<sup>3</sup> post στάσιν lacunam statuit Niese.

<sup>4</sup> ὡς αὐτῶν Holwerda: ὡν FLAMVW: om. P: quae (totum orbem complevit) Lat.

<sup>5</sup> Κυρηναίων PF: Κυρηναίων μερίδες coni. Richards et Shutt.

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\* On Cleopatra III of Egypt and her deposit of money in Cos in 102 B.C. see *Ant.* xiii. 349. Reinach conjectures that the 800 talents were deposited at the same time by her Jewish generals Chelkias and Ananias, since the sum is much too large to represent the contributions of the Jews of Asia Minor. Similarly Willrich, *Urkundenfälschung*, p. 74, insists that it was the Jews of Egypt who took away their money in fear of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and he charges Josephus with ignorance of the real situation in 88 B.C. But Strabo's language suggests that the 800 talents came from a different period (otherwise he would have written, "the money which Cleopatra and the Jews had deposited"). Moreover the

of their fear of Mithridates.<sup>a</sup> For it is not likely that those in Judaea, who possessed a fortified city and the temple, would have sent money to Cos, nor is it probable that the Jews living in Alexandria would have done this either, since they had no fear of Mithridates. And this same Strabo in another passage testifies that at the time when Sulla crossed over to Greece to make war on Mithridates, and sent Lucullus to put down the revolt of our nation in Cyrene,<sup>b</sup> the habitable world was filled with Jews, for he writes as follows. "There were four classes in the state of Cyrene; the first consisted of citizens, the second of farmers, the third of resident aliens

Strabo on  
the Jews  
of Cyrene.

sum of 800 talents is not incredible if we remember that contributions to the temple from Jews in the Diaspora consisted of many gifts in addition to the annual didrachm payment, *cf.* Heichelheim, *Rom. Syria*, p. 74. However, it would be much easier to accept Josephus' explanation if he had mentioned 80 talents instead of 800. See now J. Cohen, *Judaica et Aegyptiaca* (1941), pp. 60-64.

<sup>b</sup> The last king of Cyrene, Ptolemy Apion, natural son of Ptolemy VII Physcon, on his death in 96 B.C. bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. For several years the Romans left the government in the hands of the Greek cities of Cyrenaica, which did not become a Roman province until 74 B.C. In the winter of 87/6 B.C. Sulla sent Lucullus to restore order in Cyrene, which, according to Plutarch, *Lucullus* 2, had been disturbed by "continual tyrannies and wars." The Jews are not mentioned. The passage in Plutarch is probably based on Strabo (Jacoby, *FGH* ii. C, p. 294 is non-committal about Plutarch's use of Strabo here), and Strabo, in turn, probably used Posidonius as a source, *cf.* Schürer i. 42. It may be that Josephus' text originally contained a reference to the Jewish revolt, which has been accidentally omitted, as Niese supposes, or that he has added the reference to the Jewish uprising on his own account, as Jacoby holds. If we accept the former view, we may suppose that the Cyrenaean Jews were dissatisfied with the civic status granted them by the Greek authorities.

JOSEPHUS

τῶν Ἰουδαίων. αὕτη δ' εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν ἤδη<sup>1</sup>  
 παρελήλυθε,<sup>2</sup> καὶ τόπον οὐκ ἔστι ραδίως εὔρειν τῆς  
 οἰκουμένης ὅς οὐ παραδέδεκται τοῦτο τὸ φύλον,<sup>3</sup>  
 116 μηδ' ἐπικρατεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου<sup>4</sup>  
 τὴν Κυρηναίαν, ἅτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνων τυχοῦ-  
 σαν, τῶν τε ἄλλων συχνὰ ζηλώσαι συνέβη καὶ δὴ  
 τὰ συντάγματα τῶν Ἰουδαίων θρέψαι διαφερόντως  
 καὶ συναυξῆσαι χρώμενα τοῖς πατρίοις τῶν Ἰου-  
 117 δαίων νόμοις.<sup>5</sup> ἐν γοῦν Αἰγύπτῳ κατοικία<sup>6</sup> τῶν  
 Ἰουδαίων ἐστὶν ἀποδεδειγμένη χώρα,<sup>7</sup> καὶ τῆς τῶν  
 Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἀφώρισται μέγα μέρος τῷ  
 ἔθνει τούτῳ. καθίσταται δὲ καὶ ἐθνάρχης αὐτῶν,  
 ὅς διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμ-  
 βολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων, ὡς ἂν  
 118 πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν οὖν  
 ἴσχυσε τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὸ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι ἐξ ἀρχῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἤδη καὶ P.

<sup>2</sup> P: παρεληλύθει rell.

<sup>3</sup> τούτου τὸ φύλον τὸ πλήθος FL: τούτου τοῦ φύλου τὸ πλήθος AMW.

<sup>4</sup> τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου Niese: τὴν τε Αἰγυπτον codd. Lat.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου . . . νόμοις] nam Aegyptus et Cyrenaea dum sub unum regnum fuissent omnem conversationem horum aemulatae sunt ita ut scripturis eorum uterentur et praesertim pecunias secundum patrias leges Iudeorum congregarent Lat.

<sup>6</sup> Gutschmid: κατοικία codd.

<sup>7</sup> Gutschmid: χωρὶς codd.

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<sup>a</sup> That the Jews had a separate status from that of metics is quite in accord with what we know of their position in the Hellenistic states; cf. the Appendix on this subject in the last volume of this translation.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "had." The change of tenses in this quotation indicates that Strabo was speaking, in this sentence, and also further on, not of the period of Sulla but also of his own



(metics), and the fourth of Jews.<sup>a</sup> This people has<sup>b</sup> already made its way into every city, and it is not easy to find any place in the habitable world which has not received this nation and in which it has not made its power felt.<sup>c</sup> And it has come about that Cyrene, which had the same rulers<sup>d</sup> as Egypt, has imitated it in many respects, particularly in notably encouraging and aiding the expansion of the organized groups of Jews, which observe the national Jewish laws.<sup>e</sup> In Egypt, for example, territory has been set apart for a Jewish settlement,<sup>f</sup> and in Alexandria a great part of the city has been allocated to this nation.<sup>g</sup> And an ethnarch of their own has been installed, who governs the people and adjudicates suits and supervises contracts and ordinances, just as if he were the head of a sovereign state.<sup>h</sup> And so this nation has flourished in Egypt because the Jews

period, the age of Augustus. This has been pointed out by Bousset-Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 67, n.1.

<sup>c</sup> Or "in which it has not become dominant," as Chamornard and Reinach (*Textes*, p. 92) translate. Although ἐπικρατεῖν usually means "to gain the mastery," "prevail," it may also mean, as I think it does here, "to make one's power felt." It seems to me unlikely that Strabo (or even Posidonius, who was not particularly friendly to the Jews) would have gone so far as to say that the Jews of the Diaspora dominated the various cities in which they lived. But I should hesitate to press the point. It may be added that one might also translate "which has not been occupied by it."

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* the Ptolemies, *cf.* § 114 note *b*.

<sup>e</sup> Text and meaning uncertain. Reinach translates συντάγματα as "colonies," which seems doubtful. It may mean "classes" or "orders." The old Latin translation makes no sense.

<sup>f</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>g</sup> *Cf.* *Ap.* ii. 33-36.

<sup>h</sup> This must have been written before Augustus replaced the ethnarch by a senate, *cf.* Philo, *In Flaccum* 74 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

τοὺς<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαίους καὶ διὰ τὸ πλησίον θέσθαι<sup>2</sup> τὴν κατοικίαν τοὺς ἀπελθόντας ἐκείθεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Κυρηναίαν μετέβη διὰ τὸ καὶ ταύτην ὄμορον εἶναι τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχῇ καθάπερ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης πρότερον." Στράβων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγει.

- 119 (3) Κράσσος δὲ πάντα διοικήσας ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο τρόπον, ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυαίαν· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν σὺν παντὶ διεφθάρη τῷ στρατῷ, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται, Κάσσιος δὲ εἰς Συρίαν φυγὼν καὶ περιποιησάμενος αὐτὴν Πάρθοις ἐμποδῶν ἦν ἐκτρέχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν κατὰ  
120 Κράσσου νίκην. αὐθις δὲ εἰς Τύρον ἀφικόμενος ἀνέβη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Ταριχαίας μὲν οὖν προσπεσὼν εὐθέως<sup>3</sup> αἰρεῖ, καὶ περὶ τρισμυρίου ἀνθρώπους ἀνδραποδίζει, Πειθόλαόν τε τὸν τὴν Ἄριστοβούλου στάσιν διαδεδεγμένον κτείνει, πρὸς  
121 τοῦτο αὐτὸν Ἀντιπάτρου παραστησαμένου, ὃν πολὺ τε καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ συνέβαινε δύνασθαι καὶ πλείστου τότε ἄξιος ἦν καὶ παρ' Ἰδουμαίοις,<sup>4</sup> παρ' ὧν<sup>5</sup> ἄγεται γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξ Ἀραβίας Κύπρον<sup>6</sup> ὄνομα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἐγένοντο παῖδες,

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς om. FLAMVW.      <sup>2</sup> Bekker: ἔσεσθαι codd.

<sup>3</sup> εὐθέως (εὐθύς I) προσπεσὼν PV.      <sup>4</sup> Ἰουδαίων οἷς P.

<sup>5</sup> παρ' ὧν A<sup>1</sup>VWE Lat.: παρὼν rell.

<sup>6</sup> Κύπριν FLAM Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain. That this statement about the Egyptian origin of the Jews, which is refuted by Josephus in *Ap.* i. 104, 223, 278, ii. 28 *et al.*, is here allowed to stand indicates that he has been pretty accurate in quoting Strabo.

<sup>b</sup> By other historians. Crassus was defeated near Carrhae in Mesopotamia in the spring of 53 B.C. and soon after was killed. Debevoise writes, p. 95, "The disaster which the Roman arms had suffered at Carrhae made certain the

were originally Egyptians and because those who left that country made their homes near by <sup>a</sup>; and they migrated to Cyrene because this country bordered on the kingdom of Egypt, as did Judaea—or rather, it formerly belonged to that kingdom.” These are Strabo’s own words.

(3) Now when Crassus had arranged everything the way he wished, he set out for Parthia and perished together with his entire army, as has been related elsewhere.<sup>b</sup> Cassius,<sup>c</sup> however, fled to Syria and took possession of it,<sup>d</sup> thus standing in the way of the Parthians who were making incursions into the country as a result of their victory over Crassus. Later he came to Tyre, and then went up to Judaea. Here he fell upon Tarichaeae,<sup>e</sup> which he quickly took, and made slaves of some thirty thousand men. He also killed Peitholaus, who had continued the revolt led by Aristobulus; and this he did at the instigation of Antipater, who at that time had great influence with him, and was then held in the greatest esteem by the Idumaeans also, from among whom <sup>f</sup> he took a wife of a distinguished Arab family, named Cypros <sup>g</sup>; and by her he had four sons, Phasael,

Crassus is killed in Parthia. Cassius invades Judaea.

Antipater's great influence.

supremacy, at least for the time being, of pro-Parthian over pro-Roman sentiment among the Jews.” But this could have been true only of a section of the Jews in Palestine during the early Herodian period.

<sup>c</sup> C. Cassius Longinus, who had been the quaestor of Crassus.

<sup>d</sup> Cassius governed Syria 53 to 51 B.C.

<sup>e</sup> By “Judaea” Josephus (or his source) here means Jewish territory in Palestine. Tarichaeae was, of course, in Galilee.

<sup>f</sup> Text slightly uncertain. It is Josephus’ new source that now introduces Antipater for the first time, it seems.

<sup>g</sup> Variant “Cypris,” as in the mss. of *B.J.*

## JOSEPHUS

- Φασάηλος· αἱ Ἑρώδης, ὃς ὕστερον βασιλεὺς γίνεται, Ἰώσηπός τε καὶ Φερώρας, θυγάτηρ δὲ  
 122 Σαλώμη. οὗτος ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπεποίητο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀραβα, ᾧ καὶ τὰ τέκνα πολεμῶν πρὸς Ἀριστόβουλον παρέθετο. Κάσσιος μὲν οὖν ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἠπέιγετο, ὑπαντιάσων τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιούσιν, ὡς καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων δεδήλωται.
- 123 (4) Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Καῖσαρ κατασχὼν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὸ Πομπήιον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον φυγεῖν πέραν τοῦ Ἰονίου, παραλύσας τῶν δεσμῶν Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Συρίαν διεγνώκει πέμπειν, δύο παραδοὺς αὐτῷ τάγματα, ὡς ἂν εὐτρεπίζοι<sup>2</sup> τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν δυνατὸς  
 124 ὢν. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ οὐκ ἀπόνωτο<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἐλπίδων ἐφ' αἷς ἔτυχε τῆς παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν φθάσαντες οἱ τὰ Πομπηίου φρονοῦντες φαρμάκῳ διαφθείρουσι, θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ Καίσαρος θεραπεύοντες πράγματα, καὶ ὁ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο ἐν μέλιτι κεκηδευμένος ἐπὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἕως Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἀποπέμψας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς θήκαις ἐποίησε  
 125 τεθῆναι. Σκιπίων δέ, ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, αἰτιασάμενος τὸν νεανίσκον ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐξημαρτημένοις τῷ πελέκει διεχρήσατο.

<sup>1</sup> ἀναστρατευσάμενος PF<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνευτρεπίζοι Post.

<sup>3</sup> ὄνωτο PVE.

• Cf. §§ 14 ff.

• In January, 49 B.C.

• This statement is confirmed by Dio Cassius xli. 18. 1.

• The preservation of corpses in honey is mentioned by Herodotus i. 198 (among the Babylonians, cf. R. Campbell

Herod, who later became king, Joseph and Pheroras, and a daughter, Salome. This Antipater had formed relations of friendship and hospitality with other princes, especially with the king of the Arabs, the same to whom he had entrusted his children when making war on Aristobulus.<sup>a</sup> And so Cassius removed his camp and hastened to the Euphrates, to meet the enemy who were coming against him from that direction, as has been related by others.

(4) Some time later, when Caesar became master of Rome after Pompey and the Senate had fled across the Ionian sea,<sup>b</sup> he released Aristobulus from prison, and having decided to send him to Syria,<sup>c</sup> put two legions at his disposal in order that he might win support in that country, now that he had the means to do so. Aristobulus, however, could not enjoy the fulfilment of the hopes which he had of the power given him by Caesar, for the partisans of Pompey got to him first and made an end of him by poison; and he was buried by those who favoured Caesar's cause,<sup>d</sup> his corpse lying preserved in honey for a long while, until Antony finally sent it back to Judaea and had it placed in the royal sepulchres. And Scipio,<sup>e</sup> whom Pompey had instructed to kill Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, charged the youth with his original offences against the Romans, and executed him by

Caesar releases Aristobulus and sends him to fight the Pompeians in Syria, where he is poisoned.

Thompson in *AJSL* 47 (1930), p. 23 n. 1), Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 13 (cited by Hudson), in the Bab. Talmud, *Baba Bathra* 3 b (cf. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* ii. 474 n. 416). Other ancient references are given in the following works, listed by my friend Dr. Allan Roos: Thos. Greenhill, *Nekrokēdeia*, 1705; Jean Nicolas Gannal, *History of Embalming* (trans. by R. Harlan), 1840; B. F. Beck, *Honey and Health*, 1938.

<sup>a</sup> Q. Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey and proconsul of Syria, 49-48 B.C.

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- 126 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τελευτᾶ. τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου παρέλαβε, δυναστεύων Χαλκίδος τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει, καὶ πέμψας τὸν υἱὸν Φιλιππίωνα εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα παρὰ τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυναικα, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῇ συναποστέλλειν τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, ὧν τῆς ἑτέρας ἔρασθεις Ἀλεξάνδρας ὁ Φιλιππίων ἄγεται γυναικα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελὼν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Πτολεμαῖος γαμῆ τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος διετέλει.
- 127 (viii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὴν νίκην τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Καίσαρι πολεμοῦντι κατ' Αἴγυπτον εἰς<sup>1</sup> πολλὰ χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρέσχεν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμελητής, ἐξ ἐν-  
128 πολῆς Ὑρκανοῦ. Μιθριδάτῃ γὰρ<sup>2</sup> τῷ Περγαμηνῷ κομίζοντι ἐπικουρικὸν καὶ ἀδυνάτως ἔχοντι διὰ Πηλουσίου ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν, περὶ δὲ Ἀσ-

<sup>1</sup> εἰς om. PE.

<sup>2</sup> M: τε γὰρ rell. E.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. above § 39 note b.

<sup>b</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 127-155 and *B.J.* i. 187-200 see Laqueur, pp. 165-171, 223. Here again Laqueur tries to show that Josephus' attitude toward Antipater and Herod is less favourable in *Ant.* than is that of his source (Nicolas) in *B.J.*; at the same time he admits that Nicolas had probably exaggerated the services of Antipater at the expense of Hyrcanus. So too Motzo in a monograph on this subject, cited by Momigliano, *Ricerche*, pp. 189-190. See further works cited in Appendix L.

<sup>c</sup> Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalus in August (Julian reckoning), 48 b.c. Pompey was killed when he landed in Egypt in September, 48 b.c.

<sup>d</sup> ἐπιμελητής, the title also given to Antipater in the

beheading. In this manner he died at Antioch. But his brother and sisters were taken by Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus,<sup>a</sup> who was prince of Chalcis at the foot of Mount Lebanon. And he sent his son, Philippion, to Ascalon to Aristobulus' wife, telling her to send back with him her son Antigonus and her daughters, one of whom, Alexandra, Philippion fell in love with and married. But afterwards his father Ptolemy put him to death and married Alexandra, and continued to look after her brother and sister.

(viii. 1) <sup>b</sup> When Caesar, after his victory over Pompey and the latter's death,<sup>c</sup> was fighting in Egypt, Antipater, the governor <sup>d</sup> of the Jews, under orders from Hyrcanus <sup>e</sup> proved himself useful to Caesar in many ways. For when Mithridates of Pergamum, who was bringing an auxiliary force,<sup>f</sup> was unable to make his way through Pelusium and was delayed

Antipater  
and  
Hyrcanus  
assist  
Caesar in  
Egypt.

quotation from Strabo in § 139, usually = Lat. *curator* or *praefectus*, rarely = *procurator* (*Judaeae*), as in *Ant.* xviii. 89. In xvii. 6 it is applied to Saturninus, governor of Syria (= *legatus Augusti pro praetore*), who is elsewhere called ἡγεμών; in *B.J.* i. 225 Herod is appointed ἐπιμελετής of all Syria, while in the parallel *Ant.* xiv. 280 he is called στρατηγός. From these passages it would seem that Antipater was given a special office in 48 B.C. by Caesar, or earlier (*cf.* § 103) by Gabinius. He was not made procurator of Judaea, ἐπίτροπος, until 47 B.C., *cf.* § 143. Schürer, i. 343 n. 14, suggests that Gabinius had made him procurator, but if so this office must have been *extra ordinem*, since Judaea had been divided into five districts by Gabinius, as is pointed out by Momigliano, *Ricerche*, p. 207. It may be, however, that Josephus here anticipates; Caesar came to Egypt in the autumn of 48 B.C. but did not get help from Mithridates and Antipater until the spring of 47 B.C. On this campaign see W. Judeich, *Cäsar im Orient*, 1885.

<sup>c</sup> Hyrcanus is not mentioned in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 187; *cf.* above, note *b*.

<sup>f</sup> In addition to the 37th legion sent from Syria.

## JOSEPHUS

κάλωνα διατρίβοντι, ἦκεν Ἐντίπατρος ἄγων  
 Ἰουδαίων ὀπλίτας τρισχιλίους, ἐξ Ἀραβίας τε  
 συμμάχους ἐλθεῖν ἐπραγματεύσατο τοὺς ἐν τέλει·  
 129 καὶ δι' αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἅπαντες ἐπεκού-  
 ρουν, ἀπολείπεσθαι τῆς ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος προθυμίας  
 οὐ θέλοντες, Ἰάμβλιχός τε ὁ δυνάστης καὶ Πτολε-  
 μαῖος ὁ Σοαῖμου<sup>1</sup> Λίβανον ὄρος οἰκῶν<sup>2</sup> αἱ τε πόλεις  
 130 σχεδὸν ἅπασαι. Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Συρίας εἰς  
 Πηλούσιον ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ μὴ δεχομένων αὐτὸν  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἠρίστευσε  
 δὲ Ἐντίπατρος, καὶ πρῶτος κατασύρας τι τοῦ  
 τείχους ὁδὸν εἰσπεσεῖν παρέσχετο τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν Πηλούσιον οὕτως εἶχεν.  
 131 τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἐντίπατρον καὶ Μιθριδάτην ἀπίοντας  
 πρὸς Καίσαρα διεκώλυον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι<sup>3</sup> οἱ τὴν Ὀνίου  
 λεγομένην χώραν<sup>4</sup> κατοικοῦντες. πείθει δὲ καὶ  
 τούτους τὰ αὐτῶν φρονῆσαι κατὰ τὸ ὁμόφυλον  
 Ἐντίπατρος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιδείξας αὐτοῖς τὰς  
 Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς αὐτοῦς  
 φίλους εἶναι Καίσαρος παρεκάλει καὶ ξένια καὶ  
 132 πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χορηγεῖν τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ οἱ  
 μὲν ὡς ἐώρων τὸν Ἐντίπατρον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα

<sup>1</sup> ὁ Σοαῖμου Niese: ὁ οὐαῖμου P: ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ AMW Lat.:  
 ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεολομαῖος ὁ Σοέμου FL.

<sup>2</sup> οἰκοῦντες Lat.

<sup>3</sup> οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι P: Ἰουδαῖοι Αἰγύπτιοι rell. E Lat.

<sup>4</sup> χώραν secl. Niese.

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<sup>a</sup> As Dr. Thackeray notes in *B.J.* i. 187, Ascalon was 6 days' march from Pelusium, so that Mithridates must have been warned well in advance of the refusal of passage.

<sup>b</sup> Text slightly uncertain. This Ptolemy is to be distinguished from the son of Mennaëus in the same region.



at Ascalon,<sup>a</sup> Antipater arrived with three thousand heavy-armed Jewish soldiers, and also managed to get the chiefs of Arabia to come to his aid; and it was owing to him that all the rulers of Syria furnished aid, not wishing to be outdone in their zeal for Caesar; among these were the prince Jamblichus and Ptolemy, the son of Soemus,<sup>b</sup> who lived on Mount Lebanon, and almost all the cities. Mithridates then left Syria and came to Pelusium, and as its inhabitants would not admit him, besieged the city. Foremost in bravery was Antipater, who was the first to pull down part of the wall, and so opened a way for the others to pour into the city. This was how he took Pelusium. But when Mithridates and Antipater with their men were on their way to Caesar, the Jews<sup>c</sup> who inhabited the district of Onias,<sup>d</sup> as it was called, prevented them from doing so. Antipater, however, persuaded them too to side with his party on the ground of their common nationality, especially when he showed them a letter from the high priest Hyrcanus, in which he urged them to be friendly to Caesar and receive his army hospitably and furnish it with all things necessary. And so, when they saw that Antipater and the

Antipater  
persuades  
the Jews  
in Egypt  
to go over  
to Caesar.

He and Jamblichus are otherwise unknown. Soemus may possibly be the ruler mentioned in *Vita* 52; the name is Arabic and Nabataean, found in Petra and Ituraea, *cf. Ant.* xv. 185, xvij. 54, xx. 158 *et al.* The original form was perhaps Arab. *Suhaym*, *cf. H. Wuthnow, Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griech. Inschrift. u. Pap. d. vord. Orients*, 1930, p. 130. On the name Jamblichus see *Ant.* xiii. 131 note *c*.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "the Egyptian Jews."

<sup>d</sup> Not far from Memphis, though perhaps not to be identified with the site of the Onias temple, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 65 note *b* and Schürer iii. 97 n. 25.

συνθέλοντας<sup>1</sup> ὑπήκουοι. τούτους δὲ προσθεμένους ἀκούσαντες οἱ περὶ Μέμφιν ἐκάλουν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην πρὸς αὐτούς· κἀκεῖνος ἔλθων καὶ τούτους παραλαμβάνει.

- 133 (2) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα ἤδη<sup>2</sup> περι-  
 εληλύθει,<sup>3</sup> συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τὸ καλού-  
 μενον Ἰουδαίων στρατόπεδον. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν  
 δεξιὸν κέρασ Μιθριδάτης, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Ἀντί-  
 134 πατρος. συμπεσόντων δὲ εἰς μάχην κλίνεται τὸ  
 τοῦ Μιθριδάτου κέρασ καὶ παθεῖν ἂν ἐκινδύνευσε  
 τὰ δεινότερα, εἰ μὴ παρὰ τὴν ἡῶνα τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις Ἀντίπατρος παρα-  
 θέων νενικηκῶσ ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους τὸν μὲν  
 ῥύεται, τρέπει<sup>4</sup> δὲ εἰς φυγὴν τοὺς νενικηκότας  
 135 Αἰγυπτίους. αἰρεῖ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον  
 ἐπιμείνας τῇ διώξει, τὸν τε Μιθριδάτην ἀνεκάλει<sup>5</sup>  
 πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ τροπῇ διασχόντα. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν  
 μὲν περὶ τοῦτον ὀκτακόσιοι,<sup>6</sup> τῶν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου  
 136 πεντήκοντα.<sup>7</sup> Μιθριδάτης δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐπι-  
 στέλλει Καίσαρι, τῆσ τε νίκης αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ τῆσ  
 σωτηρίας αἴτιον τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἀποφαίνων, ὥστε  
 τὸν Καίσαρα τότε μὲν ἐπαινεῖν αὐτόν, κεχρηῆσθαι  
 δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὰ κινδυνωδέστατα  
 τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ· καὶ δὴ καὶ τρωθῆναι συνέβη παρὰ  
 τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτῷ.

<sup>1</sup> P: συνελθόντας rell. F.      <sup>2</sup> ὡσ ἤδη FLAMW et Lat. vid.

<sup>3</sup> παρεληλύθει LAMW et Lat. vid.

<sup>4</sup> προτρέπει P.

<sup>5</sup> Niese: ἐκάλει codd.

<sup>6</sup> τῶν . . . ὀκτακόσιοι] τούτων μὲν περὶ ὀκτακοσίουσ FLAMW.

<sup>7</sup> τεσσαράκοντα LAMW Lat.

<sup>a</sup> The parallel, *B.J.* i. 190, does not tell how Antipater won the support of the Egyptian Jews by using Hyrcanus' name; cf. above, § 127 note b.

high priest had the same wish, they complied.<sup>a</sup> And when those in the neighbourhood of Memphis heard that these Jews had joined Caesar's side, they too invited Mithridates to come to them. Accordingly he came and took them into his army as well.

(2) And when he had passed round the region called the Delta, he engaged the enemy at the Camp of the Jews,<sup>b</sup> as it is called. Mithridates commanded the right wing, and Antipater the left. And when they met in battle, Mithridates' wing gave way and would have been in danger of suffering a very grave disaster, if Antipater, who had already defeated the enemy (opposite him), had not come running with his own soldiers along the bank of the river and rescued him, at the same time putting to flight the Egyptians who had defeated Mithridates. And continuing in pursuit, he also seized their camp, and brought back<sup>c</sup> Mithridates, who had been separated far from him in the rout. Of the latter's men some eight hundred fell, while Antipater lost only fifty.<sup>d</sup> Mithridates thereupon wrote an account of this to Caesar, declaring that Antipater had been responsible for their victory and also for their safety; and as a result of this, Caesar commended Antipater on that occasion, and, what is more, made use of him for the most dangerous tasks throughout the entire war. The natural result was that Antipater was wounded in some of the battles.<sup>e</sup>

Caesar commends Antipater for his prowess in battle in Egypt.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. above, § 131 note *d*.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly emended: mss. "called."

<sup>d</sup> Variant "forty"; *B.J.* i. 192 has "eighty."

<sup>e</sup> This tribute to Antipater's prowess seems no less notable than that given in the parallel, *B.J.* 192-193—contrary to Laqueur's views. *B.J.* has some eulogistic phrases missing in *Ant.* but *en revanche* it lacks others found here.

## JOSEPHUS

- 137 (3) Καταλύσας μέντοι Καίσαρ μετὰ χρόνον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ εἰς Συρίαν ἀποπλεύσας ἐτίμησε μεγάλως, Ὑρκανῶ μὲν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην βεβαιώσας, Ἀντιπάτρω δὲ πολιτείαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δούς καὶ
- 138 ἀτέλειαν πανταχοῦ. λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ταύτης κοινωνῆσαι τῆς στρατείας<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων ἐξ Ἀσινίου ὀνόματος οὕτως· “ μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην εἰσβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα.” ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος Στράβων καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις<sup>2</sup> πάλιν ἐξ Ὑψικράτους ὀνόματος λέγει οὕτως· “ τὸν μὲν Μιθριδάτην ἐξελθεῖν μόνον, κληθέντα δ’ εἰς Ἀσκάλωνα Ἀντίπατρον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιμελητὴν, τρισχιλίους αὐτῷ στρατιώτας συμπαρασκευάσαι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας προτρέψαι, κοινωνῆσαι δὲ τῆς στρατείας<sup>3</sup> καὶ Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα.” ταῦτα μὲν Στράβων φησίν.
- 140 (4) Ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου τότε<sup>4</sup> πρὸς Καίσαρα τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπωδύρετο τύχην<sup>5</sup> καὶ ὡς δι’ αὐτὸν ἀποθάνοι φαρμάκοις ἀναιρεθεῖς Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: στρατιᾶς codd. E: militiae Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐτέρῳ AMW: alibi Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf: στρατιᾶς codd. E: militiae Lat.

<sup>4</sup> τότε om. PE.

<sup>5</sup> τελευτήν P: calamitatem Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Caesar sailed for Syria in the spring of 47 B.C. to attack Pharnaces, King of Bosphorus, who was threatening the Roman forces in Asia Minor; on the chronology see Judeich, pp. 108 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Caesar did this to please Antipater, adds *B.J.* i. 194. Hyrcanus had probably resumed the office of high priest after the imprisonment of Aristobulus in 63 B.C., cf. above, § 7 note a.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly emended: mss. “army.”

(3) Moreover, when Caesar in the course of time concluded the war and sailed to Syria,<sup>a</sup> he honoured him greatly; while confirming Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood,<sup>b</sup> he gave Antipater Roman citizenship and exemption from taxation everywhere. It is said by many writers that Hyrcanus took part in this campaign<sup>c</sup> and came to Egypt.<sup>d</sup> And this statement of mine is attested by Strabo of Cappadocia, who writes as follows, on the authority of Asinius.<sup>e</sup> "After Mithridates, Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, also invaded Egypt." And again this same Strabo in another passage writes as follows, on the authority of Hypsicrates.<sup>f</sup> "Mithridates went out alone, but Antipater, the procurator<sup>g</sup> of Judaea, was called to Ascalon by him and provided him with an additional three thousand<sup>h</sup> soldiers, and won over the other princes; and the high priest Hyrcanus also took part in the campaign."<sup>i</sup> These are Strabo's own words.

Hyrcanus is rewarded by Caesar for aiding his army in Egypt.

(4) But at that time<sup>j</sup> Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, also came to Caesar and bewailed the sad fate<sup>k</sup> of his father, saying that it was on Caesar's account that Aristobulus and his brother had died, the one having been put out of the way by poison, and the

Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II, appeals to Caesar against the usurpation of Hyrcanus.

<sup>d</sup> This statement and the following quotation from Strabo are not found in *B.J.*

<sup>e</sup> Asinius Pollio, a contemporary of Julius Caesar, wrote a *History*, now lost except for brief fragments, which covered the period 60-c. 40 B.C.

<sup>f</sup> An older contemporary of Strabo; his works, now lost, except for fragments, seem to have dealt with the history and ethnography of the Near East and Africa.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. above, § 127 note *d.*

<sup>h</sup> Only 1500 are mentioned in Caesar's decree, § 193.

<sup>i</sup> Text slightly emended: mss. "army."

<sup>j</sup> The variant omits "at that time."

<sup>k</sup> Variant "the death."

## JOSEPHUS

- κτείναντος πελέκει Σκιπίωνος, ἔδειτό τε λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκβεβλημένου, Ὑρκανοῦ τ'<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου κατηγορεῖ βιαίως ἐξηγουμένων τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν παρανομη-
- 141 σάντων. παρὼν δὲ Ἀντίπατρος ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑώρα καθ' αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> τὴν κατηγορίαν γεγενημένην, νεωτεριστὰς δὲ ἀπέφαινε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ στασιώδεις, ὅσα τε πονήσειεν αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup> καὶ συνεργήσειεν ὑπεμίμησκειν ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατηγήμασι,<sup>4</sup> ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους ὧν αὐτὸς
- 142 ἦν μάρτυς. δικαίως τε ἔλεγεν Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάσπαστον<sup>5</sup> γεγονέναι, πολέμιον αἰεὶ καὶ μηδέποτε εὖνον ὑπάρξαντα Ῥωμαίοις, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ κολασθέντα<sup>6</sup> ἐπὶ ληστεία ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος τυχεῖν ὧν ἄξιός ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ βίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν τοῦτο παθεῖν τοῦ δράσαντος.
- 143 (5) Τούτους Ἀντιπάτρου ποιησαμένου τοὺς λόγους Καῖσαρ Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀποδείκνυσι ἀρχιερέα, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ δίδωσι<sup>7</sup> δυναστείαν ἣν αὐτὸς προαιρεῖται. τούτου δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιησαμένου τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπίτροπον αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσι τῆς Ἰου-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: δὲ αὐτ δ' codd.

<sup>2</sup> καθ' αὐτοῦ Naber: κατ' αὐτοῦ codd. edd.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸς W Lat.

<sup>4</sup> στρατεύμασι PE.

<sup>5</sup> ἀνάσπαστον FLA<sup>2</sup>MW: tractum Lat.

<sup>6</sup> κρατηθέντα FLAMW.

<sup>7</sup> δ' ἐφήσιν PF<sup>1</sup>: δὲ ἀφήσι E Exc.: donavit Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. above, §§ 124-125.

<sup>b</sup> *Ant.* omits the criticism (obviously repeated from Nicolas of Damascus) of Antigonos for his attack on Antipater and Hyrcanus, which is expressed in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 195. It also omits Antigonos' charge that his adversaries had supported Caesar in Egypt not out of goodwill but out of fear.

other executed by beheading at the hands of Scipio<sup>a</sup>; and he begged Caesar to take pity on him for having been driven from his realm; and in this connexion he accused Hyrcanus and Antipater of governing the people by violence and having acted lawlessly toward him.<sup>b</sup> But Antipater, who was present, defended himself on these points of the accusation which he saw had been brought against him, and declared that Antigonus and his fellows were revolutionaries and fomenters of sedition<sup>c</sup>; at the same time he recalled how he had laboured on behalf of the Romans and assisted them in their plans of war, speaking of things to which his own person testified<sup>d</sup>; with justice, he added, had Aristobulus been deported to Rome, for he had always been hostile to the Romans and never well-disposed toward them. As for the brother of Antigonus who had been punished<sup>e</sup> for brigandage by Scipio, he had met the fate he deserved, and if he had suffered this punishment it was not because of any violence or injustice on the part of him who had inflicted it.

(5) After Antipater had made this speech, Caesar appointed Hyrcanus high priest,<sup>f</sup> and gave Antipater power to rule in whatever form he preferred. And as the latter left the decision to him, he appointed

Caesar and  
the Roman  
Senate  
honour  
Antipater  
and  
Hyrcanus.

<sup>c</sup> Antipater defends himself more dramatically in *B.J.* i. 197; he strips off his clothes to show his scars, and also speaks more rhetorically against the revolutionary tendencies of the family of Aristobulus.

<sup>d</sup> Apparently this is a reference to his scars (*cf.* preceding note); others translate, "speaking of things of which he (Caesar) was a witness."

<sup>e</sup> Variant "seized."

<sup>f</sup> And ethnarch, according to the decrees cited in §§ 190 ff. By the Jews he seems to have been called king, *cf.* §§ 157, 172.

## JOSEPHUS

- 144 δαίας. ἐπιτρέπει δὲ καὶ Ὑρκανῶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστῆσαι τείχη, ταύτην αἰτησαμένῳ τὴν χάριν· ἔτι γὰρ ἐρήριπτο<sup>1</sup> Πομπηίου καταβαλόντος· καὶ ταυτ' ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς ὑπάτοις εἰς Ῥώμην ἀναγράψαι ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ. καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον·
- 145 “ Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος Λευκίου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς<sup>2</sup> συνεβουλεύσατο τῇ συγκλήτῳ εἶδοις Δεκεμβρίαις ἐν τῷ τῆς Ὀμονοίας ναῶ. γραφομένῳ τῷ δόγματι παρήσαν Λεύκιος Κωπώνιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Κολλίνα
- 146 καὶ Παπείριος Κυρίνα. περὶ ὧν Ἀλέξανδρος<sup>3</sup> Ἰάσονος καὶ Νουμήνιος Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Δωροθέου, Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευταί, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι, διελέχθησαν, ἀνανεούμενοι τὰς προϋπηργμένους πρὸς Ῥωμαίους χάριτας καὶ τὴν φιλίαν,
- 147 καὶ ἀσπίδα χρυσοῦν σύμβολον τῆς συμμαχίας γενομένην ἀνήνεγκαν ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυριάδων πέντε, καὶ γράμματ' αὐτοῖς ἠξίωσαν δοθῆναι πρὸς τε τὰς αὐτονομούμενας πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἀδείας τυγ-

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι γὰρ ἐρήριπτο P: ἔρριπτο γὰρ (+ ἔτι F) rell.: ἔτι γὰρ ἔρριπτο E Exc.: nam adhuc diruti iacebant Lat.

<sup>2</sup> consul Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀντίπατρος coni. Ritschl.

<sup>o</sup> Cf. above, § 127 note d.

<sup>b</sup> In *B.J.* i. 199 this favour is granted Antipater. In the change of persons Laqueur, p. 165, sees another instance of Josephus' "systematic political revision" of *B.J.*

<sup>c</sup> On the various Roman and Hellenistic decrees cited in *Ant.* xiii. and xiv. see works listed in Appendix J.

<sup>d</sup> The following decree is to be dated, not in the time of Hyrcanus II (the decrees of Caesar issued on his behalf are cited below, §§ 190 ff.), but probably in the time of Simon,



him procurator of Judaea.<sup>a</sup> He also permitted Hyrcanus, who had asked this favour of him, to rebuild the walls of his native city,<sup>b</sup> for they had been lying in ruins ever since Pompey demolished them. And he sent instructions to the consuls at Rome to record these grants in the Capitol.<sup>c</sup> And the decree enacted by the Senate was as follows.<sup>d</sup> "Lucius Valerius, son of Lucius, the praetor,<sup>e</sup> consulted with the Senate on the Ides of December in the Temple of Concord.<sup>f</sup> And at the writing of the decree there were present Lucius Coponius, son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, and Papirius of the Quirine tribe. Whereas Alexander,<sup>g</sup> son of Jason, Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Alexander, son of Dorotheus, envoys of the Jews and worthy men and allies, have discussed the matter of renewing the relation of goodwill and friendship which they formerly maintained with the Romans, and have brought as a token of the alliance a golden shield worth fifty thousand gold pieces,<sup>h</sup> and have asked that letters be given them to the autonomous cities and kings in order that their country and ports may be secure and suffer no harm,<sup>i</sup> it has been de-

more exactly in 139 B.C.; *cf.* 1 Macc. xv. 16-21, where a similar letter of the Roman consul Lucius is cited; *cf.* further works cited in Appendix J.

<sup>a</sup> Or "consul," as the Latin translation has it; οὐ στρατηγός as "praetor" and "consul" see Magie, pp. 74, 81.

<sup>f</sup> Schürer, i. 251 n. 22 end, argues against Mommsen (*Hermes* ix. (1875), 281 ff.) that this may be an earlier Temple of Concord than that built in 121 B.C., and that thus the dating of the decree in 139 B.C. is not excluded.

<sup>g</sup> Ritschl proposes to read "Antipater," to make the decree agree with 1 Macc. xiv. 22, which names the envoys Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Antipater, son of Jason.

<sup>h</sup> *Cf.* 1 Macc. xiv. 24, xv. 18, which mention a gold shield of 1000 minae = 50,000 didrachms or staters.

<sup>i</sup> Such kings are enumerated in 1 Macc. xv. 22.

## JOSEPHUS

148 χάνειν καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἔδοξε συνθέσθαι<sup>1</sup>  
 φιλίαν καὶ χάριτας πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ὅσων ἐδεή-  
 θησαν τυχεῖν ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὴν  
 κομισθεῖσαν ἀσπίδα προσδέξασθαι." ταῦτα ἐγέ-  
 νετο ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου, ἔτους  
 149 ἐνάτου<sup>2</sup> μηνὸς Πανέμου. εὖρατο δὲ<sup>3</sup> καὶ παρὰ τοῦ  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων δήμου τιμὰς Ὑρκανὸς πολλὰ<sup>4</sup> χρή-  
 σιμος εἰς αὐτούς γενόμενος, ἔπεμψάν τε ψήφισμα  
 γράψαντες αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἔχον τὸν τρόπον· " ἐπὶ  
 πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱερέως Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου,  
 μηνὸς Πανέμου πέμπτη ἀπιόντος, ἐπεδόθη<sup>5</sup> τοῖς  
 150 στρατηγοῖς<sup>6</sup> ψήφισμα Ἀθηναίων. ἐπὶ Ἀγαθο-  
 κλέους ἀρχοντος Εὐκλῆς Ξενάνδρου Αἰθαλίδης<sup>7</sup>  
 ἐγραμμάτευε, Μουνυχιῶνος ἐνδεκάτη, ἐνδεκάτη<sup>8</sup>  
 τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησίας γενομένης ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ  
 τῶν προέδρων, ἐπεψήφισε Δωρόθεος Ἐρχιεύς<sup>9</sup> καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἔδοξε δὲ συνθέσθαι FL: ἔδοξεν οὖν θέσθαι AMW: placuit igitur componere Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνάτου εἰκοστοῦ conl. Homolle.

<sup>3</sup> δὴ AMW.

<sup>4</sup> πολλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς P.

<sup>5</sup> ἀπεδόθη Krebs.

<sup>6</sup> τοῖς στρατηγοῖς om. P, secl. Niese.

<sup>7</sup> Ξενάνδρου Αἰθαλίδης conl. T. Reinach: Μεάνδρου Ἀλι-  
 μούσιος codd.

<sup>8</sup> ἐνδεκάτη 2<sup>o</sup> add. Dindorf.

<sup>9</sup> Corsini: ἀρχιερεύς codd. Exc. Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> There is no reason why Josephus' source should give the date of a Roman decree in terms of the Macedonian calendar; moreover the decree is dated internally on the Ides of December, while Panemus = June-July. The sentence evidently refers to the following Athenian decree, which is to be dated in the time of Hyrcanus I (see notes following); we must, however, emend "ninth" to "twenty-ninth," as Homolle proposes, which would give us 106/5 B.C., agreeing with the date of the archonship of Agathocles; we must

creed to form a relation of goodwill and friendship with them and to provide them with all the things which they have requested, and to accept the shield which they have brought." This took place in the ninth year of Hyrcanus the high priest and ethnarch, in the month Panemus.<sup>a</sup> Among the Athenian people also Hyrcanus obtained honours, for he had been of great service to them. And they wrote and sent him a resolution, of which the contents were as follows. "In the presidency and priesthood of Dionysius, son of Asclepiades, on the fifth day before the end of the month of Panemus, a decree of the Athenians was delivered to the magistrates.<sup>b</sup> In the archonship of Agathocles,<sup>c</sup> when Eucles, son of Xenander, of the Aithalidean deme,<sup>d</sup> was scribe, on the eleventh of the month of Munychion,<sup>e</sup> on the eleventh day<sup>f</sup> of the prytany, a meeting of the presiding officers (*proedroi*) being held in the theatre, Dorotheus of the Erchian deme<sup>g</sup> and his fellow presiding officers

The Athenians also honour Hyrcanus.

also delete the words "and ethnarch," which could hardly have been applied to Hyrcanus I.

<sup>b</sup> As Reinach points out, this first sentence is introductory, and refers to the transmission of the decree to the Jews by some Hellenistic city.

<sup>c</sup> 106/5 B.C.; see W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 1931, pp. 275-277 and W. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Archons* 1941, p. xxxiv.

<sup>d</sup> Reinach's conjecture, on the basis of a contemporary inscription (*CIA* ii.<sup>2</sup> 2984) for mss. "son of Menander, of the Alimusian deme."

<sup>e</sup> Thus the decree was passed two months earlier than Hyrcanus received it, *cf.* above, note *a*.

<sup>f</sup> The day of the prytany, missing in the mss., is supplied by Dindorf.

<sup>g</sup> Text slightly emended; for Ἐρχιεὺς "of the Erchian deme" the mss. have ἀρχιερεὺς "high priest."

## JOSEPHUS

οἱ συμπρόεδροι, ἔδοξε<sup>1</sup> τῷ δήμῳ, Διονύσιος Διονυ-  
 151 σίου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ὑρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου,<sup>2</sup> ἀρχ-  
 ιερεὺς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων, διατελεῖ κοινῇ τε  
 τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκάστῳ εὐνοῶν καὶ  
 πάσῃ χρώμενος περὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ, καὶ τοὺς  
 παραγινομένους Ἀθηναίων ἢ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἢ  
 κατ' ἰδίαν πρόφασιν ὡς αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται φιλο-  
 φρόνως καὶ προπέμπει, τῆς ἀσφαλοῦς αὐτῶν ἐπαν-  
 152 ὄδου προνοούμενος, ἐμαρτυρήθη μὲν καὶ πρότερον  
 περὶ τούτων, δέδοκται δὲ καὶ νῦν Θεοδότου τοῦ  
 Διοδώρου<sup>3</sup> Σουνιέως εἰσηγησαμένου καὶ περὶ τῆς  
 τάνδρὸς ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήσαντος τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ὅτι  
 προαίρεσιν ἔχει ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ὃ τι ποτ' ἂν δύνηται  
 153 ἀγαθόν, τιμῆσαι τὸν ἄνδρα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρι-  
 στείῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ στῆσαι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα  
 χαλκῆν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων,  
 ἀνειπεῖν δὲ τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, Διονυσίους  
 τραγωδῶν τῶν καινῶν ἀγομένων καὶ Παναθηναίους

<sup>1</sup> ἔδοξε ins. Boeckh.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀλεξάνδρου secl. Homolle.

<sup>3</sup> Θεοδότου τοῦ Διοδώρου conl. Dumont: Διονυσίου τοῦ Θεοδώρου P Lat.: Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Θεοδώρου rell.

<sup>a</sup> ἐπεψήφισε is the equivalent of ἐπεστάτει, cf. W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 1914, p. 333.

<sup>b</sup> This word, missing in the mss., is supplied by Boeckh.

<sup>c</sup> The preceding formulae correspond perfectly with the usual style of an Athenian decree, cf. Larfeld, *loc. cit.*

<sup>d</sup> The words "son of Alexander" (Jannaeus) must have

supervised the voting<sup>a</sup> when the people passed<sup>b</sup> the motion of Dionysius, son of Dionysius, as follows.<sup>c</sup> Inasmuch as Hyrcanus, son of Alexander,<sup>d</sup> the high priest and ethnarch<sup>e</sup> of the Jews, has continued to show goodwill to our people as a whole and to every individual citizen, and to manifest the greatest zeal on their behalf, and when any Athenians come to him either on an embassy or on a private matter, he receives them in a friendly manner and sends them on their way with precautions for their safe return, as has been previously attested, it has therefore now been decreed on the motion of Theodotus, son of Diodorus,<sup>f</sup> of the Sunian deme, who reminded the people of the virtues of this man and of his readiness to do us whatever good he can, to honour this man with a golden crown as the reward of merit fixed by law, and to set up his statue in bronze in the precincts of the temple of Demos and the Graces,<sup>g</sup> and to announce the award of the crown in the theatre at the Dionysian festival when the new tragedies are performed, and at the Panathenaeon and Eleusinian

been added by Josephus or his source, under the impression that Hyrcanus II was meant instead of Hyrcanus I.

<sup>a</sup> The words "and ethnarch" must also be an addition, see § 148 note *a* above.

<sup>f</sup> "Theodotus, son of Diodorus" is conjectured by Dumont (cited in Reinach's note) for mss. "Theodosius (variant "Dionysius"), son of Theodoros," on the basis of a contemporary inscription.

<sup>g</sup> This temple was near the Agora; cf. Chas. H. Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, 1913, p. 81, "A small precinct which Pausanias fails to mention has been uncovered in the railroad artery at the north end of the Colonus Agoraeus, the precinct of Demos and the Graces . . . we know from literary references that various bronze statues stood here." See also W. Judeich, *Topographie v. Athen*, 2nd ed. p. 363.

καὶ Ἐλευσινίοις<sup>1</sup> καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν,  
 154 ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς διαμένοντί τε  
 αὐτῷ καὶ διαφυλάσσουντι<sup>3</sup> τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίαν  
 εἶναι πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἐπινοήσωμεν εἰς τιμὴν καὶ χάριν  
 τῆς τάνδρὸς σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἵνα τούτων  
 γενομένων<sup>4</sup> φαίνεται ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν ἀποδεχόμενος  
 τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῆς προσηκούσης ἀμοιβῆς ἀξιῶν,  
 καὶ ζηλώσῃ<sup>5</sup> τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς σπουδὴν τῶν<sup>6</sup> ἡδῆ  
 155 τετιμημένων<sup>7</sup>. ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐξ ἀπάντων  
 Ἀθηναίων, οἵτινες τὸ ψήφισμά τε αὐτῷ κομιούσι  
 καὶ παρακαλέσουσι προσδεξάμενον τὰς τιμὰς πει-  
 ρᾶσθαι τι ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν ἡμῶν αἰεὶ τὴν πόλιν.” αἰ  
 μὲν οὖν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθη-  
 ναίων τιμαὶ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν<sup>8</sup> ἡμῖν δεδήλωνται  
 ἱκανῶς.<sup>9</sup>

156 (ix. 1) Καῖσαρ δὲ διοικήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν  
 ἀπέπλευσεν. ὡς δὲ Καίσαρα προπέμφας ἐκ τῆς  
 Συρίας Ἀντίπατρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν,  
 ἀνεγείρει μὲν εὐθὺς τὸ τεῖχος ὑπὸ Πομπηίου  
 καθηρημένον, καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν χώραν θόρυβον<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Παναθηναίους καὶ Ἐλευσινίους Lowthius: Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἐλευσιναιῶν codd.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ secl. Niese: καὶ Πτολεμαίοις conl. T. Reinach.

<sup>3</sup> φυλάττοντι P.

<sup>4</sup> γινομένων P.

<sup>5</sup> ζηλώσει PFLV.

<sup>6</sup> ἐκ τῶν V: ἕκαστος τῶν Gutschmid.

<sup>7</sup> ζηλώσει . . . τετιμημένων] ζηλώσωσι πάντες τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς σπουδῆς τὸν ὠδε τετιμημένον conl. T. Reinach.

<sup>8</sup> + τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ διὰ τούτων P.

<sup>9</sup> ἱκανῶς om. P.

<sup>10</sup> θρύλλον LAW: θρύλλον MF marg.: seditionem Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Text uncertain; perhaps it read originally, “at the gymnastic games of the Panathenaeon and Eleusinian festivals” or, as Reinach suggests, on the basis of con-

festivals and at the gymnastic games <sup>a</sup>; and that the magistrates shall take care that so long as he continues to maintain his goodwill toward us, everything which we can devise shall be done to show honour and gratitude to this man for his zeal and generosity, in order that by these measures our people may show that it approves of good men and holds them worthy of a fitting reward, and may rival those already honoured in the zeal shown toward us <sup>b</sup>; and that envoys shall be chosen from among all the Athenians to convey this resolution to him and request him to accept these honours and to endeavour at all times to do good to our city." What we have here set down concerning the honours paid to Hyrcanus <sup>c</sup> by the Romans and the people of Athens seems sufficient.

(ix. 1) <sup>d</sup> Now when Caesar had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away. And Antipater, after escorting Caesar out of Syria, returned to Judaea and at once raised again the wall which had been demolished by Pompey, <sup>e</sup> and going about the country suppressed

Antipater  
restores  
order in  
Judaea.

temporary inscriptions, "at the gymnastic games of the Panathenaeon and Eleusinian and Ptolemaic festivals."

<sup>b</sup> The text and meaning of the last clause are slightly uncertain. Reinach emends to read, "and that all may rival the one thus honoured (*i.e.* Hyrcanus) in zeal toward us." But Reinach's "thus" (ὁδὲ) would have to be οὕτως, as Prof. B. D. Meritt writes privately through Prof. Capps; Prof. Meritt also suggests that ζηλώση (*v.l.* -ει) may be an iotacism for ζηλώσι. Prof. Post reads δηλώση, "reveal the zeal . . . of those already honoured." But I think ζηλώση may stand.

<sup>c</sup> MS. P adds "the high priest."

<sup>d</sup> Here is resumed the parallelism between *Ant.* and *B.J.*; §§ 156-170 are parallel to *B.J.* i. 201-211; *cf.* Laqueur, pp. 171-184, who in these sections, as elsewhere, sees evidence of Josephus' later anti-Herodian bias.

<sup>e</sup> *Cf.* § 144.

## JOSEPHUS

ἐπιὼν κατέστελλεν, ἀπειλῶν τε ἅμα καὶ συμβου-  
 157 λεύων ἠρεμεῖν· τοὺς<sup>1</sup> μὲν γὰρ τὰ<sup>2</sup> Ὑρκανοῦ  
 φρονούντας ἐν εὐδία διάξειν, καὶ βιώσεσθαι τῶν  
 ἰδίων ἀπολαύοντας κτημάτων ἀταράχως, προστιθε-  
 μένους δὲ ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ νεωτερίζειν ἐλπίσιν καὶ τοῖς  
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν κέρδεσιν προσανέχοντας αὐτὸν μὲν ἔξειν  
 ἀντὶ προστάτου δεσπότην, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἀντὶ βασι-  
 λέως τύραννον, Ῥωμαίους δὲ καὶ Καίσαρα πικροὺς  
 ἀνθ' ἡγεμόνων πολεμίους· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξεσθαι μετα-  
 κινούμενον ὃν αὐτοὶ κατέστησαν. ταῦτα λέγων  
 καθίστα δι' ἑαυτοῦ<sup>3</sup> τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν.  
 158 (2) Βραδὺν δ' ὄρων καὶ νωθῆ τὸν Ὑρκανόν,  
 Φασάηλον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων  
 Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν πέριξ στρατηγὸν ἀποδεικ-  
 νυσι, τῷ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδη τὴν Γαλιλαίαν  
 ἐπέτρεψε, πάντα πασιν ὄντι νέῳ· πεντεκαίδεκα<sup>4</sup> γὰρ  
 159 αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει μόνον ἔτη. βλάβπει δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν  
 ἢ νεότης, ἀλλ' ὣν τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος ὁ νεανίας  
 ἀφορμὴν εὐρίσκει παραχρῆμα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς. καταλαβὼν γὰρ Ἐζεκίαν τὸν ἀρχιληστήν  
 τὰ προσεχῆ τῆς Συρίας κατατρέχοντα σὺν μεγάλῳ  
 στίφει, τοῦτον συλλαβὼν<sup>5</sup> κτείνει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν  
 160 σὺν αὐτῷ ληστῶν. σφόδρα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον  
 τοῦτο ἠγάπησαν οἱ Σύροι· ποθοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> P: τὰ rell. E.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ P: om. rell. E.

<sup>3</sup> δι' ἑαυτοῦ om. P Zonaras.

<sup>4</sup> κέ' conji. Casaubon.

<sup>5</sup> κατασχὼν V.

<sup>a</sup> By the Jews he was called "king," by the Romans, "ethnarch"; cf. § 143 note f.

<sup>b</sup> B.J. i. 202 has "enemies in place of rulers and friends."



disorders therein by both threatening and advising the people to remain quiet. For, he said, those who were on the side of Hyrcanus would be left in peace and could live undisturbed in the enjoyment of their own possessions, but if they clung to the hope of achieving something by revolution and were counting on any gains therefrom, they would have in him a master in place of a protector, and in Hyrcanus a tyrant in place of a king,<sup>a</sup> and in the Romans and Caesar bitter enemies in place of rulers.<sup>b</sup> For they would not allow any man to be removed from office whom they themselves had placed therein. Through such words he restored order throughout the country by his own efforts.

(2) But as he saw that Hyrcanus was dull and sluggish,<sup>c</sup> he appointed his eldest son Phasael governor of Jerusalem and the surrounding region, and entrusted Galilee to his second son Herod, who was still quite young; he was, in fact, only fifteen years old.<sup>d</sup> But his youth in no way hindered him, and being a young man of high spirit, he quickly found an opportunity for showing his prowess. For on learning that Ezekias, a bandit leader, was overrunning the borders of Syria with a large troop, he caught and killed him and many of the bandits with him. This achievement of his was greatly admired by the Syrians, for he had cleared their country of a gang

Antipater's son Herod is made governor of Galilee and subdues the brigands.

<sup>a</sup> *B.J.* i. 203 reads "sluggish and without the energy necessary to a king."

<sup>d</sup> As Otto points out, *Herodes*, p. 18, Josephus' emphasis on Herod's youth indicates that "fifteen years" is not a scribal error for "twenty-five years." However Josephus is inconsistent; in *Ant.* xvii. 148 he tells us that Herod was about seventy when he died (in 4 B.C.), hence he must have been about twenty-five in 47 B.C.

- ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ ληστηρίου τὴν χώραν ἐκαθάρευσεν. ἕμνου γοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατὰ τε κώμας καὶ κατὰ πόλεις<sup>1</sup> ὡς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς παρεσχηκότα καὶ ἀσφαλῆ τῶν κτημάτων ἀπόλαυσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Σέξτω Καίσαρι γνώριμος, ὄντι συγγενεῖ τοῦ μεγάλου Καίσαρος καὶ διέποντι τὴν Συρίαν.<sup>2</sup>
- 161 ζῆλος δὲ ἐμπίπτει τῶν Ἡρώδη πεπραγμένων Φασαήλῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν εὐδοκίμησιν αὐτοῦ κινηθεὶς ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο<sup>3</sup> μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ὁμοίας εὐφημίας, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις εὐνουστάτους<sup>4</sup> ἐποιεῖτο, δι' αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, οὔτε δ' ἀπειροκάλως τοῖς πράγμασι προσ-
- 162 φερόμενος οὔτ' ἐξυβρίζων εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ταῦτ' Ἀντίπατρον ἐποίει θεραπείας παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους τυγχάνειν βασιλικῆς καὶ τιμῶν οἷων ἄν τις μεταλαμβάνοι<sup>5</sup> τῶν ὄλων ὧν δεσπότης. ὑπὸ μέντοι τῆς ἐκ τούτων λαμπρότητος, οἷα<sup>6</sup> καὶ φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν πολλάκις, οὐδὲν τῆς<sup>8</sup> πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν εὐνοίας παρέβη<sup>9</sup> καὶ πίστεως.
- 163 (3) Οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὀρώντες τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ<sup>10</sup> μεγάλως ἀξιομένους εὐνοία τε τῇ παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ προσόδῳ τῇ τε παρὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν Ὑρ-
- <sup>1</sup> PV: πόλιν rell. <sup>2</sup> τὰ τῆς Συρίας FLAMW.  
<sup>3</sup> PE: ἐφιλοτιμήσατο rell.  
<sup>4</sup> εὐνουστέροισι PE: fautores Lat.  
<sup>5</sup> μέγα λαμβάνει P: παραλαμβάνει F: παραλαμβάνοι LAMW.  
<sup>6</sup> οὐδὲν οἷα P: οὐδενὸς ἂ ἔχσ. <sup>7</sup> καὶ om. PV.  
<sup>8</sup> οὐδὲν τῆς V ed. pr.: τῆς rell.  
<sup>9</sup> οὐ παρέβη FLAMW. <sup>10</sup> + μετ' αὐτοῦ LAMW.

of bandits of whom they longed to be rid. And so they sang his praises for this deed throughout their villages and cities, saying that he had given them peace and the secure enjoyment of their possessions. And through this action he became known to Sextus Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar and governor of Syria.<sup>a</sup> Thereupon the desire to emulate Herod's achievements seized his brother Phasaël, and being moved by the thought of the reputation Herod had won, he was ambitious not to be behind him in achieving like fame; and so he made the inhabitants of Jerusalem feel very friendly toward him, and though he kept the city under his own rule, he did not show any lack of discretion in governing it<sup>b</sup> or abuse his authority. This situation made it possible for Antipater to receive from the nation the respect shown a king and such honour as might be enjoyed by one who is an absolute master. With all this glory, however, he did not, as so often seems to happen,<sup>b</sup> in any way alter his friendship and loyalty to Hyrcanus.

(3) <sup>c</sup> But when the leading Jews saw Antipater and his sons growing so great through the goodwill of the nation and the revenues which they received

Antipater's  
eldest son  
Phasaël  
ably governs  
Jerusalem.

The leading  
Jews accuse  
Antipater  
and his sons  
before  
Hyrcanus.

<sup>a</sup> Sextus Caesar was sent to govern Syria in the summer of 47 B.C., cf. Schürer i. 309. He was murdered by Caecilius Bassus, a partisan of Pompey, in 46 B.C., cf. below § 268.

<sup>b</sup> The phrase *τοῖς πράγμασι προσφερόμενος* in § 161 is Thucydidean (Thuc. vi. 44. 4) as is *οἶα καὶ φιλεῖ* in § 162 (Thuc. iii. 81. 5, iv. 28. 3).

<sup>c</sup> §§ 163-167 differ considerably from the account in *B.J.* i. 208-209 where Antipater appears in a more favourable, and Hyrcanus in a more unfavourable, light. Laqueur, pp. 176 ff., argues that §§ 163-164 in *Ant.* were a later addition to *B.J.*, which in turn was made to agree with the revised account by being interpolated.

## JOSEPHUS

- 164 κανοῦ χρημάτων, κακοήθως εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ φιλίαν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ἦν πεποιημένος πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορας, καὶ χρήματα πείσας πέμψαι τὸν Ὑρκανὸν αὐτὸς λαβὼν νοσφίζεται τὴν δωρεάν· ὡς γὰρ ἰδίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς Ὑρκανοῦ
- 165 διδόντος, ἔπεμψεν. ταῦθ' Ὑρκανὸς ἀκούων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἔχαιρεν.<sup>1</sup> ἐν δέει δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὀρῶντες τὸν Ἡρώδην βίαιον καὶ τολμηρὸν καὶ τυραννίδος γλιχόμενον· καὶ προσελθόντες Ὑρκανῶ φανερώς ἤδη κατηγοροῦν Ἀντιπάτρου, καὶ “μέχρι πότ’,” ἔφασαν, “ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις ἡσυχάσεις;<sup>2</sup> ἢ<sup>3</sup> οὐχ ὀρᾶς Ἀντίπατρον μὲν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεζωσμένους, σαυτὸν δὲ<sup>4</sup> τῆς βασιλείας
- 166 ὄνομα μόνον ἀκούοντα; ἀλλὰ μὴ λανθανέτω σε ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀκίνδυνος εἶναι νόμιζε ῥαθυμῶν περί τε σαυτῶ καὶ τῆ βασιλείᾳ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίτροποί σου<sup>5</sup> τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀντίπατρος καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ νῦν εἴσι, μηδὲ ἀπάτα σαυτὸν τοῦτο οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ
- 167 δεσπότηται φανερώς ἀνωμολόγηται· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἐζεκίαν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ πολλοὺς<sup>6</sup> σὺν αὐτῶ, παραβὰς τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον, ὃς κεκώλυκεν ἄνθρωπον ἀναιρεῖν καὶ πονηρὸν ὄντα, εἰ μὴ πρότερον κατακριθείη τοῦτο παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ . . . ἔχαιρεν om. P.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson Exc.: ἡσυχάζεις codd. E Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἢ PVAW.

<sup>4</sup> μέντοι P.

<sup>5</sup> σοι P.

<sup>6</sup> τοὺς LAMVW: omnes Lat.

from Judaea and Hyrcanus' wealth, they became hostile toward him. Moreover Antipater had formed a friendship with the Roman generals, and after persuading Hyrcanus to send them money, he took this gift and appropriated it for himself, and then sent it as though it came from him and were not a gift from Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus heard of this but gave the matter no thought; on the contrary he was actually pleased.<sup>a</sup> But the chief Jews were in great fear when they saw how powerful and reckless Herod was and how much he desired to be a dictator.<sup>b</sup> And so they came to Hyrcanus and now openly accused Antipater, saying, "How long will you keep quiet in the face of what is happening? Do you not see that Antipater and his sons have girded themselves with royal power, while you have only the name of king given you?"<sup>c</sup> But do not let these things go unnoticed, nor consider yourself free of danger because you are careless of yourself and the kingdom. For no longer are Antipater and his sons merely your stewards in the government, and do not deceive yourself with the belief that they are; they are openly acknowledged to be masters. Thus Herod, his son, has killed Ezekias and many of his men<sup>d</sup> in violation of our Law, which forbids us to slay a man, even an evildoer, unless he has first been condemned by the

<sup>a</sup> *B.J.* says nothing about Antipater's friendship with the Roman generals or his appropriation of Hyrcanus' gift. Moreover, according to *B.J.*, Hyrcanus was resentful of Antipater's behaviour and envious of him.

<sup>b</sup> In *B.J.* Antipater's detractors are "malicious persons at court who had taken offence at the prudent behaviour either of Antipater or of his sons."

<sup>c</sup> Hyrcanus was officially ethnarch, not king, *cf.* § 143 note *f.*

<sup>d</sup> Variant "and his men."

συνεδρίου. μὴ λαβὼν δὲ ἐξουσίαν παρὰ σοῦ ταῦτα ἐτόλμησεν.”

- 168 (4) Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα πείθεται· προσ-  
 ἐξήψαν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ αἱ μητέρες τῶν  
 ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου πεφονευμένων· αὐταὶ γὰρ καθ’  
 ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρακαλοῦσαι τὸν  
 βασιλέα καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα δίκην Ἡρώδης ἐν τῷ  
 συνεδρίῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπόσχη, διετέλουν.
- 169 κινήθεις οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων Ὑρκανὸς Ἡρώδην ἐκάλει  
 δικασόμενον ὑπὲρ ὧν διεβάλλετο. ὁ δὲ ἦκε τοῦ  
 πατρὸς αὐτῷ παραινέσαντος μὴ ὡς ἰδιώτης μετὰ  
 δὲ ἀσφαλείας εἰσελθεῖν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ  
 σῶμα, τά τε κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὃν ἐνόμισεν αὐτῷ  
 συμφέρειν τρόπον<sup>3</sup> ἀρμοσάμενος, καὶ μετὰ στί-  
 φους ἀποχρῶντος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς μήτε  
 ἐπίφοβος Ὑρκανῷ δόξειε μετὰ μείζονος παραγινό-  
 μενος τάγματος μήτε γυμνὸς καὶ ἀφύλακτος, ἦει<sup>3</sup>
- 170 πρὸς τὴν δίκην. Σέξτος μέντοι, ὁ τῆς Συρίας  
 ἡγεμῶν, γράφει παρακαλῶν Ὑρκανὸν ἀπολύσαι  
 τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκ τῆς δίκης, καὶ προσαπειλῶν παρ-  
 ακοῦσαντι. τῷ δ’ ἦν ἀφορμὴ καὶ τὰ<sup>4</sup> παρὰ τοῦ  
 Σέξτου γράμματα<sup>5</sup> πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου  
 παθόντα ἀπολύσαι τὸν Ἡρώδην· ἡγάπα γὰρ αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἐν om. PE.

<sup>2</sup> ἀσφαλίσασθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον P.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: ἦ V: εἶη rell. E Lat.: ἦ ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὰ FLVW: καὶ AM: τὸ PE. <sup>5</sup> γράμμα PE.

<sup>a</sup> The Synhedrion is not mentioned by Herod's accusers in *B.J.*

<sup>b</sup> The pleas of the brigands' mothers are not mentioned in *B.J.*

Synhedrion to suffer this fate.<sup>a</sup> He, however, has dared to do this without authority from you.”

(4) Having heard these arguments, Hyrcanus was persuaded. And his anger was further kindled by the mothers of the men who had been murdered by Herod, for every day in the temple they kept begging the king and the people to have Herod brought to judgment in the Synhedrion for what he had done.<sup>b</sup> Being, therefore, moved by these pleas, Hyrcanus summoned Herod to stand trial for the crimes of which he was accused.<sup>c</sup> Accordingly, after he had settled affairs in Galilee as he thought was to his best interests,<sup>d</sup> because his father had advised him not to enter the city as a private individual but with the security of a bodyguard, he came with a troop sufficient for the purposes of the journey, and that he might not appear too formidable to Hyrcanus by arriving with a larger body of men and yet not be entirely unarmed and unprotected; and so he went to his trial. However Sextus, the governor of Syria, wrote to urge Hyrcanus to acquit Herod of the charge, and added threats as to what would happen if he disobeyed.<sup>e</sup> The letter from Sextus gave Hyrcanus a pretext for letting Herod go without suffering any harm from the Synhedrion; for he loved him as a

Herod is summoned to stand trial for his lawless deeds before the Synhedrion at Jerusalem.

<sup>a</sup> On the competence of Synhedrion and king in such cases see Finkelstein ii. 684 ff.

<sup>d</sup> Variant “as he thought it to his best interests to secure them in this way.”

<sup>e</sup> The compulsion exercised by Sextus Caesar is cited by Schalit, p. 60, as evidence that Judaea at this time was still in the position of a *civitas stipendiaria*, to which it had been reduced by Pompey and Gabinius. But as Julius Caesar had already improved, or was about to improve, the political status of Judaea, it may be that Sextus Caesar was exceeding his authority. See further works listed in Appendix L.

## JOSEPHUS

- 171 ὡς υἷόν. καταστάς δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μετὰ τοῦ  
 σὺν αὐτῷ τάγματος Ἑρώδης κατέπληξεν ἅπαντας,  
 καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐθάρρει τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδείς τῶν πρὶν  
 ἀφικέσθαι διαβαλλόντων, ἀλλ' ἦν ἡσυχία καὶ τοῦ
- 172 τί χρὴ ποιεῖν ἀπορία. διακειμένων δ' οὕτως εἰς  
 τις Σαμαίας<sup>1</sup> ὄνομα, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 τοῦ δεδιέναι κρείττων, ἀναστάς εἶπεν· “ ἄνδρες  
 συνέδριοι καὶ βασιλεῦ, εἰς δίκην μὲν οὗτ' αὐτὸς οἶδά  
 τινα τῶν πώποτε ὑπ' αὐτῆς<sup>2</sup> εἰς ὑμᾶς<sup>3</sup> κεκλημένων  
 οὕτω παραστάντα οὔτε ὑμᾶς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ὑπολαμ-  
 βάνω, ἀλλὰ πᾶς ὅστισδηποτοῦν ἀφίκται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ  
 συνέδριον κριθησόμενος ταπεινὸς παρίσταται καὶ  
 σχήματι δεδοικότος καὶ ἔλεον θηρωμένου παρ'  
 ὑμῶν,<sup>4</sup> κόμην τε ἐπιθρέψας καὶ ἐσθῆτα μέλαιναν
- 173 ἐνδεδυμένος. ὁ δὲ βέλτιστος Ἑρώδης, φόνου  
 δίκην φεύγων καὶ ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύτη κεκλημένος,  
 ἔστηκε τὴν πορφύραν περικείμενος καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 κεκοσμημένος τῇ συνθέσει τῆς κόμης καὶ περὶ

<sup>1</sup> Σαμέας A<sup>2</sup>MV: Σαμαῖος E: Sameus Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπ' αὐτῆς om. P.

<sup>3</sup> ἡμᾶς LV.

<sup>4</sup> ἡμῖν Hudson.

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<sup>a</sup> Josephus' accounts of Herod's trial in *B.J.* and *Ant.* are rather confusing. In *B.J.* i. 211 he states that Hyrcanus acquitted Herod on orders from Sextus Caesar; in §§ 212 ff. Herod, after being appointed governor of Coele-Syria, came to Jerusalem with an army, prepared to depose Hyrcanus if summoned to a second trial. Whether the second trial was held or why it should be held after Herod's acquittal (*cf.* Mishnah, *Sanhedrin*, iv. 1) is not clear. Josephus' statement in *Ant.*, § 170, that Hyrcanus let Herod go (*ἀπολύσαι*) evidently refers to an acquittal. The story that follows in §§ 171-176 (which has no parallel in *B.J.*) should logically precede the statement about Herod's acquittal; it seems to be a later insertion, probably based on Jewish tradition (for



son.<sup>a</sup> But when Herod stood in the Synhedrion<sup>b</sup> with his troops, he overawed them all, and no one of those who had denounced him before his arrival dared to accuse him thereafter; instead there was silence and doubt about what was to be done. While they were in this state, someone named Samaias,<sup>c</sup> an upright man and for that reason superior to fear, arose and said, "Fellow councillors and King, I do not myself know of, nor do I suppose that you can name, anyone who when summoned before you<sup>d</sup> for trial has ever presented such an appearance. For no matter who it was that came before this Synhedrion for trial, he has shown himself humble and has assumed the manner of one who is fearful and seeks mercy<sup>e</sup> from you<sup>f</sup> by letting his hair grow long and wearing a black garment. But this fine fellow Herod, who is accused of murder and has been summoned on no less grave a charge than this, stands here clothed in purple, with the hair of his head carefully arranged and with his

Samaias rebukes the Synhedrion for its cowardice toward Herod.

a rabbinic parallel see Derenbourg, pp. 146-148). But another difficulty remains in *Ant.* In § 177 Josephus tells us that Hyrcanus postponed Herod's trial; in § 182 he states that Herod's friends reminded him of his acquittal (*ἀφέσεως*). Thus neither of the two parallel accounts makes it clear whether Herod was tried and acquitted or was released without an actual trial. Incidentally, according to Mishnah, *Sanhedrin*, ii. 2, the king was not competent to act as a judge.

<sup>b</sup> The Synhedrion (Heb. *Sanhedrin*) was the supreme legislative and judicial body of the Jewish state, meeting at Jerusalem.

<sup>c</sup> Variants "Sameas," "Samaeus (Samaios)." He is mentioned, in *Ant.* xv. 3, 370, as a disciple of the Pharisee Pollion. On the relation of Samaias to the rabbinic leaders Shemaiah and Shammai see works listed in Appendix K.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "us."  
<sup>e</sup> The phrase ἐλέου θηρόμενον (-αι) occurs in Euripides, *Orestes* 568.  
<sup>f</sup> Conjectured variant "us."

- αὐτὸν ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ἵν' ἂν κατακρίνωμεν αὐτοῦ  
κατὰ τὸν νόμον, κτεινῆ μὲν ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθῆ<sup>1</sup>  
174 βιασάμενος τὸ δίκαιον. ἀλλ' Ἐρωδὴν μὲν ἐπὶ  
τούτοις οὐκ ἂν μεμψαίμην, εἰ τὸ αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> συμφέρον  
ποιεῖται περὶ πλείονος ἢ τὸ νόμιμον, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ  
τὸν βασιλέα τοσαύτην ἄδειαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντας.  
ἴστε μέντοι μέγαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ οὗτος, ὃν νῦν δι'  
Ἐρκανὸν ἀπολυῖσαι βούλεσθε, κολάσει ὑμᾶς ποτε  
175 καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα." διήμαρτε δ' οὐδὲν τῶν  
εἰρημένον· ὁ γὰρ Ἐρωδῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρα-  
λαβὼν πάντας ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ  
176 Ἐρκανὸν αὐτὸν χωρὶς τοῦ Σαμαίου· σφόδρα γὰρ  
αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐτίμησε καὶ ὅτι τῆς  
πόλεως μετὰ ταῦτα πολιορκουμένης ὑπὸ τε Ἐρω-  
δου καὶ Σοσσίου παρήνεσε τῷ δήμῳ δέξασθαι τὸν  
Ἐρωδὴν, εἰπὼν διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας οὐ δύνασθαι  
διαφυγεῖν αὐτόν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ  
χώραν ἐροῦμεν.
- 177 (5) Ἐρκανὸς δὲ ὄρων ὠρμημένους πρὸς τὴν  
ἀναίρεσιν τὴν Ἐρωδου τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν  
δίκην εἰς ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἀνεβάλετο,<sup>3</sup> καὶ πέμψας  
κρύφα πρὸς Ἐρωδὴν συνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ φυγεῖν  
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν κίνδυνον διαφεύξε-  
178 σθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Δαμασκὸν ὡς  
φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς Σέξ-  
τον Καίσαρα<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτόν<sup>5</sup> ἀσφαλισάμενος  
οὕτως εἶχεν ὡς εἰ καλοῖτο πάλιν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον  
179 ἐπὶ δίκην, οὐχ ὑπακουσόμενος. ἠγανάκτουν δ' οἱ  
ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ τὸν Ἐρκανὸν ἐπειρῶντο δι-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς δὲ σωθῆ] αὐτόν δὲ σώσει PE.

<sup>2</sup> Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.

<sup>3</sup> PE: ἀνεβάλλετο rell.

<sup>4</sup> Καίσαρα om. LAMW.

soldiers round him, in order to kill us if we condemn him as the law prescribes, and to save himself by outraging justice. But it is not Herod whom I should blame for this or for putting his own interests above the law, but you and the king, for giving him such great licence. Be assured, however, that God is great, and this man, whom you now wish to release for Hyrcanus' sake, will one day punish you and the king as well." And he was not mistaken in either part of his prediction. For when Herod assumed royal power, he killed Hyrcanus and all the other members of the Synhedrion with the exception of Samaias. Him he held in the greatest honour, both because of his uprightness and because when the city was later besieged by Herod and Sossius, he advised the people to admit Herod, and said that on account of their sins they would not be able to escape him. And of these events we shall speak in the proper place.<sup>a</sup>

(5) <sup>b</sup> Now when Hyrcanus saw that the members of the Synhedrion were bent on putting Herod to death, he postponed the trial to another day, and secretly sent to Herod, advising him to flee from the city, for in that way, he said, he might escape danger. Herod accordingly withdrew to Damascus as if fleeing from the king, and coming to Sextus Caesar and making his position secure, he was determined not to obey if he were again summoned to a trial before the Synhedrion. Thereupon the members of the Synhedrion became indignant and attempted

Hyrcanus permits Herod to escape condemnation

<sup>a</sup> *Ant.* xv. 3 ff.

<sup>b</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 178-184 and *B.J.* i. 212-215 see Laqueur, pp. 184-186.

<sup>δ</sup> καθ' αὐτὸν VE: κατ' αὐτὸν rell.

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δάσκειν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα εἶη κατ' αὐτοῦ. τὸν δ'  
 οὐκ ἐλάνθανε μὲν, πράττειν δ' οὐδὲν εἶχεν ὑπ'  
 180 ἀνανδρίας καὶ ἀνοίας. Σέξτου δὲ ποιήσαντος  
 Ἡρώδη στρατηγὸν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας (χρημάτων  
 γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀπέδοτο) Ὑρκανὸς ἦν ἐν φόβῳ  
 μὴ στρατεύσῃται Ἡρώδης ἐπ'<sup>1</sup> αὐτόν. οὐ πολὺ  
 δὲ τοῦ δέους<sup>2</sup> ἐβράδυνεν, ἀλλ' ἦκεν ἄγων ἐπ' αὐτόν  
 ὁ Ἡρώδης στρατιάν, ὀργιζόμενος τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ  
 καὶ τοῦ κληθῆναι πρὸς τὸ λόγον ὑποσχεῖν ἐν τῷ  
 181 συνεδρίῳ. διεκώλυσαν δ' αὐτόν προσβαλεῖν τοῖς  
 Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑπαντήσαντες ὁ τε πατήρ Ἀντί-  
 πατρος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτοῦ κατα-  
 παύσαντες καὶ παρακαλέσαντες ἔργῳ μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν  
 μηδενί, καταπληξάμενον δὲ ἀπειλῇ μόνον<sup>3</sup> μὴ  
 χωρῆσαι περαιτέρω κατὰ τοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτῷ<sup>4</sup>  
 182 εἰς τοῦτο παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἠξίουν τε<sup>5</sup> περὶ  
 τοῦ κληθέντα ἐπὶ δίκην ἐλθεῖν ἀγανακτοῦντα με-  
 μνήσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως καὶ χάριν αὐτῆς εἶδέναι  
 καὶ μὴ πρὸς μὲν τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἀπαντᾶν, περὶ  
 183 δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀχαριστεῖν· λογίζεσθαι δ' ὡς, εἰ  
 καὶ πολέμου ῥοπὰς βραβεύει τὸ θεῖον, πλέον ἐστὶ  
 τῆς στρατείας<sup>6</sup> τὸ ἄδικον,<sup>7</sup> διὸ καὶ τὴν νίκην μὴ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐπ' AMVW.

<sup>2</sup> τούτου τοῦ δέους FLAMW: τὸ δέος E: τοῦτο τὸ δέος Naber.

<sup>3</sup> μόνη AMW.

<sup>4</sup> P: αὐτόν rell.

<sup>5</sup> δὲ FLAMW.

<sup>6</sup> στρατιᾶς PFAMW.

<sup>7</sup> PV cum B.J.: ἄδηλον rell.

<sup>a</sup> In *B.J.* i. 212 it is not the Synhedrion but the "knaves" (οἱ πονηροί) at court who instigate Hyrcanus against Herod.

<sup>b</sup> *B.J.* does not mention Hyrcanus' "cowardice and folly"; instead, it says that he was inactive because "he

to persuade Hyrcanus that all these things were directed against him.<sup>a</sup> But though he was not unaware of this, he was incompetent to do anything, because of his cowardice and folly.<sup>b</sup> And when Sextus made Herod governor of Coele-Syria<sup>c</sup>—for he gave him this title in return for money—,<sup>d</sup> Hyrcanus was afraid that Herod would march against him. Nor was this fear long in being realized, for Herod did come against him with an army, being angry because of the trial and because he had been summoned to render an account of himself to the Synhedrion. Herod, however, was prevented from attacking Jerusalem<sup>e</sup> by his father Antipater and his brother, who went out to meet him and quieted his impetuosity, urging him not to undertake any violent action, but merely to strike terror into Hyrcanus by threats and not proceed further against one who had made it possible for him to attain to his present high office. And as he expressed indignation at having been summoned to stand trial, they begged him to remember his acquittal and to be grateful for it rather than consider the unpleasant side<sup>f</sup> and be ungrateful for his deliverance. He ought, they said, to reflect that if the Deity decides the changing fortunes of war, the injustice<sup>g</sup> of his cause might weigh more heavily than his military skill<sup>h</sup>; for that reason he should not be very

saw that his adversary had greater strength” (ὡς ἑώρα μείζονα τὸν διάφορον).

Herod's father and brother dissuade him from attacking Hyrcanus.

<sup>c</sup> And Samaria, according to *B.J.* i. 213.

<sup>d</sup> Herod's purchase of office is not mentioned in *B.J.* On the other hand, *B.J.* speaks of Herod's popularity with the Jews as an additional reason for Hyrcanus' fear of him.

<sup>e</sup> In order to depose Hyrcanus, according to *B.J.* i. 214.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Dr. Thackeray's note on τὸ σκύθρωπον in *B.J.* i. 214.

<sup>g</sup> Variant “uncertainty.”

<sup>h</sup> Variant “than his army.”

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πάντη προσδοκᾶν μέλλοντα πολεμεῖν βασιλεῖ καὶ συντρόφῳ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εὐεργετήσαντι, μηδὲν δὲ χαλεπὸν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> εἰργασμένῳ, περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγκαλεῖ,<sup>2</sup> διὰ πονηροῦς συμβούλους ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' αὐτόν, ὑπόνοιαν αὐτῷ καὶ σκιὰν δυσκόλου τινὸς παρεσχημένῳ.

184 πείθεται τούτοις Ἡρώδης, ὑπολαβὼν εἰς τὰς ἐλπιδας ἀποχρῆν αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξασθαι τῷ ἔθνει μόνον.<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν οὕτως εἶχεν.

185 (x. 1) Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν<sup>4</sup> εἰς Ῥώμην ἔτοιμος ἦν πλεῖν ἐπ' Ἀφρικῆς, πολεμήσων Σκιπίωνι καὶ Κάτωνι, πέμψας δ' Ὑρκανὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεκάλει<sup>5</sup> βεβαιώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ  
186 συμμαχίαν. ἔδοξε δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί μοι πάσας ἐκθέσθαι τὰς γεγενημένας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν αὐτῶν τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ οἱ<sup>6</sup> τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῖς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχον ἡμᾶς, τὴν τε ἀνδρείαν ἡμῶν  
187 καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαπήσαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ

<sup>1</sup> εἰς αὐτόν FLAMW.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγκαλεῖ F: ἐγκαλοῖη LAMVW.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπολαβὼν . . . μόνον] καὶ ὑπολαβὼν . . . ὑπέστρεψεν conl. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> διελθὼν FLVW.

<sup>5</sup> πέμψας . . . παρεκάλει] ἔπεμψε . . . παρακαλῶν FLAM.

<sup>6</sup> οἱ om. AV, del. M.

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<sup>a</sup> The parallelism with *B.J.* breaks off here, to be resumed in § 268.

confident of a victory when he was planning to make war on his king and comrade, one who had conferred many benefits upon him but had never done him any unkindness ; as for the things of which he complained, if Hyrcanus had given him the merest suspicion and shadow of harsh treatment, it was through evil counsellors and not of his own accord. To these arguments Herod yielded, believing that it was enough for his future plans merely to have made a show of his strength to the people. This, then, was the state of affairs in Judaea.<sup>a</sup>

(x. 1) <sup>b</sup> Caesar on arriving at Rome was ready to sail for Africa to make war on Scipio and Cato,<sup>c</sup> when Hyrcanus sent to him with the request that he should confirm the treaty of friendship and alliance with him. And here it seems to me necessary to make public all the honours given our nation and the alliances made with them by the Romans and their emperors,<sup>d</sup> in order that the other nations may not fail to recognize that both the kings of Asia and of Europe<sup>e</sup> have held us in esteem and have admired our bravery and loyalty. Since many persons, how-

Josephus motives for citing Roman decrees favourable to the Jews.

<sup>b</sup> On the authenticity, dates, etc., of the official documents quoted in the following chapter see works listed in Appendix J, preceding volume. Here it may suffice to remark that the order of the documents is confused and that the reading of many names is doubtful.

<sup>c</sup> Preparations were made in the summer of 47 B.C. Caesar sailed for Africa early in October ; for details of the campaign see T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, iii. 534 ff.

<sup>d</sup> *αὐτοκράτορες* = Lat. *imperatores*.

<sup>e</sup> Meaning the Persian and Seleucid kings and Roman emperors. Although *βασιλεύς* is not generally applied to the Roman emperor before the second century A.D., Josephus twice speaks of the *βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων*, in *B.J.* iii. 351 and iv. 596.

- τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμένειαν ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς ὑπὸ  
 Περσῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀναγεγραμμένοις περὶ  
 ἡμῶν τῷ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα<sup>1</sup> πανταχοῦ μηδ' ἐν τοῖς  
 δημοσίοις ἀποκεῖσθαι τόποις, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τε  
 188 αὐτοῖς καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰ  
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δόγματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν (ἐν  
 τε γὰρ δημοσίοις ἀνάκειται τόποις τῶν πόλεων καὶ  
 ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ χαλκαῖς στήλαις ἐγ-  
 γέγραπται· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Καῖσαρ Ἰούλιος  
 τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσας χαλκῆν  
 στήλην ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων πολῖταί εἰσιν),  
 189 ἐκ τούτων ποιήσομαι καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. παρα-  
 θήσομαι δὲ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπὸ τε τῆς συγκλήτου  
 δόγματα καὶ Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος πρὸς τε Ὑρκανὸν  
 καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν.
- 190 (2) “ Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ  
 ἀρχιερεὺς, δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον Σιδωνίων ἀρ-  
 χουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε εὖ ἂν ἔχοι,  
 191 καὶ γὰρ δὲ ἔρρομαι σὺν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. τῆς γενο-  
 μένης ἀναγραφῆς ἐν τῇ δέλτῳ πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν υἱὸν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἐθνάρχην Ἰουδαίων,  
 πέπομφα ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵν' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις  
 ὑμῶν ἀνακέηται γράμμασιν. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ  
 ἑλληνιστὶ καὶ ῥωμαῖστὶ ἐν δέλτῳ χαλκῇ τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> μὴ καὶ ταῦτα F: μηκέτ' αὐτὰ P: μηκέτι ταῦτα LAM: non eadem Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Variant “no longer.”

<sup>b</sup> That is, non-Greek-speaking or oriental peoples.

<sup>c</sup> According to Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8. 4, Vespasian replaced the archives of the Capitol which had been burned in A.D. 69, “ipse restitutionem Capitolii aggressus . . . aerearumque tabularum tria milia quae simul conflagraverant restituenda



ever, out of enmity to us refuse to believe what has been written about us by Persians and Macedonians because these writings are not<sup>a</sup> found everywhere and are not deposited even in public places but are found only among us and some other barbarian peoples,<sup>b</sup> while against the decrees of the Romans nothing can be said—for they are kept in the public places of the cities and are still to be found engraved on bronze tablets in the Capitol<sup>c</sup>; and what is more, Julius Caesar made a bronze tablet for the Jews in Alexandria,<sup>d</sup> declaring that they were citizens of Alexandria—from these same documents I will furnish proof of my statements. Accordingly I will now cite the decrees passed by the Senate and Julius Caesar concerning Hyrcanus and our nation.

(2) “Gaius Julius Caesar, Imperator and Pontifex Maximus, Dictator for the second time,<sup>e</sup> to the magistrates, council and people of Sidon, greeting. If you are in good health, it is well; I also and the army are in good health. I am sending<sup>f</sup> you a copy of the decree, inscribed on a tablet, concerning Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch<sup>g</sup> of the Jews, in order that it may be deposited among your public records. It is my wish that this be set up on a tablet of bronze in both Greek and Latin.

Julius  
Caesar  
to the  
people of  
Sidon.

suscipit undique investigatis exemplaribus . . . senatus consulta, plebiscita de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis.”

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ap.* ii. 35-37.

<sup>e</sup> These titles date the document in 47 B.C., cf. Holmes iii. 507. It seems to have been written on Caesar's arrival in Syria after the Alexandrian campaign, cf. § 137.

<sup>f</sup> *πέπομφα* is an “epistolary” perfect tense.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. § 143 note *f*.

192 ἀνατεθῆναι. ἔστιν δὲ δὴ<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο· Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς, δικτάτωρ τὸ δεύτερον,<sup>2</sup> μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης ἐπέκρινα. ἐπεὶ Ὑρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἰουδαῖος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐν τε εἰρήνῃ καὶ πολέμῳ πίστιν τε καὶ σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα ἐνεδείξατο,<sup>3</sup> ὡς αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν αὐτοκρά-

193 τωρες, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔγγιστα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πολέμῳ μετὰ χιλίων πεντακοσίων στρατιωτῶν ἦκε σύμμαχος, καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ

194 πάντας ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἐν τάξει ὑπερέβαλε, διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἐθνάρχας Ἰουδαίων εἶναι βούλομαι,<sup>4</sup> ἀρχιερωσύνην τε Ἰουδαίων διὰ παντὸς ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη, εἶναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ συμμάχους ἡμῖν, ἔτι τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἄνδρα

195 φίλοις ἀριθμῆσθαι, ὅσα τε κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν νόμους ἐστὶν ἀρχιερατικὰ ἢ<sup>5</sup> φιλόανθρωπα, ταῦτα κελεύω κατέχειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ· ἂν δέ<sup>6</sup> μεταξὺ γένηται τις ζήτησις περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγωγῆς, ἀρέσκει μοι κρίσιν γίνεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς.<sup>7</sup> παραχειμασίαν δὲ ἢ χρήματα πρᾶσσεσθαι οὐ δοκιμάζω.'"

196 (3) Γαῖου Καίσαρος αὐτοκράτορος<sup>8</sup> ὑπάτου δε-

<sup>1</sup> δὲ δὴ] δὴ P: δὲ Niese.

<sup>2</sup> οὐτοκράτωρ . . . τὸ δεύτερον ex Lat. Niese: αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεδείξατο P.

<sup>4</sup> βούλομαι om. PAM.

<sup>5</sup> ἢ om. P.

<sup>6</sup> τε P.

<sup>7</sup> παρ' αὐτοῖς om. P: παρ' αὐτοῦ V: de his Lat.

<sup>8</sup> dictatoris Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly emended from Lat.; mss. "Imperator for the second time, and Pontifex Maximus."

It reads as follows. ' I, Julius Caesar, Imperator and Pontifex Maximus, Dictator for the second time,<sup>a</sup> have decided as follows with the advice of the council.<sup>b</sup> Whereas the Jew Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, both now and in the past, in time of peace as well as in war, has shown loyalty and zeal toward our state, as many commanders have testified on his behalf, and in the recent Alexandrian war came to our aid with fifteen hundred soldiers,<sup>c</sup> and being sent by me to Mithridates, surpassed in bravery all those in the ranks, for these reasons it is my wish that Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, and his children shall be ethnarchs of the Jews and shall hold the office of high priest of the Jews for all time in accordance with their national customs, and that he and his sons shall be our allies and also be numbered among our particular friends ; and whatever high-priestly rights or other privileges<sup>d</sup> exist in accordance with their laws, these he and his children shall possess by my command. And if, during this period, any question shall arise concerning the Jews' manner of life, it is my pleasure that the decision shall rest with them.<sup>e</sup> Nor do I approve of troops being given winter-quarters among them or of money being demanded of them.' "

(3) The following are the grants,<sup>f</sup> concessions and

Julius  
Caesar to  
the cities of  
Phoenicia,  
etc.

<sup>b</sup> μετὰ συμβουλίου γνώμης = Lat. *de consilii sententia*, as earlier scholars have pointed out.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 139, where 3000 soldiers are said to have been sent to Mithridates by Antipater.

<sup>d</sup> Reinach takes φιλάνθρωπα in its "Alexandrian sense" of "pecuniary privileges."

<sup>e</sup> This probably refers to internal jurisdiction in Judaea, which had been affected by Gabinius' decrees in 53 B.C. (cf. § 90), as pointed out by Täubler, *Imp. Rom.* p. 161 n. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Variant "decrees."

## JOSEPHUS

- δομένα<sup>1</sup> συγκεχωρημένα προσκεκριμένα ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχοντα. “ ὅπως τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἄρχῃ, καὶ τοὺς δεδομένους τόπους καρπίζονται, καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν
- 197 Ἰουδαίων προῖσθῆται τῶν ἀδικουμένων. πέμψαι δὲ πρὸς Ἰρκανὸν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρεσβευτὰς<sup>2</sup> τοὺς περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας διαλεξομένους· ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ καὶ χαλκῆν δέλτον ταῦτα περιέχουσαν ἔν τε τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι καὶ Τύρῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐγκεχααραγμένην γράμμασιν
- 198 Ῥωμαϊκοῖς τε καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς. ὅπως τε τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ πόλιν<sup>4</sup> ταμίαις καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἡγουμένοις εἷς τε τοὺς φίλους ἀνενέγκωσι· καὶ ξένια τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς παρασχεῖν καὶ τὰ διατάγματα διαπέμψαι πανταχοῦ.”
- 199 (4) “ Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ<sup>5</sup> ὑπατος τιμῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔνεκεν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς συγκλήτου<sup>6</sup> καὶ τοῦ δήμου<sup>7</sup> τοῦ<sup>8</sup> Ῥωμαίων Ἰρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν αὐτόν τε<sup>9</sup> καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> P Lat. : δεδομένα FLAMV.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ πρεσβευτὰς P.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ del. Mommsen.

<sup>4</sup> τὴν πόλιν P.

<sup>5</sup> δικτάτωρ om. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> τῆς συγκλήτου] καὶ (om. καὶ FL) τῇ συγκλήτῳ PFL.

<sup>7</sup> τοῦ δήμου] τῷ δήμῳ P.

<sup>8</sup> τῶν PV.

<sup>9</sup> αὐτόν τε om. P.

<sup>a</sup> According to Holmes, iii. 507, the following document dates from 46 B.C. or later, since Caesar was not Consul in 47 B.C. But Viereck, pp. 97 ff., earlier held that Josephus

awards made by Gaius Caesar, Imperator and Consul.<sup>a</sup> "That his children shall rule over the Jewish nation and enjoy the fruits of the places given them, and that the high priest, being also ethnarch, shall be the protector of those Jews who are unjustly treated. And that envoys be sent to Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest of the Jews, to discuss terms of friendship and alliance. And that a bronze tablet containing these decrees shall be set up in the Capitol and at Sidon and Tyre and Ascalon and<sup>b</sup> in the temples, engraved in Latin and Greek characters. Also that this decree shall be communicated to all the quaestors and magistrates of the several cities<sup>c</sup> and to our friends, that hospitality may be shown the envoys, and that these ordinances may be published everywhere."

(4) "Gaius Caesar, Imperator, Dictator and Consul,<sup>d</sup> in recognition of the honour, virtue and benevolence of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, and in the interest of the Senate and people of Rome, has granted that both he and his sons shall be high priests and priests<sup>e</sup> of Jerusalem and of their nation with the same rights and under the same regulations

Julius Caesar on the high priestly office of Hyrcanus and his sons.

is not quoting literally but paraphrasing the text of a *senatus consultum* (δῶγμα, § 198) issued at the end of 47 B.C.; so also Momigliano, *Ricerche*, p. 201.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps "and" should be deleted.

<sup>c</sup> MS. P "in the city," meaning Rome. According to the other mss. Caesar was providing for hospitality to the Jewish envoys in the cities of Asia while *en route*.

<sup>d</sup> If this means Caesar's first dictatorship (48 B.C.), we should have to add τὸ δεύτερον after ἕπατος, cf. Holmes iii. 567. Momigliano dates it in 48 B.C., other scholars in 47, 46 or 44 B.C., see works listed in Appendix J.

<sup>e</sup> For "priests" Chamouard and Reinach read "ethnarchs."

## JOSEPHUS

δικαίοις καὶ νομίμοις<sup>1</sup> οἷς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν  
τὴν ἱερωσύνην<sup>2</sup> διακατέσχον.”

200 (5) “ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπάτος τὸ πέμπτον<sup>3</sup> ἔκρινε  
τούτους ἔχειν καὶ τειχίσαι τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν  
πόλιν, καὶ κατέχειν αὐτὴν Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
ἀρχιερέα Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχην ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς  
201 προαιρῆται. ὅπως τε Ἰουδαίοις ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς  
μισθώσεως ἔτει<sup>4</sup> τῆς προσόδου κόρον<sup>5</sup> ὑπεξέλωνται<sup>6</sup>  
καὶ μήτε ἐργολαβῶσί τινες μήτε φόρους τοὺς αὐ-  
τοὺς τελῶσιν.”

202 (6) “ Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ<sup>7</sup> τὸ δεύτερον  
ἔστησε κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ὅπως τελῶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως, Ἰόππης ὑπεξαιρουμένης,  
χωρὶς τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους,<sup>8</sup> ὃν σαββατικὸν ἐνιαυτὸν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ νομίμοις om. P: καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> + αὐτῶν FLAM: ἀρχιερωσύνην P.

<sup>3</sup> δεύτερον coni. Ritschl: τρίτον coni. Petitus ap. Hudson.

<sup>4</sup> ἔτι F: om. P quo duce secl. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> κόρους Lowthius.

<sup>6</sup> τῆς . . . ὑπεξέλωνται] ex redivibus chori id est triginta  
modii subducantur Lat.

<sup>7</sup> dictator Lat. unde αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ coni. Niese.

<sup>8</sup> τελῶσιν . . . ἔτους] Ioppenses tributa Hierosolymorum  
civitati praestent excepto septimo anno Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Variant “ high priest.”

<sup>b</sup> This would be in 44 b.c. Some scholars, however,  
emend “ fifth time ” to “ second time ” and refer the docu-  
ment to 47 b.c., although Caesar was not Consul in that year,  
or to 46 b.c.; see next note.

<sup>c</sup> As Schürer points out, i. 346 n. 24, Caesar had given  
Hyrcanus permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem in  
47 b.c., cf. § 144. Niese therefore assumes that we have here  
a *senatus consultum* of 44 b.c. confirming the oral decrees  
given by Caesar a few years earlier. Mendelssohn and  
Viereck also assume that a *senatus consultum* of Feb. 44 b.c.

as those under which their forefathers uninterruptedly held the office of priest.”<sup>a</sup>

(5) “Gaius Caesar, Consul for the fifth time,<sup>b</sup> has decreed that these men shall receive and fortify the city of Jerusalem,<sup>c</sup> and that Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, shall occupy it as he himself may choose. And that in the second year of the rent-term<sup>d</sup> one *kor*<sup>e</sup> shall be deducted from the tax paid by the Jews, and no one shall make profit out of them, nor shall they pay the same tribute.”

Julius Caesar on reduction of taxes to the Jews.

(6) “Gaius Caesar, Emperor for the second time,<sup>f</sup> has ruled that they shall pay a tax for the city of Jerusalem, Joppa excluded, every year except in the seventh year,<sup>g</sup> which they call the sabbatical year,

Julius Caesar on various privileges to be enjoyed by the Jews.

included parts of the following sections, 205-211. See works listed in Appendix J.

<sup>d</sup> *μισθωσις* “rent-term” was probably taken over from Ptolemaic usage, cf. W. Westermann in *AJP* 59 (1938), 9. If the “second year of the rent-term” here coincides with a sabbatical year (as one naturally supposes), it confirms the dating of the document in 44 B.C., as the sabbatical year would be that which extended from Oct. 44 to Oct. 43 B.C. This dating, moreover, fits in perfectly with the reckoning of sabbatical years given above, *Ant.* xii. 378 note *a*; see also below, § 375.

<sup>e</sup> The *kor* = 370 litres or 11 bushels. Either the Romans used the Hebrew name in dealing with Palestine or Josephus (or his source) has substituted the Hebrew name for the Greek.

<sup>f</sup> Niese suggests reading, with Lat., “Imperator and Dictator for the second time.” Caesar’s second dictatorship fell in 47 B.C. Niese earlier suggested emending τὸ δεύτερον to τὸ δ’ “for the fourth time,” i.e. in 44 B.C.

<sup>g</sup> The Lat. reads, “the inhabitants of Joppa shall pay tribute to the city of Jerusalem except in the seventh year”; presumably this means the tribute formerly paid to the Romans, but see below, § 205.

## JOSEPHUS

προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μήτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσι μήτε σπείρουσιν.  
 203 καὶ ἵνα ἐν Σιδῶνι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τὸν φόρον  
 ἀποδιδῶσι, τὸ τέταρτον τῶν σπειρομένων,<sup>1</sup> πρὸς  
 τούτοις ἔτι καὶ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ  
 τὰς δεκάτας τελῶσιν, ἃς ἐτέλουν καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις  
 204 αὐτῶν. καὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς μήτε ἄρχων μήτε ἀντάρ-  
 χων<sup>2</sup> μήτε στρατηγὸς ἢ πρεσβευτὴς ἐν τοῖς ὄροις  
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνιστῆ<sup>3</sup> συμμαχίαν μηδὲ στρατιώταις  
 ἐξῆι χρήματα τούτων εἰσπράττεσθαι<sup>4</sup> ἢ εἰς παρα-  
 χειμασίαν ἢ ἄλλω τινὶ ὀνόματι, ἀλλ' εἶναι παντα-  
 205 χόθεν ἀνεπηρεάστους. ὅσα τε μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσχον  
 ἢ ἐπρίαντο καὶ διακατέσχον<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἐνεμήθησαν, ταῦτα  
 πάντα αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. Ἰόππην τε πόλιν, ἣν ἀπ'  
 ἀρχῆς ἔσχον Ἰουδαῖοι ποιούμενοι τὴν πρὸς Ῥω-  
 μαίους φιλίαν, αὐτῶν εἶναι, καθὼς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον,  
 206 ἡμῖν ἀρέσκει· φόρους τε τελεῖν<sup>6</sup> ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς  
 πόλεως Ὑρκανὸν Ἰουδαίου υἱὸν καὶ παῖδας  
 αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν τὴν γῆν νεμομένων χώρας λιμένους  
 ἐξαγωγίου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν<sup>8</sup> Σιδῶνι μοδίους δις-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἵνα . . . σπειρομένων om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> μήτε ἀντάρχων P: om. rell. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> conī.: ἀνιστὰς P: ἀνιστᾶ rell.: ἐνιστᾶ Hudson: ἐνιστῆ Naber.

<sup>4</sup> μηδὲ στρατιώταις ἐξῆι χρήματα τούτων conī.: καὶ στρατιώταις ἐξῆι (ἐξῆι P) ἢ τὰ χρήματα τούτων (τούτῳ χρήματα P) codd.: militibus liceat pecunias exigere Lat.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ διακατέσχον om. FLV.

<sup>6</sup> τελεῖν add. Viereck.

<sup>7</sup> + ἔχειν V.

<sup>8</sup> ἐν add. duce Viereck.

<sup>a</sup> Reinach substitutes μηνὶ "month" for ἔτει "year."

<sup>b</sup> Most mss. omit "or pro-magistrate."



because in this time they neither take fruit from the trees nor do they sow. And that in the second year <sup>a</sup> they shall pay the tribute at Sidon, consisting of one fourth of the produce sown, and in addition, they shall also pay tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, just as they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, whether magistrate or pro-magistrate,<sup>b</sup> praetor or legate, shall raise auxiliary troops in the territories of the Jews, nor shall soldiers be allowed to exact money from them,<sup>c</sup> whether for winter-quarters or on any other pretext, but they shall be free from all molestation.<sup>d</sup> And whatever they may hereafter acquire or buy or possess<sup>e</sup> or have assigned to them, all these they shall keep. It is also our pleasure that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had held from ancient times when they made a treaty of friendship with the Romans,<sup>f</sup> shall belong to them as at first; and for this city Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, and his sons shall pay<sup>g</sup> tribute, collected from those who inhabit the territory, as a tax on the land, the harbour and exports, payable at<sup>h</sup> Sidon in the

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>d</sup> Viereck cites as a parallel to these exemptions the law *De Thermessibus* in *CIL* i. 204.

<sup>e</sup> The variant omits "or possess."

<sup>f</sup> This apparently refers to Simon's conquest of Joppa in 142 B.C., *cf. Ant.* xiii. 215; Joppa was annexed to the Roman province of Syria by Pompey in 63 B.C., *cf. above*, § 76.

<sup>g</sup> The words "shall pay" are conjecturally supplied; one ms. adds "shall have" after "Hyrcanus." The sentence is differently translated by Heichelheim, *Rom. Syria*, p. 232, "and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, have as tribute of that city from those that occupy the land and for what they export every year to Sidon, etc." But this rendering requires emendation of the Greek, which Heichelheim does not supply.

<sup>h</sup> The word "at" is conjecturally supplied.

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μυρίους ἑξακοσίους ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε ὑπεξ-  
 αιρουμένου τοῦ ἑβδόμου ἔτους, ὁ σαββατικὸν  
 καλοῦσι, καθ' ὃ οὔτε ἀροῦσιν οὔτε τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 207 δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσιν. τὰς τε κώμας τὰς  
 ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, ἃς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι  
 πρότερον αὐτοῦ διακατέσχον, ἀρέσκει τῇ συγ-  
 κλήτῳ ταῦτα Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἰουδαίους ἔχειν ἐπὶ  
 208 τοῖς δικαίοις οἷς καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. μένειν δὲ καὶ  
 τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δίκαια ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους Ἰουδαίους  
 καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν<sup>1</sup> ἦν, τὰ τε  
 φιλόνητρα ὅσα τοῦ τε δήμου ψηφισαμένου καὶ  
 τῆς συγκλήτου ἔσχον. ἔτι<sup>2</sup> τούτοις τε τοῖς δι-  
 209 καίοις χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι ἐν Λύδδοις.<sup>3</sup> τού-  
 τε τόπους καὶ χώρας<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐποικία, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι  
 Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης συμμάχοις οὔσι Ῥωμαίων  
 κατὰ δωρεὰν ὑπῆρχε καρποῦσθαι, ταῦτα δοκιμάζει  
 ἢ σύγκλητος Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἐθνάρχην καὶ Ἰουδαίους  
 210 ἔχειν. δίδοσθαί τε Ὑρκανῶ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ πρεσβευταῖς τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεῖσιν ἐν τε  
 πυγμῇ μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένους μετὰ  
 τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν· καὶ<sup>5</sup> αἰτησαμένους παρὰ  
 δικτάτορος ἢ παρὰ ἱπάρχου παρελθεῖν εἰς<sup>6</sup> τὴν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν om. FLV Lat. fort. recte.

<sup>2</sup> conl.: ἐπὶ codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἔτι (ἐπὶ) . . . Λύδδοις corrupta esse monet Niese.

<sup>4</sup> χώραν P.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ ex Lat. ins. Hudson.

<sup>6</sup> P: ὅταν εἰς rell.

<sup>a</sup> Of Esdraelon, cf. *Ant.* xii. 348.

<sup>b</sup> These phrases, in the opinion of several scholars, indicate that we have here the fragments of a *senatus consultum* of 44 B.C., see above.

amount of twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five *modii* every year except in the seventh year, which they call the sabbatical year, wherein they neither plow nor take fruit from the trees. As for the villages in the Great Plain,<sup>a</sup> which Hyrcanus and his forefathers before him possessed, it is the pleasure of the Senate<sup>b</sup> that Hyrcanus and the Jews shall retain them with the same rights as they formerly had, and that the ancient rights which the Jews and their high priests and priests<sup>c</sup> had in relation to each other should continue, and also the privileges which they received by vote of the people and the Senate. And that they be permitted to enjoy these rights at Lydda also.<sup>d</sup> As for the places, lands and farms, the fruits of which the kings of Syria and Phoenicia,<sup>e</sup> as allies of the Romans, were permitted to enjoy by their gift, these the Senate decrees that the ethnarch Hyrcanus and the Jews shall have. And that to Hyrcanus and his children and to the envoys sent by him shall be given the right to sit with the members of the senatorial order as spectators of the contests of gladiators and wild beasts; and<sup>f</sup> that when they request permission of the Dictator or Master of the horse<sup>g</sup> to enter the Senate chamber,

<sup>a</sup> The variant omits "and priests." The reference is to priestly revenues.

<sup>d</sup> Text doubtful; εἰ "also" is my emendation of ἐνι.

<sup>e</sup> These kings are probably dynasts of Syria, to whom Pompey had granted Jewish territory, as Schürer suggests, i. 347 n. 25, not the Seleucid kings, as Reinach suggests. The allusion to their being "allies of the Romans" makes the latter supposition improbable.

<sup>f</sup> "And" is conjecturally supplied.

<sup>g</sup> In Latin *magister equitum*; the reference here is probably to Mark Antony, cf. Plutarch, *Ant.* 8.

## JOSEPHUS

σύγκλητον εἰσάγωσι καὶ τὰ ἀποκρίματα αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδῶσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα ταῖς ἀπάσαις ἀφ' ἧς ἂν τὸ δόγμα γένηται.”

- 211 (7) “ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, αὐτοκράτωρ δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον ὑπατός τε τὸ πέμπτον, δικτάτωρ ἀποδεδειγμένος διὰ βίου, λόγους ἐποίησατο περὶ τῶν δικαίων τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιερέως  
 212 Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐθνάρχου τοιούτους· ‘ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις μαρτυρησάντων Ὑρκανῶ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἰουδαίοις ἐπὶ τε συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων, εὐχαριστήσαντός τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοῖς, καλῶς ἔχει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ προνοεῖν ὅπως<sup>2</sup> Ὑρκανῶ καὶ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῖς Ὑρκανοῦ παισὶν ὑπὸ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀξία τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὐνοίας αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν εὐεργέτησαν ἡμᾶς χάρις ἀνταποδοθῆ.’ ”
- 213 (8) “ Ἰούλιος Γάιος<sup>3</sup> στρατηγός<sup>4</sup> ὑπατος<sup>5</sup> Ῥωμαίων Παριανῶν<sup>6</sup> ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐνέτυχόν μοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν Δῆλῳ καὶ τινες τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδίδοσθαι Hudson: αἰτησαμένους . . . ἀποδιδῶσιν] et si petiverint dictatorem vel magistrum equitum ut in senatum eos introducant et responsa eis tradant Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς P: quatenus Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰούμιος Γάιος conl. Petitus: Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Οὐατίας conl. Mendelssohn: Οὐίβιος Γάιος conl. Gutschmid: Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ἰσαυρικὸς conl. Lange.

<sup>4</sup> υἱοσσο στρατηγός P: ὁ στρατηγός F: del. Lange.

<sup>5</sup> στρατηγός ὑπατος] dictator et consul Lat.: ἀνθύπατος conl. Lange. <sup>6</sup> Παρίων conl. Schürer.

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> These titles would date the document in January or February, 44 B.C., according to the chronology in Holmes iii.

they shall admit them and shall give them an answer<sup>a</sup> within ten days at the latest from the time when a decree is passed."

(7) "Gaius Caesar, Imperator, Dictator for the fourth time, Consul for the fifth time, designated Dictator for life,<sup>b</sup> made the following speech concerning the rights of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews. 'Inasmuch as the high commanders in the provinces before me have testified on behalf of Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews, and of the Jews themselves before the Senate and the people of Rome, and the people and Senate have expressed thanks to them, it is fitting that we too should be mindful of this and provide that there be given by the Senate and people of Rome to Hyrcanus and the Jewish nation and the sons of Hyrcanus a token of gratitude worthy of their loyalty to us and of the benefits which they have conferred upon us.'"

Julius Caesar commends the loyalty of the Jews.

(8) "Julius Gaius,<sup>d</sup> Praetor, Consul<sup>e</sup> of the Romans, to the magistrates, council and people of Parium,<sup>f</sup> greeting. The Jews in Delos and some of

Julius Caesar to the people of Parium.

567. It probably belongs with the *senatus consultum* cited in §§ 207-211; *cf.* also §§ 220 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Ritschl, followed by Mendelssohn and Viereck, dates the following document in 46 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> The name is quite uncertain. For various conjectures see the critical note. Viereck favours Lange's conjecture "Publius Servilius Isauricus."

<sup>e</sup> Lange, Viereck and others emend *στρατηγὸς ὑπατος* to *ἀνθύπατος* "proconsul," but the former is defended by Juster i. 142 n. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Parium was on the coast of the Troad, east of the Hellespont. Schürer conjectures *Παρίων* "the people of Paros." The island of Paros is c. 10 miles S. of Delos, mentioned in the next sentence. Juster, i. 142 n. 4, defends the reading *Παριανῶν*, citing Haussouillier in *BCH* 8 (1884), 149 ff.

- παροίκων Ἰουδαίων, παρόντων καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων<sup>1</sup>  
 πρέσβειων, καὶ ἐνεφάνισαν ὡς ὑμεῖς ψηφίσματι  
 κωλύετε αὐτοὺς τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς  
 214 χρῆσθαι. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν οὐκ ἀρέσκει κατὰ τῶν ἡμε-  
 τέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι  
 ψηφίσματα, καὶ κωλύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ζῆν κατὰ τὰ  
 αὐτῶν ἔθη καὶ χρήματα εἰς σύνδειπνα καὶ τὰ ἱερά  
 εἰσφέρειν, τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτῶν μηδ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ κε-  
 215 κωλυμένων. καὶ γὰρ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ ἡμέτερος  
 στρατηγὸς ὑπάτος,<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ διατάγματι κωλύων  
 θιάσους συνάγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν, μόνους τούτους  
 οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν οὔτε χρήματα συνεισφέρειν οὔτε  
 216 σύνδειπνα ποιεῖν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 θιάσους κωλύων, τούτοις μόνοις ἐπιτρέπω κατὰ τὰ  
 πάτρια ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα συνάγεσθαι τε καὶ ἐστιᾶ-  
 σθαι.<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὑμᾶς οὖν καλῶς ἔχει, εἴ τι κατὰ τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων φίλων καὶ συμμάχων ψήφισμα ἐποιή-  
 σατε, τοῦτο ἀκυρῶσαι διὰ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν  
 ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐνοίαν."
- 217 (9) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Γαίου θάνατον Μάρκος Ἀν-  
 τώνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Δολαβέλλας<sup>4</sup> ὑπάτοι ὄντες τὴν  
 τε σύγκλητον συνήγαγον καὶ τοὺς παρ'<sup>5</sup> Ὑρκανοῦ  
 πρέσβεις παραγαγόντες διελέχθησαν περὶ ὧν ἠξίου  
 καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν· καὶ πάντα συγ-  
 χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἢ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσασατο ὅσων τυγ-  
 218 χάνειν ἐβούλοντο. παρατίθεμαι<sup>6</sup> δὲ καὶ τὸ δόγμα,

<sup>1</sup> ἡμετέρων LV.

<sup>2</sup> Mendelssohn: στρατηγὸς καὶ ὑπάτος codd.: στρατηγὸς κα om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἴστασθαι AMV: τε καὶ ἐστιᾶσθαι om. Lat.

<sup>4</sup> P: Δολοβέλλας rell. hic et infra.

<sup>5</sup> παρ' PE: om. rell.

<sup>6</sup> παρατέθειμαι PV.

the neighbouring Jews, some of your<sup>a</sup> envoys also being present, have appealed to me and declared that you are preventing them by statute from observing their national customs and sacred rites. Now it displeases me that such statutes should be made against our friends and allies and that they should be forbidden to live in accordance with their customs and to contribute money to common meals and sacred rites, for this they are not forbidden to do even in Rome. For example, Gaius Caesar, our consular praetor,<sup>b</sup> by edict forbade religious societies to assemble in the city, but these people alone he did not forbid to do so or to collect contributions of money or to hold common meals.<sup>c</sup> Similarly do I forbid other religious societies but permit these people alone to assemble and feast in accordance with their native customs and ordinances. And if you have made any statutes against our friends and allies, you will do well to revoke them because of their worthy deeds on our behalf and their goodwill toward us.”

(9) After the death of Gaius,<sup>d</sup> Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella, the consuls, convened the Senate and having introduced the envoys sent by Hyrcanus, discussed the requests they presented, and made a treaty of friendship with them. And the Senate voted to grant them everything they sought. I here-

Julius  
Caesar's  
policy con-  
tinued after  
his death.

<sup>a</sup> Variant “our.”

<sup>b</sup> Conjectured for ms. “praetor (or “commander”) and consul”; the Lat. has only “consul.” These titles are strange, applied to Julius Caesar.

<sup>c</sup> A similarly protective attitude toward the Jews is revealed in the decrees cited below, §§ 241-261. On Caesar's treatment of other religious groups in Rome see Suetonius, *Iul.* 42. 3, “cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit.”

<sup>d</sup> March 15, 44 B.C.

## JOSEPHUS

ὅπως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν λεγομένων ἐγγύθεν ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες τὴν πραγματείαν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον·

219 (10) “ Δόγμα συγκλήτου ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου ἀντι-  
γεγραμμένον ἐκ τῶν δέλτων τῶν δημοσίων τῶν  
ταμειυτικῶν, Κοῖντῳ Ῥουτιλίῳ Κοῖντῳ Κορνηλίῳ<sup>1</sup>  
ταμίαις κατὰ πόλιν, δέλτῳ δευτέρῳ κηρώματι  
220 πρώτῳ.<sup>2</sup> πρὸ τριῶν εἰδῶν Ἀπριλλίων ἐν τῷ ναῶ  
τῆς Ὀμονοίας. γραφομένῳ παρήσαν Λούκιος  
Καλπούρνιος<sup>3</sup> Μενηνία<sup>4</sup> Πείσων, Σερούσιος<sup>5</sup> Σολ-  
πίκιος<sup>6</sup> Λεμωνία<sup>7</sup> Κούντος, Γάιος Κανεινίος<sup>8</sup>  
Τηρητίνα<sup>9</sup> Ρέβιλος,<sup>10</sup> Πόπλιος Τηδήτιος<sup>11</sup> Λευκίου  
υἱὸς Πολλία,<sup>12</sup> Λεύκιος Ἀπούλιος<sup>13</sup> Λευκίου υἱὸς  
Σεργία, Φλάβιος Λευκίου Λεμωνία,<sup>14</sup> Πόπλιος  
Πλαύτιος Ποπλίου Παπειρία, Μᾶρκος Γέλλιος<sup>15</sup>  
Μάρκου Μαικία, Λεύκιος Ἐρούκιος<sup>16</sup> Λουκίου  
Στηλητίνα,<sup>17</sup> Μᾶρκος Κούντος Μάρκου υἱὸς Πολ-

<sup>1</sup> Κοῖντῳ Κορνηλίῳ om. Lat.: Κοῖντῳ om. AM.

<sup>2</sup> κηρώματι πρώτῳ Viereck: καὶ ἐκ τῶν πρώτων πρώτη (πρώτῳ P: πρώτη τῇ FLAM) codd.: δέλτῳ . . . πρώτῳ om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ex Lat. edd. Καρπούνιος codd.

<sup>4</sup> Μενηνίας P: Μεντηνία FL: Μεντινία AM.

<sup>5</sup> Gronovius: Σερονίνιος codd.

<sup>6</sup> Mendelssohn: Παπίνιος, Παπέινιος, Παππίνιος codd.

<sup>7</sup> Gronovius: Νεμωνία codd.

<sup>8</sup> Κανίνιος FLAM.

<sup>9</sup> Τηληπνα P.

<sup>10</sup> Ῥεβίλιος FLAM.

<sup>11</sup> Τίτιος conii. Mendelssohn.

<sup>12</sup> Λευκίου υἱὸς Πολλία om. PAM.

<sup>13</sup> Ἀπουλῖνος AM: Ἀππολήμιος conii. Mendelssohn.

<sup>14</sup> ed. pr.: Νεμωνία (Νεμωνα P) codd.

<sup>15</sup> Niese: Σέλλιος, Ἀσέλλιος, Σασέλλιος codd.: Ἀκύλιος Gronovius.



with give the decree itself in order that the readers of this History may have before them a proof of these statements. It read as follows.

(10) "Decree of the Senate, copied from the Treasury, from the public tablets of the quaestors, Quintus Rutilius and Quintus Cornelius being quaestors of the city, second tablet, first column.<sup>a</sup> Three days before the Ides of April,<sup>b</sup> in the Temple of Concord, there being present at the writing Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Sulpicius<sup>c</sup> Quintus of the Lemonian tribe, Gaius Caninius Rebilus of the Teretine tribe, Publius Tedetius,<sup>d</sup> son of Lucius, of the Pollian tribe,<sup>e</sup> Lucius Apulius, son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Plautius, son of Publius, of the Papirian tribe, Marcus Gellius,<sup>f</sup> son of Marcus, of the Maecian tribe, Lucius Erucius,<sup>g</sup> son of Lucius, of the Steletinian tribe, Marcus Quintus Plancinus, son of Marcus, of the

Decree of the Roman Senate confirming Julius Caesar's decisions regarding the Jews.

<sup>a</sup> Text emended; mss. "second tablet and from the first ones." Viereck's emendation is supported by the rescript of 73 B.C. to the magistrates of Oropus (cf. Viereck, p. 39), δέλτω πρώτῃ κηρώματι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτω. κήρωμα = Lat. *cera* "column" or "page," cf. Horace, *Serm.* ii. 5. 51-54, Suetonius, *Nero* 17.

<sup>b</sup> April 11, 44 B.C. This was the date of the registration of the *senatus consultum* enacted before Caesar's death, as stated below, § 222.

<sup>c</sup> Conjectured for mss. "Papinius."

<sup>d</sup> "Titius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn.

<sup>e</sup> The variant omits "son of Lucius, of the Pollian tribe."

<sup>f</sup> Conjectured for mss. "Sellius," "Asellius," etc. Gronovius conjectures "Aquilus."

<sup>g</sup> "Raiscius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn.

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<sup>16</sup> Σερούκιος P: 'Ραίσκιος Mendelssohn.

<sup>17</sup> P: Τηλητίνα aut Τηλιτίνα rell.

- 221 *λία<sup>1</sup> Πλαγκίνος,<sup>2</sup> Πούπλιος Σέρριος.<sup>3</sup> Πόπλιος<sup>4</sup> Δολαβέλλας Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὑπάτοι λόγους ἐποιήσαντο. περὶ ὧν δόγματι συγκλήτου Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔκρινε καὶ εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον οὐκ ἔφθασεν ἀνενεχθῆναι, περὶ τούτων ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν<sup>5</sup> γενέσθαι, ὡς καὶ Ποπλίῳ Δολαβέλλα καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἀντωνίῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔδοξεν, ἀνενεγκεῖν τε ταῦτα εἰς δέλτους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ταμίας ὅπως φροντίσωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν δέλτοις*
- 222 *ἀναθεῖναι διπτύχοις. ἐγένετο<sup>6</sup> πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ὀμονοίας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβεύοντες παρ' Ἑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἦσαν οὗτοι· Λυσίμαχος Πausανίου, Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου, Πάτροκλος Χαιρέου, Ἰωνάθης<sup>7</sup> Ὀνείου<sup>8</sup>."*
- 223 (11) *"Ἐπεμψε δὲ τούτων Ἑρκανὸς τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἓνα καὶ πρὸς Δολαβέλλαν τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας τότε ἡγεμόνα, παρακαλῶν ἀπολυσαὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς στρατείας<sup>9</sup> καὶ τὰ πάτρια τηρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔθη, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ζῆν ἐπιτρέπειν· οὐ τυχεῖν αὐτῷ ῥαδίως*
- 224 *ἐγένετο· λαβὼν γὰρ ὁ Δολαβέλλας τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρκανοῦ γράμματα, μηδὲ βουλευσάμενος ἐπιστέλλει τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασι, γράψας καὶ<sup>10</sup> τῇ*

<sup>1</sup> Ποπλία FAM.<sup>2</sup> P: Πλάγκιλος aut Πλάκιλλος rell.<sup>3</sup> Σέρριος AM: Σέργιος aut Σήστιος conl. Mendelssohn.<sup>4</sup> περὶ ὧν Πόπλιος conl. Mendelssohn.<sup>5</sup> μοι P.<sup>6</sup> quod decretum est Lat.<sup>7</sup> Ἰωάννης PF<sup>1</sup>.<sup>8</sup> ed. pr.: Ὀνσιου P: Ὀνίου rell.<sup>9</sup> στρατιᾶς PAM.<sup>10</sup> καὶ om. P.

<sup>a</sup> "Sergius" or "Sestius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn. The text is obviously incomplete.

<sup>b</sup> Antony, after Caesar's death, agreed to Dolabella's assumption of consular office, although he had previously objected.

Pollian tribe, and Publius Serrius.<sup>a</sup> Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, the consuls,<sup>b</sup> made speeches.<sup>c</sup> As for the decision rendered by Gaius Caesar, with the concurrence of the Senate, concerning the Jews, which there was not time to have registered in the Treasury, this matter we wish to be disposed of as the consuls Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius have decided, and that these decisions be recorded in tablets and brought to the quaestors of the city, and that they take care to have them inscribed on two-leaved tablets. They were dated the fifth day before the Ides of February<sup>d</sup> in the Temple of Concord.<sup>e</sup> The envoys from the high priest Hyrcanus were the following: Lysimachus, son of Pausanias, Alexander, son of Theodorus, Patroclus, son of Chaireas, and Jonathan, son of Onias.”

(11) One of these envoys Hyrcanus sent also to Dolabella, who was then governor of Asia,<sup>f</sup> requesting him to exempt the Jews from military service and permit them to maintain their native customs and live in accordance with them. And this request he readily obtained; for Dolabella, on receiving the letter from Hyrcanus, without even taking counsel, sent to all (the officials) in Asia, and wrote to Ephesus,

Dolabella also grants privileges to the Jews of Asia.

<sup>a</sup> *λόγους ἐποίησαντο* = Lat. *verba fecerunt*, cf. Viereck, p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> February 9, 44 B.C.

<sup>e</sup> The Temple of Concord, however, was the place of registration, not of enactment, of the decree, cf. above, § 219 note b.

<sup>f</sup> Dolabella was appointed governor of Syria (not of the province of Asia) in June, 44 B.C., and set out for Syria at the end of the year. On his way through Asia he killed Trebonius, governor of Asia, who had been one of Caesar's assassins. Soon after, in 43 B.C., Dolabella was blockaded in Laodicea by Cassius, and committed suicide.

Ἐφεσίων πόλει πρωτευούσῃ τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦτον περιείχε τὸν τρόπον·

225 (12) “ Ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Ἀρτέμωνος μηνὸς Λη-  
ναιῶνος προτέρα.<sup>1</sup> Δολαβέλλας αὐτοκράτωρ Ἐφε-  
226 σίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἀλέξανδρος  
Θεοδώρου, πρεσβευτῆς Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
υἱοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐν-  
εφάνισέ μοι περὶ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι στρατεύεσθαι  
τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μήτε ὄπλα βαστάζειν  
δύνασθαι μήτε ὁδοιπορεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις  
τῶν σαββάτων, μήτε τροφῶν τῶν πατρίων καὶ  
227 συνήθων κατ’ αὐτοὺς εὐπορεῖν. ἐγὼ τε οὖν αὐτοῖς,  
καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἡγεμόνες, δίδωμι τὴν  
ἀστρατείαν καὶ συγχωρῶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρίοις  
ἐθισμοῖς, ἱερῶν ἔνεκα καὶ ἀγίων<sup>2</sup> συναγομένοις,  
καθὼς αὐτοῖς νόμιμον, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς θυσίας  
ἀφαιρεμάτων, ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι ταῦτα γράψαι  
κατὰ πόλεις.”

228 (13) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Δολαβέλλας Ὑρκανοῦ  
πρεσβευσαμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς ἡμε-  
τέροις. Λεύκιος δὲ Λέντλος ὑπάτος εἶπεν· “ πο-  
λίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, ἱερὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ ἔχοντας  
καὶ ποιούντας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δει-  
σιδαιμονίας ἔνεκα στρατείας ἀπέλυσα<sup>3</sup> πρὸ δώδεκα  
καλανδῶν Ὀκτωβρίων<sup>4</sup> Λευκίῳ Λέντλῳ Γαίῳ

<sup>1</sup> P: πρώτη rell. Lat., cf. § 262.

<sup>2</sup> ἅγιοις P.

<sup>3</sup> ex Lat. edd.: ἀπέλυσε codd.

<sup>4</sup> Κουιντιλίῳν ex seqq. (§§ 234, 237) conl. Viereck, Niese.

<sup>a</sup> January 24, 43 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> On this special use of πολῖται see *Ant.* xii. 46 note d.

<sup>c</sup> Lucius Lentulus Crus, consul in 49 B.C., was commissioned

the chief city of Asia, about the Jews. His letter read as follows.

(12) "In the presidency of Artemon, on the first day of the month of Lenacon,<sup>a</sup> Dolabella, Imperator, to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. Alexander, son of Theodorus, the envoy of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, has explained to me that his co-religionists<sup>b</sup> cannot undertake military service because they may not bear arms or march on the days of the Sabbath; nor can they obtain the native foods to which they are accustomed. I, therefore, like the governors before me, grant them exemption from military service and allow them to follow their native customs and to come together for sacred and holy rites in accordance with their law, and to make offerings for their sacrifices; and it is my wish that you write these instructions to the various cities."

Dolabella's  
letter to  
Ephesus.

(13) These, then, were the favours which Dolabella granted to our people when Hyrcanus sent an envoy to him. And Lucius Lentulus, the consul,<sup>c</sup> declared. "Those Jews who are Roman citizens and observe Jewish rites and practise them in Ephesus, I<sup>d</sup> released from military service before the tribunal on the twelfth day before the Kalends of October<sup>e</sup> in consideration of their religious scruples, in the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Gaius Marcellus. Those

Lentulus  
exempts  
Jewish  
citizens of  
Ephesus  
from mili-  
tary service

by the Senate to recruit two legions in the province of Asia, cf. Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 4. His decree is cited by subordinate Roman officials in the cities of Asia, §§ 230-246.

<sup>a</sup> Conjectured from Latin for MSS. "he."

<sup>e</sup> September 19, 49 B.C., but 'Οκτωβρίων is probably a copyist's error for Κουντιλίων, which would give June 19th as in §§ 234, 237.

- 229 Μαρκέλλω ὑπάτοις. παρήσαν Τίτος Ἄμπιος<sup>1</sup> Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος<sup>2</sup> Ὀρατία πρεσβευτῆς, Τίτος Τόγγιος Τίτου υἱὸς Κροστομίνα, Κόιντος Καΐσιος<sup>3</sup> Κοῖντου, Τίτος Πομπήιος<sup>4</sup> Τίτου Λογγίνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαῖου υἱὸς Τηρητίνα Βράκχος<sup>5</sup> χιλί-  
αρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος<sup>6</sup> Ποπλίου Οὔετωρία<sup>7</sup> Γάλλος, Γάιος Σέντιος Γαῖου<sup>8</sup> υἱὸς Σαβατίνα.”
- 230 “ Τίτος Ἄμπιος<sup>9</sup> Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος<sup>10</sup> πρεσ-  
βευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ  
δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Λεύ-  
κιος Λέντλος ὁ ὑπάτος, ἐμοῦ ἐντυγχάνοντος ὑπὲρ  
αὐτῶν, ἀπέλυσε τῆς στρατείας. αἰτησάμενος δὲ  
μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ παρὰ Φαννίου τοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου<sup>11</sup>  
καὶ παρὰ Λευκίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἀντιταμίου ἐπ-  
έτυχον, ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι φροντίσαι ἵνα μὴ τις  
αὐτοῖς διενοχλῇ.”
- 231 (14) Ψήφισμα Δηλίων. “ ἐπ’ ἄρχοντος Βοιωτοῦ  
μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος εἰκοστῇ, χρηματισμὸς στρατη-  
γῶν. Μάρκος Πείσων πρεσβευτῆς ἐνδημῶν ἐν τῇ  
πόλει ἡμῶν, ὁ καὶ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς στρατο-  
λογίας, προσκαλεσάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ ἱκανοὺς τῶν  
232 πολιτῶν προσέταξεν ἵνα εἴ τινές εἰσιν Ἰουδαῖοι

<sup>1</sup> Borghesi: Ἄππιος codd.

<sup>2</sup> Borghesi: Βάλγος PLA: Βάλιος F: Γάλβος M.

<sup>3</sup> Κάσιος F: Κάσσιος L: Ῥάσιος AM: Ῥαΐσιος Gronovius:  
Ῥαΐκιος Mendelssohn.

<sup>4</sup> Πήιος ex seqq. Niese qui vero hic Σήιος coni.

<sup>5</sup> Βράκκος P: Βράγχος M.

<sup>6</sup> Καλούσιος vel Κλούσιος coni. Niese.

<sup>7</sup> Gronovius: ἐγὼ P: Ἐτωρία V: Ἐρωρία rell.

<sup>8</sup> post Γαῖου lacunam indicavit Gronovius, cf. § 239.

<sup>9</sup> Borghesi: Ἄππιος codd.

<sup>10</sup> Borghesi cum Lat.: Βάλλος PF: Βέλβος rell.

<sup>11</sup> Ernesti: ἀρχιστρατήγου codd.: tribunum plebis Lat.

present were the legate Titus Ampius Balbus,<sup>a</sup> son of Titus, of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius, son of Titus, of the Crustumian tribe, Quintus Caesius,<sup>a</sup> son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, son of Titus, the military tribune Gaius Servilius Bracchus, son of Gaius, of the Teretine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, son of Publius, of the Veturian<sup>a</sup> tribe, Gaius Sentius, son of Gaius . . . son of . . . of the Sabatine tribe.”

“ Titus Ampius Balbus, son of Titus, legate and propraetor,<sup>b</sup> to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. Lucius Lentulus, the consul, has at my petition exempted the Jews in Asia from military service. And on making the same request later of Fannius, the propraetor, and of Lucius Antonius,<sup>c</sup> the proquaestor, I obtained my request; and it is my wish that you take care that no one shall molest them.”

(14) Decree of the Delians. “ In the archonship of Boeotus, on the twentieth day of the month of Thargelion,<sup>d</sup> response of the magistrates. The legate Marcus Piso, when resident in our city, having been placed in charge of the recruiting of soldiers, summoned us and a considerable number of citizens, and ordered that if there were any Jews who were Roman

Decree of  
the people  
of Delos.

<sup>a</sup> Name slightly emended.

<sup>b</sup> = Lat. *legatus pro praetore*, cf. *Magie*, p. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Identified by Reinach and Juster, i. 145, with Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, mentioned below, § 235.

<sup>d</sup> = May/June in the Roman calendar. The year is probably 49 B.C., cf. Juster, i. 146, vs. Mendelssohn and Haussoullier, *BCH* 8 (1884), 150, who place it in 48 B.C. Reinach conjectures that Delos at this time was attached to the Roman province of Asia.

πολίται Ῥωμαίων τούτοις μηδεὶς ἐνοχλῆ περι στρατείας, διὰ τὸ τὸν ὕπατον Λούκιον<sup>1</sup> Κορνήλιον Λέντλον δεισιδαιμονίας ἔνεκα ἀπολελυκέναι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῆς στρατείας· διὸ πείθεσθαι ἡμᾶς<sup>2</sup> δεῖ τῷ στρατηγῷ.” ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Σαρδιανοὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.

233 (15) “ Γάιος Φάννιος Γαῖου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς ὕπατος<sup>3</sup> Κῶων ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. βούλομαι ὑμᾶς εἰδέναί<sup>4</sup> ὅτι πρέσβεις Ἰουδαίων μοι προσῆλθον ἀξιούντες λαβεῖν τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα περὶ αὐτῶν γεγονότα. ὑποτέτακται δὲ τὰ δεδογμένα. ὑμᾶς οὖν θέλω φροντίσαι καὶ προνοῆσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας χώρας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς ἀνακομισθῶσιν.”

234 (16) “ Λεύκιος Λέντλος ὕπατος λέγει· ‘ πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, οἳτινές μοι ἱερὰ ἔχειν καὶ ποιεῖν Ἰουδαϊκὰ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐδόκουν, δεισιδαιμονίας ἔνεκα ἀπέλυσα. τοῦτο ἐγένετο πρὸ δώδεκα<sup>5</sup> καλανδῶν Κουιντιλίῳν<sup>6</sup>.’ ”

235 (17) “ Λούκιος Ἀντώνιος Μάρκου υἱὸς ἀντιταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι

<sup>1</sup> Λούκιον om. AM Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: ὑμᾶς codd. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνθύπατος conl. Viereck.

<sup>4</sup> γῶναι AM.

<sup>5</sup> δεκατριῶν FLAM.

<sup>6</sup> Ὀκτωβρίων Κουιντιλίῳν F: Ὀκτωβρίων LAM: Iuliarum Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Conjectured for mss. “ you.”

<sup>b</sup> See below, § 235.

<sup>c</sup> = Lat. *praetor pro consule*; it is not necessary to emend ὕπατος to ἀνθύπατος, cf. Magie, p. 84 and Juster i. 146. This document does not belong to the decrees based on the ruling of Lucius Lentulus in 49 B.C., unless Gaius Fannius is to be



citizens, no one should bother them about military service, inasmuch as the consul Lucius Cornelius Lentulus had exempted the Jews from military service in consideration of their religious scruples. We <sup>a</sup> must therefore obey the magistrate." Similar to this was the decree concerning us which the people of Sardis passed.<sup>b</sup>

(15) "Gaius Fannius, son of Gaius, proconsular praetor,<sup>c</sup> to the magistrates of Cos, greeting. I would have you know that envoys have come to me from the Jews, asking to have the decrees concerning them which were passed by the Senate. These decrees are herewith appended. It is my wish therefore that you take thought and care for these men in accordance with the decree of the Senate, in order that they may safely be brought through your country to their home."

Letter of Gaius Fannius to the people of Cos.

(16) <sup>d</sup> "Lucius Lentulus, consul, declares: 'In consideration of their religious scruples I have released those Jews who are Roman citizens and appeared to me to have and to practise Jewish rites in Ephesus. Dated the twelfth<sup>e</sup> day before the Kalends of July.'"<sup>f</sup>

Statement of Lentulus concerning Jews of Ephesus.

(17) <sup>g</sup> "Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, proquaestor and propraetor, to the magistrates, council and identified with the Fannius mentioned in § 230. For the various conjectures about the date of this document (ranging from 161 to 44 B.C.) see works listed in Appendix J.

Letter of Lucius Antonius to Sardis.

<sup>a</sup> This document seems to be a variant of that cited in §§ 228-229.

<sup>e</sup> Variant "thirteenth."

<sup>f</sup> Variant "October," *cf.* § 228 note *e*. The reading here adopted corresponds to June 19, 49 B.C.

<sup>g</sup> This document seems to be an extension of the rights granted to the Jews of Ephesus by Lucius Lentulus, to include general religious toleration, *cf.* Juster i. 145.

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βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται ἡμέτεροί<sup>1</sup> προσελθόντες μοι ἐπέδειξαν αὐτούς<sup>2</sup> σύνοδον ἔχειν ἰδίαν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τόπον ἴδιον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τε πράγματα καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιλογίας κρίνουσι, τοῦτό τε αἰτησάμενοις ἴν' ἐξῆ ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup> τηρῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἔκρινα."

236 (18) "Μᾶρκος Πόπλιος Σπουρίου<sup>4</sup> υἱὸς καὶ Μᾶρκος Μάρκου καὶ<sup>5</sup> Ποπλίου υἱὸς Λούκιος<sup>6</sup> λέγουσιν· Ἐν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ προσελθόντες ἐδιδάξαμεν αὐτὸν περὶ ᾧ Δοσίθεος Κλεοπατρίδου  
237 Ἀλεξανδρεὺς λόγους ἐποίησατο, ὅπως πολίτας Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους<sup>7</sup> ἱερά Ἰουδαϊκὰ ποιεῖν εἰωθότας, ἃν αὐτῷ φανῆ, δεισιδαιμονίας ἕνεκα ἀπολύσῃ· καὶ ἀπέλυσε<sup>8</sup> πρὸ δώδεκα<sup>9</sup> καλανδῶν Κουντιλίῳν<sup>10</sup>."

(19) "Λευκίῳ Λέντλῳ Γαῖῳ Μαρκέλλῳ ὑπά-

<sup>1</sup> ἡμέτεροι P.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτούς codd. : ἑαυτούς Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν tr. AM.

<sup>4</sup> Gronovius: Σπιρίου P: Πουρίου rell. : Publii Lat.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ om. P.

<sup>6</sup> Λουκίου P: Μάρκῳ . . . Λούκιος] Marcus Lucius Marci Publii filius Lat.

<sup>7</sup> + ποιήσῃ FLAM.

<sup>8</sup> ex Lat. Hudson: ἀπολύσαι P: ἀπέλυσα rell.

<sup>9</sup> δεκατριῶν FLAM.

<sup>10</sup> Ὀκτωβρίῳ Κουντιλίῳ F: Ὀκτωβρίων Κουντιλίῳ LAM: Iulias Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> Variant "yours," which would mean the Jewish citizens of Sardis alone.

<sup>b</sup> Probably a synagogue, cf. S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, p. 185.

<sup>c</sup> The statement in §§ 236-237 and the subjoined decree in

people of Sardis, greeting. Jewish citizens of ours<sup>a</sup> have come to me and pointed out that from the earliest times they have had an association of their own in accordance with their native laws and a place of their own,<sup>b</sup> in which they decide their affairs and controversies with one another; and upon their request that it be permitted them to do these things, I decided that they might be maintained, and permitted them so to do."

(18) <sup>c</sup> " Marcus Publius, son of Spurius,<sup>d</sup> and Marcus, son of Marcus, and Lucius, son of Publius,<sup>e</sup> declared: ' We have gone to the proconsul<sup>f</sup> Lentulus and informed him of the statement made by Dositheus, son of Cleopatriides, the Alexandrian, to the effect that, if it seemed proper to him, in consideration of their religious scruples he should exempt from military service those Jews who are Roman citizens and are accustomed to practise Jewish rites. And he<sup>g</sup> did exempt them on the twelfth<sup>h</sup> day before the Kalends of July.' " <sup>i</sup>

Petition to  
Lentulus.

(19) " In the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and

Decree of

§§ 238-240 probably refer to the same decree of Lentulus as is cited in § 234.

<sup>a</sup> Name slightly emended.  
<sup>e</sup> Others read, with one ms. and Lat., " Marcus Lucius, son of Marcus Publius." As Lucius and Publius are not *gentilicia* we should have to assume a corruption in the latter reading, as well as in the name " Marcus Publius, son of Spurius." Possibly, however, as Gronovius suggests *ap. Hudson-Havercamp*, these men were Roman plebeians and converts to Judaism; in that case the names Marcus Publius, Marcus Lucius might be genuine.

<sup>f</sup> Reinach alters to " consul " as in § 234.

<sup>g</sup> Variant " I."

<sup>h</sup> Variant " thirteenth."

<sup>i</sup> Some mss. combine the variants " July " and " October." On the date see § 228 note *e*.

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- 238 τοις. παρήσαν Τίτος Ἄμπιος<sup>1</sup> Τίτου υἱὸς Βάλβος  
 Ὀρατία πρεσβευτής, Τίτος Τόγγιος Κροστομίνα,  
 Κώντος Καΐσιος<sup>2</sup> Κοίντου, Τίτος Πομπήιος<sup>3</sup> Τίτου  
 υἱὸς Κορνηλία Λογγίνος, Γάιος Σερουίλιος Γαῖου  
 Τηρητίνα Βράκχος χιλίαρχος, Πόπλιος Κλούσιος  
 Ποπλίου υἱὸς Οὐετωρία<sup>4</sup> Γάλλος, Γάιος Τεύτιος<sup>5</sup>  
 Γαῖου Αἰμιλία χιλίαρχος, Σέξτος Ἀτίλιος Σέξτου  
 239 υἱὸς Αἰμιλία Σέρρανος, Γάιος Πομπήιος Γαῖου  
 υἱὸς Σαβατίνα, Τίτος Ἄμπιος<sup>6</sup> Τίτου Μένανδρος,  
 Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Στράβων, Λεύ-  
 κιος Πάκκιος Λευκίου Κολλίνα Καπίτων, Αὖλος  
 Φούριος<sup>7</sup> Αὖλου<sup>8</sup> υἱὸς Τέρτιος, Ἄππιος Μηνᾶς.  
 240 ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ Λέντλος δόγμα ἐξέθετο.<sup>9</sup> πολίτας  
 Ῥωμαίων Ἰουδαίους, οἵτινες ἱερά Ἰουδαϊκὰ ποιεῖν  
 εἰώθασιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, πρὸ τοῦ βήματος δεισιδαι-  
 μονίας ἔνεκα ἀπέλυσα.”
- 241 (20) “ Λαοδικέων ἄρχοντες Γαῖῳ Ῥαβηρίῳ<sup>10</sup>  
 Γαῖου υἱῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ<sup>11</sup> χαίρειν. Σώπατρος Ὑρκανοῦ  
 τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρεσβευτής ἀπέδωκεν ἡμῖν τὴν παρὰ  
 σοῦ ἐπιστολήν, δι’ ἧς ἐδήλους<sup>12</sup> ἡμῖν παρὰ Ὑρκανοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Borghesi: Ἄππιος codd.

<sup>2</sup> ex § 229 conii. Niese: Ῥαΐσιος codd.

<sup>3</sup> FL: Πήσιος rell.

<sup>4</sup> Gronovius: Ἐγωρεία P: Ἐρωρία rell.

<sup>5</sup> Τέτιος F.

<sup>6</sup> Mendelssohn: Ἄππιος codd.

<sup>7</sup> Αὖλος Φούριος Gronovius: Αὖλιος Φρούριος codd.

<sup>8</sup> Παύλου FLAM.

<sup>9</sup> P: ἐξήνεγκε rell.

<sup>10</sup> Homolle: Ῥαβελλίῳ P: Ῥαβιλλίῳ FAM: Ῥαγιλλίῳ L:  
 Rabilio Lat.: Ῥεβίλῳ Ritschl.

<sup>11</sup> Homolle: ὑπάτῳ codd.

<sup>12</sup> Niese: ἐδήλου codd.

<sup>a</sup> Name slightly emended.

<sup>b</sup> Conjectured from § 229 for ms. “Raesius.”

Gaius Marcellus. Present were the legate Titus Ampius<sup>a</sup> Balbus, son of Titus, of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius of the Crustumian tribe, Quintus Caesius,<sup>b</sup> son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, son of Titus, of the Cornelian tribe, the military tribune Gaius Servilius Bracchus, son of Gaius, of the Teretine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, son of Publius, of the Veturian<sup>a</sup> tribe, the military tribune Gaius Teutius, son of Gaius, of the Aemilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, son of Sextus, of the Aemilian tribe, Gaius Pompeius, son of Gaius, of the Sabatine tribe, Titus Ampius Menander, son of Titus, Publius Servilius Strabo, son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius<sup>a</sup> Tertius, son of Aulus,<sup>c</sup> Appius Menas. In their presence Lentulus announced the following decree. In consideration of their religious scruples I have released before the tribunal those Jews who are Roman citizens and are accustomed to observe Jewish rites in Ephesus.”

Lentulus exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service.

(20) “The magistrates of Laodicea to the proconsul Gaius Rabirius,<sup>d</sup> son of Gaius, greeting. Sopatrus, the envoy of the high priest Hyrcanus,<sup>e</sup> has delivered to us a letter from you, in which you have informed us that certain persons have come from Hyrcanus,

Letter of magistrates of Laodicea to Gaius Rabirius.

<sup>c</sup> Variant “Paulus.”

<sup>d</sup> The readings “proconsul” for ms. “consul” and “Rabirius” for “Rabellius” are proposed by Homolle, *BCH* 6 (1882), 608-612, on the basis of an inscription found at Delos. Juster, i. 146 n. 7, suggests that the document is to be dated in 45 B.C.

<sup>e</sup> Probably Hyrcanus II (see preceding note); but strong arguments have been advanced for the view that this document like the Pergamene decree below, §§ 247-255 (which mentions a Jewish envoy named Sosipater), is to be dated in the reign of Hyrcanus I; see works listed in Appendix J.

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- τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέως ἐληλυθότας τινὰς γράμματα κομίσαι περὶ τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα,  
 242 ἵνα τὰ τε σάββατα αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἐξῆ ἄγειν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ  
 ἱερὰ ἐπιτελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, ὅπως  
 τε μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάσῃ διὰ τὸ φίλους αὐτοὺς  
 ἡμετέρους εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, ἀδικήσῃ τε μηδεὶς  
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐπαρχίᾳ, ὡς Τραλλιανῶν τε  
 ἀντειπόντων κατὰ πρόσωπον μὴ ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς  
 περὶ αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις ἐπέταξας ταῦτα οὕτως  
 γίνεσθαι· παρακεκληῆσθαι δέ σε,<sup>2</sup> ὥστε καὶ ἡμῖν  
 243 ταῦτα γράψαι περὶ αὐτῶν. ἡμεῖς οὖν κατακολου-  
 θοῦντες τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις ὑπὸ σοῦ, τὴν τε  
 ἐπιστολὴν τὴν ἀποδοθεῖσαν ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ κατ-  
 εχωρίσαμεν εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἡμῶν γράμματα,  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἐπέσταλκας προνοήσομεν  
 ὥστε μηδὲν μεμφθῆναι.”
- 244 (21) “ Πόπλιος Σερουίλιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Γάλβας<sup>3</sup>  
 ἀνθύπατος Μιλησίων ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν.  
 245 Πρύτανις Ἑρμοῦ<sup>4</sup> υἱὸς πολίτης ὑμέτερος προσ-  
 ελθὼν μοι ἐν Τράλλεσιν ἄγοντι τὴν ἀγόρειον  
 ἐδήλου παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην Ἰουδαίοις ὑμᾶς

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις AM Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Οὐατίας conī. Bergmann.

<sup>2</sup> γε AM et Lat. vid.

<sup>4</sup> Σίμου conī. Wilhelm.

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<sup>a</sup> Reinach, assuming that Hyrcanus I is meant here, believes that the documents in question are decrees of the Roman Senate. Juster, who thinks that Hyrcanus II is meant, argues *contra* that in the earlier period the Roman Senate adopted, in such cases, a tone “très modéré, plutôt courtois.”

the high priest of the Jews, bringing documents concerning their nation,<sup>a</sup> to the effect that it shall be lawful for them<sup>b</sup> to observe their Sabbaths and perform their other rites in accordance with their native laws, and that no one shall give orders to them, because they are our friends and allies, and that no one shall do them an injury in our province<sup>c</sup>; and as the people of Tralles<sup>d</sup> objected in your presence that they were dissatisfied with the decrees concerning them, you gave orders that they should be carried out, adding that you have been requested to write also to us about the matters concerning them. We, therefore, in obedience to your instructions, have accepted the letter delivered to us and have deposited it among our public archives; and to the other matters on which you have given us instructions we shall give such attention that no one shall incur blame."

(21) "Publius Servilius Galba,<sup>e</sup> son of Publius, proconsul to the magistrates, council and people of Miletus,<sup>f</sup> greeting. Prytanis, son of Hermas,<sup>g</sup> a citizen of yours, came to me when I was holding court at Tralles and informed me that contrary to our ex-

Letter of  
Publius  
Servilius  
Galba to  
Miletus.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "the Jews."

<sup>c</sup> The province of Phrygia.

<sup>d</sup> Probably Tralles in Caria, c. 75 miles W. of Laodicea. Both cities lay near the Maeander river.

<sup>e</sup> The reading "Vatias" for "Galba" proposed by Bergmann, *Philologus* 2 (1847), p. 684, is adopted by many scholars, but rejected by Reinach and Juster i. 147 n. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Juster, citing Haussoullier, *Milet*, p. 258, points out that under Roman rule Miletus had no assembly or civic autonomy before 46 B.C.

<sup>g</sup> Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 8 (1905), 242 (cited by Juster), proposes "son of Simos" on the basis of an inscription, probably 1st century B.C., found at Thera.

προσφέρεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τε σάββατα  
 ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια τελεῖν καὶ τοὺς καρ-  
 πούς μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς,  
 αὐτόν τε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τεθεικέναι<sup>1</sup> τὸ<sup>2</sup> ψή-  
 246 φισμα.<sup>3</sup> βούλομαι οὖν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι διακούσας<sup>4</sup>  
 ἐγὼ λόγων ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως γενομένων ἐπ-  
 ἐκρίνα μὴ κωλύεσθαι Ἰουδαίους τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔθεσι  
 χρῆσθαι.”

247 (22) Ψήφισμα Περγαμηνῶν. “ ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως  
 Κρατίππου μηνὸς Δαισίου πρώτη<sup>5</sup> γνώμη στρα-  
 τηγῶν. ἐπεὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατακολουθοῦντες τῇ  
 τῶν προγόνων ἀγωγῇ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀπάν-  
 των ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλείας κινδύνους ἀναδέχονται,  
 καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ἐν  
 248 εὐδαιμονία καὶ βεβαία καταστήσαι εἰρήνῃ, πέμψαν-  
 τος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ Ἰουδαίων καὶ  
 Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτῶν πρέσβεις, Στράτωνα  
 Θεοδότου, Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀλεξάνδρου, Αἰνείαν Ἀν-  
 249 τιπάτρου, Ἀριστόβουλον Ἀμύντου, Σωσίπατρον  
 Φιλίππου, ἄνδρας καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ περὶ  
 τῶν κατὰ μέρη ἐμφανισάντων, ἐδογμάτισεν ἢ  
 σύγκλητος, περὶ ὧν ἐποιήσαντο τοὺς λόγους, ὅπως

<sup>1</sup> εὐθυνκέναι P.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ δίκαιον P.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτόν . . . ψήφισμα om. Lat.

<sup>4</sup> ἀκούσας FLAM.

<sup>5</sup> πρώτη om. P Lat.



pressed wish you are attacking the Jews and forbid them to observe their Sabbaths, perform their native rites or manage their produce<sup>a</sup> in accordance with their custom; and that he had announced this decree<sup>b</sup> in accordance with the laws. I would therefore have you know that after hearing the arguments of the opposing sides, I have decided that the Jews are not to be forbidden to follow their customs."

(22) Decree of the people of Pergamum. "In the presidency of Cratippus,<sup>c</sup> on the first of the month Daisios, a decree of the magistrates. As the Romans in pursuance of the practices of their ancestors have accepted dangerous risks for the common safety of all mankind and strive emulously to place their allies and friends in a state of happiness and lasting peace, the Jewish nation and their high priest Hyrcanus<sup>d</sup> have sent as envoys to them Straton, son of Theodotus, Apollonius, son of Alexander,<sup>e</sup> Aeneas, son of Antipater, Aristobulus, son of Amyntas, and Sosipater,<sup>f</sup> son of Philip, worthy and excellent men, and have made representations concerning certain particular matters, whereupon the Senate passed a decree concerning the matters on which they spoke, to the effect

Decree of  
Pergamum.

<sup>a</sup> Exactly what priestly revenues (for Jerusalem) are meant is not clear; *καρπός* in the LXX sometimes means "first-fruits," but here it may include tithes, as Reinach suggests.

<sup>b</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>c</sup> A *prytanis* named Cratippus is mentioned in a Pergamene inscription to be dated 150-50 B.C., according to Juster, i. 134 n. 3, citing *Ath. Mitt.* 17 (1902), 126 and *JÖAI* 8 (1905), 238. See further note *a* on p. 582.

<sup>d</sup> Hyrcanus I is meant.

<sup>e</sup> An Apollonius, son of Alexander, is mentioned as an envoy of Hyrcanus I to Rome in *Ant.* xiii. 260.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. § 241 note *e*.

## JOSEPHUS

μηδὲν ἀδικῆ Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχου<sup>1</sup> υἱὸς Ἰουδαίους συμμάχους Ῥωμαίων, ὅπως τε φρούρια καὶ λιμένας καὶ χώραν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀφείλετο αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῆ, καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἐξῆ αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τῶν λιμένων 250 ἐξάγειν,<sup>4</sup> ἵνα τε μηδεὶς ἀτελῆς ἦ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίων χώρας ἢ τῶν λιμένων αὐτῶν ἐξάγων βασιλεὺς ἢ δῆμος ἢ μόνος Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων βασιλεὺς διὰ τὸ εἶναι σύμμαχος ἡμέτερος καὶ φίλος, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰόππῃ<sup>5</sup> φρουρὰν ἐκβαλεῖν, καθὼς ἐδεήθησαν· τῆς τε βουλῆς ἡμῶν Λούκιος Πέττιος ἀγῆρ 251 καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς προσέταξεν ἵνα φροντίσωμεν ταῦτα οὕτως γενέσθαι καθὼς ἢ σύγκλητος ἐδογματίσει, προνοῆσαί τε τῆς ἀσφαλούς εἰς οἶκον τῶν 252 πρεσβευτῶν ἀνακομιδῆς. ἀπεδεξάμεθα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Θεόδωρον, ἀπολαβόντες τε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα, καὶ ποιησαμένου μετὰ πολ-

<sup>1</sup> Δημητρίου coni. Ritschl.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ μὴ FLAM.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν Gronovius: αὐτῶ Gutschmid.

<sup>4</sup> μηδ' ἐξαγαγεῖν P: deportare quae volunt Lat.

<sup>5</sup> + δὲ FLAM.

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<sup>a</sup> Most scholars assume that this is Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, son of Antiochus VII Sidetes, *cf.* *Ant.* xiii. 246 ff., 270 ff. Some scholars, however, propose to read "son of Demetrius," meaning Antiochus Sidetes, son of Demetrius I (less probably Antiochus VIII Grypus, son of Demetrius II). With the latter I agree. The emendation "son of Demetrius" is not too arbitrary, considering that in several places Josephus' text gives the wrong surname to a Seleucid ruler; see further the following notes.

<sup>b</sup> This seems to be a reference to the harbours, including Joppa, taken from the Jews by Antiochus Sidetes, *cf.* *Ant.* xiii. 261.

<sup>c</sup> The variant "shall not be lawful" makes no sense if "for them" means "for the Jews."

that King Antiochus, son of Antiochus,<sup>a</sup> shall do no injury to the Jews, the allies of the Romans ; and that the fortresses, harbours, territory and whatever else he may have taken from them shall be restored to them <sup>b</sup> ; and that it shall be lawful <sup>c</sup> for them to export goods from their harbours and that no king or people exporting goods from the territory of the Jews or from their harbours shall be untaxed except only Ptolemy, king of Alexandria,<sup>d</sup> because he is our ally and friend ; and that the garrison in Joppa shall be expelled, as they have requested. And one of our council, Lucius Pettius,<sup>e</sup> a worthy and excellent man, has given orders that we shall take care that these things are done as the Senate has decreed, and that we shall see to the safe return of the envoys to their homes. We have also admitted Theodorus to the council and assembly, accepting from him the letter and the decree of the Senate ; and after he had addressed us with great earnest-

<sup>a</sup> Reinach suggests that Ptolemy IX Alexander is meant ; he was called to Egypt from Cyprus by his mother Cleopatra III in 107 B.C. If the Pergamene decree is to be dated in the reign of Antiochus Sidetes (who died in 129 B.C.), Reinach's conjecture is impossible, and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (Physcon) must be meant. On his friendly relations with Rome, *cf.* Diodorus xxxiii. 28 a ; he says that Scipio Aemilianus and his colleagues visited Egypt (*c.* 135 B.C.) and Syria, τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνανεωσάμενοι.

<sup>e</sup> F. Münzer in *PW* 19 (1938), 1381 suggests that in spite of the wording of the text L. Pettius may have been a member of a Commission of the Roman Senate or even a praetor in Rome. This would be more likely if we accepted Reinach's emendation of τῆ βουλῆ for τῆς βουλῆς, meaning that L. Pettius gave orders to the council of Pergamum, not that he was one of the council.

## JOSEPHUS

λῆς σπουδῆς αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανοῦ  
 253 ἐμφανίσαντος ἀρετὴν καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν, ὅτι καὶ  
 κοινῇ πάντα εὐεργετεῖ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν τοὺς πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένους, τά τε γράμματα εἰς τὰ  
 δημόσια ἡμῶν ἀπεθέμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντα ποιεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Ῥωμαίων, κατὰ  
 254 τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα ἐψηφισάμεθα. ἔδεήθη δὲ  
 καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος, ὁ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἡμῖν ἀποδούς,  
 τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἵνα πέμψωσι πρὸς Ὑρ-  
 κανὸν τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ πρέσβεις  
 δηλώσοντας τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου δήμου σπουδὴν καὶ  
 παρακαλέσοντας συντηρεῖν τε καὶ αὔξειν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup>  
 τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἀεὶ<sup>3</sup> αἴτιον  
 255 γίνεσθαι, ὡς ἀμοιβὰς τε τὰς προσηκούσας ἀπο-  
 ληψόμενον, μεμνημένον τε ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ  
 Ἄβραμον καιροῖς, ὃς ἦν πάντων Ἑβραίων πατήρ,  
 οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ἦσαν αὐτοῖς φίλοι, καθὼς<sup>4</sup> ἐν  
 τοῖς δημοσίοις εὐρίσκομεν γράμμασιν.”  
 256 (23) Ψήφισμα Ἀλικαρνασέων. “ἐπὶ ἱερέως  
 Μέμνονος<sup>5</sup> τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, κατὰ δὲ ποιήσιν  
 Εὐωνύμου,<sup>6</sup> Ἀνθεστηριῶνος<sup>7</sup> . . . ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ,

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν . . . φιλίαν] cum eis nostras amicitias Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἀεὶ add. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> + καὶ P.

<sup>5</sup> Νέωνος coni. Wilhelm.

<sup>6</sup> Μενόλλου Wilhelm.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀνθεστηρίας P, unde Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ia' coni. Niese.

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<sup>a</sup> The term “allies of the Romans” might still have been used some years after Pergamum became a Roman possession in 133 B.C. For a parallel Prof. James Oliver kindly refers me to an inscription of Sagalassus of A.D. 292 in *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* ii. 735.

ness and pointed out the virtues and generosity of Hyrcanus and how he confers benefits upon all men generally, and in particular upon those who come to him, we deposited the documents in our public archives and passed a decree that we on our part, being allies of the Romans,<sup>a</sup> would do everything possible on behalf of the Jews in accordance with the decree of the Senate.<sup>b</sup> And when he delivered the letter to us, Theodorus also requested our magistrates to send a copy of the decree to Hyrcanus, as well as envoys who would inform him of the friendly interest of our people, and would urge him to preserve and increase his friendship with us and always<sup>c</sup> be responsible for some act of good in the knowledge that he will receive a fitting recompense, and also remembering that in the time of Abraham, who was the father of all Hebrews, our ancestors were their friends, as we find in the public records."<sup>d</sup>

(23) Decree of the people of Halicarnassus. "In the priesthood of Memnon,<sup>e</sup> son of Aristides and, by adoption, of Euonymus,<sup>f</sup> . . . of Anthesterion,<sup>g</sup> the people passed the following decree on the motion

Decree of Halicarnassus.

<sup>b</sup> Presumably by supporting the Jews against Antiochus, at least in theory. Possibly some practical support might have been given in the form of trade agreements.

<sup>c</sup> "Always" is added conjecturally.

<sup>d</sup> On the similar claim of kinship between the Jews and Spartans dating from the time of Abraham, see *Ant.* xii. 226 and works listed in Appendix F, preceding volume.

<sup>e</sup> Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 8 (1905), 238-241 (cited by Juster i. 148 n. 3), proposes to read "Neon" on the bases of inscriptions (of unknown date) in *BCH* 4 (1880), 397 and 14 (1890), 102, 402.

<sup>f</sup> Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*, emends to "Menollus."

<sup>g</sup> February/March. The day of the month must have been given originally.

- 257 εἰσηγησαμένου Μάρκου Ἀλεξάνδρου. ἐπεὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβὲς καὶ ὄσιον ἐν ἅπαντι καιρῷ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχομεν, κατακολουθοῦντες τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὄντι εὐεργέτῃ, καὶ οἷς περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔγραψεν, ὅπως συντελῶνται αὐτοῖς αἱ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἱεροποιαὶ καὶ ἑορταὶ αἱ εἰθισμέναι
- 258 καὶ σύνοδοι, δεδόχθαι καὶ ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίων τοὺς βουλομένους ἀνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας τὰ τε σάββατα ἄγειν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συντελεῖν κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαϊκοὺς<sup>1</sup> νόμους, καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος. ἂν δέ τις κωλύσῃ ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ιδιώτης, τῷδε<sup>2</sup> τῷ ζημιώματι ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω καὶ ὀφειλέτω τῇ πόλει.”
- 259 (24) Ψήφισμα Σαρδιανῶν. “ ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, στρατηγῶν εἰσηγησαμένων. ἐπεὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει<sup>3</sup> Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται<sup>4</sup> πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα φιλόανθρωπα ἐσχηκότες διὰ παντὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ νῦν εἰσελθόντες ἐπὶ
- 260 τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον παρεκάλεσαν, ἀποκαθισταμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπὸ

<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαίων PF.<sup>2</sup> + ἀπ' ἀρχῆς P.<sup>3</sup> ὅδε Hudson.<sup>4</sup> πολῖται secl. Tarn.<sup>a</sup> Probably, but not certainly, a Roman official.<sup>b</sup> Reinach prefers to translate τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι as “faire des prières,” which is possible though less likely; cf. the implied reference to a synagogue in the following decree.<sup>c</sup> On synagogues built near the water see *Ant.* xii. 106 note c.<sup>d</sup> The decree must originally have specified the amount of the fine.<sup>e</sup> The relation between this decree and the letter of Lucius

of Marcus Alexander.<sup>a</sup> Whereas at all times we have had a deep regard for piety toward the Deity and holiness, and following the example of the people of Rome, who are benefactors of all mankind, and in conformity with what they have written to our city concerning their friendship and alliance with the Jews, to the effect that their sacred services to God and their customary festivals and religious gatherings shall be carried on, we have also decreed that those Jewish men and women who so wish may observe their Sabbaths and perform their sacred rites in accordance with the Jewish laws, and may build places of prayer<sup>b</sup> near the sea,<sup>c</sup> in accordance with their native custom. And if anyone, whether magistrate or private citizen, prevents them, he shall be liable to the following fine<sup>d</sup> and owe it to the city."

(24) Decree of the people of Sardis.<sup>e</sup> "The following decree was passed by the council and people on the motion of the magistrates. Whereas the Jewish citizens<sup>f</sup> living in our city<sup>g</sup> have continually received many great privileges from the people and have now come before the council and the people and have pleaded that as their laws and freedom have been

Decree of  
Sardis.

Antonius to Sardis in § 235 (*cf.* § 232) is not clear, but the present document seems to be later.

<sup>f</sup> W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, p. 176 n. 1, remarks, "οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται is a contradiction in terms; the interpolation of πολῖται is self-evident." So also Reinach had earlier noted that πολῖται is "très embarrassant," and may be an error arising from the following πολλὰ or else mean πολῖται Ῥωμαῖοι. Conceivably, however, the members of a Jewish *politeuma* within the Hellenistic *polis* may have been called πολῖται (for ἰσοπολίται). See further the appendix on the status of Jews in the Diaspora in the last volume of this translation.

<sup>g</sup> One ms. adds "from the earliest times."

τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων, ἵνα κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἔθῃ συνάγωνται καὶ πολιτεύωνται<sup>1</sup> καὶ διαδικάζωνται<sup>2</sup> πρὸς αὐτούς,<sup>3</sup> δοθῆ<sup>4</sup> τε καὶ τόπος αὐτοῖς εἰς ὃν συλλεγόμενοι μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἐπιτελῶσι τὰς πατρίους  
 261 εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ· δεδόχθαι<sup>5</sup> τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ συγκεχωρηῆσθαι αὐτοῖς συνερχομένοις ἐν ταῖς προαποδεδειγμέναις ἡμέραις πράσσειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν νόμους, ἀφορισθῆναι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τόπον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς οἰκοδομίαν καὶ οἴκησιν αὐτῶν, ὃν ἂν ὑπολάβωσι πρὸς τοῦτ' ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι, ὅπως τε τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγορανόμοις ἐπιμελὲς ἦ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνοις πρὸς τροφήν ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν εἰσάγεσθαι.”

262 (25) Ψήφισμα Ἐφεσίων. “ ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως Μηνοφίλου, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου τῇ προτέρᾳ, ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, Νικάνωρ Εὐφήμου εἶπεν, εἰσηγησαμένων  
 263 τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐπεὶ ἐντυχόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίων Μάρκῳ Ἰουνίῳ Ποντίου<sup>6</sup> υἱῷ Βρούτῳ<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολιτεύονται om. AM Lat.

<sup>2</sup> μὴ διαδικάζόμεθα FLAM.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτούς ex Lat. Niese: αὐτούς codd.

<sup>4</sup> P: ἐδόθη rell. Lat.

<sup>5</sup> P: δέδοκται οὖν rell. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> Πομπηῖω FLAM.

<sup>7</sup> Βρούτου FLAM: Μάρκῳ . . . Βρούτῳ] Μάρκῳ Ἰουνίῳ Μάρκου υἱῷ Bergmann: M. Ἴ. Καίπιωνι vel M. Ἴ. Μάρκου υἱῷ Καίπιωνι Ritschl.

<sup>a</sup> Viereck, p. 109, argues that this last clause refers to the Jews of Palestine in the time of Hyrcanus II, but if so one would expect the decree to state this explicitly.



restored to them by the Roman Senate and people,<sup>a</sup> they may, in accordance with their accepted customs, come together and have a communal life<sup>b</sup> and adjudicate suits among themselves,<sup>c</sup> and that a place be given them in which they may gather together with their wives and children and offer their ancestral prayers and sacrifices<sup>d</sup> to God, it has therefore been decreed by the council and people that permission shall be given them to come together on stated days to do those things which are in accordance with their laws, and also that a place shall be set apart by the magistrates for them to build and inhabit,<sup>e</sup> such as they may consider suitable for this purpose, and that the market-officials of the city shall be charged with the duty of having suitable food for them brought in."

(25) Decree of the people of Ephesus. "In the presidency of Menophilus, on the first of the month Artemision,<sup>f</sup> the following decree was passed by the people on the motion of the magistrates, and was announced by Nicanor. Whereas the Jews in the city have petitioned the proconsul Marcus Junius

Decree of  
Ephesus.

<sup>b</sup> The variant omits "and have a communal life"; the reference is to the organization of the Jewish community (*politeuma*) in Sardis.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "and that we shall not have legal disputes with them"—an inferior reading. The document cited in § 235 states that the Jews of Sardis have had their own courts "from the earliest times." In this document they are permitted to have a synagogue in addition.

<sup>d</sup> "Sacrifices" (*θυσίας*) must here be used in the larger sense of "offerings."

<sup>e</sup> Reinach assumes that a "ghetto" is meant, but *τόπον* here probably means a synagogue or communal building, *cf.* A. D. Nock in *HTR* 29 (1936), 46.

<sup>f</sup> March 24th in the Roman calendar, according to Gardthausen, *Augustus*, i. 64, ii. 72 (cited by Juster i. 148 n. 10).

## JOSEPHUS

ἀνθυπάτω, ὅπως ἄγωσι τὰ σάββατα καὶ πάντα ποιῶσι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς  
 264 ἐμποδῶν γινομένου, ὁ στρατηγὸς συνεχώρησε, δε-  
 δόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ πράγματος  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἀνήκοντος, μηδένα κωλύεσθαι παρα-  
 τηρεῖν τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν μηδὲ πράσσεσθαι  
 ἐπιτίμιον, ἐπιτετράφθαι<sup>2</sup> δ' αὐτοῖς πάντα ποιεῖν  
 κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν νόμους."

265 (26) Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τῇ  
 συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων  
 δόγματα πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν γε-  
 γεννημένα, καὶ πόλεσιν ψηφίσματα, καὶ γράμματα  
 πρὸς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δικαίων ἐπιστολὰς  
 ἀντιπεφωνημένα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, περὶ ὧν ἀπάντων  
 ἐξ ὧν παρατεθείμεθα πιστεύειν τοῖς ἀναγνωσο-  
 μένοις οὐ βασκάνως ἡμῶν τὴν συγγραφὴν<sup>4</sup> πάρ-  
 266 ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐναργῆ καὶ βλεπόμενα τεκμήρια  
 παρεχόμεθα τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡμῖν φιλίας γενο-  
 μένης, ἐπιδεικνύντες αὐτὰ χαλκαῖς στήλαις καὶ  
 δέλτοις ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ μέχρι νῦν διαμένοντα  
 καὶ διαμενοῦντα, τὴν μὲν πάντων παράθεσιν ὡς  
 267 περιττὴν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀτερπῆ παρητησάμην, οὐδένα  
 δ' οὕτως ἡγησάμην σκαιόν, ὃς<sup>5</sup> οὐχὶ καὶ περὶ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> τῇ βουλῇ καὶ om. P Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτετράφθω FLAM.

<sup>3</sup> Iudaicas Lat.

<sup>4</sup> γραφὴν P.

<sup>5</sup> ὡς conl. Niese.

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<sup>a</sup> Variant " Marcus Junius Pompeius, son of Brutus." Ritschl, Mendelssohn, Schürer and others think that the original reading gave the name of the celebrated Marcus Brutus, who was in Asia in 42 b.c. Reinach suggests that the name was that of Marcus Juncus, governor of Asia and Bithynia in 74 b.c. See works listed in Appendix J.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. the proconsul.

Brutus, son of Pontius,<sup>a</sup> that they might observe their Sabbaths and do all those things which are in accordance with their native customs without interference from anyone, and the governor<sup>b</sup> has granted this request, it has therefore been decreed by the council and<sup>c</sup> people that as the matter is of concern to the Romans, no one shall be prevented from keeping the Sabbath days nor be fined for so doing, but they shall be permitted to do all those things which are in accordance with their own laws."

(26) Now there are many other such decrees, passed by the Senate and the Imperators<sup>d</sup> of the Romans, relating to Hyrcanus<sup>e</sup> and our nation, as well as resolutions of cities and rescripts of provincial governors<sup>f</sup> in reply to letters on the subject of our rights, all of which those who will read our work without malice will find it possible to take on faith from the documents we have cited. For since we have furnished clear and visible proofs of our friendship with the Romans, indicating those decrees engraved on bronze pillars and tablets which remain to this day and will continue to remain in the Capitol, I have refrained from citing them all as being both superfluous and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose that anyone is so stupid that he will actually refuse to believe the statements about the friendliness of

Conclusion of citations from official documents.

<sup>a</sup> The variant omits "council and."

<sup>d</sup> Such as Julius Caesar, Mark Antony and Dolabella.

<sup>e</sup> Josephus must mean Hyrcanus II, although some of the decrees cited above probably date from the time of Hyrcanus I (e.g. §§ 247 ff.).

<sup>f</sup> Chamonard translates, "d'actes des magistrats en réponse aux lettres des gouverneurs"; but ἡγεμόσιν is clearly dative of agent depending on the passive participle ἀντιπεφωνημένα. ἡγεμόν here = Lat. *praeses provinciae* (Magie, p. 85).

Ῥωμαίων ἡμῖν πιστεύσει<sup>1</sup> φιλανθρωπίας,<sup>2</sup> ὅτι ταύτην καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἐπεδείξαντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς δογμάτων, καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐχ ὑπολήφεται περὶ ὧν εἶναι φάμεν ἀληθεύειν ἐξ ὧν ἐπεδείξαμεν. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς γενομένην δεδηλώκαμεν.

268 (xi. 1) Συνέβη δ' ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ταραχθῆναι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· Βάσσοσ Καικίλιος<sup>3</sup> εἰς τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων ἐπιβουλήν συνθεῖς ἐπὶ Σέξτον Καίσαρα κτείνει μὲν ἐκείνον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ παραλαβὼν ἐκράτει τῶν πραγμάτων, πόλεμός τε μέγας περὶ τὴν Ἀπάμειαν συνέστη τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντων μετὰ τε ἰππέων<sup>4</sup> καὶ  
269 πεζῆς δυνάμεως. τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατροσ συμμαχίαν ἔπεμψε μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, κατὰ μνήμην ὧν εὐεργετήθησαν<sup>5</sup> ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμωρεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δίκην παρὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος  
270 εἰσπράξασθαι δίκαιον ἡγούμενος. χρονηζομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Μοῦρκος<sup>6</sup> μὲν ἦλθεν ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Σέξτου, Καῖσαρ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κτείνεται,

<sup>1</sup> πιστεύσαι P.

<sup>2</sup> φιλίας Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> Lat.: Κέλιος PFV: Κικίλιος LAM: Κικίλλιος E: Κεκίλιος ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: ἰππων P: ἰπποτῶν rell.

<sup>5</sup> P: εὐεργετηθείσαν rell.

<sup>6</sup> ex B.J. edd.: Μάρκος codd. E Lat. hic et infra.

<sup>a</sup> Here is resumed the parallelism with B.J.; §§ 268-279 are parallel with B.J. i. 216-224, cf. Laqueur, pp. 186-188.

the Romans towards us, when they have demonstrated this in a good many decrees relating to us, or will not admit that we are making truthful statements on the basis of the examples we have given. And herein we have set forth our friendship and alliance with the Romans in those times.

(xi. 1) <sup>a</sup> About the same time disturbances broke out in Syria for the following reason. Bassus Caecilius, one of Pompey's sympathizers, <sup>b</sup> formed a plot against Sextus Caesar, <sup>c</sup> and after killing him, took over his army and made himself master of the country <sup>d</sup>; thereupon a great war began <sup>e</sup> near Apamea, for Caesar's generals <sup>f</sup> marched against him with a force of cavalry and infantry. Antipater also sent them reinforcements together with his sons, being mindful of the benefits they had received from Caesar and on that account thinking it just to avenge Sextus and exact satisfaction from his murderer. As the war was prolonged, Murcus <sup>g</sup> came from Rome to take Sextus' command, and (Julius) Caesar was killed by Cassius, Brutus and their followers in the Senate-house, after having held power for three

Antipater supports the Caesarians against the Pompeians.

<sup>b</sup> Holmes, iii. 326 n. 5, accepts this statement that Bassus was a Pompeian sympathizer (with which Livy and Dio Cassius agree) as more accurate than other ancient accounts that Julius Caesar had left a legion in Syria under Bassus.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 170.

<sup>d</sup> In 46-45 B.C., while Julius Caesar was fighting the Pompeians in Africa.

<sup>e</sup> Autumn of 45 B.C.; πόλεμος συνέστη is a Thucydidean phrase (Thuc. i. 15. 2), found elsewhere in Josephus.

<sup>f</sup> Under C. Antistius Vetus, cf. Dio Cassius xlvii. 27 and Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* i. 218.

<sup>g</sup> Emended (with *B.J.*) from MSS. "Marcus." L. Staius Murcus was sent to Syria by Julius Caesar at the beginning of 44 B.C. to oppose Bassus.

## JOSEPHUS

- κατασχών τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώται.
- 271 (2) Τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρος θανάτῳ πολέμου  
 συνερρωγότες καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει πάντων ἐπὶ στρα-  
 τιᾶς συλλογὴν ἄλλου ἄλλη διεσπαρμένων, ἀφικνεῖ-  
 272 τὰν Ἀπάμειαν στρατόπεδα· καὶ λύσας τὴν πολιορ-  
 κίαν ἀμφοτέρους προσάγεται τὸν τε Βάσσον καὶ  
 τὸν Μοῦρκον, τὰς τε πόλεις ἐπερχόμενος ὅπλα  
 τε καὶ στρατιώτας συνήθροιζε, καὶ φόρους αὐταῖς  
 μεγάλους ἐπετίθει· μάλιστα δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐκά-  
 κωσεν, ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου εἰσπραττό-  
 273 μενος. Ἀντίπατρος δ' ὄρων ἐν μεγάλῳ φόβῳ καὶ  
 ταραχῇ τὰ πράγματα, μερίζει τὴν τῶν χρημάτων  
 εἴσπραξιν καὶ ἑκατέρῳ τῶν υἱῶν συνάγειν δίδωσι  
 τὰ μὲν<sup>1</sup> Μαλίχῳ κακοήθως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένῳ,  
 274 τὰ δὲ ἄλλοις προσέταξεν εἰσπράττεσθαι. καὶ  
 πρῶτος Ἡρώδης ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰσπραξά-  
 μενος ὅσα ἦν αὐτῷ προστεταγμένα, φίλος ἦν εἰς  
 τὰ μάλιστα Κασσίῳ· σῶφρον γὰρ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ  
 Ῥωμαίους ἤδη θεραπεύειν καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν  
 κατασκευάζειν εὐνοίαν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόνων.

<sup>1</sup> δὲ V : in his verbis corruptelam latere suspicatur Niese.

<sup>a</sup> From the battle of Pharsalia, Aug. 9, 48 B.C. to March 15, 44 B.C. was a little over three years and seven months, the figure given in *B.J.* i. 218.

<sup>b</sup> By other historians.

<sup>c</sup> πολέμου συνερρωγότες is another Thucydidean phrase (*Thuc.* i. 66), found also in *B.J.* and *Ap.*

<sup>d</sup> Richards and Shutt, guided by the Latin, would change the punctuation and the tense of παραληψόμενος to read, "Cassius arrived in Syria; and after having taken over."

years and six months.<sup>a</sup> This, however, has been related elsewhere.<sup>b</sup>

(2) On the outbreak of the war<sup>c</sup> that followed Caesar's death and the dispersal to various quarters of all in authority in order to raise an army, Cassius arrived in Syria to take over<sup>d</sup> the armies near Apamea. And after raising the siege, he won over both Bassus and Murcus, and descending upon the cities, he collected arms and soldiers from them, and imposed heavy tribute upon them. Worst of all was his treatment of Judaea, from which he exacted seven hundred<sup>e</sup> talents of silver. But Antipater, seeing that affairs were in fearful disorder,<sup>f</sup> apportioned the exacting of money and gave each of his sons a part to collect, and gave orders that some of it was to be raised by Malichus,<sup>g</sup> who was hostile toward him, and the rest by others. And Herod, being the first to raise the sum set for him from Galilee,<sup>h</sup> became especially friendly with Cassius. For he thought it prudent to court the Romans and secure their goodwill at the expense of others.<sup>i</sup> But the officials of

Cassius becomes master of Syria, and is supported by Antipater and his sons.

<sup>a</sup> So *B.J.* also ; Syncellus, i. 576, gives 800, but see note *h* below.

<sup>f</sup> Prof. Post suggests, "viewing events in great terror and confusion." ἐν φόβῳ καὶ παραχῆν is also Thucydidean (Thuc. iii. 79. 3) cf. *Ant.* ii. 100.

<sup>g</sup> Text slightly uncertain. Malichus (or Malchus—both forms are found in mss. of Josephus and contemporary inscriptions) was a Jewish noble who supported Hyrcanus, cf. § 84 ; he should not be confused with the Arab king Malchus, cf. §§ 370 ff.

<sup>h</sup> 100 talents, according to *B.J.* i. 221. Apparently Syncellus (note *e* above) has included this with the 700 talents raised in Judaea in the sum obtained by Cassius.

<sup>i</sup> "At the expense of others" is a phrase not found in *B.J.* On this "anti-Herodian" addition see Laqueur, p. 187.

## JOSEPHUS

- 275 ἐπιπράσκοντο δ' αὐτανδροὶ ὅσοι<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἄλλων πό-  
 λεων<sup>2</sup> ἐπιμεληταί, καὶ τέσσαρας πόλεις ἐξηνδραπό-  
 δισε τότε<sup>3</sup> Κάσσιος, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ δυνατώταται Γόφνα  
 τε καὶ Ἀμμαοῦς, πρὸς ταύταις δὲ Λύδδα καὶ  
 276 Θάμνα. ἐπεξῆλθε δ' ἂν ὑπ' ὀργῆς Κάσσιος ὥστε  
 καὶ Μάλιχον ἀνελεῖν (ὠρμητο γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν), εἰ  
 μὴ Ὑρκανὸς δι' Ἀντιπάτρου ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκ  
 τῶν ἰδίων<sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ πέμψας ἐπέσχε τῆς ὀρμῆς.
- 277 (3) Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιος ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας<sup>5</sup> ἀπῆρε,  
 Μάλιχος ἐπεβούλευσεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ, τὴν τούτου  
 τελευτὴν ἀσφάλειαν Ὑρκανοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔσεσθαι<sup>6</sup>  
 νομίζων. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ταῦτα  
 φρονῶν, ἀλλ' αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐχώρει πέραν  
 Ἰορδάνου, καὶ στρατὸν Ἀράβιον ἅμα καὶ ἐγχώριον  
 278 συνήθροισεν. δεινὸς δὲ ὧν ὁ Μάλιχος ἠρνείτο  
 μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπολογούμενος δὲ μεθ' ὄρκων  
 αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν, καὶ ὡς Φασαήλου μὲν  
 Ἱεροσόλυμα φρουροῦντος, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἔχοντος τὴν

<sup>1</sup> οἱ P.

<sup>2</sup> πόλεων om. PE.

<sup>3</sup> ἐξηνδραπόδισε τότε P: ἐξηνδραπόδισε E: ἐξανδροποδίζεται  
 rell.

<sup>4</sup> Ἰουδαίων PFL.

<sup>5</sup> cum multis pecuniis a Iudea Lat.

<sup>6</sup> εἶναι P.

<sup>7</sup> μέντοι ed. pr.

<sup>a</sup> According to Abel, ii. 339 and Avi Yonah, p. 11, this is mod. *Jifna* (3 miles) N.W. of Bethel. It was the capital of a toparchy in Roman times, as were the other cities here mentioned, cf. Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* iii. 55.

<sup>b</sup> Later Nicopolis, Mod. *Amwas*, cf. *Ant.* xiii. 15 note c.

<sup>c</sup> Later Diospolis, mod. *Ludd*, cf. *Ant.* xiii. 127 note c (p. 289).

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 5 note e.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. *B.J.* i. 222, "He was proceeding so far as to put Malichus to death for tardiness in levying the tribute."



the other cities, every last man of them, were sold as slaves, and at that time Cassius reduced to servitude four cities, of which the most important were Gophna<sup>a</sup> and Emmaus,<sup>b</sup> the others being Lydda<sup>c</sup> and Thamna.<sup>d</sup> And Cassius was moved by anger to the point of doing away with Malichus—for he had started to attack him<sup>e</sup>—had not Hyrcanus through the agency of Antipater sent him a hundred talents of his own money<sup>f</sup> and so stopped his hostile move.

(3) But when Cassius had left Judaea,<sup>g</sup> Malichus plotted against Antipater, thinking that his death<sup>g</sup> would make for the security of Hyrcanus' rule.<sup>h</sup> These plans of his did not, however, remain unknown to Antipater, who, on learning of them, moved across the Jordan and collected an army of Arabs as well as natives. Thereupon Malichus, being a shrewd<sup>i</sup> fellow, denied the plot and defended himself under oath before both him and his sons,<sup>j</sup> saying that with Phasaël guarding Jerusalem and Herod having

Malichus plots against Antipater's life.

<sup>f</sup> Hyrcanus is not mentioned in *B.J.*; cf. Laqueur, p. 187, who cites a similar anti-Herodian alteration in § 127.

<sup>g</sup> Lat. adds, "with much money." Whether Josephus here refers to the events of the first half of 43 B.C., when Cassius was preparing to fight Dolabella (§ 223) or of the first half of 42 B.C., when he was preparing to fight Mark Antony and Octavian, is not clear. If the latter, he is anticipating events that took place after the murder of Antipater in 43 B.C. (§ 282); cf. Otto, *Herodes*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>h</sup> In *B.J.* Malichus is said to have plotted against Antipater "to remove one who was an obstacle to his malpractices." This difference of motive is duly stressed by Laqueur, p. 188.

<sup>i</sup> "Shrewd" (δεινός) in *Ant.* replaces the stronger "shamelessness" (ἀναιδεία) ascribed to Malichus in *B.J.*

<sup>j</sup> In *B.J.* Phasaël and Herod act as mediators with Antipater, who apparently was not directly approached by Malichus.

## JOSEPHUS

φυλακὴν τῶν ὄπλων, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς νοῦν ἐβάλετο<sup>1</sup>  
 τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ὀρῶν τὴν<sup>2</sup> ἀπορίαν, καταλλάσσεται  
 279 πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, καὶ συνέβησαν Μούρκου<sup>3</sup>  
 κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγούντος, ὃς αἰσθόμενος νεω-  
 τεροποιοῦντα τὰ<sup>4</sup> κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν<sup>5</sup> τὸν Μάλιχον  
 ἦλθε μὲν ὡς<sup>6</sup> παρὰ μικρὸν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν, Ἀντι-  
 πάτρου δὲ παρακαλέσαντος περιέσωσεν.

280 (4) Ἐλαθε<sup>7</sup> δὲ ἄρα φονέα περισώσας Ἀντίπατρος  
 αὐτοῦ<sup>8</sup> τὸν Μάλιχον. Κάσσιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Μούρκος  
 στρατὸν ἀθροίσαντες τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἅπασαν ἐν-  
 εχείρισαν Ἡρώδη, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν κοίλης<sup>9</sup>  
 Συρίας ἐποίησαν, πλοῖα δόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἰππικὴν  
 τε καὶ πεζικὴν, ὑποσχόμενοί τε καὶ βασιλέα τῆς  
 Ἰουδαίας ἀναδειξέειν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον· συνειστῆκει  
 γὰρ τότε πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸν νέον  
 281 Καίσαρα. Μάλιχος δὲ δείσας τότε<sup>10</sup> μάλιστα τὸν  
 Ἀντίπατρον ἐκποδῶν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πείσας ἀργυρίῳ  
 τὸν Ὑρκανοῦ οἰνοχόον, παρ' ᾧ ἐκάτεροι εἰστιῶντο,  
 φαρμάκῳ κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ὀπλίτας ἔχων

<sup>1</sup> ἔβαλλε FLA: ἔβαλε MV.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ τὴν FLAMV: οὖν τὴν E.

<sup>3</sup> ex B.J. edd.: Μάρκου codd. E Lat. hic et infra.

<sup>4</sup> τὰ E: om. codd.

<sup>5</sup> Συρίαν P.

<sup>6</sup> PE: ὥστε rell.

<sup>7</sup> ἦν P.

<sup>8</sup> Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.

<sup>9</sup> totius Lat., cf. B.J.

<sup>10</sup> τοῦτο Herwerden.

<sup>a</sup> Correction of mss. " Marcus," cf. § 270 note *g*.

<sup>b</sup> One ms. " Syria."

<sup>c</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 280-369 and *B.J.* i. 225-273 see Laqueur, pp. 188-193. He is unable to find any " remarkable " discrepancies or tendentious alterations in these sections.

custody of the arms, he would never have entertained such a notion seeing how impossible it would be ; and so he became reconciled with Antipater, and they came to an agreement at the time when Murcus<sup>a</sup> was governing Syria, who, on learning that Malichus was stirring up a revolt in Judaea,<sup>b</sup> came very near putting him to death, but on the plea of Antipater spared his life.

(4) <sup>c</sup> Now Antipater in saving Malichus' life had unwittingly, it turned out, saved his own murderer. For Cassius and Murcus collected an army and entrusted the entire charge of it to Herod ; and they made him governor of Coele-Syria,<sup>d</sup> giving him ships<sup>e</sup> and a force of cavalry and infantry, and also promised to appoint him king of Judaea after the war which they had just then begun with Antony and the young Caesar.<sup>f</sup> And as Malichus was now in greater fear than ever of Antipater, he sought to put him out of the way, and with money persuaded Hycanus' butler, at whose house they were both being entertained, to kill Antipater<sup>g</sup> by poisoning ; and having

The Herodians' growing power under the Romans leads Malichus to poison Antipater.

<sup>d</sup> "Procurator of all Syria," according to *B.J.* Otto, *Herodes*, p. 22, doubts this latter appointment in view of the chronology (*cf.* § 277 note *g*), and because it is contradicted by a statement in Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 63, that Cassius entrusted Syria to his nephew, who is not named, see below, § 295 note *g*. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, pp. 219 f., notes these difficulties, but suggests that Herod held two different posts at different times. More probably *Ant.* is a correction of *B.J.*

<sup>e</sup> Ships are not mentioned in *B.J.*

<sup>f</sup> That is, Octavian, the later Augustus, *cf.* § 301 note *f*.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "the man"; whether τὸν ἄνδρα is merely neutral here or has favourable connotation ("worthy," as sometimes in Josephus) is difficult to tell. Below, in § 283, applied to Malichus, it means "the fellow" (although the English context there requires the translation "man").

## JOSEPHUS

- 282 εὐτρέπιζε τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. γνόντων δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδου καὶ Φασαήλου καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχόντων, ἠρνεῖτο πάλιν ὁ
- 283 Μάλιχος καὶ ἕξαρνος ἦν τοῦ φόνου. καὶ Ἀντίπατρος μὲν εὐσεβεία τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη διενεγκῶν καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα σπουδῇ, τοῦτον ἐτελεύτησε τὸν τρόπον. τῶν δὲ παίδων αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδης μὲν εὐθὺς ἔγνω τιμωρεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ Μάλιχον ἔλθων, Φασαήλῳ δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ δόλῳ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει περιγίνεσθαι τὰνδρός, μὴ πολέμου κατάρχειν νομισθῶσιν ἐμ-
- 284 φυλίου. τὴν τε οὖν ἀπολογίαὶν τὴν Μαλίχου προσδέχεται, καὶ πιστεύειν ὑποκρίνεται μηδὲν αὐτὸν περὶ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου κακουργῆσαι θάνατον, τάφον τε ἐκόσμιε τῷ πατρὶ. καὶ παραγενόμενος Ἡρώδης εἰς Σαμάρειαν καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὴν κεκακωμένην ἀνεκτᾶτο καὶ τὰ νεῖκη διέλυε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
- 285 (5) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' ἐνστάσης τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἑορτῆς παραγίνεται σὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δείσας ὁ Μάλιχος ἔπειθεν<sup>1</sup> Ὑρκανὸν μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ εἰσιέναι. καὶ πείθεται μὲν<sup>2</sup> Ὑρκανός, προβέβλητο δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποκωλύσεως τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὄχλον ἀλλοδαπὸν ἀγνεύοντος εἰσδέχε-
- 286 σθαι τοῦ πλήθους. ὀλίγον δὲ φροντίσας Ἡρώδης

<sup>1</sup> ἀνέπεισεν PE: ἔπεισεν V.

<sup>2</sup> πείθεται μὲν οὖν FLAM.

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<sup>a</sup> In *B.J.* Josephus characterizes Antipater as "a man of great energy in the conduct of affairs, especially in recovering and preserving the kingdom for Hyrcanus." Here, if

soldiers there, he restored order in the city. But to Herod and Phasaël, who, on learning of the plot against their father, were incensed, Malichus again denied any part in it and professed to have no knowledge of the murder. This was the manner in which Antipater died, a man distinguished for piety, justice and devotion to his country.<sup>a</sup> But while one of his sons, Herod, resolved to avenge his father at once by leading his army against Malichus, the elder son Phasaël thought it better to get their man by cunning lest it should be thought that they were beginning a civil war. He<sup>b</sup> therefore accepted Malichus' defence and pretended to believe that he had done nothing criminal in connexion with Antipater's death; he then arranged the burial of his father. As for Herod, he came to Samaria and finding it in a sorry condition, repaired the damage, and put an end to the quarrels among its people.

(5) Not long afterwards, when the festival<sup>c</sup> took place at Jerusalem, he came to the city with his soldiers, and Malichus in fear sought to persuade Hyrcanus not to permit him to enter. Hyrcanus let himself be so persuaded, and gave the pretext for keeping him out that it was not proper to admit a crowd of foreigners when the people were in a state of ritual purity. But Herod paid little attention to

Herod enters Jerusalem in defiance of Hyrcanus and Malichus.

anywhere, one would expect a considerably less favourable estimate in *Ant.* if Laqueur's theory of the anti-Herodian revision of *B.J.* in *Ant.* is correct. But, on the contrary, *Ant.* is more favourable than *B.J.* It is significant that Laqueur passes over this difficulty in silence.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently Phasaël is meant, but possibly, as in *B.J.*, it is Herod who accepts Malichus' defence and buries Antipater.

<sup>c</sup> The festival of Tabernacles (Oct. 43 B.C.) is probably meant, cf. *Ant.* xiii. 372 note *d.*

τῶν ἀγγέλων<sup>1</sup> νύκτωρ εἴσεισιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ φοβερὸς μὲν ἦν τῷ Μαλίχῳ, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀνίει τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, ἀλλ' ἐδάκρυε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο φανερώς ὡς φίλος,<sup>2</sup> κρύφα δὲ φυλακὴν  
 287 τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρώδην μὴ ἀπελέγχειν αὐτοῦ τὴν προσποίησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον ἀντιφιλοφρονεῖσθαι τὸν Μάλιχον.

288 (6) Κασσίω μέντοι περὶ τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐπέστελλε,<sup>3</sup> καὶ κεῖνος εἰδὼς οἶος εἶη τὸν τρόπον Μάλιχος, ἀντεπιστέλλει τιμωρεῖν τῷ πατρί, καὶ λάθρα διαπέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Τύρῳ χιλιάρχους, κελεύων αὐτοὺς συμπράττειν Ἡρώδῃ δίκαια  
 289 μέλλοντι πράξειν. ὡς δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ἡρηκότος Κασσίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπήεσαν κοινῇ στεφάνους τε αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα κομίζοντες, Ἡρώδης μὲν προσεδόκα δώσειν τὸν Μάλιχον τιμωρίαν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον,  
 290 ὁ δὲ περὶ Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης ὑπιδόμενος<sup>4</sup> τὸ πρᾶγμα μειζόνων ἐφήπτετο,<sup>5</sup> καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ ὀμηρεύοντος ἐν Τύρῳ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω τοῦτόν τε ὑπεκκλέψαι καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπαίρειν, σπεύδοντός τε ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον Κασσίου τὸ ἔθνος ἀποστήσας αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέχειν.<sup>6</sup>

291 τοῖς δὲ βεβουλευμένοις ὃ τε δαίμων ἀντέπραξε,

<sup>1</sup> praecepta Lat.: ἀγγελῶν conl. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> φίλον Lat. Zonaras.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπέσταλκε FLAMV: ἐπέστειλε E.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf: ὑπιδόμενος codd. E.

<sup>5</sup> ἤπτετο FLAM.

<sup>6</sup> καθέξων FLAMV: κατασχέιν E: ἀποστήσαι . . . καθέξων Naber.

his messengers,<sup>a</sup> and entered the city by night, to the terror of Malichus, who, however, did not give up his assumption of innocence but wept for Antipater and ostensibly mourned his memory as a friend; nevertheless he secretly provided himself with a bodyguard.<sup>b</sup> But Herod and his friends still thought it best not to unmask his pretence; on the contrary, they, in turn, treated Malichus with friendliness in order to avoid suspicion.

(6) However Herod wrote to Cassius about the death of his father, and he, knowing what kind of man Malichus was,<sup>c</sup> wrote in reply that he should avenge his father, and he secretly sent to the military tribunes at Tyre, ordering them to assist Herod in his plan to carry out justice. Now when Cassius had taken Laodicea,<sup>d</sup> and they presented themselves officially, bringing him crowns and money, Herod expected that Malichus would meet his punishment on coming there. He, however, being near Tyre in Phoenicia, suspected what was being done, and played for greater stakes; and as his son was a hostage in Tyre, he came to the city, determined to steal him away and depart for Judaea and then, when Cassius was marching in haste against Antony,<sup>e</sup> to cause the nation to revolt, and seize power for himself. These plans, however, were opposed by

Cassius authorizes Herod to kill Malichus for the murder of Antipater.

<sup>a</sup> Variant, conjectured from Latin, "to the laws of purity."

<sup>b</sup> This detail is not given in *B.J.*

<sup>c</sup> *Cf. B.J.* i. 230, "Cassius, who had other grounds for hating Malichus"; the reference is to Malichus' attempt to stir up a revolt in Judaea, *cf.* § 279.

<sup>d</sup> After besieging Dolabella, who surrendered and committed suicide *c.* June, 43 B.C., *cf.* Münzer in *PW* iv. 1308.

<sup>e</sup> Cassius did not leave Syria until early in 42 B.C. The events here referred to took place in the latter half of 43 B.C.

## JOSEPHUS

καὶ δεινὸς ὢν Ἡρώδης τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι,<sup>1</sup> ὃς<sup>2</sup> προεισπέμψας θεράποντα τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν ἐπὶ δείπνου παρασκευὴν (καὶ γὰρ ἐστιάζειν αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας προειρήκει) ταῖς δὲ ἀληθείαις πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους, ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ Μάλιχον πείθει  
 292 μετὰ ξιφιδίων. οἱ δ' ἐξελθόντες<sup>3</sup> καὶ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως αὐτῷ περιτυχόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ κατακεντοῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα. Ὑρκανὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τοῦ γεγονότος εἰς ἀφωνίαν ἐτράπη, μόλις δὲ ἀνενεγκῶν ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην, ὃ τί ποτ' εἶη τὸ γεγενημένον καὶ τίς  
 293 ὁ Μάλιχον ἀνηρηκῶς; εἰπόντων δὲ Κάσσιον τοῦτο προστάξαι, ἐπήνεσε τὸ ἔργον, πονηρὸν γὰρ εἶναι πάνυ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπίβουλον. καὶ Μάλιχος μὲν ταύτην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Ἀντίπατρον παρανομίας δίκην ἐξέτισεν.

294 (7) Κασσίου δ' ἐκ Συρίας ἀπάραντος ταραχὴ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Ἐλιξ<sup>4</sup> γὰρ ὑπολειφθεὶς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ Φα-  
 295 σάηλον ὃ τε δῆμος ἔνοπλος<sup>5</sup> ἦν. Ἡρώδης δὲ παρὰ Φάβιον ἐπορεύετο ἐν Δαμασκῶ στρατηγούντα, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> P: κατανοήσας rell. E.

<sup>2</sup> ὃς P: om. rell.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεξελθόντες P.

<sup>4</sup> Φήλιξ ex Lat. conl. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν ὄπλοις FLAMV.

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. "daimon"; *B.J.* i. 233 has "Destiny" (τὸ χρεών). Schlatter, *Theol. Jos.*, p. 35, remarks that Josephus uses τὸ δαιμόνιον as equivalent to τὸ θεῖον.

<sup>b</sup> *B.J.* has merely, "invited him (Malichus) and Hyrcanus to dinner."

<sup>c</sup> In *B.J.* Hyrcanus says more concretely, "Cassius has saved both me and my country by destroying one who conspired against both." Josephus there adds, "Whether he



a heavenly power<sup>a</sup> and by Herod, who was clever enough to perceive his intention, and sent ahead his servant, ostensibly to prepare a dinner—for he had earlier spoken of entertaining them all<sup>b</sup>—but in reality to go to the military tribunes, whom he persuaded to come out against Malichus with their daggers ready. So they came out, and meeting him near the city on the seashore, stabbed him to death. Hyrcanus was struck speechless with amazement at what had been done, and on recovering with some difficulty, inquired of Herod's men what this act might mean and who had had Malichus slain. But when they said that Cassius had ordered this, he commended the deed, saying that Malichus was a very bad man and a conspirator against his country.<sup>c</sup> Such, then, was the penalty which Malichus paid for his lawless act against Antipater.

(7) But when Cassius left Syria,<sup>d</sup> disturbances arose in Judaea. For Helix,<sup>e</sup> who had been left behind with an army in Jerusalem,<sup>f</sup> marched against Phasaël, and the citizens took up arms. Now Herod was on his way to Fabius, who was governor at Damascus,<sup>g</sup>

Disturbances in Judaea after the departure of Cassius.

expressed his real opinion or from fear acquiesced in the deed, was uncertain."

<sup>a</sup> See above, § 290 note *e*.

<sup>e</sup> Lat. "Felix."

<sup>f</sup> By Hyrcanus, probably, on his leaving for Tyre, as Reinach suggests.

<sup>g</sup> Reinach queries whether this Fabius may not have been the nephew left by Cassius in Syria, whose name is not given by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 63 (*cf.* § 280 note *d*). Schürer, however, citing Noris, *Cenotaphia Pisana*, 1681, p. 280, suggests that the nephew was Lucius Cassius, later killed at Philippi, according to Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 135. If this is true, Fabius must have been the governor appointed to succeed Cassius' nephew, probably early in 42 B.C.

- βουλόμενος προσδραμεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑπὸ νόσου κωλύεται, ἕως οὗ Φασάηλος δι' αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> κρεῖττων Ἐλικὸς γενόμενος κατακλείει μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς πύργον, εἶτα δὲ ὑπόσπονδον ἀφήσει, τὸν τε Ἵρκανὸν ἐμέμφετο ὡς<sup>2</sup> πολλὰ μὲν εὖ παθόντα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν συμπράττοντα δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ὁ γὰρ ἀδελφὸς Μαλίχου τότε ἀποστήσας οὐκ ὀλίγα χωρία ἐφρούρει καὶ Μάσαδαν τὸ πάντων ἐρυμνότατον. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦτον<sup>3</sup> ράϊσας Ἡρώδης ἐκ τῆς νόσου παραγίνεται, καὶ ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν πάντα ὅσα εἶχε χωρία ὑπόσπονδον ἀπέλυσε.
- 297 (xii. 1) Ἀντίγονον δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, στρατιὰν ἀθροίσαντα καὶ Φάβιον τεθεραπευκότα χρήμασι, κατήγε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου διὰ τὸ κήδευμα. συνεμάχει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Μαρίων, ὃν Τυρίων καταλελοίπει Κάσσιος τύραννον. τυραννίσι<sup>4</sup> γὰρ διαλαβὼν τὴν Συρίαν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐφρούρησεν.
- 298 ὁ δὲ Μαρίων καὶ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ὄμορον οὔσαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τρία καταλαβὼν ἐρύματα διὰ φρουρᾶς εἶχεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἅπαντα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο, τοὺς δὲ Τυρίων φρουροὺς φιλανθρώπως ἀπέλυσε, ἔστιν οἷς καὶ δωρεὰς δούς
- 299 διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὖνουν. ταῦτα διαπραξά-

<sup>1</sup> Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.

<sup>2</sup> cd. pr.: καὶ V: om. rell.

<sup>3</sup> οὖν τοῦτον] τοῦτων PE.

<sup>4</sup> τυραννίδι FLAMV Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Modern *Sebbé* on the E. shore of the Dead Sea; see the full description of the Hasmonaean and Herodian fortresses in *B.J.* vii. 280 ff., and A. Schulten (*et al.*), *Die Burg des Herodes*, 1933.

<sup>b</sup> Ptolemy, ruler of Chalcis in Lebanon, had married Alexandra, the sister of Antigonos, a few years earlier, see above, § 126.

but although he wished to rush to his brother's side, was prevented by illness ; finally Phasael by his own efforts got the better of Helix and shut him up in a tower, but later let him go under a truce ; he also reproached Hyrcanus for acting with his foes although he had received many kindnesses from him. For Malichus' brother, having stirred up a revolt, was then guarding a good many fortresses, including Masada,<sup>a</sup> the strongest of all. Accordingly when Herod had recovered from his illness, he came against him and took from him all the fortresses he held, after which he released him under a truce.

(xii. 1) But Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who had collected an army and sought the favour of Fabius with bribes, was brought back to his country by Ptolemy, the son of Mennaëus, because of their kinship.<sup>b</sup> He was also aided by Marion, whom Cassius had left as prince <sup>c</sup> of Tyre, for that worthy on occupying Syria had controlled it through small principalities.<sup>d</sup> Marion therefore invaded Galilee, which lay on his borders, and captured three strongholds, in which he placed garrisons. But Herod came against him also and took from him all these places <sup>e</sup> ; the Tyrian garrison, however, he considerately released, and even gave gifts to some of them out of goodwill to their city.<sup>f</sup> After achieving these things,

Herod  
defeats  
Antigonus.

<sup>c</sup> On this meaning of *τύραννος* see *Ant.* xiii. 235 note *a*.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "through tyranny" ; the reading here adopted is supported by *B.J.* i. 239.

<sup>e</sup> From the decree of Antony cited below, §§ 314 ff., it appears that Herod was not entirely successful in expelling the Tyrians from Jewish territory.

<sup>f</sup> *B.J.* i. 238 says more frankly, "to procure for himself the favour of the citizens, and for the prince (Marion) their hatred."

μενος ὑπήντησεν Ἀντιγόνῳ, καὶ μάχην αὐτῷ  
 συνάψας νικᾷ καὶ ὅσον οὐπω τῶν ἄκρων ἐπιβάντα  
 τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐξέωσεν. εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ παρα-  
 γερόμενον στεφάνοις ἀνέδουν Ὑρκανός τε καὶ ὁ  
 300 δῆμος. ἐγεγάμβρευτο<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἤδη καθ' ὁμολογίαν τῷ  
 Ὑρκανοῦ γένει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ προ-  
 ευστήκει, μέλλων ἄγεσθαι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ  
 Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ θυγατριδῆν,  
 ἐξ ἧς πατὴρ γίνεται τριῶν μὲν ἀρρένων δύο δὲ  
 θηλειῶν. ἦκτο δὲ καὶ πρότερον γυναῖκα δημότιν  
 Δῶριν ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ πρεσ-  
 βύτατος γίνεται παῖς Ἀντίπατρος.

301 (2) Κάσσιον μὲν οὖν χειροῦνται Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ  
 Καῖσαρ περὶ Φιλίππους, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις δε-  
 δῆλωται.<sup>2</sup> μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐπ'  
 Ἰταλίας<sup>3</sup> ἐχώρει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 ἀπῆρε· γενομένῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ αἱ πανταχόθεν  
 302 ἀπῆντων πρεσβεῖαι. παρήσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων οἱ  
 ἐν τέλει, κατηγοροῦντες τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεγαμβρεύετο AME.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς . . . δεδήλωται om. VE.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰταλίας ex Lat. et B.J. conii. Aldrich: Γαλλίας codd. E.

<sup>a</sup> B.J. is also vague about the site of the battle.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 240, "he returned to Jerusalem, where his success won him all men's hearts."

<sup>c</sup> This was Marianne, who is named at this point in B.J., which inaccurately speaks of Herod's marriage (ἐπιγαμίαν) to her. The marriage did not take place until some five years later, see below, § 467 (parallel with B.J. i. 344).

<sup>d</sup> The three sons were Alexander, Aristobulus (III), and one who died in infancy; the two daughters were Salampsio and Cypros, cf. B.J. i. 435, 566 and Ant. xviii. 130.

<sup>e</sup> Perhaps we should interpret ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους as "of the (Jewish) nation," rather than of Herod's nation, the Idu-

he went to meet Antigonus, and joining battle with him, defeated him and drove him out of Judaea before he had time to penetrate further than its border.<sup>a</sup> And when he arrived in Jerusalem, Hyrcanus and the people wreathed his head with crowns.<sup>b</sup> As Herod had already become connected by an agreement of marriage with the family of Hyrcanus, he was for that reason the more protective of him; he was, in fact, about to marry the daughter of Aristobulus' son Alexander and granddaughter of Hyrcanus,<sup>c</sup> by whom he was to become the father of three sons and two daughters.<sup>d</sup> He had previously married a plebeian woman of his own nation,<sup>e</sup> named Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater.

(2) Meanwhile Cassius was conquered by Antony and Caesar<sup>f</sup> at Philippi,<sup>g</sup> as has been related by others.<sup>h</sup> And after their victory Caesar proceeded to Italy,<sup>i</sup> while Antony departed for Asia<sup>j</sup>; when he came to Bithynia, he was met by embassies from all parts. Also present were the leading Jews, who brought accusations against Phasaël and Herod to

M. Antony  
in Asia  
shows  
favour to  
Herod and  
Hyrcanus.

maean. In *B.J.* i. 241 Doris is said to be a "distinguished native" (τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οὐκ ἄσημον), and in 432 she is called "a native of Jerusalem" (γένος ἦν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων). The latter statement is suspected by Otto, *Herodes*, p. 23 note.

<sup>f</sup> The young Gnaeus Octavius was officially recognized as Julius Caesar's heir in August 43 B.C. under the name of Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus. Later, in 27 B.C., he adopted the surname (or epithet) Augustus.

<sup>g</sup> In Macedonia, October 42 B.C.

<sup>h</sup> The variant omits the last clause.

<sup>i</sup> "Italy" is conjectured from Lat. and *B.J.* for mss. "Gaul." The former is historically correct.

<sup>j</sup> Antony was in Asia Minor in the spring of 41 B.C. On his activity there see Plutarch, *Ant.* 24, Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 4 and Dio Cassius xlviii. 24.

Ἡρώδην, πρόσχημα μὲν εἶναι λέγοντες τῆς βα-  
 σιλείας Ὑρκανόν, τούτους δὲ τὴν πᾶσαν ἔχειν  
 303 ἔξουσίαν. Ἡρώδην δὲ Ἀντώνιος διὰ πολλῆς εἶχε  
 τιμῆς, ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀπολογία τῶν κατη-  
 γοροούντων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνέβη μηδὲ λόγου  
 τυχεῖν τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας· διεπέπρακτο δὲ τοῦτο  
 304 χρήμασιν Ἡρώδης παρ' Ἀντωνίου. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς  
 Ἔφεσον ἦκεν Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμψεν Ὑρκανὸς ὁ  
 ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἡμέτερον πρεσβείαν πρὸς  
 αὐτόν, στέφανόν τε κομίζουσιν χρυσοῦν καὶ παρα-  
 καλοῦσαν τοὺς αἰχμαλωτισθέντας ὑπὸ Κασσίου  
 Ἰουδαίους οὐ νόμῳ πολέμου, γράψαντα τοῖς κατὰ  
 τὰς ἐπαρχίας, ἐλευθέρους ἀπολύσαι, καὶ τὴν χώραν  
 ἣν ἐν τοῖς Κασσίου καιροῖς ἀφηρέθησαν, ἀποδοῦναι.  
 305 ταῦτα κρίνας Ἀντώνιος δίκαια τοὺς Ἰουδαίους  
 ἀξιοῦν, παραχρῆμα ἔγραψεν Ὑρκανῶ καὶ τοῖς  
 Ἰουδαίοις, ἐπέστειλε δὲ ἅμα<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς<sup>2</sup> Τυρίοις<sup>3</sup>  
 διάταγμα<sup>4</sup> περιέχον<sup>5</sup> ταῦτά.<sup>6</sup>  
 306 (3) “ Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Ὑρκανῶ  
 ἀρχιερεὶ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ καὶ τῶ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει<sup>7</sup> χαί-  
 ρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσθε, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς  
 307 μετὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Λυσίμαχος Πausανίου  
 καὶ Ἰώσηπος Μενναίου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Θεοδώρου  
 πρεσβευταὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μοι συντυχόντες τὴν τε

<sup>1</sup> ἅμα om. P.<sup>2</sup> τοῖς P: om. rell.<sup>3</sup> + καὶ P.<sup>4</sup> + ἔπεμπε P.<sup>5</sup> διατάγματα περιέχοντα con. Richards et Shutt.<sup>6</sup> con. Hudson: ταῦτα codd.<sup>7</sup> καὶ τῶ Ἰ. ἔθνει P: (τῶν) Ἰουδαίων rell. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> This detail is not mentioned at this point in *B.J.* On Antony's friendship with Herod's father, who had been his host more than a decade earlier, see § 326 (parallel with *B.J.* i. 244).

the effect that while Hyrcanus had the outward appearance of sovereignty, it was they who had all the power. But Herod, who was held in great honour by Antony,<sup>a</sup> came to him to defend himself against his accusers, and in this way his adversaries did not even get a chance to speak, for this service had been obtained by Herod from Antony with money. And <sup>b</sup> when Antony came to Ephesus, the high priest Hyrcanus and our nation sent an embassy to him, bringing a golden crown and requesting that he would write to the provincial governors to set free those Jews who had been taken captive by Cassius in violation of the laws of war, and restore to them the territory of which they had been deprived in the time of Cassius.<sup>c</sup> These demands Antony decided the Jews were justified in making, and so he immediately wrote to Hyrcanus and the Jews. He also sent to the Tyrians a decree <sup>d</sup> to the same effect.<sup>e</sup>

(3) <sup>f</sup> " Marcus Antonius, Imperator, to Hyrcanus, high priest and ethnarch, and to the Jewish nation,<sup>g</sup> greeting. If you are in good health, it is well. I also am in good health, as is the army. The envoys Lysimachus, son of Pausanias, Josephus, son of Mennaenus, and Alexander, son of Theodorus,<sup>h</sup> who met me at Ephesus, have renewed the mission pre-

M. Antony's letter to Hyrcanus and the Jews, granting them privileges in Tyre.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 304-323 have no parallel in *B.J.*

<sup>c</sup> See above, § 297.

<sup>d</sup> Two decrees are cited, §§ 314 ff., 319 ff.

<sup>e</sup> Conjectured for mss. " containing these things."

<sup>f</sup> For a brief discussion of the following decrees see works listed in Appendix J.

<sup>g</sup> So ms. P; the rest have, " to Hyrcanus, high priest and ethnarch of the Jews."

<sup>h</sup> Two of these men, Lysimachus and Alexander, are mentioned above in § 219 as envoys sent to Rome by Hyrcanus.

## JOSEPHUS

ἔμπροσθεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τελεσθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς πρεσβείαν  
 ἀνενώσαντο, καὶ τὴν νῦν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους  
 σπουδαίως διέθεντο, ἣν ἔχεις εὖνοιαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 308 ἐμφανίσαντες. πεπεισμένοι οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων καὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὅτι οἰκειότατα<sup>1</sup> ἔχετε  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὸ ἀραρὸς ὑμῶν ἠῆθος καὶ θεοσεβὲς  
 309 κατανοήσας, ἴδιον ἡγημαί<sup>2</sup>. καταδραμόντων δὲ τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῷ  
 δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μήτε πόλεων<sup>3</sup> μήτε  
 ἱερῶν<sup>4</sup> ἀποσχομένων μήτε ὄρκους οὓς ἐποιήσαντο  
 φυλαξάντων, ἡμεῖς ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἰδίου μόνον ἀγῶ-  
 νος, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων κοινοῦ, τοὺς αἰτίους  
 καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους παρανομιῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς  
 θεοὺς ἀνομημάτων<sup>5</sup> ἡμυνάμεθα, δι' ἃ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον  
 ἀπεστράφθαι δοκοῦμεν, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀηδῶς ἐπέιδε  
 310 τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι μῦσος. ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλάς αὐτῶν  
 τὰς θεομάχους, ἃς ὑπεδέξατο ἡ Μακεδονία καθάπερ  
 ἴδιος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνοσίων τολμημάτων ἀήρ, καὶ  
 τὴν σύγχυσιν τῆς ἡμιμανοῦς κακοηθείας ἣν κατὰ  
 Φιλίππους τῆς Μακεδονίας συνεκρότουν,<sup>6</sup> τόπους<sup>7</sup>  
 εὐφυεῖς καταλαμβανόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης ἀπο-  
 τετειχισμένους ὄρεσιν, ὡς πύλη μιᾷ τὴν<sup>8</sup> πάροδον

<sup>1</sup> οἰκειότητα LAMW Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἴδιον ἡγημαί] proprium te nobiscum esse iudicavimus  
 Lat.: post ἡγημαί excidisse verba non pauca putat Niese.

<sup>3</sup> πολέμων W: ὀσίων coni. Naber.

<sup>4</sup> ἡρώων PFLV.

<sup>5</sup> ἀμαρτημάτων P.

<sup>6</sup> post συνεκρότουν lacunam indicat Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> Bekker: καὶ τόπους codd.

<sup>8</sup> τὴν πᾶσαν LAMW.

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<sup>a</sup> The text is obscure and probably incomplete. The



viously carried out by them in Rome, and have conscientiously discharged their present mission on behalf of you and the nation, making clear the goodwill you have for us. Being, therefore, persuaded by both deeds and words that you have the friendliest feelings for us, and being aware of your obliging and pious nature, I regard your interests as my own.<sup>a</sup> For when our adversaries and those of the Roman people overran all Asia, sparing neither cities nor temples, and disregarding the sworn agreements they had made, it was not only our own battle but that of all mankind in common that we fought when we avenged ourselves on those who were guilty both of lawless deeds against men and of unlawful acts against the gods, from which we believe the very sun turned away, as if it too were loath to look upon the foul deed against Caesar.<sup>b</sup> But their god-defying plots, which Macedonia received as though its climate were proper to their unholy crimes, and the confused mob of half-crazed villains whom they got together at Philippi in Macedonia, where<sup>c</sup> they occupied places naturally favourable and walled in by mountains as far as the sea, so that the passage<sup>d</sup> could be controlled through only one gate<sup>e</sup>—these

latter part of the sentence may have read originally, "I regard it as my own concern that you have suffered injury at the hands of Cassius" or the like.

<sup>b</sup> This bit of rhetoric appears to be based on a passage from a lost play of Sophocles on Thyestes or Atreus, describing the sun's behaviour when Thyestes feasted on his sons; cf. Seneca, *Thyestes* 775 ff. and Hyginus, *Fabulae* 88, "ad id scelus etiam sol cursum avertit."

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "the entire passage."

<sup>e</sup> A rather different description of the site is given, in some detail, by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 105-106.

## JOSEPHUS

- ταμιεύεσθαι,<sup>1</sup> τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδίκους  
 311 ἐγχειρήμασιν κατεψηφισμένων ἐκρατήσαμεν. καὶ  
 Βροῦτος συμφυγὼν εἰς Φιλίππους καὶ συγκλεισ-  
 θείς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐκοινώνησε Κασσίῳ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ἀπωλείας. τούτων κεκολασμένων εἰρήνης τὸ λοι-  
 πὸν ἀπολαύσειν<sup>2</sup> ἐλπίζομεν καὶ ἀναπεπαῦσθαι τὴν  
 312 Ἀσίαν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου. κοινὴν οὖν ποιούμεθα καὶ  
 τοῖς συμμάχοις τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν  
 εἰρήνην· ὥσπερ οὖν<sup>3</sup> ἐκ νόσου μεγάλης τὸ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας σῶμα νῦν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν νίκην ἀναφέρει.<sup>4</sup>  
 ἔχων τοίνυν καὶ σὲ διὰ μνήμης καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὔξειν,  
 313 φροντίσω τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων. ἐξέθηκα δὲ καὶ  
 γράμματα κατὰ πόλεις, ὅπως εἴ τινες ἐλεύθεροι ἢ  
 δούλοι ὑπὸ δόρυ ἐπράθησαν ὑπὸ Γαῖου Κασσίου ἢ  
 τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ τεταγμένων ἀπολυθῶσιν οὔτοι, τοῖς  
 τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοθεῖσιν καὶ Δολαβέλλα φιλανθρώποις<sup>5</sup>  
 χρῆσθαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. Τυρίους τε κωλύω βιαίους  
 εἶναι περὶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὅσα κατέχουσιν Ἰουδαίων  
 ταῦτα ἀποκαταστήσαι κελεύω. τὸν δὲ στέφανον  
 ὃν ἔπεμψας ἐδεξάμην.”  
 314 (4) “ Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων  
 ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. ἐμφανισάντων<sup>6</sup> μοι  
 ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ἰρκανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ἐθνάρχου  
 πρεσβευτῶν καὶ ἄλλων ὑμᾶς κατέχειν λε-  
 γόντων, εἰς ἣν ἐνέβητε κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐναντιου-  
 315 μένων<sup>8</sup> ἡμῖν ἐπικράτειαν, ἐπεὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ<sup>9</sup> τῆς

<sup>1</sup> post ταμιεύεσθαι lacunam statuit Gutschmid.

<sup>2</sup> P: ἀπολαύειν rell.

<sup>3</sup> ὥσπερ οὖν] ὡς παρὸν con. Gutschmid.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf: ἀναφέρειν codd.: refovemus Lat.: ἀναφέρεται ed. gr. <sup>5</sup> Mendelssohn: φιλανθρώπως codd. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> occurrisent Lat., unde ὑπαντησάντων con. Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> καὶ P: om. rell. Lat. vid.

plots and this mob, condemned by the gods for their unjust enterprise, we have overcome. And Brutus, who fled to Philippi and was hemmed in by us, shared the ruin of Cassius. Now that these men have been punished, we hope that henceforth we shall enjoy peace and give Asia respite from war. We are therefore ready to let our allies also participate in the peace given us by God; and so, owing to our victory, the body of Asia is now recovering, as it were, from a serious illness. Having, therefore, in mind to promote the welfare both of you and your nation, I shall take care of your interests. And I have also sent notices throughout the cities that if any persons, whether freemen or slaves, were sold at auction<sup>a</sup> by Gaius Cassius or by those subordinate to him, they shall be released; and it is my wish that you shall enjoy the privileges granted by me and Dolabella.<sup>b</sup> And I forbid the Tyrians to use violence against you, and command that they restore whatever they possess belonging to the Jews. As for the crown which you have sent, I have accepted it."

(4) " Marcus Antonius, Imperator, to the magistrates, council and people of Tyre, greeting. It has been made known to me<sup>c</sup> at Ephesus by the envoys of Hyrcanus, the high priest and ethnarch, that you are in possession of their territory, which you invaded during the time when our adversaries were in control<sup>d</sup>; and since we have undertaken a war for

M. Antony's letter to Tyre, on behalf of Jewish rights.

<sup>a</sup> The Greek here closely follows the Latin idiom *sub hasta venire*.

<sup>b</sup> See above, §§ 217 ff., 224 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. §§ 297-298.

<sup>3</sup> ἐναντιωθέντων AMW.

<sup>9</sup> περὶ Hudson.

## JOSEPHUS

ἡγεμονίας πόλεμον ἀνεδεξάμεθα καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν  
 καὶ δικαίων ποιούμενοι πρόνοιαν ἡμυνάμεθα τοὺς  
 μήτε χάριτος ἀπομνημονεύσαντας μήτε ὄρκους  
 φυλάξαντας, βούλομαι καὶ τὴν ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰρήνην  
 τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων ἐλάβετε ἀνταγωνιστῶν μὴ συγχωρεῖν,  
 316 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἀποδοῦναι<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἀφηρημένοις. οὔτε  
 γὰρ ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνων οὐθεὶς οὔτε στρατόπεδα τῆς  
 συγκλήτου δούσης ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ βία καθαρπά-  
 σαντες ἐχαρίσαντο βιαίως τοῖς πρὸς ἃ ἡδίκουν  
 317 χρησίμοις αὐτοῖς γενομένοις. δίκην οὖν αὐτῶν  
 δεδωκότων, τοὺς τε συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους  
 ὅσα ποτ' εἶχον ἀξιούμεν ἀκωλύτους διακατέχειν,  
 καὶ ὑμᾶς, εἴ τινα χωρία Ἰρκανοῦ ὄντα τοῦ ἐθνάρ-  
 χου Ἰουδαίων πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ Γάιον Κάσσιον  
 πόλεμον οὐ συγκεχωρημένον ἐπάγοντα ἐπιβῆναι  
 τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἡμῶν, νῦν ἔχετε, ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῶ,  
 βίαν τε αὐτοῖς μηδεμίαν προσφέρειν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀσθενεῖς  
 318 αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν τῶν ἰδίων δεσπόζειν. εἰ δέ τινα  
 ἔχετε πρὸς αὐτὸν δικαιολογίαν, ὅταν ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς τόπους ἐξέσται ὑμῖν ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἡμῶν  
 ἕκαστα τοῖς συμμάχοις ὁμοίως τοῖς κρίμασιν  
 φυλασσόντων."

319 (5) "Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος αὐτοκράτωρ Τυρίων  
 ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. διάταγμα ἐμὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδοθῆναι P.

the supreme power, and having in mind the cause of piety and justice, have taken vengeance on those who neither remembered kindnesses nor observed their oaths, it is my wish that our allies<sup>a</sup> shall have peace at your hands, and that whatever you have received from our opponents shall not be retained by you but shall be restored to those from whom it was taken. For none of these men<sup>b</sup> obtained his province or army by grant of the Senate, but they seized them by force, and by an act of violence presented them to those who had been useful to them in their unjust activities. And now that they have paid the penalty, we think it right that our allies shall remain in undisturbed possession of whatever they formerly owned, and also that you, if you now hold any places which belonged to Hyrcanus, the ethnarch of the Jews, as recently as one day before Gaius Cassius, waging an unlawful war, invaded our<sup>c</sup> province, you shall return them to him, and shall not use any force against them in order to make them incapable of managing their own possessions. And if you have any plea against him in justification, you will be permitted to make it when we come to these parts, for we preserve the rights of all our allies equally in giving judgment."

(5) "Marcus Antonius, Imperator, to the magistrates, council and people of Tyre, greeting. I have

M. Antony  
to the  
Tyrians.

<sup>a</sup> The word "allies" (*συμμάχοις*) should not be taken too seriously, since Judaea was in reality a vassal state within the Roman empire.

<sup>b</sup> The party of Brutus and Cassius.

<sup>c</sup> For *ἡμῶν* "our" Reinach suggests *ὑμῶν* "your," on the ground that Syria had never been assigned to Antony as a province. But "our" may refer to the Caesarian party, represented in this case by Dolabella, see above, § 289 note *d*.

- ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, περὶ οὗ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς  
 φροντίσαι, ἵνα αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς δημοσίας ἐντάξῃτε  
 δέλτους γράμμασι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ  
 ἐν τῷ<sup>1</sup> ἐπιφανεστάτῳ ἔχητε αὐτὸ γεγραμμένον,  
 320 ὅπως ὑπὸ πάντων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι δύνηται. Ἐπιφανὴς Ἰουδαίου  
 ἄνδρῶν κατα-  
 στάντων περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων εἶπεν·  
 ἐπεὶ Γάιος Κάσιος ταύτῃ τῇ ἀποστάσει<sup>3</sup> ἄλλο-  
 τριαν ἐπαρχίαν κατεχομένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων<sup>4</sup>  
 καὶ συμμάχους ὄντας διήρπασε, καὶ ἐξεπολιόρκησε  
 τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, φίλον ὑπάρχον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων  
 321 δήμου, τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου τοῖς ὅπλοις  
 κρατήσαντες διατάγμασιν καὶ κρίμασιν ἐπανορθού-  
 μεθα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διηρπασμένα, ὥστε ἀποκατα-  
 σταθῆναι ταῦτα τοῖς συμμάχοις ἡμῶν· καὶ ὅσα  
 ἐπράθη Ἰουδαίων ἦτοι σώματα<sup>5</sup> ἢ κτήσις,<sup>6</sup> ταῦτα  
 ἀφεθήτω, τὰ μὲν σώματα ἐλεύθερα εἶναι,<sup>7</sup> ὡς ἦν  
 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἡ δὲ κτήσις τοῖς πρότερον κυρίοις.  
 322 τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑπακούσαντα τῷ ἐμῷ διατάγματι  
 δίκην συστήσασθαι βούλομαι, κἂν ἄλλῳ τότε κατὰ  
 τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίαν μελήσει μοι ἐπεξελεθεῖν<sup>8</sup>  
 τὸν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντα. ”
- 323 (6) Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ Σιδωνίοις καὶ Ἀντιο-  
 χεῦσιν καὶ Ἀραδίοις<sup>9</sup> ἔγραψεν. παρεθέμεθα μὲν  
 οὖν καὶ ταῦτα εὐκαίρως, τεκμήρια γενησόμενα ἧς  
 φασὲν Ῥωμαίους ποιήσασθαι προνοίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 ἡμετέρου ἔθνους.

<sup>1</sup> τόπω conl. Gutschmid.

<sup>2</sup> PF Lat.: τυρίων LVW: om. AM.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson: ὑποστάσει codd.

<sup>4</sup> στρατοπέδῳ FLAMW Lat.: hic lacunam statuit Niese.

<sup>5</sup> + Ἰουδαίων P.

<sup>6</sup> κτήσεις AMW.

<sup>7</sup> εἶναι om. PFV.

<sup>8</sup> P: ὑπεξελεθεῖν rell.

sent you my edict, and it is my wish that you take care to register it in the public tablets in Latin and Greek characters, and, when it is written, keep it in the most conspicuous place in order that it may be read by all. 'Statement of Marcus Antonius, Imperator, one of the triumvirs appointed to govern the republic.<sup>a</sup> Whereas Gaius Cassius in the late rebellion<sup>b</sup> seized a province which did not belong to him, and after occupying it with armed forces, plundered it and our allies,<sup>c</sup> and forced the surrender of the Jewish nation, which was a friend of the Roman people, we, therefore, having overcome his madness by our arms, do establish order by our edicts and decisions in the territories plundered by him, so that they may be restored to our allies. And whatever was sold belonging to the Jews, whether persons or possessions, shall be released, the slaves to be free, as they were originally, and the possessions to be returned to their former owners. And it is my wish that whoever disobeys my edict shall be brought to trial, and if such a person is convicted, it shall be my concern to prosecute the offender in accordance with the seriousness of his act.' "

(6) In the same way he also wrote to the people of Sidon, Antioch and Aradus.<sup>d</sup> Now we have cited these documents in a suitable place, for they will be proofs of our statements concerning the thoughtfulness which the Romans showed for our nation.

Letters  
to Sidon,  
Antioch  
and Aradus.

<sup>a</sup> Here the Greek translates the Latin formula *triumviratus rei publicae constituendae* (this passage is not noted by Magie, p. 100). <sup>b</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain, perhaps incomplete.

<sup>d</sup> The variant "the Arabs" is a scribal error.

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<sup>e</sup> 'Αραβίους F corr. AMV: 'Αβίους W.

## JOSEPHUS

324 (xiii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Συρίαν Ἀντωνίου  
 παραγενομένου, Κλεοπάτρα περὶ Κιλικίαν ἐντυ-  
 χούσα δι' ἔρωτος αὐτὸν ἐκεχείρωτο. καὶ δὴ  
 πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἑκατὸν οἱ δυνατώτατοι παραγί-  
 νονται πρὸς αὐτόν, κατηγοροῦντες Ἡρώδου καὶ  
 τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, προστησάμενοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς<sup>1</sup>  
 325 δεινοτάτους λέγειν.<sup>2</sup> ἀντέλεγεν δ' αὐτοῖς Μεσ-  
 σάλας ὑπὲρ τῶν νεανίσκων, παρόντος καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ,  
 ὃς κηδεστῆς<sup>3</sup> ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη γενόμενος. ἀκροασά-  
 μενος δὲ ἀμφοτέρων Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ Δάφνης, πυνθά-  
 νεται Ὑρκανοῦ πότεροι τοῦ ἔθνους ἄμεινον προ-  
 326 ἴστανται· φήσαντος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἡρώδη, Ἀντώ-  
 νιος καὶ πάλαι οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ  
 τὴν πατρῶαν ξενίαν, ἣν ἠνίκα σὺν Γαβινίῳ παρῆν  
 ἐπεποίητο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν, τούτους μὲν  
 ἀμφοτέρους τετράρχας καθίστησι, καὶ τὰ τῶν  
 Ἰουδαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει πράγματα, γράφει δὲ  
 καὶ γράμματα<sup>4</sup> καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα<sup>5</sup> τῶν ἀντιστα-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν τοὺς VE: αὐτῶν P: τοὺς rell.

<sup>2</sup> προστησάμενοι . . . λέγειν om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ὃς κηδεστῆς] κηδεστῆς γὰρ FLAMW.

<sup>4</sup> γράφει . . . γράμματα om. Lat.: post γράμματα quaedam deesse putat Niese.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα (ιε') V: δέκα (om. γράμματα πεντεκαί.) P: καὶ δέκα E: πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ rell. Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> At this point is resumed the parallelism with *B.J.*; §§ 324-354 are parallel with *B.J.* i. 245-263.

<sup>b</sup> In the late summer of 41 B.C. Antony had summoned her to answer a charge (not founded in fact) of aiding Cassius. It was on this occasion that Cleopatra, adorned as Aphrodite,



(xiii. 1) <sup>a</sup> When Antony afterwards came to Syria, Cleopatra met him in Cilicia <sup>b</sup> and made him a captive of love. And once again <sup>c</sup> a hundred of the most influential Jews came before him to accuse Herod and his friends, <sup>d</sup> putting forward their most skilful speakers. But Messala <sup>e</sup> spoke against them on behalf of the young men in the presence of Hyrcanus, who had by then become Herod's kinsman by marriage. <sup>f</sup> And when Antony had listened to both sides at Daphne <sup>g</sup> and inquired of Hyrcanus which were the better leaders of the nation, he replied, "Herod and his people," whereupon Antony, who had from of old been friendly with them because of the hospitable relations which he had formed with their father when he was with Gabinius, <sup>h</sup> appointed both Herod and Phasaël tetrarchs, <sup>i</sup> and entrusted to them the government of the Jews; he also wrote letters (to this effect), and put in chains fifteen of their adversaries, <sup>j</sup>

Antony at  
Daphne  
favours  
Herod.

sailed up the Cydnus river in a golden barge, *cf.* Plutarch, *Ant.* 26.

<sup>c</sup> See above, § 302.

<sup>d</sup> *B.J.* "accused the brothers" (Herod and Phasaël).

<sup>e</sup> M. Valerius Messala Corvinus; see Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* i. 243.

<sup>f</sup> Herod was still only the betrothed, not the husband of Hyrcanus' granddaughter Mariamme, *cf.* § 300 note *c.*

<sup>g</sup> A suburb of Antioch, as *B.J.* explains.

<sup>h</sup> *Cf.* §§ 84-86.

<sup>i</sup> This (with the parallel *B.J.* i. 244) is the first occurrence in Josephus of this title, so well known from the New Testament in connexion with the later Herodians. Whatever the official position of Herod and Phasaël as tetrarchs (see works listed in Appendix L), it is likely that the Romans still regarded Hyrcanus, the ethnarch, as nominally head of the state.

<sup>j</sup> Variant "of the rebels." These fifteen were of the influential Jewish spokesmen mentioned above, as *B.J.* makes clear.

σιαστῶν<sup>1</sup> ἔδησε, μέλλοντος δὲ καὶ κτείνειν αὐτοὺς παρητήσαντο οἱ περὶ Ἡρώδην.

327 (2) Ἡρέμουν δὲ οὐδ' οὕτως ἐпанελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀλλ' ἀπήντων πάλιν Ἀντωνίω χίλιοι εἰς Τύρον ἐκεῖ δόξαντι ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολλοῖς ἤδη διεφθαρμένος χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῷ κατὰ τόπον ἄρχοντι προσέταξε κολάσαι τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦντας πραγμάτων, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρώδην συγκαθιστάναι τὴν ἀρχήν.

328 ταχὺ δὲ Ἡρώδης (ἴδρυτο<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ψάμμου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως) προῖων<sup>3</sup> ἀπιέναι παρεκελεύετο (συνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ<sup>4</sup> καὶ Ὑρκανός) ὡς μεγάλου κακοῦ

329 εἰ προέλθοιεν εἰς φιλονεικίαν ἐσομένου. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο. παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐκδραμόντες Ῥωμαῖοι σὺν ἐγχειριδίοις τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν, πλείους<sup>5</sup> δὲ κατέτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διαφυγόντες ἐπ' οἴκου περιδεεῖς<sup>6</sup> ἠσύχαζον. τοῦ δὲ δήμου καταβοῶντος Ἡρώδου, παροξυνθεὶς Ἀντώνιος τοὺς δεδεμένους ἀπέκτεινεν.

330 (3) Δευτέρῳ δ' ἔτει Συρίαν κατέσχον Πάκορος

<sup>1</sup> PVE: στασιωτῶν rell.

<sup>2</sup> E et Lat. vid.: ἴδρυτο codd.

<sup>3</sup> προσιῶν AM: πρὸς Σιδῶνα P.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ ex B.J. conl. Lowthius: αὐτοῖς codd. E.

<sup>5</sup> PVE Lat.: ἐνίοις rell.

<sup>6</sup> περιδεεῖς om. P.

<sup>a</sup> Herod's intercession is not mentioned in *B.J.*

<sup>b</sup> See above, § 303. The bribe is not mentioned a second time as here in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 245.

<sup>c</sup> *B.J.* "the tetrarchs."

<sup>d</sup> So the Epitome and Lat.: mss. "he."

but as he was about to kill them, Herod's intercession saved their lives.<sup>a</sup>

(2) Not even on their return from the embassy, however, did they remain quiet, but again a thousand men met Antony at Tyre, where he had decided to go. And as Antony had already been heavily bribed by Herod and his brother,<sup>b</sup> he ordered the local magistrate to punish the envoys of the Jews, who were bent on revolution, and to establish Herod<sup>c</sup> in power. But Herod hastily went out to them—for they<sup>d</sup> had taken up a position on the beach before the city—, and urged them, Hyrcanus being with him,<sup>e</sup> to go away, saying that great harm would befall them if they proceeded to a contest. But as they refused to take his advice, the Romans<sup>f</sup> immediately rushed upon them with their daggers and killed some and wounded a still greater number,<sup>g</sup> while the rest escaped to their homes and remained there in great terror without moving.<sup>h</sup> But when the populace cried out against Herod, Antony in a rage killed those who had been taken prisoners.

The Romans  
attack  
some of  
Herod's  
opponents.

(3) <sup>i</sup>Two years later<sup>j</sup> Syria was occupied by Pacorus, Antigonus  
purchases

<sup>e</sup> The sing. pron. is conjectured from *B.J.* for mss. "them" (*i.e.* the deputies).

<sup>f</sup> At Antony's command, according to *B.J.*

<sup>g</sup> Variant "wounded some."

<sup>h</sup> *Ant.* omits the statement, in *B.J.* i. 246, that "burial for the dead and medical attention for the wounded were granted by Hyrcanus."

<sup>i</sup> The parallelism between §§ 330-369 and *B.J.* i. 248-273, dealing largely with the Parthians, is discussed by Laqueur, pp. 189-193.

<sup>j</sup> The dating seems to be from about the time of the battle of Philippi (*cf.* § 301), as the Parthians invaded Syria in 40 B.C. (spring). Olmstead, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 255 sees an allusion to the Parthian invasion in Enoch, ch. 56. For rabbinic traditions see works listed in Appendix K.

τε ὁ βασιλέως παῖς καὶ Βαρζαφράνης<sup>1</sup> σατράπης  
 ὦν Πάρθων. τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ  
 Μενναίου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Λυσανίας  
 παραλαβὼν διαπράττεται φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον  
 τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, πρὸς τοῦτο χρήσιμον τὸν  
 σατράπην παραλαβὼν, μέγα παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμε-  
 331 νον.<sup>2</sup> Ἀντίγονος δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ  
 πεντακοσίας γυναῖκας δώσειν Πάρθοις, εἰ τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν Ἵρκανὸν ἀφελόμενοι παραδώσουσιν αὐτῷ,  
 332 καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη ἀνέλοιεν. οὐ μὴν  
 ἔδωκεν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πάρθοι διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Ἰουδαίαν ἐστράτευσαν κατάγοντες Ἀντίγονον,<sup>3</sup>  
 Πάκορος μὲν διὰ τῆς παραθαλαττίου, ὁ δὲ σα-  
 333 τράπης Βαρζαφράνης διὰ τῆς μεσογείου. Τύριοι  
 μὲν οὖν ἀποκλείουσι Πάκορον, Σιδώνιοι δὲ καὶ  
 Πτολεμαεῖς ἐδέξαντο. Ἴλην μέντοι Πάκορος ἱπ-  
 πέων εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψε κατασκεψομένην<sup>4</sup>  
 τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ συμπράξου-  
 σαν, ἡγεμόνα τε ὁμώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως οἰνοχόον.  
 334 ἐκ δὲ<sup>5</sup> τῶν περὶ Κάρμηλον τὸ ὄρος Ἰουδαίων πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> AMW: Βαζαφράνης P: Βαρζαφαρμάνης FV: Βαρζαφρα-  
 μάνης L Lat.: Βαζαφαρμάνης E Photius: Βαρζαφάρνης Hudson;  
 sim. infra.

<sup>2</sup> δυνάμενον Niese: δυνάμενος codd.

<sup>3</sup> κατάγοντες Ἀντίγονον] deducente eos Antigono Lat.

<sup>4</sup> κατασκαψαμένην P: vexaturam Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ἐκ δὲ sqq. corrupta esse monet Niese.

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<sup>a</sup> Orodes II (see the list of Parthian rulers in Debevoise, p. 270).

<sup>b</sup> Variants "Bazaphranes," "Barzapharmanes," etc.; in *B.J.* most mss. have "Barzaphranes." The Iranian original, roughly transcribed, was *Barzafarna* "exalted in glory" (cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 65).

<sup>c</sup> See above, § 297.

the son of the Parthian king,<sup>a</sup> and Barzaphranes,<sup>b</sup> the Parthian satrap. At the same time Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus, died,<sup>c</sup> and his son Lysanias on succeeding to his throne made a pact of friendship with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, in which matter he found the satrap useful, for he had great influence with him.<sup>d</sup> And Antigonus promised to give the Parthians a thousand talents and five hundred women<sup>e</sup> if they would deprive Hyrcanus of power and give it over to him, and destroy Herod and his people.<sup>f</sup> He did not in fact give them these,<sup>g</sup> but nevertheless the Parthians for the sake of these rewards marched against Judaea, bringing Antigonus back to his country; Pacorus went along the sea-coast while the satrap Barzaphranes went through the interior. Now whereas the Tyrians excluded Pacorus, the people of Sidon and Ptolemais admitted him. However, Pacorus sent out a troop of cavalry to Judaea to make a reconnaissance of the country and also to co-operate with Antigonus under the command of the cupbearer of the king, who had the same name as himself.<sup>h</sup> And as some of the Jews near Mount

support  
from the  
Parthians.

<sup>a</sup> Niese's slight alteration of the text (one consonant), here adopted, makes the clause mean that the satrap had great influence with Antigonus; the mss. reading means that Lysanias had great influence with the satrap.

<sup>e</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 248 it was Lysanias who promised the bribe to the Parthians. From this and similar discrepancies, Laqueur argues (unconvincingly) that *Ant.* shows a more intense nationalism than *B.J.* But in *B.J.* i. 257 Antigonus is cited as the one responsible for the promised bribe—a passage that Laqueur does not mention.

<sup>f</sup> The request for the destruction of the Herodians is not mentioned in *B.J.* Again Laqueur fails to comment.

<sup>g</sup> This statement too is an addition to *B.J.*

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* Pacorus, as is more clearly stated in *B.J.*

Ἀντίγονον ἔλθόντων καὶ συνεισβαλεῖν ἐτοίμως  
 ἐχόντων, προσεδόκα δι' αὐτοὺς<sup>1</sup> τῆς χώρας μέρος  
 τι λαβεῖν ὁ Ἀντίγονος· δρυμοὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον  
 καλεῖται· καὶ τινων ὑπαντιασάντων αὐτοῖς, δι-  
 εκπίπτουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα οἱ ἄνθρωποι. προσ-  
 γενομένων δὲ τινων, πολλοὶ συστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ  
 335 βασιλεία ἦκον καὶ ταῦτα ἐπολιόρκουν. προσ-  
 βοηθούντων δὲ τῶν περὶ Φασάηλον καὶ Ἡρώδην,  
 καὶ μάχης γενομένης κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, νικῶσιν  
 οἱ νεανίσκοι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ συνδιώξαντες  
 εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πέμπουσιν ὀπλίτας τινὰς εἰς τὰς  
 πλησίον οἰκίας φρουρήσοντας αὐτάς, οὓς ἐπαναστὰς  
 ὁ δῆμος συμμαχῶν ὄντας ἐρήμους σὺν αὐτοῖς  
 336 οἴκοις κατέπρησεν. ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀδικίας  
 ταύτης Ἡρώδης μετ' ὀλίγον τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν  
 ἀντιστασιωτῶν λαμβάνει, συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς εἰς  
 μάχην καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας.<sup>2</sup>  
 337 (4) Γινομένων δὲ ὁσημέραι ἀκροβολισμῶν αὐτοῖς,  
 ἀνέμενον οἱ πολέμοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς  
 τὴν καλουμένην πεντηκοστὴν (ἐορτὴ δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη)  
 338 μέλλοντα ἦξιεν. τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνστάσης πολλὰ  
 περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀθροίζονται μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων

<sup>1</sup> δι' αὐτοὺς Hudson: διὰ FLV: ras. 1-2 litt. A: δὲ PW: om. ME.

<sup>2</sup> συμβαλὼν . . . ἀποκτείνας om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> The text is slightly uncertain. *B.J.* i. 250 has, "while these troops (of Pacorus) were raiding Carmel, Jews flocked to Antigonus," etc.

<sup>b</sup> "With their help" is an emendation of mss. reading, "Antigonus expected them to take," etc.

<sup>c</sup> Apparently the Plain of Sharon is meant, cf. Abel, *GP* i. 414 (who refers to Strabo xvi. 2. 27 f., as does Debevoise,

Carmel came to Antigonus<sup>a</sup> and were ready to join him in the invasion, Antigonus expected to take some part of the territory with their help,<sup>b</sup> namely, the place called The Grove (*Drymoi*)<sup>c</sup>; and although some opponents engaged them, these men got away to Jerusalem,<sup>d</sup> and on being joined by others, formed a large body and came against the palace, which they proceeded to besiege. But Phasaël and Herod<sup>e</sup> came to the assistance of the besieged, and in the battle which was fought in the market-place the young men<sup>f</sup> defeated the enemy; and after pursuing them into the temple, they sent some soldiers<sup>g</sup> to the adjacent houses to guard them, but as the soldiers were left without reinforcements,<sup>h</sup> the people rose against them and burnt them to death in the houses. For this outrage Herod, however, soon afterwards took vengeance on his adversaries, and engaging them in battle, killed many of them.

(4) During the daily skirmishes that took place the enemy were waiting for the arrival of the multitude from the country<sup>i</sup> who were coming for the celebration of Pentecost, as it is called, which is a festival. And when this day came, there were many tens of thousands of armed and unarmed men gathered

Herod and Phasaël engage their enemies in Jerusalem.

p. 111 n. 74). Avi Yonah, p. 18, identifies it more closely as a wood near *Arsūf* (Apollonia).

<sup>d</sup> *B.J.* i. 250 says that Antigonus' partisans "repulsed the enemy and rushed in pursuit to Jerusalem."

<sup>e</sup> *B.J.* here has Hyrcanus in place of Herod, but see next note.

<sup>f</sup> *B.J.* "Herod and his men."

<sup>g</sup> *B.J.* "sixty men."

<sup>h</sup> The lack of reinforcements is a detail omitted in *B.J.*

<sup>i</sup> *B.J.* i. 253 speaks of the arrival of the country people but does not say that the Herodians' enemies were waiting for them. The use of the word "enemies" here points to a source favourable to Herod, *i.e.* Nicolas of Damascus.

ὀπλισμένων τε καὶ ἀνόπλων.<sup>1</sup> κατεῖχον δὲ τὸ  
 ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἱ παρόντες, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ  
 βασιλεία· ταῦτα γὰρ σὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις οἱ  
 339 περὶ Ἑρώδη ἐφρούρουν. Φασάηλος μὲν οὖν τὸ  
 τεῖχος ἐφύλασσε, Ἑρώδης δὲ λόχον ἔχων ἐπέξεισι  
 τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, καὶ καρτερῶς  
 μαχεσάμενος πολλὰς<sup>2</sup> μυριάδας τρέπει, τῶν μὲν  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν φευγόντων, τῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν,  
 ἔστι δ' ὧν εἰς τὸ ἔξω χαράκωμα· ἦν γὰρ τι αὐτόθι·  
 340 παρεβόηθει δὲ καὶ Φασάηλος. Πάκορος δ' ὁ  
 Πάρθων στρατηγὸς σὺν ἰππεύσιν ὀλίγοις Ἀντι-  
 γόνου δεηθέντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται, λόγῳ μὲν  
 ὡς καταπαύσων τὴν στάσιν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς συμπρά-  
 341 ξων ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. Φασάηλου δ' ὑπαντή-  
 σαντος καὶ δεξαμένου ξενία, Πάκορος πείθει  
 πρεσβεύσασθαι παρὰ Βαρζαφράνην αὐτόν, δόλον  
 τινὰ τοῦτον συνθεῖς.<sup>3</sup> καὶ Φασάηλος οὐδὲν ὑπιδό-  
 μενος<sup>4</sup> πείθεται, μὴ ἐπαινοῦντος Ἑρώδου τοῖς  
 πραττομένοις διὰ τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄπιστον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ Πακόρω καὶ τοῖς ἠκουσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι κε-  
 λεύοντος.  
 342 (5) Ὡλιχοντο δ' οὖν<sup>5</sup> πρεσβεύοντες Ὑρκανός τε  
 καὶ Φασάηλος, Πάκορος δὲ καταλιπὼν Ἑρώδη  
 διακοσίου<sup>6</sup> ἰππεῖς καὶ δέκα τῶν ἐλευθέρων λεγο-  
 μένων προύπεμψεν αὐτούς. γενομένοις δ' ἐν τῇ

<sup>1</sup> ἀόπλων cum L Dindorf coni. Naber.

<sup>2</sup> E: πολλὰς τε codd. <sup>3</sup> συντιθεῖς PVW.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf: ὑπειδόμενος codd. E.

<sup>5</sup> δ' οὖν P: οὖν M: γοῦν rell. E.

<sup>6</sup> πεντακοσίου E.

• B.J. "killed very many and routed the rest."



round the temple. The newcomers held the temple and the city except for the palace and its environs, for these Herod was protecting with a few soldiers. And so, while Phasael guarded the wall, Herod with a company attacked the enemy in the suburbs and after a stout fight routed many tens of thousands <sup>a</sup>; some of them fled to the city, others to the temple, and still others to some outer ramparts which were there. And Phasael also gave him assistance. Thereupon Pacorus, the Parthian general,<sup>b</sup> at Antigonus' request came to the city with a few horsemen,<sup>c</sup> ostensibly to put an end to the uprising, but in reality to help Antigonus obtain power. And when Phasael met him and received him hospitably,<sup>d</sup> Pacorus persuaded him to go on an embassy himself to Barzaphranes, for this was part of a plot he had devised against him. Phasael, suspecting nothing, let himself be persuaded although Herod did not approve of what was being done because of the faithlessness of the barbarians, and advised him, instead, to attack Pacorus and the others who had come.<sup>e</sup>

(5) And so Hyrcanus and Phasael went off on the embassy, and Pacorus escorted them, leaving with Herod two hundred <sup>f</sup> horsemen and ten of the Free-men,<sup>g</sup> as they were called. But when they came to

The Parthians plot against Phasael.

<sup>b</sup> The cupbearer (§ 333), not the king's son.

<sup>c</sup> *B.J.* "with five hundred horsemen."

<sup>d</sup> In this statement and in § 346 Otto, *Herodes*, p. 26, sees an indication of Phasael's attempt to win the Parthians over from Antigonus.

<sup>e</sup> *B.J.* "to kill the plotter" (Pacorus).

<sup>f</sup> The Epitome has "five hundred"; *B.J.* does not specify the number.

<sup>g</sup> Most of the Parthian soldiers were slaves, according to Justinus xli. 25, cited (after Reinach) in Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* i. 255.

Γαλιλαία μεθ' ὄπλων ὑπαντώσιν οἱ ταύτη τῶν  
 343 πολεμίων<sup>1</sup> ἐφεστῶτες.<sup>2</sup> καὶ Βαρζαφράνης τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχεται προθύμως καὶ δῶρα  
 δίδωσιν, ἔπειτα<sup>3</sup> ἐπεβούλευεν. πλησίον δ' Ἐκ-  
 δίππων<sup>4</sup> ὑπὲρ θαλάττης οἱ περὶ Φασάηλον κατά-  
 γονται· καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἀκούσαντες ὡς Ἀντίγονος  
 ὑπόσχοιτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντα-  
 κοσίας τοῖς Πάρθοις κατ' αὐτῶν, δι' ὑποψίας  
 344 εἶχον ἤδη τοὺς βαρβάρους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλευομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπήγγειλέ τις,  
 φυλακῆς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τάφανοῦς περισταμένης, καὶ  
 συνελήφθησαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ περιέμενον ἕως<sup>5</sup> οἱ περὶ  
 Ἱεροσόλυμα Πάρθοι Ἡρώδην συλλάβοιεν, μὴ  
 προαηρημένων τούτων ἐκείνος αισθόμενος δια-  
 φύγοι. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ φύλακες  
 345 αὐτῶν ἐωρῶντο. Φασαήλω μὲν οὖν παρήγουν  
 τινὲς εὐθύς ἀφιππάσασθαι καὶ μὴ περιμένειν,  
 μάλιστα μέντοι πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτὸν Ὀφέλλιος  
 ἐνήγγεν, ὃς ἠκηκόει παρὰ Σαραμάλλα τοῦ πλου-  
 σιωτάτου τῶν ἐν Συρία τότε, καὶ πλοῖα πρὸς τὴν  
 346 φυγὴν ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦν ἡ θάλασσα. ὁ  
 δὲ Ἰρκανὸν ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἠξίου οὐδὲ παρακινδυ-  
 νεύειν τὰδελφῶ· προσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Βαρζα-  
 φράνην οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἔλεγε, τοιαῦτα

<sup>1</sup> πόλεων AMW: provinciae Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ὑφεστῶτες PFL: ἀφεστῶτες ex B.J. conii. T. Reinach.

<sup>3</sup> PE: εἶτα rell.

<sup>4</sup> δ' Ἐκδίππων ex B.J. Niese: δὲ μετὰ ἰππέων codd. E.

<sup>5</sup> Niese: ἕως ἄν codd.

<sup>a</sup> Text uncertain; the variant has "those who were in command of the cities"; for "were stationed" Reinach conjectures, from B.J., "those of the enemy who were in revolt."

Galilec, those of the enemy who were stationed in that region<sup>a</sup> met them with arms. And though Barzaphranes at first received them cordially and gave them gifts, he then began to plot against them. Phasaël and his party were thereupon brought to Ecdippa<sup>b</sup> overlooking the sea; and when they there heard that Antigonus had promised the Parthians a thousand talents and five hundred women at their expense,<sup>c</sup> they now had suspicions of the barbarians. Furthermore someone informed them that a plot was being hatched against them to be carried out by night, and that an unseen guard was placed round them; and they would have been seized had it not been that the enemy were waiting until the Parthians at Jerusalem should have seized Herod lest upon their doing away with the envoys first, Herod should learn of it and escape. And these reports were actually so, and their guards were seen. Accordingly some of the men urged Phasaël to mount his horse immediately and not wait any longer; especially was he pressed to do this by Ophellius, who had heard these things from Saramalla, at that time the wealthiest man in Syria, and he promised him boats for his flight, for the sea was near.<sup>d</sup> Phasaël, however, did not think it right to desert Hyrcanus or to endanger his brother<sup>e</sup>; but he went to Barzaphranes and told him that he was doing the wrong thing in

<sup>b</sup> The name Ecdippa is restored from *B.J.*; the mss. have the awkward reading "with horsemen." Ecdippa is bibl. Achzib, mod. *ez Zib* on the coast midway between Carmel and Tyre, *cf. Ant.* v. 85 note *c.*

<sup>c</sup> According to *B.J.* the five hundred women included "most of their own" (the Herodians').

<sup>d</sup> The promise of boats is a detail omitted in *B.J.*

<sup>e</sup> The second motive is not mentioned in *B.J.*

- βουλευόμενον<sup>1</sup> περι αὐτῶν· χρημάτων τε γὰρ  
 δεομένῳ πλείονα ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ὧν Ἀντίγονος  
 δίδωσι, καὶ ἄλλως δεινὸν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ  
 πίστει συνελθόντας πρεσβευτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲν  
 347 ἀδικοῦντας. ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος, ταῦτα λέγοντος,  
 ὤμνυε μηδὲν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τῶν ὑπονοουμένων, ἀλλὰ  
 ψευδεῖς αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ταραΐσαι, ἀπήει τε πρὸς  
 Πάκορον.
- 348 (6) Οἰχομένου δὲ τῶν Πάρθων ἐδέσμευόν τινες  
 Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον πολλὰ τῆς ἐπιorkίας  
 κακίζοντας<sup>2</sup> τοὺς Πάρθους. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη  
 ἀπεσταλμένος οἰνοχόος<sup>3</sup> ἐντολὰς εἶχε προαγαγῶν  
 349 αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους συλλαμβάνειν. ἔτυχον δὲ  
 ἄγγελοι παρὰ Φασαήλου πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ δηλώσει  
 τῆς Πάρθων ἀπιστίας, οὓς τῶν πολεμίων συλ-  
 λαβόντων γνοὺς Ἡρώδης πρόσεισι<sup>4</sup> Πακόρω καὶ  
 Πάρθων τοῖς δυνατοῖς<sup>5</sup> ὡς οὖσιν τῶν ἄλλων  
 350 δεσπόταις.<sup>6</sup> οἱ δὲ τὸ πᾶν εἰδότες ὑπεκρίνοντο  
 δολερῶς, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν μετὰ σφῶν ἐξελ-  
 θόντα πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ὑπαντᾶν τοῖς τὰ γράμματα  
 κομίζουσιν· οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰλήφθαι πρὸς τῶν  
 ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἤκειν μέντοι δηλοῦντας ὅσα κατ-  
 351 ορθώσειε Φασάηλος. τούτοις Ἡρώδης οὐκ ἐπίσ-  
 τευεν· ἠκηκόει γὰρ τὴν σύλληψιν τᾶδελεφου παρ'  
 ἐτέρων· καὶ παραινούσης δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ θυγατρὸς,

<sup>1</sup> βουλόμενον FLV.

<sup>2</sup> ex B.J. Niese: κακίζοντα codd.

<sup>3</sup> ex Lat. et B.J. (cf. supra § 333) Hudson: εὐνοῦχος codd.

<sup>4</sup> πρόσεισι ἀναγκῶν ex Lat. (cum querelis) coni. Richards  
 et Shutt.

<sup>5</sup> AMW: δυνατωτάτοις rell. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> ὡς . . . δεσπόταις om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "in wishing such things"; B.J. agrees with the reading adopted.

forming such plots<sup>a</sup> against them, for if it was money he wanted, he would get more from him (Phasaël) than Antigonus was giving him, and that in any case it was a terrible thing to kill envoys who had come to him trustfully and were doing no wrong.<sup>b</sup> But in reply to this speech the barbarian swore that there was no truth in these suspicions and that, on the contrary, the suspicions that disturbed Phasaël were false ; he then went off to join Pacorus.<sup>c</sup>

(6) But when he had gone, some of the Parthians put Hyrcanus and Phasaël in chains, and they<sup>d</sup> bitterly reviled the Parthians for their perfidy. Now the cup-bearer<sup>e</sup> who had been sent to Herod had orders to lead him outside the walls and seize him. But fortunately messengers had been sent by Phasaël to inform him of the faithlessness of the Parthians ; and so, when Herod learned that the enemy had seized them, he went to Pacorus<sup>f</sup> and the influential Parthians as the masters of the others. But they, although they knew everything, deceitfully pretended innocence and said that he should go with them before the wall in order to meet the bearers of letters, for they had not yet been seized by their adversaries but had come with a report of all that Phasaël had accomplished. Herod, however, did not believe them, for he had heard from others of his brother's capture ; and at the prompting of Hyrcanus'

Herod is informed of Phasaël's danger in the Parthian camp.

<sup>b</sup> The last clause has no parallel in *B.J.*

<sup>c</sup> The king's son. The cupbearer Pacorus was busy with Herod, *cf. B.J. i. 261 = Ant. § 349.*

<sup>d</sup> "They" is conjectured from *B.J.* for mss. "he" (Phasaël).

<sup>e</sup> So *B.J.* : mss. "eunuch."

<sup>f</sup> From the Latin Richards and Shutt conjecturally supply "indignantly."

## JOSEPHUS

ἧς ἐγγεγύητο τὴν παῖδα, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπώπτευε τοὺς Πάρθους. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ταύτῃ οὐ προσεῖχον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπίστευε λίαν ἔμφροσι γυναικί.

352 (7) Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνδρὶ τηλικούτῳ) καὶ ὑπερθεμένων εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς Ἡρώδης γενόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον οἷς ἤκουσε περὶ τᾶδελφοῦ καὶ τῆς Πάρθων ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις προστιθέμενος, ἐσπέρας ἐπελθούσης ἔγνω ταύτῃ πρὸς φυγὴν χρῆσασθαι καὶ μὴ διαμέλλειν ὡς ἐπ' ἀδήλοις τοῖς παρὰ<sup>1</sup>

353 τῶν πολεμίων κινδύνοις. ἄρας οὖν σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ὀπίταις, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιθέμενος, μητέρα τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφὴν καὶ ἦν ἔμελλεν ἄξεσθαι πρὸς γάμον Ἀλεξάνδρου θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδός, τὴν τε ταύτης μητέρα (Ἵρκανοῦ δ' ἦν θυγάτηρ) καὶ τὸν νεώτατον ἀδελφόν, τὴν τε θεραπείαν πᾶσαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον τὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐδίωκε τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίας,

354 λαθῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὕτω στερρὸς τὴν φύσιν εὐρέθη, ὃς τότε παρῶν τοῖς πραττομένοις οὐκ ἂν ᾤκτειρεν αὐτοὺς τῆς τύχης, γυναιῶν ἐπαγομένων νήπια τέκνα καὶ μετὰ δακρῶν καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπολειπουσῶν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ φίλους

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ P.

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<sup>a</sup> Alexandra, the mother of Mariamme (on the betrothal see above § 300). *B.J.* i. 262 has "Mariamme, the daughter of Hyrcanus, most sagacious of women"; there, it seems,

daughter,<sup>a</sup> to whose daughter he was betrothed, he became still more suspicious of the Parthians. Now though the others paid no attention to her, he himself had faith in her as a very sensible woman.

(7) While the Parthians deliberated what they should do—for they did not like the idea of openly attacking so powerful a man—and postponed the matter to the next day, Herod, who was in great perturbation and gave more weight to what he had heard about his brother and the Parthians' plot than to the other side, decided when evening came to take this opportunity to flee and not to delay as if there were some uncertainty of danger from the enemy.<sup>b</sup> Accordingly he set out with those soldiers whom he had there, and mounted the women on beasts of burden, including his mother and sister and the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, whom he was to marry, and her mother, who was a daughter of Hyrcanus; he also took his youngest brother and all the servants and the rest of the crowd that was with them, and unknown to the enemy followed the road to Idumaea.<sup>c</sup> And no enemy would have been found so hard of heart that on witnessing what was taking place at that time he would not have pitied their fate as the wretched women led their infants and with tears and wailing left behind their native either "Mariamme" is a gloss or the text should read "the daughter of Hyrcanus and the mother of Mariamme," since the description of the woman fits the mother better than the daughter, as Dr. Thackeray points out in his note on the parallel in *B.J.*

Herod escapes with his family to Idumaea.

<sup>b</sup> The foregoing is an amplification of *B.J.* i. 263.

<sup>c</sup> According to *B.J.* Herod covered their retreat. The following sections in *Ant.*, §§ 354-358 a, have no parallel in *B.J.* Otto, *Herodes*, p. 26, questions the authenticity of some of the details following; see also Laqueur, p. 192.

ἐν δεσμοῖς, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηστὸν προσδεχομένων.

- 355 (8) Ἄλλ' Ἡρώδης ἐπάνω τῆς ἐκ τοῦ δεινοῦ πληγῆς τὸ φρόνημα ποιησάμενος αὐτός τε ἦν πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν εὐψυχος, καὶ παριῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν θαρρεῖν ἕκαστον παρεκελεύετο καὶ μὴ παρέχειν αὐτὸν ἕκδοτον τῇ λύπῃ· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς βλάπτειν πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν, ἐν ἣ τὴν σωτηρίαν
- 356 αὐτοῖς μόνῃ<sup>2</sup> κείσθαι συμβέβηκεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὡς Ἡρώδης παρῆνει φέρειν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπειρῶντο. μικροῦ δ'<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο ζεύγους περιτραπέντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ κινδυνευσάσης ἀποθανεῖν, διὰ τε τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πάθος καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι διώκοντες, τριβῆς περὶ τὸ πταῖσμα<sup>4</sup> γενομένης.
- 357 σπασάμενον γοῦν αὐτὸν τὸ ξίφος καὶ μέλλοντα πλήττειν αὐτὸν κατέσχον οἱ παρόντες, τῷ τε πλήθει κατισχύσαντες καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐσομένους λέγοντες· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι γενναίου τῶν δεινῶν αὐτὸν<sup>5</sup> ἐλευθερῶ-
- 358 σαντα τοὺς φίλους ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπεριδεῖν. βιασθεῖς οὖν ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ καθ' αὐτὸν τολμήματος αἰδοῖτε τῶν λεγομένων καὶ πλήθει τῶν οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ διακονεῖν οἷς ἐντεθύμητο, ἀνακτησάμενος τὴν μητέρα καὶ θεραπείας ἧς ὁ καιρὸς ἤπειγεν ἀξιώσας, ἐβάδιζε τὴν προκειμένην ὁδόν, συντονωτέραν ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν εἰς Μάσαδαν τὸ ἔρυμα. πολλὰς δὲ μάχας πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Naber: αὐτῶν codd.

<sup>2</sup> V: μόνην rell.

<sup>3</sup> μικροῦ δ'] ἐκεῖνος δὲ μικροῦ E: ipse vero paene Lat.

<sup>4</sup> πρᾶγμα V: passionis Lat.

<sup>5</sup> Niese: αὐτοὺς P: αὐτὸν rell.



country and their friends in chains; nor did they expect anything better for themselves.<sup>a</sup>

(8) Nevertheless Herod let his spirit rise above the blow caused by this misfortune, and being himself of good courage<sup>b</sup> in the face of misfortune, went to the others along the road and urged each of them also to have courage and not give himself wholly over to grief, for this, he said, would hinder them in their flight, in which alone their safety lay. And so at Herod's exhortation they tried to bear their troubles. But once when a wagon overturned and his mother was in danger of death, he was near to taking his own life because of his anguish on her account and his fear that as a result of the delay caused by the overturn the enemy might overtake them in pursuit. Indeed he had drawn his sword and was about to stab himself when those about him restrained him and prevailed upon him by their number and also by telling him that it was not right for him to abandon them and leave them in the power of their foes, for it was not the act of a noble man to free himself from danger and disregard that of his friends. And so, being forced to desist from his rash act against himself by shame at their words and by the number of those who stayed his hand from carrying out his plan, he revived his mother and procured for her such care as was possible in the short time at his disposal, and continued on his way, making the journey to the fortress of Masada<sup>c</sup> at great speed. Many were the

The tribulations of the fleeing Herodians.

<sup>a</sup> "Themselves" is an emendation of mss. "them" (*i.e.* their friends).

<sup>b</sup> The phrase *παριών . . . θαρρεῖν . . . παρεκελεύετο* is reminiscent of Thucydides iv. 94. 2 and vii. 76.

<sup>c</sup> See above, § 296 note *a*

ἐπεξελθόντας καὶ διώκοντας τῶν Πάρθων μαχεσά-  
μενος πάσας ἐνίκησεν.

- 359 (9) Ἐμεινε δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν οὐδὲ τὰ  
παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀσφαλῆ, συνεπέθεντο δὲ καὶ  
οὔτοι γενομένοις ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα<sup>1</sup> τῆς  
360 πόλεως προσβάλλοντές τε καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχόμενοι  
κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. οὗς δὴ καὶ τρεψάμενος καὶ  
κρατήσας οὐχ ὡς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τις  
τοιαύτη καθεστῶς, ἀλλ' ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ μετὰ  
πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος πρὸς πόλεμον παρεσκευασ-  
μένος, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
ἐκράτησε,<sup>2</sup> μετὰ χρόνον βασιλεύσας καὶ βασιλείον  
κατεσκεύασεν ἀξιολογώτατον καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε<sup>3</sup>  
361 περὶ αὐτό, Ἡρωδίαν προσαγορεύσας. γενομένῳ  
δὲ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐν Ὁρήσᾳ<sup>4</sup> χωρίῳ οὕτω καλου-  
μένῳ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰώσηπος ὑπήντησε, καὶ βουλήν  
περὶ τῶν ὄλων ἤγε τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, πολλοῦ μὲν  
πλήθους ἐπομένου<sup>5</sup> καὶ δίχα τῶν μισθοφορούντων  
αὐτοῖς, τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τῆς Μασάδας, εἰς ὃ πρού-  
κειτο συμφυγεῖν, ἐλάττονος ὄντος ὑποδέξασθαι  
362 τοσοῦτον ὄχλον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλείους ἀπέλυσεν,  
ὑπὲρ ἐννέα χιλιάδας ὄντας, ἄλλον ἀλλαχῆ κελεύσας  
διὰ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας σῶζειν αὐτούς, δούς ἐφόδια·  
ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν κοῦφοι καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους  
παραλαβῶν<sup>6</sup> εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα παραγίνεται καὶ καταθέ-  
μενος αὐτόθι τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους

<sup>1</sup> PE (ut in B.J.): ἑξ rell.

<sup>2</sup> οὗς . . . ἐκράτησε om. Lat.: ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐκράτησε secl. Ernesti.

<sup>3</sup> ἔκτισε hic ponit Lowthius: post βασιλεύσας hab. codd. (om. L).

<sup>4</sup> conl. Schlatter: Ὁρήσα aut Ὁρήσσα codd.: Risa Lat., cf. B.J. et infra § 400.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπαγομένου P.

<sup>6</sup> ἀναλαβῶν P.

battles he fought with the Parthians who harassed him in pursuit, and he was victorious in all of them.

(9) But during his flight he was not safe from the Jews either, for they too attacked his party when they were sixty<sup>a</sup> stades from the city and engaged them in hand to hand combat along the road; but these too he routed and crushed as if he were in no such helpless and difficult position<sup>b</sup> but were excellently prepared for war and had a great advantage; and later when he became king, he built a wonderful palace on the spot where he defeated the Jews, and founded a city round it,<sup>c</sup> which he called Herodia.<sup>d</sup> Now when he came to a place in Idumaea called Oresa,<sup>e</sup> he was met by his brother Joseph, and he held a council to see what he must do about his general situation, for a great number of people, apart from his mercenaries, accompanied him, and the fortress of Masada, in which he proposed to take refuge, was too small to hold so great a crowd. He therefore sent most of them away, numbering over nine thousand, and told them to seek safety in flight to various places in Idumaea, and gave them provisions for the journey. Those, however, who were lightly armed and his nearest relatives he took with him and reached the fortress, where he left the women and their followers,

Herod leaves his family in the fortress of Masada.

<sup>a</sup> So *B.J.*; variant in *Ant.* "six." 60 stades = c. 7 miles.

<sup>b</sup> The words ἀπορία and ἀνάγκη are coupled in Thucydides vi. 68. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> Called Herodeion in *B.J.* i. 265; a description of the site is given in *B.J.* i. 419. It is the mod. *Jebel el-Fureidis*, c. 4 miles S.E. of Bethlehem, and is to be distinguished from the fortress Herodeion, cf. *Ant.* xvi. 13.

<sup>e</sup> "Oresa" is Schlatter's excellent emendation of mss. "Thresa" or "Rhesa" (*B.J.*); it is bibl. Horeshah, mod. *Khirbet Khoreisa*, c. 8 miles S. of Hebron (cf. Abel, *GP* ii. 350 and Avi Yonah, p. 22).

- (ἦσαν δ' ὡς ὀκτακόσιοι) σίτου τε ὄντος ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἀπάντων διαρκούντως αὐτοῖς,<sup>1</sup> ἐξώρμησεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πέτρας  
 363 τῆς Ἀραβίας. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν<sup>2</sup> διήρπαζον οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ τὸ βασιλείον, μόνων δὲ ἀπείχοντο τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων· τὰ δ' ἦν εἰς τριακόσια<sup>3</sup> τάλαντα.  
 364 πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρώδου διέφυγε, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα προεκκομισθῆναι<sup>4</sup> κατὰ προμήθειαν τάνδρὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν<sup>5</sup> ἐφθάκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τοῖς Πάρθοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξιόντες ἐκάκουν, καὶ Μάρισαν δὲ<sup>6</sup> πόλιν δυνατὴν ἀνέστησαν.  
 365 (10) Καὶ Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὕτως καταχθεῖς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον δεσμώτας παραλαμβάνει· σφόδρα δ' ἦν ἄθυμος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν διαφυγουσῶν, ἃς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνεθυμείτο δώσειν, τοῦτον αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων τὸν μισθὸν ὑποσχόμενος.  
 366 φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκαταστήσῃ, παραστάς<sup>7</sup> (ἐτήρειτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων) ἀποτέμνει<sup>8</sup> αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα,<sup>9</sup> πραγματευόμενος μηκέτ' αὐθις εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι

<sup>1</sup> οὕτως LAMW: om. FV.

<sup>2</sup> Ἱεροσολύμων P.

<sup>3</sup> ὀγδοήκοντα PE.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: προκομισθῆναι P: κομισθῆναι E: προκεκομίσθαι rell.

<sup>5</sup> ex Lat. et B.J. Niese: Ἰουδαίαν codd. E.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: τε codd.

<sup>7</sup> παραστὰν V: παραρπάσαν Naber.

<sup>8</sup> ἐπιτέμνει P.

<sup>9</sup> τὸ ὠτίον V.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "eighty." B.J. has "no more than three hundred"; cf. Laqueur, p. 190.

<sup>b</sup> Conjectured from Lat. and B.J. for mss. "Judaea."

<sup>c</sup> Mod. Tell Sandahanna, cf. Ant. viii. 246 note i.

who numbered some eight hundred, for there was sufficient grain and water and other necessities in the place ; and he himself set out for Petra in Arabia. But when day came, the Parthians plundered all the possessions of the people of Jerusalem, as well as the palace, leaving untouched only the funds of Hyrcanus, which amounted to three hundred<sup>a</sup> talents. Much of Herod's property, however, escaped, especially all that with his usual foresight he had succeeded in removing beforehand to Idumaea.<sup>b</sup> But the Parthians were not satisfied with what they found in the city, and so they went out and ravaged the Jews' country as well, and also destroyed the important city of Marisa.<sup>c</sup>

The  
Parthians  
plunder  
Jerusalem.

(10) In this way was Antigonus brought back to Judaea by the Parthian king and took over Hyrcanus and Phasael as prisoners. He was, however, very despondent over the escape of the women whom he had planned to give to the enemy, for this was the reward he had promised them together with money.<sup>d</sup> And being fearful that the people might restore Hyrcanus to the throne, he went up to him where he was being guarded by the Parthians,<sup>e</sup> and cut off his ears,<sup>f</sup> thus taking care that the high priesthood

Antigonus  
mutilates  
Hyrcanus  
and has  
Phasael  
killed.

<sup>a</sup> See above, § 343. Antigonus' disappointment is not mentioned in *B.J.* ; see below, § 369 note *c*.

<sup>e</sup> According to *B.J.* Hyrcanus threw himself at the feet of Antigonus.

<sup>f</sup> Variant "ear." *B.J.* says that Antigonus "with his teeth mutilated" (λωβᾶται τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν) Hyrcanus' ears. Julius Africanus *ap.* Syncellus (*cf.* H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*, p. 262) says that Antigonus "cut off his ears" (ἀποτεμὼν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα), while Syncellus himself says that Antigonus "cut off his ears with his teeth" (τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀποτεμὼν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα). The latter statement seems to be a conflation of the two accounts in Josephus ; "cut off" is a strange verb in combination with "teeth."

- τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διὰ τὸ λελωβῆσθαι, τοῦ νόμου  
 367 τῶν ὀλοκλήρων εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀξιούντος. Φασάηλον δ' ἂν τις θαυμάσειε τῆς εὐψυχίας, ὅς γνοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποσφάττεσθαι μέλλοντα οὐχὶ τὸν θάνατον ἠγήσατο δεινόν, τὸ δ' ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τοῦτο παθεῖν πικρότατον<sup>1</sup> καὶ αἰσχιστον ὑπολαβὼν, τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχων ἐλευθέρας ὑπὸ δεσμῶν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν πέτρα προσαράξας<sup>2</sup> τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξήγαγε μὲν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ζῆν, ὡς ἐδόκει, κάλλιστα παρὰ τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν, τῆς δ' ἐξουσίας τοῦ κτείνειν πρὸς ἡδονὴν  
 368 αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο τὸν πολέμιον. λέγουσι δ', ὡς τραύματος μεγάλου γενομένου φαρμάκοις αὐτὸν ὑποπέμψας ἰατροὺς Ἀντίγονος ὡς ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ διέφθειρε θανασίμοις χρησαμένων εἰς τὸ τραῦμα.  
 369 πρὸ μέντοι τοῦ τελέως ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Φασάηλος ἀκούσας παρὰ τινος γυναιίου τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἑρώδη τοὺς πολεμίους διαπεφευγότα, σφόδρα τὴν τελευτὴν εὐθύμως ὑπέμεινε, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἐκδικήσοντα<sup>3</sup> τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρήσασθαι δυνάμενον.  
 370 (xiv. 1) Ἑρώδη δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν περιεστηκόντων αὐτὸν κακῶν οὐ κατέπληττεν, ἀλλ' ἐποίει δεινὸν εὐρίσκειν ἐπιβολὰς<sup>4</sup> ἔργων παραβόλων. πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> οἰκτρότατον V: δεινότατον E.

<sup>2</sup> PE: προσρήξας V: προσράξας rell.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκδικῆσαι PE.

<sup>4</sup> P: ἐπιβουλὰς rell.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* iii. 278-279 on Lev. xxi. 17 ff. A rabbinic parallel, on the mutilation of a (Sadduceean) high priest by biting his ear, is found in the *Tosephta*, *Parah* iii. 8; see works listed in Appendix K, preceding volume.

<sup>b</sup> According to Julius Africanus (see above, § 366 note f), Phasaël perished in battle with the Parthians.

<sup>c</sup> Phasaël's statement is given as a direct quotation in *B.J.*, which adds (§ 273) that the Parthians were disappointed of

should never come to him another time, because he was now mutilated, and the law requires that this office should belong only to those who are sound of body.<sup>a</sup> As for Phasaël, one must admire his courage, for though he knew that he was marked for slaughter, he did not look upon death as terrible in itself but believed that it was a most bitter and shameful thing to suffer at the hands of a foe; and so, not having his hands free to destroy himself because of his chains, he dashed his head against a rock and removed himself from the world of the living, which he thought was the best thing to do in view of his helpless position, and thus he deprived the enemy of the power of killing him as they pleased. But some say that when he had incurred this serious wound, Antigonus quietly sent physicians as if to heal it, and had him killed by deadly poisons which they applied to his wound.<sup>b</sup> However, before he breathed his last, Phasaël heard from some woman that his brother Herod had escaped the enemy, and so he bore his death with cheerfulness, for he left behind one who would avenge his death and was able to punish his foes.<sup>c</sup>

(xiv. 1) <sup>d</sup> Herod, however, was not discouraged by the magnitude of the dangers that encompassed him; instead they made him the keener in attempting <sup>e</sup> perilous deeds. And so he went to Malchus,<sup>f</sup> their prize, the women promised them by Antigonus, and that they carried Hyrcanus a prisoner to Parthia.

<sup>d</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 370-389 and *B.J.* i. 274-285 see Laqueur, pp. 193-199.

<sup>e</sup> Variant "contriving."

<sup>f</sup> Variant "Malichus." He is not to be confused with the Jewish supporter of Hyrcanus mentioned above, § 273. The Arab (Nabataean) King Malchus was a successor of Aretas III, see above, §§ 14 ff. Some of the following incidents are related by Dio Cassius *xlvi.* 41.

The Arab king Malchus declines to aid Herod.

- γὰρ Μάλχον<sup>1</sup> τὸν Ἀράβων βασιλέα πολλὰ πρόσθεν  
 εὐεργετημένον ἀπήει τὴν ἀμοιβὴν κομιούμενος, ὧν  
 τε<sup>2</sup> μάλιστα ἐδεῖτο, χρήματα ληψόμενος εἴτε  
 δάνειον εἴτε δωρεὰν ὡς ἂν πολλῶν παρ'<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῦ  
 371 τετυχηκότος. οὐ γὰρ εἰδὼς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν,  
 ἔσπευδε λυτρώσασθαι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόν,  
 λύτρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν νόμισμα ἕως τρια-  
 κοσίων ταλάντων.<sup>4</sup> ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ τὸν Φασαήλου  
 παῖδα διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἑπταετῆ τυγχάνοντα,  
 372 παρέξων<sup>5</sup> αὐτὸν ἐνέχυρον τοῖς Ἰραβιν. ἀγγέλων  
 δ' αὐτῷ ὑπαντησάντων παρὰ τοῦ Μάλχου, δι' ὧν  
 ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν (παρηγγελκέναι<sup>6</sup> γὰρ  
 αὐτῷ Πάρθους Ἡρώδη μὴ δέχεσθαι· ταύτη δ'  
 ἐχρήτο προφάσει ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ χρέα,  
 καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει παρὰ τοῖς Ἰραβιν εἰς τοῦτο  
 ἐναγόντων, ὅπως ἀποστερήσωσι τὰς παρακατα-  
 θήκας, ἃς παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου λαβόντες ἔτυχον),  
 373 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐνοχλήσων ἀφικνεῖσθαι  
 πρὸς αὐτούς, μόνον δὲ διαλεξόμενος περὶ τῶν  
 ἀναγκαιοτάτων αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.  
 374 (2) Ἐπειτα δόξαν ἀναχωρεῖν, ἀπήει μάλα σω-  
 φρόνως τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐν τινι  
 ἱερῷ κατάγεται (καταλελοίπει γὰρ αὐτόθι πολλοὺς<sup>7</sup>  
 τῶν ἐπομένων), τῇ δ' ὑστεραία παραγενόμενος εἰς

<sup>1</sup> Μάλχον P.<sup>2</sup> ὧν τε Niese: ὅτε codd. E.<sup>3</sup> ἂν πολλῶν παρ' AMV: παρὰ πολλῶν ἐξ rell.<sup>4</sup> λύτρον . . . ταλάντων] Tyriis argenti trecenta talenta promittendo Lat.<sup>5</sup> παρασχών P.<sup>6</sup> PV: παραγγεῖλαι rell.<sup>7</sup> οὐ πολλοὺς FLAMW.



the Arab king, who had previously received many benefits from him,<sup>a</sup> in order to receive a return and to get monecy, which was what he most needed, either as a loan or as a gift from one who had obtained many sums from him. For as he did not know what had happened to his brother, he was in haste to ransom him from the enemy, being ready to pay as his ransom as much as three hundred talents in coin. And for this purpose he also took along Phasael's son, who was seven years old, to offer him as security to the Arabs.<sup>b</sup> But he was met by messengers from Malchus, who through them ordered Herod to retire, for the Parthians, he said, had instructed him not to receive Herod; this he used as a pretext for not repaying his debts, and the influential Arabs urged him on to this in order that they might withhold from Herod the sums which they had received in deposit from Antipater. Thereupon he replied to them that he had come to them with no thought of making trouble but only to discuss matters which were of the greatest importanœ to him.<sup>c</sup>

(2) Then, on deciding to retire, he very prudently took the road to Egypt. And on that occasion he lodged in a certain temple where he had left many<sup>d</sup> of his followers. The next day he came to Rhino-

Herod  
reaches  
Alexandria.

<sup>a</sup> From Herod's father, according to *B.J.*, but see below, § 372.

<sup>b</sup> *B.J.* adds a rather obscure allusion to Tyrian guarantors; cf. the mention of Tyrians in the Latin translation of the preceding sentence.

<sup>c</sup> *B.J.* i. 277 says that Herod gave the reply "which his feelings (τὸ πάθος) dictated," indicating a harsher tone than that used in *Ant.*

<sup>d</sup> Variant "not many." The temple was probably Idu-maeon.

Ῥινοκόρουρα, ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 375 ἤκουσεν. Μάλχῳ δὲ μεταγνόντι καὶ μεταθέοντι  
 τὸν Ἡρώδην οὐδὲν τούτου περισσότερον ἐγένετο·  
 πορρωτάτῳ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη σπεύδων τὴν ἐπὶ Πηλουσίου.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα νῆες ὄρμοῦσαι αὐτόθι εἶργον  
 τοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας πλοῦ, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐντυγ-  
 χάνει, ὑφ' ὧν κατ' αἰδῶ καὶ πολλὴν ἐντροπὴν  
 προπεμφθεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας  
 376 κατείχετο. πείσαι μέντοι μένειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδυ-  
 νήθη, εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενον χειμῶνός τε ὄντος  
 καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ σάλῳ  
 πολλῷ δηλουμένων.<sup>1</sup>  
 377 (3) Ἀναχθεῖς οὖν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ  
 χειμῶνι σφοδρῶ περιπεσὼν μόλις εἰς Ῥόδον διασώ-  
 ζεται, φορτίων ἀποβολῆς γενομένης. καὶ δύο μὲν  
 ἐνταυθοῖ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ συνήνητησαν, Σαππίνος<sup>2</sup>  
 378 τε καὶ Πτολεμαῖος. εὐρῶν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 πρὸς Κάσσιον πολέμου κεκακωμένην, οὐδ' ἐν  
 ἀπόροις ὧν εὖ ποιεῖν αὐτὴν ὤκνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 παρὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν ἀνεκτᾶτο. τριήρη τε κατα-  
 σκευάσας καὶ ἀναχθεῖς ἐκεῖθεν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις  
 379 ἐπ' Ἰταλίας εἰς Βρεντέσιον κατάγεται. κακεῖθεν

<sup>1</sup> κειμένων cod. Busb. ap. Hudson: δοιουμένων Naber.

<sup>2</sup> Σαππίνας FAMV: Σαπήνας L: Σαππιονὰς W: Sapinum aut Sapinium Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Mod. *el-'Arīš* on the border of Palestine and Egypt, cf. *Ant.* xiii. 395.

<sup>b</sup> *B.J.* adds that the news grieved him greatly.

<sup>c</sup> Pelusium was c. 80 miles from Rhinocoroura.

<sup>d</sup> According to *B.J.* Cleopatra "hoped to get Herod to

coroura,<sup>a</sup> where he heard of his brother's fate.<sup>b</sup> Malchus, however, had a change of heart and hurried after Herod, but gained nothing thereby, for Herod was by now a great way off, in his haste to reach Pelusium.<sup>c</sup> But when he came there, the ships anchored there prevented him from sailing to Alexandria, whereupon he appealed to their commanders and was escorted by them to the city with respect and great deference, and was detained there by Cleopatra.<sup>d</sup> She was not able, however, to persuade him to remain, for he was eager to get to Rome although it was winter and Italy was reported to be disturbed and in great disorder.<sup>e</sup>

(3) And so from there he set sail for Pamphylia,<sup>f</sup> and after encountering a violent storm barely reached Rhodes in safety by throwing the cargo overboard. There he was met by two of his friends, Sappinus<sup>g</sup> and Ptolemy. And finding the city damaged from the war against Cassius,<sup>h</sup> he did not hesitate to help it even though he was in need of funds, but actually exceeded his means in restoring it.<sup>i</sup> He also built a trireme, and setting sail from there for Italy with his friends, landed at Brundisium. From there he

Herod receives help from his friends at Rome.

command an expedition she was preparing." If this statement is authentic, it may refer to an attempt on her part to aid Antony, who had set out against the Parthians early in 40 B.C.

<sup>e</sup> Perhaps this is a reference to the Perusine war in 41-40 B.C. between Octavian and Lucius Antonius, brother of Antony, as Ricciotto suggests in his note on *B.J.* i. 279.

<sup>f</sup> In the autumn of 40 B.C.

<sup>g</sup> Greek "Sappinos"; variant "Sappinas," *B.J.* "Sapphinius."

<sup>h</sup> In 42 B.C.

<sup>i</sup> Nothing is said in *B.J.* about Herod's restoration of Rhodes.

- εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικόμενος πρῶτον<sup>1</sup> μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ φράζει τὰ συμβάντα αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ πῶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Φασάηλος ὑπὸ Πάρθων ἀπόλοιτο συλληφθεὶς καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτος ἔχοιτο, καὶ ὡς Ἀντίγονον καταστήσειαν βασιλέα, χρήματα δώσειν ὑποσχόμενον χίλια τάλαντα καὶ γυναῖκας πεντακοσίας, αἱ τῶν πρῶτων κακ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ γένους τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔμελλον ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ταύτας νυκτὸς ἐκκομίσειε, καὶ διαφύγοι τὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν χεῖρας, πολλὰς ὑπομείνας  
 380 τάλαιπωρίας. εἶτα ἐπιδιακινδυνεύειν<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ τοὺς οἰκείους πολιορκουμένους, καὶ ὡς<sup>4</sup> πλεύσειέ τε διὰ χειμῶνος καὶ παντὸς καταφρονήσειε δεινοῦ σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μόνην βοήθειαν.
- 381 (4) Ἀντώνιον δὲ οἶκτος εἰσέρχεται τῆς Ἡρώδου μεταβολῆς, καὶ τῷ κοινῷ χρησάμενος λογισμῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι τοσοῦτῳ καθεστῶτων ὡς κακείνων ὑποκειμένων τῇ τύχῃ, τὰ μὲν κατὰ  
 382 μνήμην τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου ξενίας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ὧν αὐτῷ δώσειν Ἡρώδης, εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεύς, ὑπέσχετο καθὼς καὶ πρότερον ὅτε<sup>5</sup> τετράρχης ἀπεδέδεικτο, πολὺ μέντοι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον μῖσος (στασιαστὴν γὰρ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πρῶτα LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> PE: καὶ rell.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεὶ διακινδυνεύειν PF: post ἐπιδιακινδυνεύειν lacunam statuit Niese: deflebat periclitare Lat., unde τὸ ἐπιδιακινδυνεύειν κατεδάκρυνε coni. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ὡς om. P.

<sup>5</sup> ὅτε om. AMW Lat.

<sup>a</sup> This was probably about December 40 B.C., soon after the Pact of Brundisium (October) between Octavian and Antony

went to Rome where he first of all related to Antony<sup>a</sup> what had befallen him in Judaea, and how his brother Phasaël had been seized by the Parthians and put to death, and that Hyrcanus was being held a prisoner by them, and that they had set up Antigonus as king after his promise to give them a thousand talents and five hundred women, who were to be of the first families and of their own race,<sup>b</sup> and that he had removed the women by night and had escaped from the hands of his foes after enduring many hardships. Then he said<sup>c</sup> that his relatives shared his danger by being besieged, and told how he had sailed through a storm, and how he had made light of every danger in his haste to reach Antony, in whom lay his hope and only help.

(4) Antony was moved to pity by the reverses of Herod, and indulged in the familiar reflection concerning those who are placed in so high a station, that they too are subject to the rule of fortune; and partly in memory of Antipater's hospitality,<sup>d</sup> partly because of the money which Herod promised to give him if he became king,<sup>e</sup> as he had promised once before when he was appointed tetrarch,<sup>f</sup> but chiefly because of his hatred of Antigonus—for he considered him and the marriage of Antony to Octavian's sister Octavia (November).

Antony and Octavius promise to aid Herod.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* of the Jewish race. It may, however, mean "of his (Herod's) family."

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain; perhaps with the Latin we should read "then he bewailed the fact."

<sup>d</sup> See above, § 326.

<sup>e</sup> As a second motive *B.J.* mentions Antony's admiration of Herod's prowess (*ἀρετήν*), and not the bribe offered him. In this substitution Laqueur, p. 194, sees another instance of the anti-Herodian spirit of *Ant.* as compared with *B.J.*

<sup>f</sup> See above, § 326.

Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθρὸν αὐτὸν ὑπελάμβανε) πρόθυμος ἦν  
 383 οἷς Ἡρώδης παρεκάλει συλλαμβάνεσθαι. Καῖσαρ  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου στρατείας,<sup>1</sup> ἄς  
 κατ' Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδιήνεγκε, καὶ  
 τὴν ξενίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν εὐνοίαν, χαριζόμενος  
 δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ σφόδρα περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην  
 ἐσπουδακότι, πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν ὧν ἐβού-  
 384 λετο Ἡρώδης συνεργίαν ἐτοιμότερος ἦν. συν-  
 αγαγόντες δέ<sup>2</sup> τὴν βουλὴν Μεσσάλας καὶ μετ'  
 αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> Ἀτρατῖνος,<sup>4</sup> παραστησάμενοι τὸν Ἡρώδην  
 τὰς τε τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ διεξήεσαν,  
 καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἶχεν εὐνοίαν ὑπε-  
 μίμησκον, κατηγοροῦντες ἅμα καὶ πολέμιον ἀπο-  
 φαίνοντες τὸν Ἀντίγονον, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν τὸ πρῶτον  
 προσέκρουσεν αὐτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ παρὰ  
 Πάρθων τὴν ἀρχὴν λάβοι, Ῥωμαίους ὑπεριδῶν.  
 385 τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις<sup>5</sup> παρωξυμμένης παρελθὼν  
 Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ  
 Πάρθων πόλεμον Ἡρώδην βασιλεύειν συμφέρει.  
 καὶ δόξαν τοῦτο πᾶσι ψηφίζονται.

<sup>1</sup> VE: στρατίας rell.

<sup>2</sup> PE: τε rell.

<sup>3</sup> μετ' αὐτὸν] δι' αὐτῶν P: μετ' αὐτοῦ conl. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> ex Lat. et B.J. Niese duce Hudson: Ἀτρατῖνος P: Σατραπῖνος rell.

<sup>5</sup> τούτῳ FE.

<sup>a</sup> Not least because Antigonus was allied with Rome's dangerous enemy Parthia, see below, § 384.

<sup>b</sup> Octavian, the later Augustus.

<sup>c</sup> Octavian's adoptive father, Julius Caesar; for these campaigns see above, §§ 127-136.

<sup>d</sup> B.J. does not mention Octavian's desire to do Antony a favour; instead, it says that Octavian recognized Herod's

a seditious person and an enemy of the Romans <sup>a</sup>— he was eager to give Herod the assistance he asked for. As for Caesar, <sup>b</sup> because of the campaigns in Egypt on which Antipater had served with his father, <sup>c</sup> and his hospitality and goodwill at all times, and also as a favour to Antony, who was very zealous on Herod's behalf, he was more ready to grant this rank and to co-operate in the things which Herod wished. <sup>d</sup> And so Messala <sup>e</sup> and Atratinus <sup>f</sup> after him convened the Senate, and presenting Herod, dwelt on the good deeds of his father, and recalled the loyalty which Herod himself had shown toward the Romans; at the same time they brought accusations against Antigonus, whom they declared an enemy, not only because of the first offence he had committed against them <sup>g</sup> but because he had received his kingly title from the Parthians, thus showing no regard for the Romans. And when the Senate had been aroused by these charges, Antony came forward and informed them that it was also an advantage in their war with the Parthians that Herod should be king. And as this proposal was acceptable to all, they voted accordingly. <sup>h</sup>

“enterprising character.” Laqueur, pp. 194-195, mistranslating *ετοιμότερος* in § 383 (as Prof. Post notes), remarks that *Ant.* does not clearly explain why Octavian showed himself even more zealous than Antony in Herod's behalf.

<sup>e</sup> M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus; cf. Dr. Thackeray's note on *B.J.* i. 243.

<sup>f</sup> Conjectured from Latin and *B.J.* for mss. “Agratinus” or “Satrapinus.” The person meant is L. Sempronius Atratinus, then augur, according to Reinach.

<sup>g</sup> In aiding his father Aristobulus II, see above, §§ 125 ff.

<sup>h</sup> The naming of Herod to the kingship by Antony and Octavian is mentioned also by Strabo xvi. 765, Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 75 and Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

336 (5) Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέγιστον ἦν τῆς Ἀντωνίου  
περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη σπουδῆς, ὅτι μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν  
βασιλείαν οὐκ ἐλπίζοντι περιεποιήσατο (οὐ γὰρ  
εἰς ἑαυτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀνέβη ταύτην αἰτησόμενος, οὐ γὰρ  
ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παρέξειν, τοῖς ἐκ  
387 τοῦ γένους ἔθως ἔχοντας αὐτὴν διδόναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ<sup>2</sup>  
τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῷ λαβεῖν ἀξιώσων υἰωνῶ<sup>3</sup>  
τυγχάνοντι πρὸς μὲν πατρὸς Ἀριστοβούλου πρὸς  
δὲ μητρὸς Ὑρκανοῦ), ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἑπτὰ ταῖς  
πάσαις ἡμέραις παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τυχόντι τῶν οὐδὲ  
388 προσδοκηθέντων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. τοῦ-  
τον μὲν οὖν τὸν νεανίσκον Ἡρώδης ἀπέκτεινεν,  
ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν δηλώσομεν<sup>4</sup>. λυθείσης δὲ τῆς  
βουλῆς, μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδη Ἀντώνιος καὶ  
Καῖσαρ ἐξήεσαν, προαγόντων<sup>5</sup> ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις  
ἀρχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων, θύσοντές τε καὶ τὸ δόγμα<sup>6</sup>  
389 καταθησόμενοι εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον. εἰστία δὲ τὴν  
πρώτην ἡμέραν Ἡρώδη τῆς βασιλείας Ἀντώνιος.  
καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει,  
τυχὼν αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς

<sup>1</sup> εἰς ἑαυτὸν] πρὸς αὐτὸν P: ἑαυτῷ coni. Ernesti.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ Ernesti: διὰ τὸ τῷ P: διὰ τὸ FLVW: διὰ τῷ AM.

<sup>3</sup> υἰωνῶ ex Lat. Hudson: Ἀλεξάνδρῳ υἰωνῶ codd.: Ἀριστο-  
βούλῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἰῷ (verba υἰωνῶ <δὲ> post τυγχάνοντι  
transp.) coni. Phaletranus.

<sup>4</sup> τοῦτον μὲν οὖν . . . δηλώσομεν post Ὑρκανοῦ § 387 collo-  
cat Lat.

<sup>5</sup> συμπροαγόντων FLAMW.

<sup>6</sup> τὰ δόγματα V.

<sup>7</sup> Ἡρώδη om. P.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 386-387 have no parallel in *B.J.*; see below, § 387  
note *d*.

<sup>b</sup> The mss. add "Alexander," probably a scribal error.  
Aristobulus (III) is meant.



(5) <sup>a</sup>But this was the greatest sign of Antony's devotion to Herod, that not only did he obtain the kingship for him, which he had not hoped for—he had come to the capital not to claim the kingship for himself, for he did not believe the Romans would offer it to him, since it was their custom to give it to one of the reigning family, but to claim it for his wife's brother,<sup>b</sup> who was a grandson of Aristobulus on his father's side and of Hyrcanus on his mother's <sup>c</sup>—but he also made it possible for Herod in only seven days altogether to obtain these unexpected grants and leave Italy.<sup>d</sup> This youth, however, Herod put to death, as we shall relate at the proper time.<sup>e</sup> Now when the Senate was adjourned, Antony and Caesar went out with Herod between them, and the consuls and other magistrates leading the way, in order to sacrifice and to deposit the decree in the Capitol. Then Antony entertained him on the first day of his reign. Thus did Herod take over royal power, receiving it in the hundred and eighty-fourth

The honour shown Herod by the Roman rulers.

<sup>c</sup> His father was Aristobulus II's son Alexander, and his mother was Hyrcanus II's daughter Alexandra.

<sup>d</sup> Otto, *Herodes*, p. 28, expresses scepticism about Herod's original intention of claiming the throne for Aristobulus, not for himself, on the ground that Herod was in Italy so short a time; he sees in this passage an attempt to clear Herod of overweening ambition. On the other hand, Laqueur, pp. 195-199, in the interest of his theory about the anti-Herodian alterations and additions in *Ant.*, resorts to a rather artificial explanation of secondary changes in *Ant.* to make the point that far from clearing Herod here, Josephus is criticising him for making use of Aristobulus in the belief that the Roman policy of retaining the reigning dynasty would make his own appointment as king impossible. Laqueur combines §§ 386-388 with 403-405 and 489 as anti-Herodian revisions of Josephus' source, here supposedly the memoirs of Herod himself.

<sup>e</sup> *Ant.* xv. 53 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

καὶ τετάρτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ὑπατεύοντος Γναίου<sup>1</sup>  
 Δομετίου Καλβίνου<sup>2</sup> τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Γαίου Ἀσινίου  
 Πωλίωνος.

- 390 (6) Τοῦτον δὲ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον Ἀντίγονος  
 ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς ἐν Μασάδα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπι-  
 τηδείων αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων, μόνου δὲ σπανίζοντος<sup>3</sup>  
 ὕδατος, ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἡρώδου  
 Ἰώσηπον σὺν διακοσίοις τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδρᾶναι  
 βουλεύσασθαι πρὸς Ἀραβας· ἠκηκόει γὰρ ὡς<sup>4</sup>  
 Μάλχος τῶν εἰς Ἡρώδην ἀμαρτημάτων μετανοεῖ.<sup>5</sup>
- 391 κατέσχε δ' αὐτὸν ὕσας διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ὁ θεός· τῶν  
 γὰρ ἐκδοχείων πλησθέντων τοῦ ὕδατος οὐκέτι τῆς  
 φυγῆς ἐδεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τεθαρρηκότες ἤδη καὶ πλεον  
 ἢ κατὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ σπανίζοντος, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ  
 προνοίας ταύτης αὐτοῖς γεγενημένης, ἐπεξιόντες  
 καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον, τοῖς  
 μὲν φανερώς, τοῖς δὲ καὶ λάθρα, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν
- 392 διέφθειραν. κὰν τούτῳ Βεντίδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατηγὸς πεμφθεὶς ἐκ Συρίας ὥστε Πάρθους  
 ἀνείργειν μετ' ἐκείνους εἰς Ἰουδαίαν παρέβαλε,  
 τῷ λόγῳ μὲν Ἰωσήπῳ συμμαχήσων, τὸ δ' ὅλον  
 ἦν αὐτῷ στρατήγημα χρήματα παρ' Ἀντιγόνου  
 λαβεῖν· ἔγγιστα γοῦν Ἱεροσολύμων στρατοπεδεύ-  
 σάμενος ἀποχρώντως ἠργυρίσατο τὸν Ἀντίγονον.
- 393 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνεχώρησε σὺν τῇ πλείονι δυνάμει,

<sup>1</sup> Γαίου FLMV Lat.

<sup>2</sup> P: καὶ Ἀλβίνου rell.: Albino Lat.

<sup>3</sup> σπανίζοντας FLAW.

<sup>4</sup> ὡς om. A<sup>1</sup>W Lat.: καὶ Hudson.

<sup>5</sup> Μάλχος . . . μετανοεῖ] Μάλχος . . . μετανοεῖν FLAMW.

<sup>a</sup> This is slightly inaccurate, as the 184th Olympiad had  
 ended several months earlier (July 40 B.C.).

<sup>b</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 390-438 and *B.J.* i. 286-320

Olympiad,<sup>a</sup> the consuls being Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, for the second time, and Gaius Asinius Pollio.

(6) <sup>b</sup> All this time Antigonus was besieging those in Masada, who had all other necessary provisions and lacked only water <sup>c</sup>; on this account Herod's brother Joseph planned to flee with two hundred of his people to the Arabs, for he had heard that Malchus regretted the wrongs which he had done Herod.<sup>d</sup> But he was stopped by a rain which God sent in the night, for once the cisterns were filled with water, they no longer needed to flee; instead, they were now encouraged, not merely because they had an abundance of what they had lacked before, but rather because this seemed an act of God's providence <sup>e</sup>; and so they sallied out, and engaging Antigonus' men, sometimes openly and sometimes from under cover, destroyed many of them.<sup>f</sup> Meanwhile Ventidius,<sup>g</sup> the Roman general sent from Syria to keep back the Parthians, after disposing of them,<sup>h</sup> made a side-march into Judaea, ostensibly to give aid to Joseph, but in reality the whole business was a device to obtain money from Antigonus; at any rate he encamped very near Jerusalem and extorted from Antigonus as much money as he wanted. Then he himself withdrew with the greater part of his force;

Joseph, the brother of Herod, successfully defends Masada.

The Romans extort money from Antigonus.

see Laqueur, pp. 199-205, according to whom Josephus in *Ant.* is hostile to Antigonus as well as to Herod.

<sup>c</sup> See above, § 362.

<sup>d</sup> See above, §§ 370-375.

<sup>e</sup> These reflections on Providence are not found in *B.J.*

<sup>f</sup> *B.J.* adds that the Herodians met with occasional reverses and were sometimes forced to retire.

<sup>g</sup> P. Ventidius Bassus had been sent to Asia by Antony in 40 B.C.

<sup>h</sup> In 39 B.C. Ventidius defeated the combined forces of Labienus and the Parthians; *cf.* Debevoise, pp. 114-116 for the ancient sources.

ἵνα δὲ μὴ κατάφωρον γένηται τὸ λῆμμα,<sup>1</sup> Σίλωνα μετὰ μέρους τινὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατέλιπεν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευεν Ἀντίγονος, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐνοχλοίῃ, προσδοκῶν καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ Πάρθους ἐπαμνεῖν.<sup>2</sup>

- 394 (xv. 1) Ἡρώδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤδη καταπεπλευκῶς εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα, καὶ συναγροχῶς δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ξένων τε ἅμα καὶ ὁμοφύλων, ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον. συνελάμβανον δ' αὐτῷ Σίλων τε καὶ Βεντίδιος πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Δελλίου<sup>3</sup> συγκατάγειν Ἡρώδη, τοῦ  
395 πεμφθέντος<sup>4</sup> ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου. Βεντίδιος μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανε τὰς ταραχὰς τὰς διὰ Πάρθους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὕσας καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δ' ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χρήμασιν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου διεφθαρμένος. Ἡρώδη μέντοι προϊόντι<sup>5</sup> καθ' ἐκάστην<sup>6</sup> ἡμέραν ἢ δύναμις ἠϋξέτο, καὶ πᾶσα Γαλιλαία πλὴν ὀλίγων αὐτῷ  
396 προστέθειτο. ὠρμηκότι δ' αὐτῷ<sup>8</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Μασάδα (ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν τὸ σῶσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ πολιορκουμένους συγγενεῖς ὄντας) ἐμποδῶν Ἰόππη γίνεται· πολεμίαν γὰρ οὕσαν αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον, ὅπως μηδὲν ὑπολείπηται κατὰ νώτου τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔρυμα, χωροῦντος ἐπὶ  
397 Ἱεροσολύμων. ποιησαμένου δὲ καὶ Σίλωνος ταύ-

<sup>1</sup> P Lat.: τόλμημα rell.

<sup>2</sup> cum Lat. Dindorf: ἐπαμύνειν codd. E.

<sup>3</sup> ex B.J. Usserius: Δελαίου P: Βδελλίου FLAM: Βδελίου V: Βδελλίου W; Delium Lat.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν πεμφθέντα LAMW.

<sup>5</sup> E: προϊόντι codd.

<sup>6</sup> καθ' ἐκάστην P: κατὰ πᾶσαν rell.

<sup>7</sup> ἢ P: om. rell.

<sup>8</sup> ὠρμηκότι δ' αὐτῷ ed. pr.: ὠρμηκότα δ' αὐτὸν codd.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "his shameless act."

but in order that his extortion<sup>a</sup> might not be detected, he left Silo<sup>b</sup> behind with a certain number of soldiers; to him also Antigonus paid court in order that he might not cause any trouble, hoping at the same time that the Parthians would once more give him help.

(xv. 1) By this time Herod had sailed from Italy<sup>c</sup> to Ptolemais and had collected a not inconsiderable force of both foreigners and his countrymen, and was marching through Galilee against Antigonus. And he was supported by Silo and Ventidius, for they had been persuaded by Dellius,<sup>d</sup> who had been sent by Antony, to join in restoring Herod to his country. And so while Ventidius was quieting the disturbances that had been created in the cities by the Parthians, Silo remained in Judaea, having been corrupted by bribes from Antigonus. Nevertheless Herod's strength increased day by day as he went forward, and all Galilee, except for a few of its inhabitants, came over to his side. But when he set out to reach those in Masada—for it was essential to save the people who were being besieged in the fortress, since they were his relatives—he found Joppa in his way, and as it was hostile to him, he had first to capture it in order that no stronghold should be left on his rear in the enemy's hands while he was moving on Jerusalem. But as Silo made this a pretext for departing, and

Herod, supported by the Romans, wins over large numbers of Jews.

<sup>b</sup> His name is given as Pupedius (*vll.* Pompedius, Pop pedius) Silo in Dio Cassius *xlvi.* 41.

<sup>c</sup> Herod had sailed from Italy in December, 40 B.C. or January, 39 B.C. (see above, §§ 379, 387 notes). Ventidius was near Jerusalem in the latter part of 39 B.C. (*cf.* Debevoise, p. 116). Herod must therefore have had more than half a year to prepare a force against Antigonus.

<sup>d</sup> Name slightly emended from *B.J.*

την πρόφασιν τῆς ἀπαναστάσεως, καὶ τῶν Ἰου-  
 δαίων διωκόντων αὐτόν,<sup>1</sup> Ἑρώδης μετ' ὀλίγου  
 στίφους ἐπέξεισι καὶ τρέπεται μὲν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους,  
 Σίλωνα δὲ σώζει κακῶς ἀμυνόμενον, ἐλὼν δὲ<sup>2</sup>  
 τὴν Ἰόππην, ἔσπευδε ῥυσόμενος τοὺς ἐν Μασάδα  
 398 οἰκείους. τῶν δ' ἐπιχωρίων οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν  
 πατρῶαν προσεχώρουν φιλίαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 δόξαν, ἄλλοι δὲ κατ' ἀμοιβὴν τῆς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων  
 εὐεργεσίας, οἱ πλείους δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἅς ὡς  
 ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ βεβαίω τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχον.

399 (2) Ἡθροιστο δὴ<sup>3</sup> δύναμις βαρεῖα, καὶ προϊόντος  
 Ἀντίγονος τῶν παρόδων τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους  
 ἐνέδραις καὶ λόχοις κατελάμβανε, καὶ καθάπαξ  
 οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ μικρὰ παντά-  
 400 πασιν ἔβλαπτεν. Ἑρώδης δὲ τοὺς ἐκ Μασάδας  
 οἰκείους ἐπαναλαβὼν<sup>4</sup> καὶ Ὁρῆσαν<sup>5</sup> τὸ φρούριον  
 ἤει πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, συνῆπτε<sup>6</sup> δ' αὐτῷ τὸ  
 μετὰ Σίλωνος στρατιωτικὸν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ  
 401 τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἰσχὺν καταπλαγέντες. στρατο-  
 πεδευσαμένου δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τῆς πόλεως  
 κλίμα, οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι φύλακες ἠκόντιζόν  
 402 τε καὶ ἐτόξευον εἰς αὐτούς, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ κατὰ  
 στίφος ἐκθεόντων<sup>7</sup> καὶ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις εἰς  
 χεῖρας ἐρχομένων, Ἑρώδης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκέ-  
 λευσε κηρύσσειν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τε  
 παρείη τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως,  
 μηδὲν μηδὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μνησικακή-

<sup>1</sup> τῶν . . . αὐτόν om. P.<sup>2</sup> τε P.<sup>3</sup> δ' ἢ PAMVW: δὲ E.<sup>4</sup> παραλαβῶν P.<sup>5</sup> conī., cf. annot. ad § 361: Ῥῆσαν PFLA: Ῥύσαν M:  
Ῥύσαν W corr.: Ῥῆσαν V: Risam Lat.<sup>6</sup> ex B.J. conī. Niese: συνῆπτετο P: συνῆπτο FAMW: συν-  
 ἤπτω L: συνείπετο V et in ras. E.<sup>7</sup> ἐξιόντων P.

the Jews pursued him, Herod fell upon them with a small body of men and routed them, and so saved Silo, who was defending himself feebly; and after taking Joppa he hastened to rescue his relatives in Masada. Thereupon the local inhabitants joined him, some because of their friendship with his father,<sup>a</sup> others because of his reputation, and still others as a return for benefits received from both of them, but the majority because of the hopes which they placed in him as one who would thereafter have a secure position as king.

(2) Thus a strong force had been collected, and as it advanced, Antigonus occupied the most suitable places for passage with snares and ambushes, but did not the least, or at best only slight, damage thereby to the enemy. Then Herod having recovered his relatives from Masada and taken the fortress of Oresa,<sup>b</sup> went on to Jerusalem, where he was joined<sup>c</sup> by Silo's army and many from the city who were intimidated by his strength. When he encamped on the western side of the city, the guards who had been stationed in this quarter hurled javelins and shot arrows at them, while some ran out in a compact body and fought hand to hand with his front-line men; but Herod gave orders that his men should first make a proclamation before the wall that he had come for the good of the citizens and the welfare of the city, bearing no grudge even against those who were openly his foes, but, on the contrary, being

Herod and  
Silo besiege  
Antigonus  
in  
Jerusalem.

<sup>a</sup> Antipater being an Idumaeen, see above, §§ 8-10.

<sup>b</sup> On this conjecture for mss. "Rhesa" (or "Rhysa") see above, § 361 note *e*.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

σων, ἀλλὰ παρέξων καὶ τοῖς διαφορωτάτοις ἀμνη-  
 403 στίαν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμαρτημάτων. τοῦ δὲ  
 Ἐπιφανίου πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου κηρυχθέντα  
 λόγοντος πρὸς τε Σίλωνα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 στράτευμα ὡς παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δικαιοσύνην  
 Ἡρώδης δώσουσι τὴν βασιλείαν ἰδιώτῃ τε ὄντι  
 καὶ Ἰδουμαίῳ, τουτέστιν ἡμιουδαίῳ, δέον τοῖς  
 ἐκ τοῦ γένους οὗσι παρέχειν<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς.  
 404 καὶ γὰρ εἰ νυνὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχουσι χαλεπῶς καὶ  
 τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς λαβόντα παρὰ Πάρθων ἀφ-  
 ελέσθαι διεγνώκασιν, εἶναί γε<sup>2</sup> πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ  
 γένους αὐτοῦ τοὺς ληψομένους κατὰ τὸν<sup>3</sup> νόμον τὴν  
 βασιλείαν, οἳ μηδὲν ἐξημαρτηκότες αὐτοῖ<sup>4</sup> πρὸς  
 Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἱερεῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἂν εἰκότα πάσχοιεν  
 405 τῆς τιμῆς στερόμενοι.<sup>5</sup> ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 αὐτῶν λεγόντων καὶ προελθόντων εἰς βλασφημίας,  
 Ἐπιφανίου ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐπ-  
 ἔτρεπε τοῖς ἰδίοις. οἳ δὲ τοξεύοντες καὶ πολλῇ  
 προθυμίᾳ κατ' αὐτῶν χρώμενοι ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πύργων ἐτρέψαντο.  
 406 (3) Τότε καὶ Σίλων ἀπεκαλύψατο τὴν δωρο-  
 δοκίαν· καθῆκε γὰρ τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ  
 ὀλίγους σπάνιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καταβοᾶν καὶ  
 χρήματα εἰς τροφὰς αἰτεῖν, καὶ χειμάσσοντας ἀπ-  
 άγειν εἰς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τόπους, τῶν περὶ τὴν  
 πόλιν ὄντων ἐρήμων διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐπιφανίου

<sup>1</sup> ἄρχειν P.<sup>2</sup> ed. gr.: τε codd.: om. E.<sup>3</sup> τὸν P: om. rell. E.<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῖ om. VE.<sup>5</sup> PAM: στερούμενοι rell. E.

<sup>a</sup> The preceding passage, §§ 403-404, on the Hasmonaean claim to the kingship is an addition to *B.J.*, which says



ready to forget the offences which his most determined adversaries had committed against him. But Antigonus in answer to Herod's proclamation told Silo and the Roman army that it would be contrary to their own notion of right if they gave the kingship to Herod who was a commoner and an Idumacan, that is, a half-Jew, when they ought to offer it to those who were of the (royal) family, as was their custom. And, he argued, if they were now ill-disposed toward him and were determined to deprive him of the kingship on the ground that he had received it from the Parthians, there were at least many of his family who might lawfully receive the kingship, for they had committed no offence against the Romans, and were priests; and thus they would be unworthily treated if they were deprived of this rank.<sup>a</sup> Such things they said to one another and were proceeding to imprecations when Antigonus permitted his men to battle with Herod's men from the wall.<sup>b</sup> But the enemy shot their arrows and opposed them with so much spirit that they easily drove them from the towers.

(3) Then it was that Silo showed openly that he had taken a bribe<sup>c</sup>; for he got a good many of his own soldiers to cry aloud about the lack of provisions, to demand money for food, and to insist that they be taken to suitable quarters for wintering, since the region about the city was a waste as a result of the merely that "Antigonus issued counter-exhortations forbidding any to listen to these proclamations (of Herod) or to go over to the enemy." See above, § 387 note *d*, § 390 note *b*.

Silo proves to be an unreliable ally of Herod.

<sup>b</sup> The text is probably faulty. *B.J.* reads more intelligibly, "Herod at once gave his men permission to battle with the men on the wall."

<sup>c</sup> From Antigonus, see above, § 395 and below, § 412.

στρατιωτῶν ἀνεσκευάσθαι, ἐκίνει τε τὸ στρατό-  
 407 πεδον καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπειράτο. Ἡρώδης δ' ἐν-  
 ἔκειτο παρακαλῶν τοὺς τε ὑπὸ τῷ Σίλωνι ἡγεμόνας  
 καὶ στρατιώτας μὴ καταλιπεῖν αὐτόν, Καίσαρός  
 τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου προτρεψάν-  
 των<sup>2</sup> αὐτόν· προνοήσειν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς εὐπορίας,  
 καὶ παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ἀφθονίαν ὧν ἐπιζητοῦσι  
 408 ῥαδίως. καὶ μετὰ τὴν δέησιν εὐθύς ἐξορμήσας  
 εἰς τὴν χώραν οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν Σίλωνι τῆς ἀνα-  
 χωρήσεως πρόφασιν ὑπελείπετο· πλήθος γὰρ ὅσον  
 οὐδ' ἥλιπσέ τις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκόμισε, τοῖς τε  
 περὶ Σαμάρειαν ὠκειωμένοις πρὸς αὐτόν ἐπέστειλε,<sup>3</sup>  
 σίτα καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ βοσκήματα τά τε  
 ἄλλα πάντα κατάγειν<sup>4</sup> εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα, τοῦ μηδὲ  
 τὰς ἐξῆς ἡμέρας τὴν<sup>5</sup> χορηγίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας  
 409 ἐπιλιπεῖν.<sup>6</sup> οὐκ ἐλάνθανε δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀντίγονον,  
 ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἀπέπεμψε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς εἴρ-  
 ξοντας καὶ λοχήσοντας τοὺς σιτηγοῦντας· οἱ δὲ  
 πειθόμενοι τοῖς Ἀντιγόνου προστάγμασι καὶ πολὺ  
 πλήθος ὀπλιτῶν περὶ Ἱεριχοῦντα συναθροίσαντες  
 παρεφύλασσον ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων καθεσθέντες τοὺς τὰ  
 410 ἐπιτήδεια κομίζοντας. οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης τούτων  
 πραττομένων ἠρέμει, δέκα δὲ σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ὧν  
 πέντε μὲν Ῥωμαίων, πέντε δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν,  
 καὶ μισθοφόρους μιγάδας πρὸς οἷς ὀλίγους τῶν  
 ἰπέων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται· καὶ τὴν  
 μὲν πόλιν ἐκλελειμμένην καταλαβών, πεντακοσίους  
 δὲ τὰ ἄκρα κατειληφότας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ γενεαῖς,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοὺς P.<sup>2</sup> P: προπεμφάντων rell.: honoratum Lat.<sup>3</sup> F: ἀπέστειλεν P: ἐπέστειλε rell.<sup>4</sup> PE: καταγαγεῖν rell.<sup>5</sup> εἰς P.<sup>6</sup> PE: ἀπολιπεῖν rell.

ravaging by Antigonus' soldiers; and so he began to move his camp and attempted to withdraw. But Herod persisted in urging the officers under Silo and their soldiers not to desert him, for Caesar as well as Antony and the Senate had given him encouragement<sup>a</sup>; he would, he said, take care that they should have plenty of provisions, and would readily furnish them with an abundance of the things they wanted. After making this plea he at once set out into the country and left Silo no longer any pretext for withdrawing, for he brought back a greater mass of provisions than anyone had hoped for, and also instructed those around Samaria who had become friendly toward him<sup>b</sup> to bring down to Jericho grain, wine, oil, cattle and all other things in order that there should be no lack of supplies for the soldiers for some days to come. But these activities did not remain unknown to Antigonus, who at once sent off men throughout the country to obstruct and waylay those who were collecting food; and in obedience to Antigonus' orders they mustered a large body of armed men near Jericho, and taking up posts in the hills, kept a look-out for the men who were bringing provisions. Herod, however, did not remain still while this was being done, but took ten cohorts, five Roman and five Jewish, and a mixed mercenary force, to which he added a few mounted men, and marched on Jericho; and while he found the city deserted, he seized five hundred men occupying the heights with their wives and families, but after capturing

<sup>a</sup> Variant (as in *B.J.*) "had given him a commission."

<sup>b</sup> Or "had become subject to him"; Samaria (and Idumaea) had been added to Herod's territory by Mark Antony, according to Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 75; cf. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, pp. 347-350.

τούτους μὲν ἀπέλυσε λαβών, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ εἰσ-  
 πεσόντες διήρπασαν τὴν πόλιν, μεσταῖς ἐπιτυχόν-  
 411 τες<sup>1</sup> παντοίων κειμηλίων ταῖς οἰκίαις. Ἰεριχοῦντος  
 μὲν οὖν φρουρὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς καταλιπὼν ὑπέστρεψε,  
 καὶ χειμάσουσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς  
 προσκεχωρηκυίας διαφῆκεν, Ἰδουμαίαν<sup>2</sup> καὶ Γαλι-  
 412 λαίαν καὶ Σαμάρειαν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίγονος  
 παρὰ Σίλωνος ἀντὶ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὥστε ὑπο-  
 δέξασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν ἐν Λύδδοις, θερα-  
 पेύων Ἀντώνιον. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις  
 διῆγον ἀνειμένοι τῶν ὄπλων.  
 413 (4) Ἡρώδη δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει μένειν ἐφ' ἡσυχίας,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν<sup>3</sup> τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰώσηπον  
 σὺν δισχιλίοις ὀπλίταις καὶ τετρακοσίοις ἰππεύσιν  
 ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Σαμάρειαν παραγενόμενος,  
 καὶ καταθέμενος αὐτόθι τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους<sup>4</sup> συγγενεῖς ἐξεληλυθότας ἤδη ἐκ τῆς Μα-  
 σάδας, ἐπὶ Γαλιλαίας ὄχετο ἐξαιρήσων τινὰ τῶν  
 χωρίων ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου φρουραῖς κατειλημμένα.  
 414 διελθὼν δὲ εἰς Σέπφωριν νίφοντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ  
 τῶν Ἀντιγόνου φρουρῶν ὑπεξεληθόντων, ἐν ἀφθό-  
 415 νοις ἦν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις. εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν ληστῶν  
 τινῶν ἐν σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων, ἰππέων ἐπ'  
 αὐτοὺς ἴλην ἐκπέμπει καὶ ὀπλιτικοῦ τρία τέλη,  
 παῦσαι κακουροῦντας ἐγνωκώς· ἔγγιστα δ' ἦν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτυχάνοντες P.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰουδαίαν L Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰουδαίαν LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> ἄλλους oim. P.

<sup>a</sup> Or "which had been added to his territory," see the preceding note.

<sup>b</sup> Variant (wrongly) "Judaea"; B.J. has "Idumaea."

them, released them; then the Romans fell upon the city and plundered it, finding the houses full of all kinds of valuable things. And after leaving a garrison at Jericho, the king returned and dismissed his Roman army to their winter quarters in the districts which had joined his side,<sup>a</sup> namely Idumaea,<sup>b</sup> Galilee and Samaria. At the same time Antigonus through bribery obtained Silo's consent to quarter a part of his army in Lydda,<sup>c</sup> seeking to win Antony's favour thereby. And so the Romans put aside their arms and lived on the fat of the land.<sup>d</sup>

(4) Herod, however, did not choose to remain inactive, but sent off his brother Joseph to Idumaea with two thousand foot-soldiers and four hundred mounted men,<sup>e</sup> while he himself went to Samaria, where he left his mother and his other relatives, who had by now made their way out of Masada, and proceeded to Galilee to capture some of the strongholds which had been occupied by the garrisons of Antigonus. He reached Sepphoris in a snow-storm, and as Antigonus' garrison had quietly withdrawn, he came into possession of an abundance of provisions. From here he then sent out a troop of cavalry and three companies of foot-soldiers against some brigands living in caves, for he had made up his mind to put an end to their depredations<sup>f</sup>; these caves were very

Herod's conquests in Galilee.

<sup>c</sup> Mod. *Ludd*, c. 10 miles S.E. of Jaffa, cf. *Ant.* xiii. 127 note c (p. 288). Dr. Thackeray comments on the parallel, *B.J.* i. 302, that this was "an action apparently designed to weaken the allegiance of the Roman troops."

<sup>d</sup> During the winter of 39-38 B.C.

<sup>e</sup> *B.J.* i. 303 adds "to prevent any insurrection in favour of Antigonus."

<sup>f</sup> Herod had earlier encountered "brigands" in Galilee, see above, §§ 159-160. But in this case they were more probably political opponents, as Otto remarks, *Herodes*, p. 30.

- 416 ταῦτα κώμης Ἀρβήλων λεγομένης. εἰς δὲ τεσσαρακοστὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸς ἦκε πανστρατιᾶ, καὶ θρασέως<sup>1</sup> ἐξελλθόντων τῶν πολεμίων κλίνεται μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup> κέρας τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιφανεῖς δ' αὐτὸς μετὰ στίφους τρέπει μὲν εἰς φυγὴν τοὺς πάλαι νικῶντας, ἀναστρέφει δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας.
- 417 ἐνέκειτο δὲ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἄχρι Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ φεύγοντας ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλας<sup>3</sup> ὁδοὺς, καὶ προσάγεται μὲν πᾶσαν τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πλὴν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κατοικούντων, διανέμει δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον, κατ' ἄνδρα δούς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμάς, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεμόσι πολὺ πλεόν, καὶ εἰς<sup>4</sup>
- 418 τὰ χειμάδια διέπεμψεν.<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Σίλων ἦκε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις, Ἀντιγόνου τροφὰς παρέχειν οὐ θέλοντος· μῆνα γάρ, οὐ πλεόν, αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔθρεψε, διέπεμψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κύκλω κελεύων τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀνασκευάσασθαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ὄρη φυγεῖν,<sup>6</sup> ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντες Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων<sup>7</sup> λιμῷ
- 419 διαφθαρεῖεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ τὴν μὲν τούτων πρόνοιαν Φερώρα τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιτρέπει, κελεύσας αὐτὸν ἀνατειχίζεῖν<sup>8</sup> καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειον. ὁ δὲ ταχέως τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ πολλῇ

<sup>1</sup> ταχέως LAMW: ταχέως θρασέως F.

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. Niese: αὐτῶν codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλας ex Lat. conl. Bekker: κατ' ἄλλας codd.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ εἰς ed. pr.: εἰς codd. E.

<sup>5</sup> ἔπεμψεν FLVE.

<sup>6</sup> φεύγειν P.

<sup>7</sup> τῶν ἀναγκαίων om. P.

<sup>8</sup> ἅμα τειχίζεῖν P Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Mod. *Khirbet Irbid*, a few miles W. of the Sea of Galilee and N.W. of Tiberias, cf. *Ant.* xii. 421 note a. In *Vita* 188 Josephus calls the place "the Cave of Arbela." The ruins

near a village called Arbela.<sup>a</sup> Forty days later he himself came with his entire army, and under the enemy's bold<sup>b</sup> attack the left wing of his line gave way, but when he appeared in person with a compact body of men,<sup>c</sup> he put to flight those who had before been victorious, and rallied those of his men who were fleeing. And he pressed on in pursuit of the enemy as far as the river Jordan, to which they fled along different<sup>d</sup> roads<sup>e</sup>; and so he got into his hands all the people of Galilee except those who lived in the caves<sup>f</sup>; he then distributed money, giving each of his men a hundred and fifty drachmas, and considerably more to the officers, and dismissed them to their winter quarters. Meanwhile Silo and the officers of the men who were in winter quarters came to him because Antigonus was unwilling to furnish them with food; that worthy had fed them for a month and no longer; he had, moreover, sent out orders to the inhabitants round about that they were to gather up all the provisions throughout the country and flee to the hills in order that the Romans might be entirely without necessary food and so perish of hunger. Accordingly Herod entrusted the care of these men to Pheroras, his youngest brother, and ordered him to fortify Alexandreion also. And he quickly made it possible for the soldiers to have of a later synagogue may still be seen there, *cf.* E. Sukenik in *JPOS* 15 (1935), p. 143.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "swift."

<sup>c</sup> *B.J.* i. 306 reads a little differently, "Herod instantly wheeling round his troops from the right wing, where he was in command."

<sup>d</sup> Text slightly emended from Latin.

<sup>e</sup> *B.J.* i. 307 adds that he destroyed large numbers of the enemy.

<sup>f</sup> Probably near Arbela.

τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐποίησε, τό τε Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἡρημωμένον ἀνέκτισεν.

- 420 (5) Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἀντώνιος μὲν διέτριβεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, κατὰ δὲ Συρίαν Βεντίδιος Σίλωνα μεταπεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους, ἐπέστελλε πρῶτον μὲν Ἡρώδη συλλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦδε<sup>1</sup> τοῦ πολέμου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σφέτερον  
 421 καλεῖν τοὺς συμμάχους. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις ληστὰς ἐπειγόμενος Σίλωνα μὲν ἐξέπεμψε Βεντιδίῳ, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐξώρμησεν.  
 422 ἦν δ' ἐν ὄρεσι τὰ σπήλαια τελέως ἐξερρωγῶσι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον ἀποκρήμνους ἔχοντα τὰς παρόδους, καὶ πέτραις ὀξείαις ἐμπεριεχόμενα· ἐν δὴ τούτοις μετὰ πάντων τῶν οἰκείων ἐφώλευον.<sup>2</sup>  
 423 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λάρνακας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πηξάμενος καθίει ταύτας σιδηραῖς ἀλύσειν ἐκδεδεμένας διὰ μηχανῆς ἀπὸ κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους, μήτε κάτωθεν ἀνίεναι διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ ὄρους δυναμένων μήτε  
 424 ἄνωθεν καθέρπειν ἐπ' αὐτούς. αἱ δὲ λάρνακες πλήρεις ὀπλιτῶν ἦσαν<sup>3</sup> ἄρπας μεγάλας ἐχόντων, αἷς ἔμελλον ἐπισπώμενοι τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας τῶν ληστῶν κτείνειν καταφερομένους. τὴν μὲν δὴ<sup>4</sup> κάθεισιν τῶν λαρνακῶν σφαλερὰν εἶναι συνέβαινε,

<sup>1</sup> τοῦδε om. P.

<sup>2</sup> ἐφέδρευον LAM: ἐνεφώλευον E: latebant Lat.

<sup>3</sup> V: ὑπήρχον rell. E.

<sup>4</sup> μὲν δὴ Bekker: μέντοι γε P: μέντοι rell. E.

<sup>a</sup> Nothing is said about Silo or Antigonus in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 308, which says merely that Pheroras was instructed to take charge of the commissariat (ἀγορά) of Herod's army and to fortify Alexandreion (see above, § 92). Laqueur,



an abundance of the necessary provisions, and also restored Alexandreion, which had been left in ruins.<sup>a</sup>

(5) About the same time, while Antony was staying at Athens,<sup>b</sup> Ventidius in Syria sent for Silo to join him against the Parthians,<sup>c</sup> but instructed him first to assist Herod in the present war and then summon their allies to the Romans' own war. But Herod, who was hastening against the brigands in the caves, sent<sup>d</sup> Silo off to Ventidius, and set out against them by himself. Now their caves were in hills that were altogether rugged, having their entrances half-way up the sheer cliffs and being surrounded by sharp rocks; in such dens did they lurk with all their people. Thereupon<sup>e</sup> the king, whose men were unable either to climb up from below or creep upon them from above because of the steepness of the hill, had cribs built and lowered these upon them with iron chains as they were suspended by a machine from the summit of the hill. The cribs were filled with armed men holding great grappling hooks, with which they were supposed to draw toward them any of the brigands who opposed them, and kill them by hurling them to the ground. The lowering of the cribs was proving to be a risky business because of the

How Herod destroyed the Galilean brigands in their caves.

p. 202, argues that § 418 is not an original part of Josephus' source, abbreviated in *B.J.*, but a later addition, probably by Josephus himself rather than from a second source, designed to show the unreliability of Antigonus.

<sup>b</sup> Antony and his wife Octavia went to Athens in the autumn of 39 B.C.; he remained there for two years with brief trips to Asia and Italy.

<sup>c</sup> For an account of this campaign (against Pacorus) in the spring of 38 B.C. see Debevoise, pp. 116-120.

<sup>d</sup> *B.J.* i. 309 more pointedly reads "gladly sent off."

<sup>e</sup> §§ 423-428 add considerable detail to the brief account of the attack on the caves given in *B.J.* i. 311.

κατὰ βάθους ἀπείρου γινομένην· ἔνδον μέντοι καὶ  
 425 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρῆν αὐτοῖς. ὡς δὲ καθιμῆθησαν  
 μὲν αἱ λάρνακες, ἐτόλμα δ' οὐδεὶς προελθεῖν<sup>1</sup> τῶν<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐπὶ τῶν στομίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέους ἠρέμουν, μάχαιράν  
 τις περιζωσάμενος τῶν ὀπλοφόρων καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν  
 ἀμφοτέραιν δραξάμενος ἀλύσειω ἀφ' ἧς ἤρτητο ἡ  
 426 λάρναξ, κατῆει ἐπὶ τὰ στόμια δυσχεράνας τὴν τρι-  
 βῆν τῶν ἐπεξιέναι μὴ τολμώντων. καὶ γενόμενος  
 κατὰ τι στόμιον πρῶτα μὲν παλτοῖς ἀνακόπτει  
 τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου, ἔπειτα ἄρπη  
 τοὺς ἀνθεστῶτας ἐπισπασάμενος ὠθεῖ κατὰ τοῦ  
 κρημνοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον ἐπεισελθὼν ἀποσφάττει<sup>3</sup>  
 πολλοὺς, καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν λάρνακα ἠσύχασεν.  
 427 φόβος δὲ εἶχε τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἀκούοντας  
 καὶ περὶ<sup>4</sup> τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις, τὸ μέντοι γε  
 πᾶν ἔργον ἐπέσχε νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα<sup>5</sup>. καὶ πολλοὶ<sup>6</sup>  
 συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικηρυκευσάμενοι<sup>7</sup>  
 428 παρέδοσαν σφᾶς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ  
 τρόπῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐχρήσαντο τῇ  
 προσβολῇ, μᾶλλον ἔτι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πῆγμασι<sup>8</sup>  
 ἐπεξιόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ κατὰ θύρας μαχομένων πῦρ  
 τε ἐνιέντων, ἔξαφθέντων τε τῶν ἀντρων, πολλή  
 429 γὰρ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕλη. πρεσβύτης δέ<sup>9</sup> τις ἀπ-  
 ειλημμένος ἔνδον σὺν ἑπτὰ τέκνοις καὶ γυναικί,  
 δεομένων τούτων ἑᾶσαι σφᾶς ὑπεξελθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου τὸν αἰεὶ πρῶτον

<sup>1</sup> Niese: προσελθεῖν codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς P: om. FE.

<sup>3</sup> + τε P.

<sup>4</sup> περὶ om. ed. pr., secl. Schmidt.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπέσχε νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα ex Lat. Lowthius: ἐπέσχεν ἐπεξ-  
 ελθοῦσαν PE: ὑπέσχεν ὑπεξελθοῦσι rell. <sup>6</sup> VE: πολλοῖς rell.

<sup>7</sup> conl. Cocceji: ἐπικηρυκευσαμένου codd.

<sup>8</sup> P: πλέγμασι rell. E.

<sup>9</sup> δέ om. PWE.

immense depth that lay below them, although the men within them had everything they needed. But when the cribs were let down, none of the men standing near the entrances of the caves dared come forward; instead, they remained quiet out of fear, whereupon one of the soldiers in irritation at the delay caused by the brigands who dared not come out, girded on his sword, and holding on with both hands to the chain from which the crib was suspended, lowered himself to the entrance of a cave. And when he came opposite an entrance, he first drove back with javelins most of those who were standing there, and then with his grappling hook drew his opponents toward him and pushed them over the precipice; after this he attacked those within and slaughtered many of them, whereupon he re-entered the crib and rested. Then fear seized the others as they heard the shrieking, and they despaired of their lives; all action, however, was halted by the coming on of night<sup>a</sup>; and many, after sending spokesmen with the king's consent,<sup>b</sup> surrendered and made their submission.<sup>c</sup> The same method of attack was used the following day, when the men in the baskets<sup>d</sup> fell upon them still more fiercely and fought at their doors and threw flaming fire inside, and so the caves, which had much wood in them, were set on fire. Now there was an old man shut up within one of the caves with his seven children and his wife: and when they begged him to let them slip through to the enemy, he stood at the entrance

<sup>a</sup> The word "night" is conjecturally supplied from the Latin.

<sup>b</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>c</sup> *B.J.*, on the contrary, says that "not one of them voluntarily surrendered."

<sup>d</sup> Or "cribs," see above, § 423.

## JOSEPHUS

ἐξιόντα τῶν παίδων ἀπέσφαττεν, εἰς ὃ πάντας διεχρήσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ ρίψας κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπικατέβαλεν  
 430 ἑαυτὸν, θάνατον πρὸ δουλείας ὑπομένων. πολλὰ δὲ πρῶτον ὠνειδίσεν τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς ταπεινότητα, καίτοι τοῦ βασιλέως (ἦν γὰρ ἄποπτα αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα) δεξιάν τε προτείνοντος καὶ πᾶσαν ἄδειαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν σπήλαια τούτων γενομένων ἤδη πάντα ἔκεχεῖρωτο.

431 (6) Καταστήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς αὐτόθι στρατηγὸν Πτολεμαῖον, εἰς Σαμάρειαν ὥχεται σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις ὀπλίταις δὲ τρισχιλίοις ὡς  
 432 μάχῃ κριθησόμενος πρὸς Ἀντίγονον. οὐ μὴν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ προυχώρησε τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν, ἀλλ' οἱ καὶ πρότερον τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ταραξάντες ἐπεξελθόντες<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν διεχρήσαντο, καὶ τοῦτο δράσαντες συμφεύγουσιν εἰς τε τὰ ἔλη καὶ τὰ δύσβατα τῶν χωρίων, ἄγοντες καὶ<sup>2</sup> διαρπάζοντες τὴν αὐτόθι  
 433 πᾶσαν. τιμωρεῖται δὲ τούτους Ἡρώδης ἐπανελθὼν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀναιρεῖ τῶν ἀποστάντων, τοὺς δὲ ἀναφυγόντας εἰς ἐρυμνὰ χωρία πολιορκία παραστησάμενος αὐτούς τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα κατέσκαψεν. ἐζημίωσε δέ, παύσας οὕτως τὴν νεωτεροποιίαν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις.

434 (7) Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Πακόρου πεσόντος ἐν μάχῃ καὶ τῶν Πάρθων πταισάντων<sup>3</sup> πέμπει βοηθὸν ὁ Βεντίδιος Ἡρώδῃ Μαχαιρᾶν σὺν δυσὶ τάγμασι καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν, ἐπισπεύδοντος Ἀντωνίου.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπελθόντες FLAMW.

<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ AMWE.

<sup>3</sup> PV: τραπέντων rell. Lat.

and cut down each of his sons as he came out, and afterwards his wife, and after hurling their dead bodies over the precipice, threw himself down upon them, thus submitting to death rather than to slavery. But before doing so, he bitterly reviled Herod for his meanness of spirit, although the king—for he was a witness of what was happening—stretched out his right hand and promised him full immunity. By such methods, then, all the caves were finally taken.

(6) The king thereupon appointed Ptolemy general in that region, and departed for Samaria with six hundred mounted men and three thousand foot-soldiers to try the issue of battle with Antigonus. Ptolemy, however, was unsuccessful in his command, and the men who had formerly disturbed Galilee fell upon him and took his life; after doing this, they fled in a body to the marshes and other inaccessible places, harrying and plundering the entire country thereabout. But Herod returned and punished them; some of the rebels he slew, and those who had taken refuge in fortified places he subjected to a siege and killed, and demolished their strongholds as well. After putting an end to the rebellion in this way, he also fined the cities a hundred talents.

Further victories of Herod in Galilee.

(7) Meanwhile, after Pacorus had fallen in battle and the Parthians had been defeated,<sup>a</sup> Ventidius at the urging of Antony<sup>b</sup> sent Machaeras to the assistance of Herod with two legions and a thousand horse.

The Roman general Machaeras gives Herod ground for complaint.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "had been routed." The battle took place in June, 38 B.C. at Gindarus in the Syrian district of Cyrrhastica. For the ancient sources see Debevoise, pp. 118-119, notes 97-100.

<sup>b</sup> Who was now (summer of 38 B.C.) in Syria, see below, § 439.

435 Μαχαιρᾶς μὲν οὖν, Ἀντιγόνου καλοῦντος αὐτὸν  
 παρὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου γνώμην χρήμασι διεφθαρμένος  
 ἀπῆει ὡς κατασκευόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰ πράγματα.  
 τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν ὑπιδόμενος<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς ἀφίξεως  
 Ἀντίγονος οὐδὲ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ σφενδόνας  
 βάλλον αὐτὸν ἀνείργε, καὶ διεδήλου τὴν αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>  
 436 προαίρεσιν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα Ἡρώδην  
 αὐτῷ παραινούντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν διημαρτηκότα, παρ-  
 ακούσαντα τῆς ἐκείνου συμβουλίας, ἀνεχώρει μὲν  
 εἰς Ἀμμαοῦν πόλιν, οἷς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἰου-  
 δαίοις περιετύγχανε τούτους ἀπέσφαττεν ἐχθρούς  
 τε καὶ φίλους, ὀργιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν πεπόνθει.  
 437 παροξυνθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Σαμα-  
 ρείας ἦει· πρὸς γὰρ Ἀντώνιον ἐγνώκει περὶ τούτων  
 ἀφικέσθαι· δεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχὶ τοιούτων συμμάχων,  
 οἱ βλάβουσι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους·  
 ἐξαρκεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιγόνου  
 438 καθαίρεσιν. παρακολουθῶν δ' ὁ Μαχαιρᾶς ἐδεῖτο  
 μένειν· εἰ δὲ οὕτως ὥρμηκεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν γε<sup>4</sup> ἀδελφὸν  
 αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπον παρακαθιστάνειν σφίσι προσ-  
 πολεμοῦσιν Ἀντιγόνῳ. καὶ διαλλάττεται μὲν πολλὰ

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: ὑπειδόμενος codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> Naber: αὐτοῦ codd.

<sup>3</sup> conl. Bekker: αὐτῷ codd.: ἑαυτῷ E: αὐτὸν ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> E: om. L: τε rel.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 15 note c.

<sup>b</sup> The preceding account of Machaeras' actions differs in some important details from the parallel, *B.J.* i. 317-319, which says that Antigonus, complaining bitterly of Herod, tried to bribe Machaeras, but the bribe was refused because Machaeras respected the orders of Ventidius and was also tempted by a larger bribe offered by Herod; after being repulsed by Antigonus, Machaeras in shame (nothing is said of his belated recognition of the soundness of Herod's advice)

Now Machaeras, being invited by Antigonus and bribed by him, went off against Herod's wish, as if to reconnoitre his position ; but Antigonus, suspecting his intentions in coming, did not admit him, but kept him away with sling-shots, and so revealed his own purpose. Thereupon Machaeras, perceiving that Herod had given him excellent advice and that he himself had made a mistake in disregarding his counsel, withdrew to the city of Emmaus<sup>a</sup> and slaughtered all the Jews whom he met on the way, whether friends or foes, in anger at the treatment he had suffered.<sup>b</sup> Enraged at these acts, the king went to Samaria, for he had decided to go to Antony about these matters and say that he had no need of such allies, who would do more harm to him than to his enemies, and that he was quite able to crush Antigonus by himself.<sup>c</sup> But Machaeras, who accompanied him, begged him to remain, or, if he were bent on going, at least to leave his brother Joseph as their associate in the war with Antigonus.<sup>d</sup> And so, at

was forced to retire to Emmaus and rejoin Herod, on the way killing all the Jews he met, not sparing even the Herodians. Otto, *Herodes*, p. 31 note, assumes that in *Ant.* Josephus used two contradictory sources, while Laqueur, pp. 202-205, argues that Josephus has tendentiously altered *B.J.* in writing *Ant.* out of hostility to Antigonus (while still being hostile to his opponent Herod). But so far as Antigonus is concerned the only difference between *B.J.* and *Ant.* is that in the former he tries to bribe Machaeras unsuccessfully, and in the latter succeeds in bribing him. Thus the alleged anti-Antigonus revision of *Ant.* is not very clear.

<sup>c</sup> Contrast *B.J.* i. 320, "Indignant at these acts Herod hastened to attack Machaeras as an enemy, but restraining his anger, set out instead to lay before Antony an accusation of his lawlessness."

<sup>d</sup> Herod's brother Joseph is not mentioned by Machaeras in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 320.

## JOSEPHUS

τοῦ Μαχαιρᾶ δεηθέντος, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰώσηπον αὐτόθι σὺν στρατῷ παρήνεσε μὴ ἀποκινδυνεύειν μηδὲ τῷ Μαχαιρᾷ διαφέρεσθαι.

439 (8) Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἔσπευδεν (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ<sup>1</sup> πολιορκῶν Σαμόσατα τὸ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ χωρίον) σὺν ἰππόταις τε καὶ πεζοῖς κατὰ συμ-  
440 μαχίαν αὐτῷ παροῦσιν. παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπιτυχῶν ἠθροισμένοις καὶ<sup>2</sup> πρὸς Ἀντώνιον μὲν σπουδῆν βαδίζειν ἔχουσιν, ὑπὸ δέους δὲ διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖν οὐ τολμῶν-  
441 τας<sup>3</sup> ἔξορμᾶν, παραθαρρύνας αὐτὸς ἡγεμῶν γίνεται τῆς ὁδοῦ. κατὰ δὲ σταθμὸν δεῦτερον τῶν Σαμοσάτων<sup>4</sup> ἐλόχα μὲν αὐτόθι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνέδρα τοὺς φοιτῶντας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, δρυμῶνων δὲ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὰ πεδία διαλαμβανόντων προλοχίζουσιν αὐτόθι τῶν ἰππέων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἡρεμήσοντας ἕως ἂν<sup>5</sup> εἰς τὸ ἰπήλατον οἱ διεξιόντες

<sup>1</sup> PE: δὲ rell.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ secl. Dindorf. <sup>3</sup> τολμῶσιν Dindorf.  
ante aut post τῶν Σαμοσάτων aliquid excidisse putat Niese.  
<sup>5</sup> ἂν secl. Naber.

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<sup>a</sup> In *B.J.* Herod's warning to Joseph not to engage Antigonos (nothing is said about quarrelling with Machaeras, although his untrustworthiness is mentioned) follows the account of the siege of Samosata instead of preceding it, as here.

<sup>b</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 439-464 and *B.J.* i. 321-342



the earnest entreaty of Machaeras, Herod became reconciled and left his brother Joseph there with an army, warning him not to take any risks or to quarrel with Machaeras.<sup>a</sup>

(8) <sup>b</sup> He himself hastened to Antony, who was just then besieging Samosata, a place near the Euphrates, with horsemen and foot-soldiers who had come to his assistance.<sup>c</sup> When he arrived at Antioch,<sup>d</sup> he found many men gathered there who were anxious to reach Antony but dared not set out for fear of the barbarians who were attacking men on the way and slaying many of them; these he encouraged and became their leader on the road. But two days' march from Samosata <sup>e</sup> there was an ambush of barbarians lying in wait for those who were on their way to Antony. And as there were thickets covering the entrance to the plains, they had there placed in ambush <sup>f</sup> not a few horsemen to remain quiet until those passing through should reach the place where

Herod  
rescues the  
troops sent  
to aid  
Antony  
from the  
Parthian  
ambush.

see Laqueur, pp. 205-210, who assumes that in *Ant.* Josephus used a second source beside Nicolas of Damascus, namely the Memoirs of Herod himself. But this assumption seems to contradict Laqueur's theory that *Ant.* is more anti-Herodian than *B.J.*

<sup>c</sup> Antony had come to supersede Ventidius who was besieging the Parthians' ally Antiochus of Commagene. For the ancient sources see W. W. Tarn in *CAH* x. 53 note 3 and Debevoise, p. 120 note 103.

<sup>d</sup> *B.J.* adds that "Herod quickened his pace, as he saw in this a favourable opportunity for displaying his courage and strengthening his hold upon Antony's affection." The details of Herod's march and reception by Antony in §§ 439-444 are not found in the corresponding sections, *B.J.* i. 321-322.

<sup>e</sup> This would be about 40 miles S.W. of Samosata, probably near the southern border of Commagene.

<sup>f</sup> *προλοχίζουσι* is a Thucydidean term.

442 ἔλθοιεν. ὡς δ' οἱ πρῶτοι διεξῆλθον, ὠπισθοφυ-  
 λάκει μὲν Ἡρώδης, προσπίπτουσι δὲ ἕξαπιναιῶς  
 οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὄντες εἰς πεντακοσίους· καὶ  
 τρεψαμένων τούς πρῶτους, ἐπιδραμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 τῇ ῥύμῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀνακόπτει  
 τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπεγείρει δὲ τὸ τῶν οἰκείων  
 φρόνημα καὶ θαρραλέους ἀπεργάζεται, καὶ τῶν  
 443 πάλαι φευγόντων ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς μαχομένων ἐκ-  
 τείνοντο πανταχόθεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐπέκειτο δὲ ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς ἀναιρῶν, καὶ τὰ διηρπασμένα (πολλὰ δ'  
 ἦν σκευοφόρα καὶ ἀνδράποδα) πάντα ἀνασωσάμενος  
 444 προῆει. καὶ πλειόνων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένων τῶν  
 ἐν τοῖς δρυμῶσιν οἱ πλησίον τῆς εἰς τὸ πεδῖον  
 ἐκβολῆς ἦσαν, καὶ τούτοις προσμίξας<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς μετὰ  
 στίφους καρτεροῦ τρέπεται, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν  
 ἀποκτείνας ἀδεᾶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις τὴν<sup>2</sup> ὁδὸν παρείχεν·  
 οἱ δὲ σωτῆρα καὶ προστάτην αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν.<sup>3</sup>  
 445 (9) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον τῶν Σαμοσάτων ἐγεγόνει,  
 πέμπει τὸ στράτευμα ὑπαντησόμενον Ἀντώνιος  
 σὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ κόσμῳ, τιμὴν Ἡρώδη ταύτην ἀπο-  
 νέμων καὶ ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα· τὴν γὰρ τῶν βαρ-  
 446 βάρων ἠκηκόει κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπίθεσιν. καὶ δὴ  
 παρόντα τε εἶδεν ἀσμένως, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν  
 αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα μαθὼν ἐδεξιούτο καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς  
 ἐθαύμαζεν, αὐτὸς τε περιλαβὼν αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος  
 ὡς εἶδεν<sup>4</sup> ἠσπάζετο προυτίμα τε νεωστὶ βασιλέα

<sup>1</sup> V : συμπροσμίξας P : συμμίξας rell. E.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν add. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκάλουν P : ἐπεκάλουν AM.

<sup>4</sup> ὡς εἶδεν secl. Ernesti.

horses could be used. As the first men went through, Herod was guarding the rear, and when the men in ambush, numbering some five hundred, suddenly<sup>a</sup> fell upon them and routed those in front, the king rushed up and by the force of his charge at once drove the enemy back; at the same time he raised the spirits of his men and filled them with courage: and when those who had before been fleeing turned back to fight, the barbarians were killed on all sides. But the king pressed on, slaying as he went, and after recovering all the plunder that had been taken, consisting of a great many pack-animals and slaves, he went ahead. And being attacked by a larger number of men in the thickets near the entrance to the plain, he engaged them too with a stout body of men and routed and killed many of them, thus making the road safe for those who followed. Thereupon they hailed him as their saviour and protector.

(9) And when he came near Samosata, Antony sent his army with his own equipment to meet him, assigning these men as an honour to Herod and also as an aid to him; for he had heard of the barbarians' attacks upon them. Moreover when Herod arrived, he was very glad to see him, and on learning of his feats on the way, he clasped his hand and expressed admiration of his prowess; and Antony himself welcomed him with an embrace on seeing him,<sup>b</sup> and showed him special honour, for he had recently appointed him king.<sup>c</sup> But not long afterwards

Antony  
welcomes  
Herod at  
Samosata.

<sup>a</sup> ἐξαιναίως is also Thucydidean.

<sup>b</sup> The text here is confused and repetitious.

<sup>c</sup> See above, § 386. *B.J.* i. 322 says merely that Antony "largely increased both his honours and his hopes of the kingship."

- 447 ἀποδείξας.<sup>1</sup> Ἀντιόχου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἔρυμα  
 παραδόντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παυσαμένου τοῦ πολέμου,  
 Σοσσίω μὲν Ἀντώνιος Συρίαν<sup>2</sup> παραδίδωσι, παρα-  
 κλευσάμενος δὲ<sup>3</sup> Ἡρώδη συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἐπ'  
 Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρει. καὶ Σόσσιος μὲν δύο τάγματα  
 ἐπικουρικὰ Ἡρώδη προύπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἠκολούθει.
- 448 (10) Ἐτυχε δ' ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τεθνεῶς  
 Ἰώσηπος τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· λήθην μὲν ὦν αὐτῷ  
 παρήγγειλεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀπερχό-  
 μενος λαμβάνει, στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ἀνὰ τὰ  
 ὄρη (πέντε γὰρ αὐτῷ σπεῖρας Μαχαιρᾶ δόντος ἐπὶ  
 Ἱεριχοῦντος ἠπείγετο, βουλόμενος ἐκθερίσαι τὸν  
 449 σῖτον αὐτῶν<sup>4</sup>) καὶ νεοσυλλέκτου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατεύματος ὄντος καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρως ἔχοντος  
 (καὶ γὰρ πολὺ ἐκ Συρίας ἦν τὸ κατειλεγμένον),  
 ἐπιθεμένων αὐτόθι τῶν πολεμίων, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν  
 δυσχωρίαις αὐτὸς τε ἀποθνήσκει γενναίως μαχό-  
 μενος, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἀπέβαλεν· ἕξ γὰρ  
 450 σπεῖραι διεφθάρησαν. κρατήσας δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν<sup>5</sup>  
 Ἀντίγονος ἀποτέμνει τὴν Ἰωσήπου κεφαλὴν, πεν-  
 τήκοντα ταλάντων αὐτὴν ῥυομένου Φερώρα τᾶ-  
 δελφοῦ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀποστάντες Γαλιλαῖοι  
 τῶν παρὰ σφίσι δυνατῶν, τοὺς τὰ Ἡρώδου φρο-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς τε . . . ἀποδείξας] et osculabatur eum et praeponēbat sibi quem paulo ante regem ipse monstraverat Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Συρίαν ex B.J. add. Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ post αὐτὸς tr. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτῶν om. L Lat.

<sup>5</sup> inimicos Lat.

<sup>a</sup> King of Commagene, see above, § 439 note c.

<sup>b</sup> B.J. says that Herod's arrival "brought the siege to a conclusion." According to Plutarch, *Ant.* 34, Antony made

Antiochus<sup>a</sup> surrendered the stronghold,<sup>b</sup> and thus the war came to an end; thereupon Antony entrusted Syria<sup>c</sup> to Sossius with instructions to aid Herod, and himself departed for Egypt.<sup>d</sup> And so Sossius sent two legions ahead to Judaea to assist Herod,<sup>e</sup> and himself followed with the greater part of his army.

(10) Before this, however, Joseph had met his death in Judaea under the following circumstances. Forgetting the orders which his brother had given him when going off to Antony, he pitched camp in the hills—for when Machaeras gave him five cohorts, he hastened to Jericho with the intention of reaping all their grain—and as the Roman army was newly recruited and had no experience of war, being raised mostly from Syria, he was left in a difficult position when the enemy attacked him there, and so he was killed, fighting bravely; his entire army was also lost, six cohorts being destroyed.<sup>f</sup> And Antigonus seized the dead bodies<sup>g</sup> and cut off Joseph's head, which his brother Pheroras ransomed for fifty talents. And after this the Galilaeans rebelled against the nobles in their country and drowned the partisans

Joseph is killed in battle at Jericho.

peace with Antiochus on the latter's payment of 300 talents (instead of 1000 earlier demanded by Ventidius). Tarn, *loc. cit.*, calls this story "absurd."

<sup>c</sup> "Syria" is conjecturally supplied from *B.J.*

<sup>d</sup> According to Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, Antony returned to Athens from Syria. In *B.J.* the instructions to Sossius are mentioned after the account of Joseph's defeat at Jericho, instead of before it, as here; § 447 = *B.J.* i. 327, while §§ 448-450 = *B.J.* i. 323-326.

<sup>e</sup> Tarn remarks, *CAH* x. 54, that this was a "rare instance of a foreigner commanding Roman troops."

<sup>f</sup> This detail is not found in *B.J.*

<sup>g</sup> Lat. "the enemy"; our text is supported by *B.J.*

νοῦντας ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατεπόντωσαν, καὶ τῆς  
 Ἰουδαίας πολλὰ ἐνεωτερίσθη. Μαχαιρᾶς δὲ Γιθθᾶν<sup>1</sup>  
 χωρίον ἐξωχύρου.

- 451 (11) Παρήσαν δ' ἄγγελοι τῶν πεπραγμένων  
 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐν Δάφνῃ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας  
 ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τύχην,  
 προσδεχομένῳ μέντοι καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ τινος ὀνειρῶν  
 ὄψεις τρανῶς προφαινούσας τὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 452 θάνατον. ἐπειχθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ὡς κατὰ  
 Λίβανον τὸ ὄρος γίνεται, ὀκτακοσίους μὲν τῶν  
 αὐτόθι προσλαμβάνει, ἔχων δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐν  
 τάγμα εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα παραγίνεται, κακείθεν  
 νυκτὸς ἀναστὰς μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ προῆει διὰ τῆς  
 453 Γαλιλαίας. ὑπήντων δ' οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ κρατη-  
 θέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατεκλείσθησαν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν  
 ἦσαν ὠρμηκότες τῇ προτεραία· προσβολὰς δὴ  
 τοῦντεῦθεν ἔωθεν<sup>2</sup> ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος  
 καταρραγέντος οὐδὲν ποιεῖν δυνάμενος, ἀπάγει τὴν  
 στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς πλησίον κώμας. ἐλθόντος δ'  
 αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ δευτέρου τάγματος, οἱ  
 τὸ χωρίον ἔχοντες φοβηθέντες νυκτὸς ἐξέλιπον<sup>3</sup>  
 454 αὐτό. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος,  
 τιμωρήσασθαι κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τὰ-

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: Ηττον P (post χωρίον): Γιθᾶν AMW: Γιθθᾶν V: Γήθᾶν rell.

<sup>2</sup> ἔωθεν om. PE Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐξέλειπον PFV.

<sup>a</sup> Of Gennesaret (the Sea of Galilee).

<sup>b</sup> B.J. has "Idumaea," probably the correct reading since, as Otto points out, *Herodes*, p. 32, Judaea had not been held by Herod, while, according to B.J. i. 303, he had earlier feared a revolt in Idumaea.

<sup>c</sup> Name slightly emended after B.J. The site may have been S.W. of Hebron, cf. Dr. Thackeray's note on B.J. i. 326.

of Herod in the lake <sup>a</sup>; a good part of Judaea <sup>b</sup> also revolted. Machaeras then fortified the place called Gittha.<sup>c</sup>

(11) But messengers came to the king to report these happenings, and at Daphne near Antioch they informed him of his brother's fate, which, however, he himself was expecting from certain dream visions which clearly foreshadowed his brother's death.<sup>d</sup> He therefore hastened on his way, and when he came to Mount Lebanon, took on eight hundred men of that region, and with a Roman legion as well came to Ptolemais; from there he set out by night with his army and proceeded through Galilee.<sup>e</sup> When the enemy met him, they were defeated in battle and were shut up in the fortress from which they had set out the day before; he then attacked them repeatedly at dawn,<sup>f</sup> but not being able to do anything because of a severe storm which broke out, he led his army back to the villages nearby. But when a second legion came to him from Antony,<sup>g</sup> the men who were holding the fortress were terrified and abandoned it by night. And the king hastened to Jericho with the intention of taking revenge on

Herod  
hastens to  
Jericho to  
avenge  
Joseph's  
death.

<sup>d</sup> *B.J.*'s language is more dramatic, "springing in dismay from his bed, he was met by the messengers bringing news of the catastrophe."

<sup>e</sup> The stop at Ptolemais is not mentioned in *B.J.* Laqueur, pp. 206-207, argues that in *Ant.* Josephus has deliberately suppressed the details of his source which showed Herod's passionate haste to avenge his brother. But *B.J.* is simply more rhetorical than *Ant.*, see preceding note and below, on § 458.

<sup>f</sup> The variant omits "at dawn," a detail not found in *B.J.*; the word *ἔωθεν* may be a scribal error due to the preceding *τοὐντεῦθεν*.

<sup>g</sup> See above, § 447.

δελφοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέζευξεν, εἰστία μὲν τοὺς ἐν  
τέλει, μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνουσίαν παρήλθεν εἰς τὸ  
455 δωμάτιον ἀπολύσας τοὺς παρόντας. ἐνταῦθα ἴδου  
τις ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐνοίαν· πίπτει  
μὲν γὰρ ἡ στέγη τοῦ οἰκήματος, οὐδένα δὲ ἀπο-  
λαβοῦσα διέφθειρεν, ὥστε πάντας πιστεῦσαι τὸν  
Ἑρώδη ἐῖναι θεοφιλῆ, μέγαν οὕτω καὶ παράδοξον  
διαφυγόντα κίνδυνον.

456 (12) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τῶν πολεμίων ἑξακισχίλιοι  
ἀπ' ἄκρων κατιόντες τῶν ὀρῶν εἰς μάχην, ἐφόβουν  
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δὲ γυμνήτες προσιόντες τοῖς  
παλτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἔβαλλον καὶ λίθοις τοὺς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα  
ἐξεληλυθότας, αὐτόν<sup>2</sup> τε παλτῶ<sup>3</sup> τις παρὰ τὴν  
457 λαπάραν ἔβαλεν. Ἀντίγονος δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν  
πέμπει στρατηγὸν Πάππον ὄνομα σὺν δυνάμει  
τινί,<sup>4</sup> βουλόμενος παρασχεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις δόξαν  
πολεμοῦντος ἐκ περιουσίας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Μαχαιρᾶ  
τῷ στρατηγῷ προσεκάθητο<sup>5</sup>. Ἑρώδης δὲ πέντε  
πόλεις καταλαβών,<sup>6</sup> τοὺς ἐγκαταληφθέντας<sup>7</sup> περὶ  
δισχιλίους ὄντας ἐφόνευσεν, αὐτάς τε τὰς πόλεις  
458 ἐμπρήσας ἐπανήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάππον· ἐστρατο-  
πεδεύετο δὲ οὗτος περὶ<sup>8</sup> κώμην Ἰσάνας καλου-

<sup>1</sup> P (πάλτοις): πελτοῖς rell.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ FLAMW.

<sup>3</sup> P (πάλτω): πελτῶ rell.: πέλτη E.

<sup>4</sup> πολλῇ P.

<sup>5</sup> παρεκάθητο FV: προεκάθητο L.

<sup>6</sup> PE: παραλαβών rell.

<sup>7</sup> edd.: ἐγκαταλιπόντας P: καταληφθέντας, η in ει corr. E: ἐγκαταλειφθέντας rell.: relictos Lat.

<sup>8</sup> ex B.J. Niese: ἐπὶ codd.

<sup>a</sup> The matter is put less factually in *B.J.* i. 332, which says that Herod "judged this to be a sign both of perils and of preservation in the coming war."

<sup>b</sup> Presumably in an earthquake, as is supposed by J. Garstang, *The Story of Jericho* (1940), p. 136.



them for his brother. And when he had found quarters, he entertained the men in authority, and after the party, sent away the guests and went to his room. And from the following incident one may see how well disposed God was toward the king.<sup>a</sup> For the roof of the house collapsed<sup>b</sup> without killing anyone who was caught within; so that they all believed that Herod was a favourite of God for having escaped so great and unexpected a danger.

(12) On the following day, however, six thousand of the enemy descended from the summits of the hills to fight, and struck terror into the Romans.<sup>c</sup> The light-armed troops came close and cast javelins<sup>d</sup> and stones at the king's men who had come out against them, and one of them struck the king himself in the side with a javelin. Antigonus then sent a general named Pappus with a force<sup>e</sup> to Samaria, wishing to give the enemy the impression that he was fighting with men to spare. And while he occupied himself with the general Machaeras, Herod took five cities, and after slaughtering those who were caught<sup>f</sup> in them—about two thousand—and burning the cities themselves, returned to face Pappus, who had pitched his camp near a village called Isana.<sup>g</sup>

Antigonus' force is defeated by Herod at Jericho.

<sup>a</sup> *B.J.* i. 332 says, on the contrary, that Antigonus' troops had not the courage to come to close quarters with the Romans. Possibly in *Ant.* we should read, not ἐφόβουν, but ἐφοβοῦντο (τοὺς Ῥωμαίους) "but they were afraid of the Romans."  
<sup>d</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>e</sup> ms. P "a large force."

<sup>f</sup> So the editions: mss. "left."

<sup>g</sup> Not "Kana" as in *B.J.* through a scribal error. Isana is bibl. Jeshanah (*cf. Ant.* viii. 284), identified by Albright, *BASOR* 9 (February 1923), p. 7 (*cf. Abel, GP* ii. 364 and Klein, *EY*, p. 85 note 8) with mod. *Burj el-Isâneh*, c. 20 miles N. of Jerusalem on the Nablus road.

## JOSEPHUS

μένην. καὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσρεόντων ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἰεριχοῦντος<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῆς ἄλλης<sup>2</sup> Ἰουδαίας, ἐπεὶ  
 πλησίον γίνεται, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεξελθόντων  
 αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ θάρσους συμβαλὼν κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ,  
 καὶ τιμωρῶν τὰδελφῷ φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν κώμην  
 459 εἶπετο<sup>3</sup> κτείνων. πεπληρωμένων δὲ τῶν οἰκήσεων  
 ὀπλιτῶν καὶ πολλῶν<sup>4</sup> ἀναφευγόντων ἐπὶ τὰς  
 στέγας κρατεῖ τούτων, καὶ τοὺς ὀρόφους τῶν  
 οἰκῶν ἀνασκάπτων, ἔμπλεα τὰ κάτω<sup>5</sup> τῶν στρατιω-  
 460 τῶν ἐώρα ἀθρόων ἀπειλημμένων. τούτους μὲν  
 οὖν πέτραις ἀνωθεν βάλλοντες σωρηδὸν ἐπ' ἀλλή-  
 λοις ἀνήρουν. καὶ θέαμα τοῦτο δεινότατον ἦν  
 κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον, νεκρῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπείρων  
 461 ἐντὸς<sup>6</sup> τῶν τοίχων<sup>7</sup> ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις κειμένων. τοῦτο  
 τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα τὰ φρονήματα τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἔκλασε παραδοκούντων τὸ μέλλον· ἐωρῶντο γὰρ  
 παμπληθεῖς πόρρωθεν συγγινόμενοι περὶ τὴν κώ-  
 μην· οἱ τότε ἔφευγον, καὶ εἰ μὴ χειμῶν ἐπέσχε  
 βαθύς, ἦκεν ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἢ βασιλέως  
 στρατιὰ θαρροῦσα τῷ νενικηκέναι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦν  
 ἂν εἰργασμένη· καὶ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος ἤδη τὴν παντελῆ  
 φυγὴν ἐσκόπει καὶ ἀπανάστασιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: Ἰεριχοῦς codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλης PE: om. rell. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπέκειτο V fort. recte.

<sup>4</sup> τινων P: πολλῶν τινων F.

<sup>5</sup> τὰ κάτω E: τὰ κατὰ P: om. F: ταῦτα rell.

<sup>6</sup> ἐκτὸς (τῶν τειχῶν) conl. Lowthius.

<sup>7</sup> Niese: τειχῶν codd.

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<sup>a</sup> Variant "from Jericho and Judaea"; *B.J.* "from Jericho and the rest of the country (χώρας)"—probably meaning Judaea. *B.J.* adds that these recruits came, "some drawn by hatred of Antigonos, others by his own successes, the majority by a blind love of change."

Meanwhile many people streamed to him from Jericho and the rest of Judaea<sup>a</sup>; and when he drew near the enemy, they boldly advanced to attack him, but on engaging them in battle he overcame them, and to avenge his brother<sup>b</sup> he followed and killed them as they fled to the village. The houses were filled with armed men, and many<sup>c</sup> took refuge on the house-tops, but he seized these, and on pulling down the roofs of the houses, saw the space below filled with soldiers wedged in tightly together. Accordingly his men hurled stones at them from above<sup>d</sup> and slew them in heaps, one upon another. And the most terrible sight of any during the war was this mass of countless dead bodies lying one upon another within the walls of the houses.<sup>e</sup> It was this action which did most to break the spirits of the enemy, who were waiting to see what would happen; for great crowds were seen coming together from a distance about the village, and they now fled; and if a severe storm<sup>f</sup> had not prevented, the king's army, made confident by their victory, would have marched on Jerusalem as well and ended the whole business; for Antigonus was already considering headlong flight and withdrawal from the city.

<sup>b</sup> This is more dramatically expressed in *B.J.* i. 336, "with his memories of his murdered brother, hazarding all to be avenged on his murderers." There are several other dramatic phrases in these sections of *B.J.* not paralleled in *Ant.*

<sup>c</sup> Variant "some"; *B.J.* supports our text.

<sup>d</sup> This detail is not found in *B.J.*

<sup>e</sup> τοίχων "house-walls" is conjectured for mss. τειχῶν "city-walls." A conjectured variant is "outside" for mss. "within." *B.J.* has "there was such a heap of corpses that the streets were impassable."

<sup>f</sup> This must have been during the winter of 38-37 B.C. or in the early spring of 37 B.C.

JOSEPHUS

- 462 (13) Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὀψία γὰρ ἦν, δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώτας, αὐτὸς δὲ<sup>1</sup> (ἐκεκμήκει γάρ) εἰσελθὼν εἰς τι δωμάτιον περὶ λουτρὸν ἦν. ἔνθα καὶ κίνδυνος αὐτῷ μέγιστος
- 463 συνέπεσεν, ὃν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν διέφυγε· γυμνοῦ γὰρ ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ παιδὸς ἑνὸς ἀκολουθουλουμένου ἐν τῷ ἐντὸς οἰκῆματι, τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ὀπλισμένοι συμπεφευγότες αὐτόθι διὰ φόβον ἦσαν, καὶ<sup>2</sup> μεταξὺ λουομένου ὁ πρῶτος ὑπεξέρχεται<sup>3</sup> ξίφος ἔχων γυμνὸν καὶ διὰ θυρῶν χωρεῖ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν δεῦτερος καὶ τρίτος ὁμοίως ὀπλισμένοι, οὐδὲν βλάβαντες τὸν βασιλέα ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, ἀγαπῶντες δὲ τὸ<sup>4</sup> μηδὲν αὐτοὶ παθόντες εἰς τὸ
- 464 πρόσθεν διεκπεσεῖν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τὴν μὲν Πάππου κεφαλὴν (ἀνήρητο γάρ) ἀποκόψας Φερῶρα ἔπεμψε, ποιηὴν ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πάθοι· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν αὐτόχειρ ἐκείνου γεγενημένος.
- 465 (14) Λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν ἐγγὺς Ἱεροσολύμων ἔρχεται, καὶ πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεται τῆς πόλεως· τρίτον δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἔτος
- 466 ἦν ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο. ἀναστρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ καὶ πλησίον ἐλθὼν τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταστρατοπεδεύεται,<sup>5</sup> προσβαλεῖν διεγνωκῶς ᾧ<sup>6</sup> καὶ πρότερόν ποτε Πομπήιος. τρισὶ δὲ διαλαβῶν

<sup>1</sup> E Lat.: τε codd.

<sup>3</sup> P: ἐπεξέρχεται rell.

<sup>5</sup> στρατοπεδεύεται PE.

<sup>2</sup> ἦσαν καὶ om. AMW.

<sup>4</sup> τῷ V.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: ὡς codd. E.

<sup>a</sup> On the slight differences of detail between *Ant.* and *B.J.* in the following (perhaps apocryphal) story see Laqueur, pp. 209-210 (rather too subtle).

<sup>b</sup> Or "unarmed."

(13) <sup>a</sup> At this point the king ordered his soldiers to have their supper, as it was late, and he himself, being tired out, went into a room to bathe. And here he came into very great danger, but by the providence of God, escaped it. For he was naked <sup>b</sup> and taking his bath, with only a single servant in attendance, in an inner chamber, where several of the enemy, who were armed, had taken refuge out of fear; and while he was bathing, one of them stole by <sup>c</sup> with his sword drawn, and went out through the door, and after him a second and a third who were similarly armed, but in their consternation they did the king no injury, and were content to have got away into the open without suffering any harm. The following day he cut off the head of Pappus, who had already been slain, and sent it to Pheroras in revenge for what his brother had suffered. For it was Pappus who had been his executioner.<sup>d</sup>

Herod's  
miraculous  
escape from  
assassina-  
tion.

(14) <sup>e</sup> When the storm subsided, he removed from there and came near to Jerusalem, encamping close to the city. This was in the third year after he had been made king at Rome.<sup>f</sup> He then moved his camp and came close to the wall, encamping before the temple, which was the point where the wall could most easily be assaulted, for he had made up his mind to attack at the same place where Pompey had attacked before.<sup>g</sup> On this site he made three lines

Herod inter-  
rupts the  
siege of  
Jerusalem  
to marry  
Mariamme  
at Samaria.

<sup>e</sup> The variant "advanced upon him" is excluded by the context.

<sup>d</sup> See above, § 450.

<sup>e</sup> On the parallelism between §§ 465-491 (end of book) and *B.J.* i. 343-357 see Laqueur, pp. 210-215.

<sup>f</sup> More exactly two and a half years after his appointment; this had taken place in the late autumn of 40 B.C. (see above, § 389) and it was now the early spring of 37 B.C.

<sup>g</sup> See above, §§ 60 ff.

χώμασι τὸν τόπον πύργους ἀνίστη, πολλῇ τε  
 χειρὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον χρώμενος καὶ τέμνων τὴν  
 467 πέριξ ὕλην. παρακαταστήσας δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοὺς  
 ἐπιτηδεῖους, ἰδρυμένης ἔτι τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτὸς  
 εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον ὤχετο, ἀξόμενος  
 τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα·  
 ταύτην γὰρ ἦν ἐγγεγυημένος, ὡς μοι καὶ πρότερον  
 εἴρηται.

468 (xvi. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς γάμους ἦλθε μὲν διὰ  
 Φοινίκης Σόσσιος, προεκπέμψας τὴν δύναμιν διὰ  
 τῆς μεσογαίας, ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ὁ στρατηγός,<sup>1</sup> πλήθος  
 ἔχων<sup>2</sup> ἰππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, παρεγένετο δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος, οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς  
 τῷ πάλαι στρατὸν ἄγων· περὶ τρισμυρίους<sup>3</sup> γὰρ  
 469 ἦσαν. πάντες δὲ ἐπὶ<sup>4</sup> τὸ Ἱεροσολύμων ἠθροίζοντο  
 τεῖχος, καὶ διεκάθηντο πρὸς τῷ βορείῳ τείχει τῆς  
 πόλεως στρατιὰ<sup>5</sup> ἑνδεκα μὲν οὔσα τέλη ὀπλιτικοῦ,<sup>6</sup>  
 ἕξ δὲ χιλιάδες ἰππέων, ἄλλα δὲ<sup>7</sup> ἐπικουρικὰ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς Συρίας· δύο δ' ἡγεμόνες,<sup>8</sup> Σόσσιος μὲν ὑπ'  
 Ἀντωνίου σταλεῖς<sup>9</sup> σύμμαχος, Ἡρώδης δ' ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτοῦ, ὡς<sup>10</sup> Ἀντίγονον ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν,  
 ἀποδειχθέντα ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολέμιον, αὐτὸς ἀντ'  
 ἐκείνου βασιλεύσειε<sup>11</sup> κατὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα.

470 (2) Μετὰ πολλῆς δὲ προθυμίας καὶ ἔριδος, ἄτε

<sup>1</sup> στρατὸς PE: om. Lat.: ἦλθε . . . στρατηγός del. Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> ἔχων om. PE Lat.

<sup>3</sup> περὶ τρισμυρίους PV: τρισμύριοι rell.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ Naber.

<sup>5</sup> ed. pr.: στρατιᾶς codd.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: ὀπλιτικούς P: ὀπλιτικόν rell.: ὀπλιτικά Naber.

<sup>7</sup> τε ed. pr.

<sup>8</sup> + ἦσαν E.

<sup>9</sup> ἀποσταλεῖς FLAMW.

<sup>10</sup> ὅς AMW.

<sup>11</sup> βασιλεὺς εἴη P.

of earthworks and erected towers, employing a great many hands in the work and cutting the timber round about. He then put capable men in charge of these works, and while his army was still encamped, himself went off to Samaria to marry the daughter <sup>a</sup> of Alexander, son of Aristobulus, to whom he was betrothed, as I have said before. <sup>b</sup>

(xvi. 1) After the wedding Sossius, who had sent his forces ahead through the interior, came through Phoenicia, the general himself coming <sup>c</sup> with a large number of horsemen and foot-soldiers. And the king also arrived from Samaria, leading a considerable army in addition to the one he had earlier, there being about thirty thousand. <sup>d</sup> All these assembled before the wall of Jerusalem and took up their position at the north wall of the city; they made up an army of eleven divisions of foot-soldiers and six thousand mounted men, as well as auxiliaries from Syria <sup>e</sup>; and there were two commanders, Sossius, who had been sent as an ally by Antony, and Herod, acting on his own behalf, to take the royal power from Antigonus, who had been declared an enemy at Rome, <sup>f</sup> and in his stead to become king himself in accordance with the decree of the Senate.

Sossius and Herod join forces.

(2) It was with great zeal and bitterness, <sup>g</sup> the entire

The ingenuity and

<sup>b</sup> See above, § 300. *B.J.* i. 344 adds, "He made his wedding an interlude (*πάρεργον*) of the siege, for he was already contemptuous of the enemy."

<sup>c</sup> Text awkward and probably corrupt; it is clear, however, from the parallel in *B.J.* that "the general" is Sossius.

<sup>d</sup> *B.J.* does not give the number of Herod's men.

<sup>e</sup> *B.J.* adds "who formed no small part (of his army)."

<sup>f</sup> There is no mention of Antigonus in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 346.

<sup>g</sup> Instead of "zeal and bitterness," *B.J.* speaks of the "agitation" (*ἐτετάρακτο*) of the people within the city.

σύμπαντος ἡθροισμένου τοῦ ἔθνους,<sup>1</sup> οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι  
 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη ἀντεπολέμουν, κατειληθέντες  
 ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, πολλά<sup>2</sup> τε ἐπεφήμιζον περὶ τὸ  
 ἱερόν καὶ πολλά ἐπ' εὐθυμία<sup>4</sup> τοῦ δήμου, ὡς  
 471 ῥυσομένου<sup>5</sup> τῶν κινδύνων αὐτοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ. τὰ  
 τε ἐκτὸς<sup>6</sup> τῆς πόλεως ἀπεσκευάσαντο, ὡς μηδ'  
 ὅσα τροφή δύναίτο εἶναι ὑπολιπεῖν ἢ ἀνθρώποις  
 ἢ ὑποζυγίοις, ληστείαις τε λάθρα χρώμενοι ἀπορίαν  
 472 παρέσχον. ταῦτα δ' Ἡρώδης συνιδὼν πρὸς μὲν  
 τὰς ληστείας ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις τόποις προ-  
 ελόχιζε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πέμπων ὀπλιτικὰ  
 τέλη πόρρωθεν ἀγορὰν συνεκόμιζεν, ὡς ὀλίγου  
 χρόνου πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τῶν  
 473 ἀναγκαίων. ἦρτο δέ, συνεχῶς<sup>7</sup> ἤδη πολλῆς χειρὸς  
 ἐργαζομένης, καὶ τὰ τρία χῶματα εὐπετῶς· θέρος  
 τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν  
 οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργαζομένων, τὰ  
 τε μηχανήματα προσάγοντες κατέσειον τὸ τεῖχος  
 474 καὶ πάσαις ἐχρῶντο πείραις. οὐ μὴν ἐξέπληττον  
 τοὺς ἔνδον, ἀλλ' ἀντετεχνῶντο κάκεῖνοι πρὸς τὰ  
 παρὰ τούτων γινόμενα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἐπεκθέοντές τε  
 τὰ μὲν ἡμίεργα ἐνεπίμπρασαν τὰ δ' ἐξειργασμένα,

<sup>1</sup> πλήθους PE.

<sup>2</sup> P: καταλειφθέντες FM<sup>1</sup>V: καταληφθέντες LAE<sup>1</sup>: καταληφ-  
 θέντος W. <sup>3</sup> πολλοί Niese.

<sup>4</sup> E: εὐφημία codd.

<sup>5</sup> PVE: ῥυσαμένου rell.

<sup>6</sup> E Lat.: ἐντὸς codd.

<sup>7</sup> Niese: συχνῶς codd. E et Lat. vid.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "multitude" or "populace."

<sup>b</sup> Variants "were left," "were caught."

<sup>c</sup> So the Epitome; mss. "in praise of." The text is rather obscure, but from *B.J.* it is clear that (Messianic) prophecies are meant.



nation<sup>a</sup> being gathered together, that the Jews who were confined<sup>b</sup> within the walls fought against Herod and his men; many were the invocations made about the temple, and many were the things said to encourage<sup>c</sup> the people, to the effect that God would deliver them from danger. And everything on the land outside the city<sup>d</sup> had been carried off, so that nothing was left that might serve as food for men or beasts; and by secret raids also they caused a lack of provisions. But<sup>e</sup> when Herod observed this, he took steps against the raids, on the one hand, by posting ambushes in the most suitable places, and against the lack of provisions, on the other hand, by sending divisions of armed men to gather supplies from a distance, so that within a short time they had a great abundance of necessities. And the three lines of earthworks had been raised with ease, for there were a great number of hands now continuously<sup>f</sup> at work, and as it was summer,<sup>g</sup> there was no hindrance to their erection either from the weather or from the workmen; and so they brought up their engines and battered the wall, trying every expedient. They did not, however, intimidate those within the city, who on their part contrived a good many counter-devices against those of their enemies; they would dash out and set fire to their works, some of them half-finished, others completed; they would also

bravery  
of the  
besieged.

<sup>a</sup> So Epitome and Lat. (agreeing with *B.J.*); MSS. "everything within the city."

<sup>b</sup> There are several Thucydidean touches in the following sections (which have only partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 348-351): ἀντετείχιζον and ἀπονοία in § 475, and ἀντίπαλον in § 479.

<sup>f</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>g</sup> Of 37 B.C. (see below on §§ 487-488). Herod and Sossius had encamped outside Jerusalem as early as the spring of 37 B.C. according to § 465. This detail is not found in *B.J.*

εἷς τε χεῖρας ἰόντες οὐδὲν κακίους τὰς τόλμας τῶν  
 475 Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἐπιστήμη δ' ἐλείποντο. πρὸς τε  
 τὰς μηχανὰς ἀντετείχιζον ἐρειπομένων τῶν πρῶ-  
 των οἰκοδομημάτων, ὑπὸ γῆν τε ἀπαντῶντες ἐν  
 ταῖς μεταλλεύσεσι<sup>1</sup> διεμάχοντο, ἀπονοία δὲ τὸ  
 πλέον ἢ προμηθεῖα χρώμενοι προσελιπάρουν τῷ  
 πολέμῳ εἰς τοῦσχατον, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλου στρατοῦ  
 περικαθημένου σφᾶς καὶ λιμῶ ταλαιπωρούμενοι  
 καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· τὸν γὰρ ἑβδοματικὸν  
 476 ἐνιαυτὸν συνέβη κατὰ ταῦτ'<sup>2</sup> εἶναι. ἀναβαίνουσι  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος πρῶτον μὲν λογάδες εἴκοσι,  
 ἔπειτα ἑκατοντάρχαι Σοσσίου· ἠρέθη γὰρ τὸ μὲν  
 πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύ-  
 τερον πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ τινες τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερόν  
 ἐνεπρήσθησαν στοῶν, ἃς Ἡρώδης Ἀντίγονον

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ταῖς μεταλλεύσεσι] αὐταῖς μετ. AMW: μεταλλεύουσι ex Lat. Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ ταῦτ' P: κατὰ ταῦτὸν V: κατ' αὐτὸν rell. E: tunc Lat.

<sup>a</sup> This is another detail not found in *B.J.* Josephus here seems to say that the siege took place during a sabbatical year, namely that which extended from Oct. 38 to Oct. 37 b.c., as most scholars assume. But there is good reason to believe that this sabbatical year extended from Oct. 37 to Oct. 36 b.c. (see the notes on *Ant.* xii. 378, xiii. 234, xiv. 201 and below, § 487). We must therefore, it seems, make one of the three following assumptions: (1) Josephus knew that the siege occurred in the summer of the year corresponding to 37 b.c. but was mistaken in saying (or implying) that this fell in a sabbatical year (beginning Oct. 38 b.c.). (2) Josephus assumed that the siege took place during a sabbatical year, in the summer of 36 b.c. This seems to be borne out by the statement below, § 488, that Sossius and Herod captured Jerusalem 27 years after Pompey had done so (63 b.c.); thus Jerusalem fell in 36 b.c. as maintained by Gumpach and Caspari (*ap.* Schürer i. 358 n. 11). Zeitlin's argument, *MT*,

fight hand to hand, but while they were not inferior to the Romans in daring, they fell short of them in science. Against the siege-engines they devised counter-defences when their first constructions gave way, and fought underground when they met the enemy in the mines; and acting in desperation rather than with foresight, they persevered in the war to the very end—this in spite of the fact that a great army surrounded them and that they were distressed by famine and the lack of necessities, for a sabbatical year happened to fall at that time.<sup>a</sup> The first to mount the wall were twenty<sup>b</sup> picked men, and after these came Sossius' centurions. The first wall was taken in forty days,<sup>c</sup> and the second in fifteen more; and some of the porticoes round the temple were burnt, which Herod accused Antigonus of

Jerusalem falls to Herod and Sossius.

pp. 20-27, that the 27 years do not give 36 B.C. but Jan. (10th of Tebet), 37 B.C., reckoning 26 years and a fraction from Pompey's entry in the summer of 63 B.C., is invalidated by, among other things, the reference to the summer in § 473. (3) Josephus knew that the siege took place in the summer of 37 B.C. and was referring, rather vaguely, to a sabbatical year that began soon after the fall of Jerusalem, that is, in Oct. 37 B.C. This is not so improbable as it may seem at first. If the inhabitants of Jerusalem were distressed by famine in the summer of 37 B.C., they would not be able to lay in an extra supply of provisions for the latter part of the sabbatical year beginning in October—hence their desperation. To be sure, the 27 years of § 488 make a difficulty here, and we should have to assume that Josephus made a slip in arithmetic.

One hardly knows which assumption to prefer, in view of the apparently irreconcilable inconsistencies in Josephus himself, apart from his inconsistency with other ancient sources (see below, § 487-488 notes).

<sup>b</sup> *B.J.* does not give the number.

<sup>c</sup> This detail and those following in §§ 476-478 have no parallel in *B.J.*

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ἐμπρῆσαι διέβαλε, μῖσος αὐτῷ πραγματευόμενος  
 477 παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενέσθαι. ἡρημένου δὲ τοῦ  
 ἕξωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως, εἰς τὸ ἕσωθεν  
 ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον,  
 δείσαντες δὲ<sup>1</sup> μὴ διακωλύσωσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ θεῷ, πρεσ-  
 βεύονται ἐπιτρέψαι παρακαλοῦντες θύματα αὐτοῖς  
 μόνον εἰσκομίζεσθαι· ὁ δ' ὡς ἐνδωσόντων αὐτῶν  
 478 συνεχώρει ταῦτα. καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἑώρα γινόμενον  
 παρ' αὐτῶν ὧν ὑπενόει, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέχοντας  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου βασιλείας, προσβαλὼν κατὰ  
 479 κράτος εἶλε τὴν πόλιν. καὶ πάντα εὐθύς ἦν  
 φόνων ἀνάπλεα, τῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῇ τριβῇ  
 τῆς πολιορκίας διωργισμένων, τοῦ δὲ περὶ Ἡρώδην  
 Ἰουδαϊκοῦ μηδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν σπεύδοντος ἀντίπαλον.  
 480 ἐσφάττοντο δὲ παμπληθεῖς<sup>2</sup> ἔν τε τοῖς στενωποῖς  
 καὶ κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας συνωθούμενοι καὶ τῷ ναῷ  
 προσφεύγοντες, ἦν τε οὔτε νηπίων οὔτε γήρων  
 ἕλεος οὔτε ἀσθενείας γυναικῶν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ καί-  
 τοι περιπέμποντος<sup>3</sup> τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ φεῖδεσθαι  
 παρακαλοῦντος οὐδεὶς ἐκράτησε τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ'  
 481 ὥσπερ μεμνηότες πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν ἐπεξήεσαν. ἔνθα  
 καὶ Ἀντίγονος μήτε τῆς πάλαι μήτε τῆς τότε  
 τύχης ἔννοιαν λαβὼν κάτεισι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βάρους,  
 προσπίπτει δὲ τοῖς Σοσσίου ποσίν· κακέινος μηδὲν

<sup>1</sup> τε VE.

<sup>2</sup> συνεχεῖς V: quoscumque invenissent Lat.

<sup>3</sup> P Lat.: περιπαίοντος F: περιπεσόντος rell.

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<sup>a</sup> Laqueur, pp. 213-214, ingeniously argues that the seemingly anti-Herodian details in these two added sections really conceal the pro-Herodian bias of Josephus' source here, namely Herod's Memoirs.

<sup>b</sup> The Upper City lay on the western hill.

setting on fire, making an effort to draw upon him the hatred of the Jews by this charge.<sup>a</sup> And when the outer precincts of the temple and the Lower City had been captured, the Jews fled into the inner precinct of the temple and the Upper City<sup>b</sup>; and fearing that the Romans would prevent them from offering the daily sacrifices to God, they sent an embassy to beg that they would permit them to have only victims brought in for them; and this request he granted, in the belief that they would yield. But when he saw that none of the things he expected of them was being done, and that, on the contrary, they were resisting strongly for the sake of Antigonus' kingship, he attacked them and took the city by storm. And soon every quarter was filled with the blood of the slain,<sup>c</sup> for the Romans were furious at the length of the siege,<sup>d</sup> while the Jews on Herod's side were anxious not to leave a single adversary alive. And so they were slaughtered in heaps, whether crowded together in alleys and houses or seeking refuge in the temple; no pity was shown either to infants or the aged, nor were weak women spared, but even though the king sent word around, urging them to forbear, not one of them held his hand, but like madmen they fell upon persons of every age. It was then that Antigonus, without stopping to reflect either on his former or his present fortunes, came down from the castle, and fell at Sossius' feet.

<sup>c</sup> At this point is resumed the close parallelism with *B.J.*; §§ 479-486 = *B.J.* i. 351-356.

<sup>d</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 351 the Jews sustained the siege into the fifth month, while *Ant.*, below, § 487, appears to state that the city fell in the third month (of the siege) or even less (see above, § 476); but the point of time to which "the third month" refers in *Ant.* is by no means certain.

αὐτὸν οἰκτεῖρας πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπεκρότησε<sup>1</sup>  
 μὲν ἀκρατῶς καὶ Ἀντιγόνην ἐκάλεσεν, οὐ μὴν ὡς  
 γυναϊκά γε φρουρᾶς ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν  
 δεθεῖς ἐφυλάττετο.

- 482 (3) Πρόνοια δ' ἦν Ἡρώδη κρατοῦντι τῶν πο-  
 λεμίων τοῦ κρατῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλοφύλων<sup>2</sup> συμ-  
 μάχων· ὠρμητο γὰρ τὸ ξενικὸν πλήθος ἐπὶ θέαν  
 483 τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ναὸν ἀγίων. ὁ δὲ  
 βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν παρακαλῶν τοῖς δ' ἀπειλῶν  
 ἔστι δ' οὓς καὶ τοῖς ὄπλοις ἀνέστελλεν, ἥττης  
 χαλεπωτέραν ἠγούμενος τὴν νίκη, εἴ τι τῶν  
 484 ἀθεάτων παρ' αὐτῶν ὀφθείη. διεκώλυέ τε καὶ  
 τὰς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρπαγὰς, πολλὰ διατεινόμενος  
 πρὸς Σόσσιον, εἰ χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι τὴν πόλιν κενώσαντες καταλείψουσιν αὐτὸν  
 ἐρημίας βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτων<sup>3</sup> πολιτῶν  
 φόνῳ βραχὺ καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν  
 485 ἀντάλλαγμα κρίνοι. τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς πολιορκίας  
 τὰς ἀρπαγὰς δικαίως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπιτρέπειν  
 φαμένου, αὐτὸς ἔφη διανεμῆν<sup>4</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χρη-  
 486 μάτων τοὺς μισθοὺς ἐκάστοις. οὕτω τε τὴν  
 λοιπὴν ἐξωνησάμενος πόλιν, τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπλή-  
 ρωσε· λαμπρῶς μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον στρατιώτην,  
 ἀναλόγως δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, βασιλικώτατα δ'  
 αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Σόσσιον, ὡς πάντα ἀπελθεῖν  
 χρημάτων εὐποροῦντας.

<sup>1</sup> ἐκερτόμησε Naber.

<sup>2</sup> PE: ἄλλοτριῶν LAMW: ἄλλοτριῶν φυλῶν F: ἄλλων τριῶν  
 φυλῶν V: ἄλλοτριοφύλων ed. gr.

<sup>3</sup> τοσοῦτῳ V.

<sup>4</sup> Zonaras, Lat.: διανεμειν codd. E.

He, however, did not in the least pity him for suffering a change of fortune, but applauded him <sup>a</sup> unrestrainedly, and called him Antigone <sup>b</sup>; nevertheless he did not leave him unguarded, as a woman would have been, but had him put in chains and kept under guard.

(3) And Herod, after checking his enemies, took care also to check his foreign allies; for the crowd of strangers was bent on getting a view of the temple and the holy things in the sanctuary, and the king held them back, in some cases by appeals, in others by threats, and sometimes even by arms, for he regarded victory as something more bitter than defeat if any of the things forbidden to men's eyes should be seen by them. He also tried to prevent the plundering that went on throughout the city by strenuously arguing with Sossius that if the Romans emptied the city of its wealth and its men, they would leave him king of a wilderness, and that he would consider the sovereignty of the habitable world a poor recompense for the murder of so many citizens. And when Sossius said that he had been right to permit his soldiers this plundering in return for their labours in the siege, Herod replied that he himself would distribute rewards to each of them out of his own purse. In this way he purchased security for the rest of the city, and fulfilled his promise; for he gave splendid gifts to every soldier and proportionate gifts to their officers, while to Sossius himself he made most regal presents, so that all went away with a goodly share of wealth.

Herod  
restrains  
the violence  
of his  
Roman  
allies.

<sup>a</sup> That is, ironically; conjectured variant "jeered at him." *B.J.* has "burst into immoderate laughter at him."

<sup>b</sup> The feminine form of the name Antigonus.

487 (4) Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος συνέβη τῇ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν  
 πόλει ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα  
 καὶ Κανινίου<sup>1</sup> Γάλλου ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ  
 ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ὀλυμπιάδος, τῷ τρίτῳ  
 μηνί, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς  
 τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμ-  
 488 φορᾶς· καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἐάλωσαν  
 ἡμέρα, μετὰ ἕτη εἴκοσι ἑπτά. Σόσσιος δὲ χρυσοῦν  
 ἀναθέμενος τῷ θεῷ στέφανον ἀνέξευξεν ἀπὸ Ἱερο-  
 σολύμων, Ἀντίγονον ἄγων δεσμώτην Ἀντωνίου.  
 489 δείσας δὲ Ἡρώδης μὴ φυλαχθεὶς Ἀντίγονος ὑπ'  
 Ἀντωνίου καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 δικαιολογήσεται πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐπιδεικνύς  
 αὐτὸν μὲν ἐκ βασιλέων, Ἡρώδην δὲ ἰδιώτην, καὶ  
 ὅτι προσῆκεν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύειν τοὺς παῖδας διὰ  
 490 τὸ γένος, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐπεξήμαρτε,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: Καννιδίου M: Κανιδίου rell.: Κανδίδου Syncellus.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξήμαρτεν E Syncellus: ὑπεξήμαρτεν L: τι ἐξήμαρτε Cobet.

<sup>a</sup> Except for the statement in § 488 about Sossius' dedication of the golden chain and his taking Antigonus to Antony for punishment (= *B.J.* i. 357), these last sections in *Ant.* have no parallel in *B.J.*

<sup>b</sup> Name slightly emended.

<sup>c</sup> Their consulship fell in the year 37 B.C. The 185th Olympiad ended on June 30, 37 B.C. Dio Cassius, xlix. 22, dates the fall of the city in the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus = 38 B.C. See following note.

<sup>d</sup> More nearly 26 years, see above § 475 note *a* and *cf.* § 66 on Pompey's capture of the city in 63 B.C. *περὶ τρίτον μῆνα τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρα.* Dio Cassius, *loc. cit.*, says that the city was taken ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρα ὀνομασμένη, evidently meaning the Sabbath (as in the case of Ptolemy I, *cf. Ant.* xii. 4, and Pompey (?), *Ant.* xiv. 66 with notes): but by *νηστείας* Josephus here seems to mean the Day of Atonement, which in 37 B.C. fell on October 3rd. There has



(4) <sup>a</sup>This calamity befell the city of Jerusalem during the consulship at Rome of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius <sup>b</sup>Gallus, in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad, <sup>c</sup>in the third month, on the day of the Fast, as if it were a recurrence of the misfortune which came upon the Jews in the time of Pompey, for they were captured by Sossius on the very same day, twenty-seven years later. <sup>d</sup>And Sossius dedicated a golden crown to God and departed from Jerusalem, taking Antigonus in chains to Antony. <sup>e</sup>But Herod feared that if Antigonus were kept under guard by Antony and brought to Rome by him, he might plead the justice of his cause before the Senate and show that he was descended from kings while Herod was a commoner, and that his sons ought to reign by virtue of their lineage, even though he himself had committed offences against the Romans <sup>f</sup>;

The execution of Antigonus, the last Hasmonæan ruler.

been considerable discussion of the actual date of the city's fall, and various attempts have been made to reconcile the conflicting data; see the detailed discussions (with bibliography) in Schürer i. 358 n. 11, Otto, *Herodes*, p. 33 n. 2, Zeitlin, *MT*, pp. 20-27, Laqueur, pp. 211-212 and Kugler, pp. 418-422. Here it may suffice to remark that while the year 37 B.C. is certain, the month cannot be determined with absolute certainty, but was probably July and not October. The former is more likely if we assume, with Otto, that the reference to the Day of Atonement (if *νηστείας* here means that fast day and not an earlier fast day in the calendar, e.g. the fast of the month Tammuz) is based on a popular tradition that sought to discredit Herod by making him responsible for invading the city on the very sacred Day of Atonement.

<sup>e</sup> Antony had left Italy for Greece in the autumn of 37 B.C. and soon after went to Antioch. It was here that Antigonus was brought to him in the winter of that year, cf. Wilcken in *PWi* i. 2420 and Tarn in *CAH* x. 54-55.

<sup>f</sup> Apparently Herod had no confidence that the Romans would continue to prefer him to the Hasmonæans as they had done in 40 B.C., see above, § 386.

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ταῦτα φοβούμενος πολλοῖς χρήμασι πείθει τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνελεῖν Ἀντίγονον. οὗ γενομένου, τοῦ δέους μὲν Ἡρώδης ἀπαλλάσσεται, παύεται δ' οὕτως ἢ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου γένους<sup>2</sup> ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἕξ. οἶκος λαμπρὸς οὗτος ἦν καὶ διάσημος γένους τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς ὧν τε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ διεπράξαντο.

491 ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον, μετέβη δ' εἰς Ἡρώδη τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου, οἰκίας ὄντα δημοτικῆς καὶ γένους ἰδιωτικοῦ καὶ ὑπακούοντος τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τέλος τῆς Ἀσαμωναίου γενεᾶς παρειλήφαμεν.

τῶν ἀπ' conī. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> γένους add. duce Niese.

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<sup>a</sup> *B.J.* i. 357 says that Antigonus fell beneath the axe. According to Dio Cassius, xlix. 22, Antony had Antigonus scourged while bound to a cross, a punishment "which no

and because of this fear Herod gave Antony a large bribe and persuaded him to put Antigonus out of the way.<sup>a</sup> And when this was done, Herod was freed of his fear, and at the same time the rule of the Asamonaean line came to an end after a hundred and twenty-six years.<sup>b</sup> Theirs was a splendid and renowned house because of both their lineage and their priestly office, as well as the things which its founders achieved on behalf of the nation. But they lost their royal power through internal strife, and it passed to Herod, the son of Antipater, who came from a house of common people and from a private family that was subject to the kings.<sup>c</sup> Such, then, is the account we have received of the end of the Asamonaean line.

other king had suffered at the hands of the Romans," and then had him beheaded or had his throat cut (*ἀπέσφαξεν*).

<sup>b</sup> This would take us back to 163 or 162 B.C. Apparently Josephus is placing the beginning of the Hasmonaean dynasty at about the time when the last Oniad high priest, Onias IV, fled to Egypt, *cf. Ant. xii. 385-388.*

<sup>c</sup> *Cf. § 78.*

BIBLION IE

(i. 1) Σόσσιος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἡρώδης ὡς κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβον Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἰχμάλωτον Ἀντίγονον, ἣ πρὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσε <sup>2</sup> βίβλος· τὰ δ' ἐκείνοις<sup>1</sup> συνεχῆ νῦν ἐροῦμεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας ἐνεχειρίσθη τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἡρώδης, τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλήθους ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν ἰδιωτεύοντος<sup>2</sup> ἔτι<sup>3</sup> τὰ κείνου φρονοῦντες ἐν προαγωγῇ τούτους ἐποιεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐλομένους οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τιμωρούμενος καὶ <sup>3</sup> κολάζων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ἐτιμῶντο δὲ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτῷ Πολλίων ὁ Φαρισαῖος καὶ Σαμαίης<sup>4</sup> ὁ τούτου μαθητής· πολιορκουμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὗτοι συνεβούλευον τοῖς πολίταις δέξασθαι τὸν Ἡρώδη, ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ τὰς <sup>4</sup> ἀμοιβὰς ἀπελάμβανον. ὁ δὲ Πολλίων<sup>5</sup> οὕτως καὶ κρινομένου ποτὲ Ἡρώδου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προεῖπεν ὄνειδίζων Ὑρκανῶ καὶ τοῖς δικάζουσιν ὡς περισωθεῖς Ἡρώδης ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπεξελεύ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνης P VF : ἐκείνη Niese.

<sup>2</sup> E : ἰδιωτεύοντες codd.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἔτι LAMW.

## BOOK XV

(i. 1) How Sossius and Herod took Jerusalem by force and in addition took Antigonus captive has been related in our preceding book. We shall now speak of the things that followed those events. When Herod had got the rule of all Judaea into his hands, he showed special favour to those of the city's populace who had been on his side while he was still a commoner,<sup>a</sup> but those who chose the side of his opponents he harried and punished without ceasing for a single day. Especially honoured by him were Pollion the Pharisee and his disciple Samaias, for during the siege of Jerusalem these men had advised the citizens to admit Herod, and for this they now received their reward. This same Pollion<sup>b</sup> had once, when Herod was on trial for his life, reproachfully foretold to Hyrcanus and the judges that if Herod's life were spared, he would (one day) perse-

Herod  
spares  
Pollion and  
Samaias.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "who were commoners and also on his side."

<sup>b</sup> Variant "Samaias," which would make the above account agree with that given in *Ant.* xiv. 172-176, while our reading seems to be supported by the brief statement in *Ant.* xv. 370.

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<sup>4</sup> Σαμαίος PF : Σαμέας MVA<sup>2</sup> : Sameas Lat.

<sup>5</sup> Σαμαίας E : Sameas Lat.

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σεται<sup>1</sup>. καὶ τοῦτο χρόνῳ προὔβη, τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τελειώσαντος.

- 5 (2) Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε κρατήσας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, πάντα συνεφέρει τὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κόσμον, ἔτι καὶ τοὺς εὐπόρους ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ συναγαγὼν πλῆθος ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου παντὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐδωρείτο καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους.
- 6 ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τεσσαρακονταπέντε τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ τῆς αἱρέσεως Ἀντιγόνου, φύλακας περιστήσας ταῖς πύλαις τῶν τειχῶν, ἵνα μὴ τι<sup>2</sup> συνεκκομισθῇ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι. καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἠρεύνων, καὶ πᾶν τὸ εὕρισκόμενον ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ἢ τι κειμήλιον, ἀνεφέρετο τῷ βασιλεῖ, πέρασ τε κακῶν οὐδὲν ἦν.
- 7 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἢ πλεονεξία τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐν χρεία γεγεννημένου διεφόρει, τὴν δὲ χώραν μένειν ἀγεώρητον τὸ ἐβδοματικὸν ἠνάγκαζεν ἔτος· ἐνείσθηκει γὰρ τότε, καὶ σπείρειν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὴν γῆν ἀπηγορευ-
- 8 μένον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Ἀντίγονον δέσμιον ἔγνω μέχρι τοῦ θριάμβου φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσε νεωτερίζειν τὸ ἔθνος κακ τοῦ πρὸς Ἡρώδη μίσους εὐνοῦν Ἀντιγόνῳ δια-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπελεύσεται PVF: μετελεύσεται E: persequeretur Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τις PVF.

<sup>a</sup> For other consideration shown by Herod to this pair of Pharisaic leaders cf. § 370.

<sup>b</sup> Most translators take κόσμος to mean "ornaments," but the word seems here to mean (military) gear, as it does in 260

cute them all. And in time this turned out to be so, for God fulfilled his words.<sup>a</sup>

(2) But at that particular time, when he had taken Jerusalem, Herod collected all the equipment <sup>b</sup> in the kingdom and also despoiled the well-to-do, and when he had amassed a great sum of silver and gold, he used all of this to make gifts to Antony and his <sup>c</sup> friends. He also killed forty-five of the leading men of Antigonus' party, and stationed guards at the gates of the walls in order that nothing <sup>d</sup> might be brought out together with the dead. And they searched the dead bodies, and whatever silver or gold or other valuable was found (on them) was brought to the king. And there was no end to their troubles, for on the one hand their greedy master, who was in need (of money), was plundering them, and on the other hand the seventh year, which came round at that time,<sup>e</sup> forced them to leave the land unworked, since we are forbidden to sow the earth in that year. Now Antony, on taking Antigonus captive, decided to keep him until his triumph,<sup>f</sup> but when he heard that the nation was rebellious and had remained loyal to Antigonus out of hatred for

Mark  
Antony  
executes  
Antigonus.

*Ant.* xiii. 308 (parallel to *B.J.* i. 76), even though in the present passage the adjective *πολεμικός* is missing. Thackeray in *B.J.* i. 358 renders "valuables." On Herod's need of money see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem zur Zeit Jesu*, ii. B. 40, and for a divergent view A. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, p. 351.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* Antony's. Herod's treatment of his opponents and his gifts to Antony are briefly mentioned in *B.J.* i. 358.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "no one," but our reading is supported by the following sentence.

<sup>e</sup> This sabbatical year extended from Oct. 37 to Oct. 36 B.C., although Josephus may have placed it a year earlier, see the notes to *Ant.* xii. 378 and xiv. 475.

<sup>f</sup> Over the Parthians.

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- 9 μένον,<sup>1</sup> ἔγνω τοῦτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πελεκίσαι· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως<sup>2</sup> ἠρεμεῖν ἠδύναντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ λέγων οὕτως· “ Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἀχθέντα εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πελεκίζει. καὶ ἔδοξε μὲν οὗτος πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα πελεκίσαι, οὐκ οἰηθεὶς ἕτερον τρόπον μεταθεῖναι ἂν τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου καθεσταμένον Ἡρώδην· οὐδὲ γὰρ βασανι-
- 10 ζόμενοι βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύειν ὑπέμειναν· οὕτως μέγα τι ἐφρόνουν περὶ τοῦ πρώτου<sup>3</sup> βασιλέως. τὴν οὖν ἀτιμίαν ἐνόμισε μειώσκειν μὲν τι<sup>4</sup> τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν μνήμης,<sup>5</sup> μειώσκειν δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην μῖσος.” ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Στράβων.
- 11 (ii. 1) Κατασχόντος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἡρώδου πυθόμενος Ὑρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ἦν δὲ παρὰ Πάρθοις αἰχμάλωτος, ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Ἡρώδην,
- 12 τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολυθεὶς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· Βαρζαφράνης<sup>6</sup> καὶ Πάκορος οἱ τῶν Πάρθων στρατηγοὶ λαβόντες αἰχμαλώτους Ὑρκανὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἀρχ-

<sup>1</sup> donisque Herodis redemptus add. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδ' ἄλλως con. Niese: οὐδαμῶς codd.: οὐδαμοῦ Gutschmid.

<sup>3</sup> πρὸ τοῦ Gutschmid.

<sup>4</sup> μὲν τι add. Richards et Shutt: τι add. Gutschmid.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς . . . μνήμης om. PFV Lat.

<sup>6</sup> v. ad Ant. xiv. 330.

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<sup>a</sup> The Latin adds “having been bribed by Herod,” see below, note *d*.

<sup>b</sup> Antony and Cleopatra spent the winter of 37–36 B.C. in



Herod, he decided <sup>a</sup> to behead him in Antioch,<sup>b</sup> for the Jews could hardly be kept quiet in any other way. And my words are borne out by the testimony of Strabo of Cappadocia, who writes as follows. "When Antigonus was brought to Antioch, Antony beheaded him.<sup>c</sup> He was the first Roman who decided to behead a king, since he believed that in no other way could he change the attitude of the Jews so that they would accept Herod, who had been appointed in his place. For not even under torture would they submit to proclaiming him king, so highly did they regard their former king.<sup>d</sup> And so he thought that the disgrace would somewhat dim their memory of him<sup>e</sup> and would also lessen their hatred of Herod." That is Strabo's account.

(ii. 1) When the high priest Hyrcanus, who was a captive with the Parthians,<sup>f</sup> heard that Herod had got possession of the kingship, he came to Herod after being released from captivity in the following way. Barzaphranes and Pacorus, the Parthian generals, had captured Hyrcanus, who had first been

Hyrcanus  
is released  
from capti-  
vity by  
the  
Parthians.

Antioch, see *Ant.* xiv. 488 note *e* (add a ref. to Tarn, *CAH* x. 69). The execution of Antigonus probably took place a few months after the fall of Jerusalem in the summer of 37 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> On the method of execution see *Ant.* xiv. 490 note *a* (add ref. to Plutarch, *Ant.* 36, who also says that Antony had Antigonus beheaded—ἐπελέκισε).

<sup>d</sup> Klausner, *HBS* iii. 271, explains Antigonus' popularity as due to the Jews' devotion to the Hasmonaeon dynasty and their distrust of the Romans. In *Ant.* xiv. 490 Josephus stresses Herod's bribing of Antony because of his fear of Antigonus' popularity; see also *Ant.* xiv. 382 note *e*. Herod's fear of Aristobulus' popularity appears clearly below, in § 30.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* Antigonus.

<sup>f</sup> See *Ant.* xiv. 366 and *B.J.* i. 273.

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- ιερέα γενόμενον, εἶτα βασιλέα, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 13 Ἑρώδου Φασάηλον εἰς Πάρθους ἀνήγον. καὶ  
 Φασάηλος μὲν οὐ φέρων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς  
 αἰσχύνην, πάσης δὲ ζωῆς κρείττονα τὸν μετὰ δόξης  
 ἡγούμενος θάνατον, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται φονεύς,  
 καθὼς προεῖπον.
- 14 (2) Ὑρκανῶ δ' ἀναχθέντι Φραάτης ὁ τῶν Πάρθων  
 βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιεικέστερον προσηνέχθη, τὸ  
 τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ διάσημον προπευσμένος. διὰ  
 τοῦτο δεσμῶν μὲν ἀφῆκεν, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δὲ κατ-  
 άγεσθαι παρεῖχεν, ἔνθα καὶ πλῆθος ἦν Ἰουδαίων.
- 15 οὗτοι τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐτίμων ὡς ἀρχιερέα καὶ  
 βασιλέα καὶ πᾶν τὸ μέχρις Εὐφράτου νεμόμενον
- 16 Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος· τῷ δ' ἦν ἀγαπητὰ ταῦτα. πυθό-  
 μενος δὲ τὸν Ἑρώδην παρειληφέναι τὴν βασιλείαν  
 ἀντιμετεχώρει ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε φιλο-  
 στόργως διακείμενος καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἀπομνησθή-  
 σεσθαι προσδοκῶν, ὅτι κρινόμενον<sup>1</sup> καὶ μέλλοντα  
 θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ τῆς κολάσεως  
 ἔρρύσατο. λόγους οὖν προσέφερε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις,
- 17 ἰέναι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσπουδακῶς.<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ περιείχοντο  
 καὶ μένειν ἡξίουں, τὰς ὑπουργίας ἅμα καὶ τὰς  
 τιμὰς λέγοντες, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐνδεές αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τοὺς  
 ἀρχιερεῖς ἢ βασιλεῖς τιμῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶη, καὶ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> κρινόμενον ὅτι PF.

<sup>2</sup> ἐσπουδακόσιν V.

<sup>a</sup> More accurately, Hyrcanus had been made ethnarch by decree of Julius Caesar (*Ant.* xiv. 191) but he may have been regarded as king by the populace, see *Ant.* xiv. 143 note f.

<sup>b</sup> In *Ant.* xiv. 367 (with an alternate account given in 368).

made high priest and then king,<sup>a</sup> with Herod's brother Phasaël, and proceeded to take them off to Parthia. Phasaël, however, not being able to bear the shame of imprisonment and considering death with honour better than life at any cost, died by his own hand, as I have said before.<sup>b</sup>

(2) When Hyrcanus was brought there, the Parthian king Phraates treated him very leniently because he had learned of his distinguished and noble lineage. For this reason he released him from his bonds and permitted him to settle in Babylon,<sup>c</sup> where there was a great number of Jews. These men honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest and king, as did all of the Jewish nation occupying the region as far as the Euphrates. This was gratifying to him. But when he learned that Herod had taken over the kingship, his feeling changed to one of hope, for he had been on cordial terms with him from the beginning and expected that Herod would be mindful of the favours done him<sup>d</sup> when, being on trial and about to be sentenced to death, Hyrcanus had saved him from that danger and from punishment.<sup>e</sup> Accordingly, he spoke of this to the Jews, for he was eager to go to Herod.<sup>f</sup> But they sought to hold him there and asked him to remain, mentioning the services and honours given him, and saying that among them he would lack nothing in the way of high-priestly or kingly honour and, what was more

Hyrcanus hopes to find favour with Herod.

<sup>c</sup> Not far from Seleuceia on the Tigris, it would seem from *Ant.* xviii. 373.

<sup>d</sup> χάριτος ἀπομνησθήσεσθαι is reminiscent of Thucydides i. 137. 2.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 177.

<sup>f</sup> Variant "to the Jews, who were anxious to go to him (Hyrcanus)."

μείζον, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐκεῖ τούτων μεταλαβεῖν δύναται κατὰ λώβην τοῦ σώματος ἢν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου πάθοι, τὰς τε χάριτας οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀποδίδοσθαι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ἃς ἔλαβον ἰδιωτεύοντες, ἐξαλλαττούσης αὐτοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγως<sup>1</sup> τῆς τύχης.

18 (3) Τοιαῦτα κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ὑποτεινόντων, Ὑρκανὸς πόθον εἶχεν ἀπιέναι, καὶ γράφων Ἡρώδης παρεκάλει δεῖσθαι Φραάτου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων μὴ φθονῆσαι δυνάμει κοινὴν ἔξοντι τὴν βασιλείαν· ἄρτι γὰρ εἶναι καιρὸν αὐτῶ μὲν ἐκτίσαι τὰς χάριτας ὧν εὖ πάθοι καὶ τραφεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ περισωθείς,  
19 ἐκείνῳ δὲ κομίζεσθαι. ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> γράφων Ὑρκανῶ πέμπει καὶ παρὰ τὸν Φραάτην πρεσβευτὴν Σαμαβάλλαν καὶ δῶρα πλείω, μὴ διακωλύσαι τὰς εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ χάριτας ὁμοίως φιланθρω-  
20 πευόμενον.<sup>3</sup> ἦν δ' οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἢ σπουδῆ, διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ἐδεδοίκει τὰς ἐξ εὐλόγων<sup>4</sup> μεταβολάς, καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ὑποχείριον ἔχειν ἔσπευδεν ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔπραξεν ἐν ὑστέρω.

21 (4) Τότε μέντοι γε ἐπειδὴ παρῆν συμπεπεισμένους<sup>5</sup> ἐφέντος τε τοῦ Πάρθου καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χρήματα παρασχομένων, ἀπάσῃ τιμῇ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς συλλόγοις τὸν πρῶτον ἔνεμε τόπον

<sup>1</sup> ἀλόγως LA<sup>2</sup>M: οὐκ ὀλίγως om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τοιαῦτα PFLVW.

<sup>3</sup> φιλανθρωπευόμενος LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλόγων con. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> πεπεισμένους PFV.

<sup>a</sup> In Judaea.

<sup>b</sup> When he bit off or cut off his ears, cf. *Ant.* xiv. 366 note f.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "changes them not unaccountably."

important, that over there <sup>a</sup> he could not have these things because of the mutilation of his body, suffered at the hands of Antigonus,<sup>b</sup> and that favours received by commoners are not returned by them in like manner when they become kings, since Fortune changes them in no small measure.<sup>c</sup>

(3) In spite of their offering such inducements, Hyrcanus had a strong desire to depart. And Herod wrote, urging him to ask Phraates and the Jews of that region not to begrudge his virtually sharing the kingship with Herod, for this was the moment for the one to repay and the other to receive payment for the kindness that Herod had received in being maintained and having his life saved by him. When writing this to Hyrcanus, he also sent his envoy Samalla <sup>d</sup> and a good many gifts to Phraates with the request that he would not prevent him from showing the same kindnesses to his benefactor as he had received. His zeal did not, however, spring from these motives but from the fact that he himself had no just claim to rule and he feared that a change might be made with good reason; and so he was eager to get Hyrcanus into his power or even to put him out of the way altogether; and this he did do later on.<sup>e</sup>

Herod invites Hyrcanus to return to Judaea.

(4) At the moment, however, when he came (to Judaea) after allowing himself to be persuaded and with the consent of the Parthian king and the financial support of the Jews, Herod received him with all honour, assigned him the first place in meetings,

Hyrcanus goes to Judaea. Herod appoints Ananel high priest.

<sup>a</sup> A very wealthy friend of Hyrcanus and the Herodians, cf. *Ant.* xiv. 345 and *B.J.* i. 259.

<sup>e</sup> Reinach cites Destinon's view (*Quellen*, p. 110) that two sources are combined here, the first from Nicolas of Damascus, and the second from a writer hostile to Herod.

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καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐστιάσεις προκατακλίνων ἐξηπάτα, πατέρα καλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶς<sup>1</sup> τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς  
 22 ἀνύποπτον πραγματευόμενος. ὑποκαθίστατο<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστασιάσθη· φυλαττόμενος γάρ τινα<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀποδεικνύειν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ θεοῦ,<sup>4</sup> μεταπεμφάμενος ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἱερέα τῶν ἀσημοτέρων Ἀνάηλον ὀνόματι τούτῳ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δίδωσιν.

23 (5) Εὐθύς οὖν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν Ἀλεξάνδρα τὴν ἐπήρειαν, θυγάτηρ μὲν Ὑρκανοῦ, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου βασιλέως, ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδᾶς ἔχουσα, τὸν μὲν ὄρα κάλλιστον Ἀριστόβουλον καλούμενον,<sup>5</sup> τὴν δὲ Ἡρώδη συνοικοῦσαν Μαριάμην  
 24 εὐμορφία διάσημον. ἐτετάρακτο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν τὴν ἀτιμίαν τοῦ παιδός, εἰ περιόντος ἐκείνου τῶν ἐπικλήτων τις ἀξιούται τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης, καὶ γράφει Κλεοπάτρα, μουσουργοῦ τινος αὐτῇ συμπραγματενομένου τὰ περὶ τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν γραμμάτων, αἰτεῖσθαι παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῷ παιδί τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην.

25 (6) Ἀντωνίου δὲ ῥαθυμότερον ὑπακούοντος, ὁ

<sup>1</sup> παντελῶς FV.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποκαθίσταται E: ἀποκαθίστατο Naber.

<sup>3</sup> τῶν οἰκείων τινὰ LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> λαοῦ LAMWE.

<sup>5</sup> λεγόμενον LAMW.

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<sup>a</sup> As a title of respect, not because Hyrcanus was the grandfather of Herod's wife.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "he also turned other things."

<sup>c</sup> Variant "of the people."

<sup>d</sup> According to § 40, Ananel was of high-priestly family.

gave him the most honoured seat at the banquet-table and called him Father <sup>a</sup>; thus he quite deceived him and in a variety of ways managed to keep his treacherous designs from being suspected. He also practised other wiles <sup>b</sup> to the advantage of his rule, but the result was only dissension in his own household. For example, because he wanted to avoid appointing a distinguished person as high priest of God, <sup>c</sup> he sent for a rather undistinguished priest <sup>d</sup> from Babylon, named Ananel, <sup>e</sup> and gave him the high priesthood.

(5) This was at once taken as an unendurable insult by Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus and the wife of Alexander, son of King Aristobulus, <sup>f</sup> who had (two) children by Alexander, an extraordinarily handsome son, named Aristobulus, <sup>g</sup> and Mariamme, the wife of Herod, who was famed for her beauty. She was disturbed and aggrieved by the indignity offered her son that while he was still alive someone should be called from abroad and be given the office of high priest. And using the help of a certain singer to get the letter delivered, she wrote to Cleopatra, asking her to request Antony to obtain the high priesthood for her son.

Alexandra  
appeals to  
Cleopatra.

(6) Antony paid rather scant attention to this

Antony's  
friend  
Dellius

<sup>e</sup> Heb. *Ḥananel*. Klausner, *HBŠ* iv. 12, identifies him with the high priest called "Ḥanamel the Egyptian" in the Mishnah, *Parah* iii. 5. He further suggests that Herod may have chosen him because his branch of the priestly family may have had more prestige than that of the Hasmonaeans, whom Herod wished to discredit.

<sup>f</sup> Aristobulus II, brother of Hyrcanus. Thus Alexandra was married to her cousin Alexander, who had been killed with his father by Pompey's partisans in 49 B.C.

<sup>g</sup> Aristobulus III. His Hebrew name was Jonathan, according to *B.J.* i. 437.

φίλος αὐτοῦ Δέλλιος<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἔλθων ἐπὶ τινὰς  
 χρείας, ὡς εἶδε τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον, ἠγάσθη<sup>2</sup> τε τῆς  
 ὥρας καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθαύ-  
 μασεν, οὐχ ἦττον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μαριάμμην συνοικου-  
 σαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ δῆλος ἦν καλλίπαιδά τινα τὴν  
 26 Ἀλεξάνδραν διειληφώς. ἐκείνης δὲ εἰς λόγους  
 ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ, πείθει γραψαμένην ἀμφοτέρων  
 εἰκόνας Ἀντωνίῳ διαπέμψασθαι· θεασαμένου γάρ,  
 27 οὐδενὸς ἀτευκτῆσειν<sup>3</sup> ὦν ἀξιοῖ. τούτοις ἐπαρθεῖσα  
 τοῖς λόγοις Ἀλεξάνδρα πέμπει τὰς εἰκόνας Ἀν-  
 τωνίῳ· καὶ Δέλλιος ἕτερατεύετο λέγων οὐκ ἐξ  
 ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ τινος θεοῦ γενέσθαι  
 τοὺς παῖδας. ἐπραγματεύετο δὲ δι' ἑαυτοῦ<sup>4</sup> πρὸς  
 28 τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐλκύσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ τὴν  
 μὲν κόρην ἠδέσθη μεταπέμπεσθαι γεγαμημένην  
 Ἡρώδη, καὶ τὰς εἰς Κλεοπάτραν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου  
 διαβολὰς φυλαττόμενος, ἐπέστελλε δὲ πέμπειν τὸν  
 παῖδα σὺν εὐπρεπείᾳ, προστιθεὶς εἰ μὴ βαρὺ δοκοίη.  
 29 τούτων ἀπενεχθέντων πρὸς Ἡρώδη, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς  
 ἔκρινεν ὥρα τε κάλλιστον ὄντα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον

<sup>1</sup> Γελλαῖος LAMW : Gellius Lat. (hic et infra).

<sup>2</sup> ἠγάσθη V.

<sup>3</sup> ἀθετήσειν FV : ἀτυχῆσειν Ernesti.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ FLAMVW.

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<sup>a</sup> Quintus Dellius, mentioned earlier, in *Ant.* xiv. 394 (parallel to *B.J.* i. 290). Dio Cassius xlix. 39 describes him as a "lover" or "favourite" (παιδικά) of Antony. Before the battle of Actium he deserted Antony for Octavian, and later wrote a history of Antony's Parthian campaigns. Horace



request, but his friend Dellius <sup>a</sup> came to Judaea on some business, and when he saw Aristobulus, he was amazed <sup>b</sup> at his charm and was filled with admiration of his height and beauty, and no less with (the beauty) of Mariamme, the king's wife. And he made it plain that he thought Alexandra was the mother of beautiful children. Accordingly, when she entered into conversation with him, he persuaded her to have portraits of both of them painted and to send them to Antony, saying that if he saw them, she would not be denied anything she might ask. Alexandra was elated by these words and sent the pictures to Antony.<sup>c</sup> And Dellius spoke in extravagant terms, saying that her children seemed to him to be the offspring of some god rather than of human beings, for he was busy on his own account, trying to entice Antony into (sexual) pleasures. But Antony was embarrassed to send for the girl because she was married to Herod and because he wished to avoid being denounced to Cleopatra for such an act. And so he instructed him to send the lad in an outwardly respectable way, adding, "if this be no burden." When this was reported to Herod, he decided that it would not be safe for him to send Aristobulus, who

commends  
Alexandra's  
children  
to him.

addresses him as "moriture Delli" in the Ode (ii. 3) beginning "Aequam memento rebus in arduis."

<sup>b</sup> Variant "fell in love with."

<sup>c</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 439, Mariamme was accused by her enemies of having sent her portrait to Antony in Egypt. It is not clear whether this is a variant of the story told above or refers to a different occasion. In any case, the incident related here must have taken place in 36 or 35 B.C., sometime before Antony's invasion of Armenia (34 B.C.). For more detailed, though not conclusive, discussions of the chronology see Schürer, *GJV* i. 362 n. 3 and Otto, *Herodes*, pp. 40-41.

- (ἐκκαϊδεκαέτης γὰρ ὦν ἐτύγχανε) καὶ γένοι προὔχοντα πέμπειν παρὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἰσχύοντα μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων, ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῖς ἔρωτικοῖς αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ὑποθεῖναι καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐκ τοῦ δύνασθαι ποριζόμενον.
- 30 ἀντέγραψεν οὖν ὡς, εἰ μόνον ἐξέλθοι τῆς χώρας τὸ μειράκιον, ἅπαντα πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀναπλησθήσεται,<sup>2</sup> Ἰουδαίων ἐλπισάντων μεταβολὴν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐπ' ἄλλω βασιλεῖ.
- 31 (7) Τούτοις δὲ παραιτησάμενος τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἔγνω μὴ μέχρι παντὸς ἀτιμάζειν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς Μαρίας ἐγκειμένης λιπαρῶς ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δελφῶ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καὶ συμφέρειν αὐτῷ<sup>3</sup> κρίνων, ἵνα μηδ' ἀποδημῆσαι δυνατὸν ἦ τετιμημένῳ, σύλλογον οὖν<sup>4</sup> ποιήσας τῶν φίλων ἠτιᾶτο πολλὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν,
- 32 κρύφα τε ἐπιβουλευσαι λέγων τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας πράττειν ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφαιρεθῆ τὴν ἀρχήν, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ παραλάβῃ
- 33 τὰ πράγματα δι' Ἀντωνίου. καὶ ταῦτα βούλεσθαι<sup>5</sup> μὲν ἐκείνην οὐ δικαίως, ὅποτε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα συναποστεροίῃ τῆς οὔσης αὐτῇ τιμῆς, καὶ ταραχὰς ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ πραγματεύοιτο, πολλὰ πονήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κτησαμένου κινδύνους οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ἐμπλησθήσεται LAMWE : ὑποπλησθήσεται V.

<sup>3</sup> Naber : αὐτὸ FV : αὐτῷ rell.

<sup>4</sup> οὖν om. PFV.

<sup>5</sup> βεβουλευσθαι LAMWE : postulasse Lat.

<sup>a</sup> See below, § 51, where Aristobulus is said to have been seventeen when he was high priest, and § 56, where he is said to have died at the age of eighteen after being high priest one

was then most handsome—being just sixteen <sup>a</sup>—and of a distinguished family, to Antony, who was more powerful than any Roman of his time, and was ready to use him for erotic purposes and was able to indulge in undisguised pleasures because of his power. He therefore wrote in reply that if the youth were merely to leave the country, the whole land would be filled with disorder and war, because the Jews had formed hopes of an overturn of the government and the rule of another king.<sup>b</sup>

(7) After putting off Antony with these excuses, Herod decided not to leave the lad and Alexandra entirely without honour, especially because his wife Mariamme pressed him urgently to restore the high priesthood to her brother, and also because he thought it to his own advantage that Aristobulus, once placed in office, would not in fact be able to leave the country. He then called a council of his friends and bitterly accused Alexandra of having secretly plotted against his throne, saying that through Cleopatra she was working to get Antony to deprive him of his power and have the youth take over the government in his place. But this purpose <sup>c</sup> of hers, he said, was unjust, since her daughter <sup>d</sup> would at the same time be deprived of the honour which she now had, and she herself would be bringing disorder into a kingdom for which he had worked so hard and had acquired after undergoing no small danger. Nevertheless, he

Herod and Alexandra are temporarily reconciled.

year. He must therefore have become high priest soon after his seventeenth birthday.

<sup>b</sup> Klausner, *HBS* iv. 13, thinks that Herod wrote this letter to Antony after appointing Aristobulus high priest rather than before. This is possibly but not necessarily so.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "plan."

<sup>d</sup> Mariamme, as Herod's queen.

- 34 οὐ μὴν ἀπομνημονεύσας αὐτὸς ὧν οὐ καλῶς ἐκείνη  
 πράξειεν ἀποστήσεσθαι τοῦ δίκαιος εἶναι περὶ  
 αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔφη διδόναι τῷ παιδί τὴν  
 ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ πάλαι προκαταστήσεσθαι τὸν  
 Ἀνάηλον παιδίου παντάπασιν ὄντος Ἀριστο-  
 35 βούλου. τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντος οὐκ ἀσκέπτως, ἀλλ',  
 ὅπερ ἡξίου, μάλιστα πεφροντισμένως εἰς ἀπάτην  
 τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν συμπαραληφθέντων φίλων,  
 περιπαθῆς ἄμα καὶ χαρᾶ τῶν οὐ προσδοκηθέντων  
 καὶ δέει τῆς ὑποψίας Ἀλεξάνδρα μετὰ δακρῶν  
 36 ἀπελογεῖτο, περὶ μὲν τῆς ἱερωσύνης φαμένη πᾶν  
 ὄτιοῦν ὑπ' ἀδοξίας σπουδάσαι, βασιλεία δὲ μήτε  
 ἐπιτίθεσθαι μήτ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ προσίοι, βούλεσθαι λα-  
 βεῖν, καὶ νῦν ἀποχρώντως τιμῆς ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ  
 δύνασθαι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ἄρχειν αὐτὸν ἅπαντι τῷ  
 37 γένει περιουσαν. νῦν τε νενικημένη ταῖς εὐερ-  
 γεσίαις δέχεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τὴν τιμὴν, ἔσε-  
 σθαι δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ὑπήκοος, παραιτεῖσθαι δὲ κἂν εἴ  
 τι διὰ γένος καὶ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῇ παρρησίαν προ-  
 38 πετέστερον ὑπ' ἀναξιοπαθείας δράσειεν. οὕτως ἀλ-  
 λήλοις ὀμιλήσαντες καὶ σπουδαιότερον ἢ θᾶπτον  
 ἐν δεξιαῖς<sup>1</sup> διελύοντο, πάσης ὑποψίας, ὡς ἐδόκουν,  
 ἐξηρημένης.
- 39 (iii. 1) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης εὐθύς μὲν ἀφ-

<sup>1</sup> post δεξιαῖς verbum γενόμενοι excidisse con. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> Alexandra and Mariamme.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning of σπουδαιότερον ἢ θᾶσσον is uncertain; Hudson renders, "majori cum studio quam antea." Whis-

said, he would not keep in mind the improper things that she had done nor cease to treat them justly, but would even give the high priesthood to her son now, for he had earlier appointed Ananel only because Aristobulus was a mere lad. He spoke in these terms not thoughtlessly but with design and due deliberation, in order to deceive the women <sup>a</sup> and the friends who had been called in for advice. Alexandra, being greatly moved both by joy at this unexpected turn of things and by fear of being under suspicion, was in tears as she made her defence. As for the (high) priesthood, she admitted having done everything possible (to get it for her son) because of the dishonour (which he had suffered), but as for the royal power, she had no designs on it nor would she wish to have it even if it came her way, since she now had enough honour because of the power which he held and the security which came to her whole family from the fact that he was better able to rule than any others. And now, she said, being overcome by his benefactions, she would accept the office for her son and would be obedient in all respects. She also asked to be forgiven if, through concern for her family and her usual outspokenness, she had acted too impulsively in the way she had expressed indignation over the treatment which she had received. Such were the words which they exchanged, and with more eagerness than speed <sup>b</sup> they gave each other assurances of good faith and broke up their meeting, all suspicion, as it seemed, having been removed.

(iii. 1) And so King Herod immediately took the Herod

ton-Shilleto omits the phrase ; Reinach confesses ignorance of its meaning. The translation above is L. A. Post's.

## JOSEPHUS

αιρεῖται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀνάνηλον, ὄντα μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴπομεν, οὐκ ἐπιχώριον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἀπωκισμένων Ἰουδαίων· οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγαι μυριάδες τοῦδε τοῦ λαοῦ περὶ τὴν Βαβυ-  
 40 λωνίαν ἀπωκίσθησαν, ἔνθεν ἦν Ἀνάηλος ἀρχιερα-  
 τικοῦ γένους καὶ πάλαι κατὰ συνήθειαν Ἑρώδη σπουδαζόμενος. τοῦτον αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτίμησεν, ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατέλυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ παῦσαι τὰς οἰκείας ταραχάς, παράνομα ποιῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος<sup>1</sup> γέ τις ἀφηρέθη τὴν τιμὴν ἅπαξ  
 41 παραλαβών. ἀλλὰ πρῶτος μὲν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανῆς ἔλυσε τὸν νόμον, ἀφελόμενος μὲν Ἰησοῦν, καταστήσας δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ὀνίαν, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος Ὑρκανὸν ἀφείλετο τὸν ἀδελφόν, Ἑρώδης δὲ τρίτος ἀντιπαρέδωκεν τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ παιδί.  
 42 (2) Καὶ τότε μὲν ἐδόκει τεθεραπευκέναι τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. οὐ μὴν ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐν διαλλαγαῖς ἀνυπόπτως διετέλει, τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἐγχειρηθεῖσιν ἤδη, καὶ καιρὸν εἰ λάβοιτο νεωτέρων  
 43 πραγμάτων, ἠξιώκως δεδοικέναι.<sup>2</sup> προσέταπτεν οὖν ἐν τε τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίβειν καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ'<sup>3</sup> ἐξουσίας δρᾶν, ἐπιμελεῖς τε ἦσαν αἱ φυλακαί, λανθάνοντος οὐδ' εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν  
 44 ἐπιτηδεύοιτο. ταῦτα πάντα κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλως ex corr. L et (ex con.) Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> δεδηλωκέναι LA<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>W.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπ' PF.

<sup>a</sup> In § 22.

<sup>b</sup> See § 22 note d.

high priesthood away from Ananel, who was, as we said before,<sup>a</sup> not a native (of Judaea) but (was descended) from the Jews who had been transported beyond the Euphrates, for not a few tens of thousands of this people had been transported to Babylonia; and Ananel, who came from there, was of a high-priestly family<sup>b</sup> and had long been treated by Herod as a valued friend. Just as he once had honoured him, when he took over the kingship, so he now dismissed him in order to end his domestic troubles. But in this he acted unlawfully, for never had anyone<sup>c</sup> been deprived of this office when once he had assumed it, except that Antiochus Epiphanes had violated this law first when he removed Jesus and appointed his brother Onias<sup>d</sup>; and the next was Aristobulus, who removed his brother Hyrcanus<sup>e</sup>; and the third was Herod when he took the office away (from Ananel) and gave it to the young Aristobulus.

appoints  
Aristobulus III  
high priest.

(2) And so, for the time being, Herod seemed to have healed his domestic troubles. But still he did not long remain free of suspicion, as is natural after a reconciliation, for he had reason to fear from Alexandra's past attempts that she would try to overthrow his government if she found an opportunity. He therefore ordered her to remain in her palace and not to do anything on her own authority<sup>f</sup>; and as a careful watch was kept, nothing escaped him, not even what she did in her daily life. All this

Alexandra  
again  
appeals to  
Cleopatra.

<sup>a</sup> In view of the following sentence I take the οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος γέ τις to be a kind of apology for conscious exaggeration. It does not seem necessary to read ἄλλως instead of ἄλλος.

<sup>d</sup> Jesus-Jason replaced by Onias-Menelaus, see *Ant.* xii. 238.

<sup>e</sup> See *Ant.* xiv. 6 and note.

<sup>f</sup> Variant "without his authority."

## JOSEPHUS

ἐξηγρίου καὶ μῖσος ἐπεφύετο<sup>1</sup>. φρονήματος γὰρ  
 ἔμπλεως οὐσα γυναικείου τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὑποψίας ἐπι-  
 μελείας ἀνηξιοπάθει, παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ἀξιούσα  
 45 μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς παρρησίας στερομένη τιμῆς εὐπρεπείᾳ  
 μετὰ δουλείας καὶ φόβων καταζῆν. ἔπεμπεν οὖν  
 παρὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, ἐν οἷς εἶη συνεχῆς ὄδυρομένη  
 καὶ παρακαλοῦσα προσβοηθεῖν αὐτῇ κατὰ δύναμιν.  
 ἡ δὲ λαθοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν<sup>2</sup> ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου σὺν τῷ  
 46 παιδί πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποδιδράσκειν. ἐδόκει τε ταῦτα,  
 καὶ τεχνάζεται τοιάδε· δύο λάρνακας ὡς εἰς ἐκκο-  
 μιδὴν νεκρῶν παρασκευασαμένη, ταύταις αὐτὴν καὶ  
 τὸν υἱὸν ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπιτάξασα τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς  
 συνειδόσιν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐκφέρειν. ἦν δὲ τὸν τεύθεν  
 ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὁδὸς αὐτοῖς, καὶ πλοῖον, ᾧ διαπλεύ-  
 σειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔμελλον,<sup>3</sup> παρεσκευασμένον.  
 47 ταῦτα Σαββίωνι τῶν ἐκείνης φίλων Αἰσωπος  
 οἰκέτης αὐτῆς ἀπαγγέλλει προπεσών, ὡς εἰδότες  
 φράσαι. πυθόμενος δὲ Σαββίων (καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐχθρὸς  
 Ἡρώδου πρότερον,<sup>4</sup> ὅτι τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Ἀν-  
 τιπάτρῳ κατὰ τὴν φαρμακείαν εἰς ἐνομίζετο) τὸ  
 μῖσος ὑπαλλάξεσθαι τῇ περὶ τὴν μήνυσιν εὐνοίᾳ  
 προσεδόκησε, καὶ καταλέγει τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τῆς  
 48 Ἀλεξάνδρας ἐπιβουλήν. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἕως τῆς  
 ἐγχειρήσεως ἔασας προελθεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τοῦ  
 δρασμῶ συνέλαβε, παρῆκε δὲ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, χαλε-

<sup>1</sup> ὑπεφύετο LAMWE.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκέλευεν LAMWE.

<sup>3</sup> ἔμελλε FV : ἔμελλεν P.

<sup>4</sup> πρὸς αὐτὸν PFV : om. Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> Variant "to grow in secret." L. A. Post suggests that Josephus uses the metaphor of the reverting to wildness of a cultivated plant.



gradually made her wild with rage and caused hatred to grow in addition,<sup>a</sup> for she had a full share of womanly pride and resented the supervision that came from his suspicion, and she thought anything was better than to be deprived of her freedom of action and to live the rest of her life in slavery and fear in spite of appearing to have honour. She therefore wrote to Cleopatra, making a long sustained lament about the state in which she found herself, and urging her to give her as much help as she possibly could. Thereupon Cleopatra told her to escape secretly with her son and come to her in Egypt. This seemed to Alexandra a good idea, and she contrived the following scheme. She had two coffins made as if for the transporting of dead bodies, and placed herself and her son in them, after giving orders to those of her servants who knew of the plan to take them away during the night. From there they had a road to the sea and a ship ready for them to sail in to Egypt. But her servant Aesop incautiously reported this to Sabbion, one of her friends, thinking that he knew of the plan. When Sabbion learned of it—he had, as it happened, formerly been an enemy of Herod because he was believed to be one of those who had plotted to poison Antipater,<sup>b</sup>—he saw a chance to change Herod's hatred into goodwill by informing him of what was going on, and so he told the king all about Alexandra's plot. The king permitted things to proceed as far as the carrying out of the plan, and then caught her in the very act of fleeing. But he overlooked her

<sup>b</sup> Antipater had been poisoned by Hyrcanus' butler at the instigation of Malichus, a friend of Antipater, according to *Ant.* xiv. 281.

- πὸν μὲν οὐδέν, εἰ καὶ σφόδρα βουλομένω<sup>1</sup> ἦν αὐτῷ, διαθεῖναι τολμήσας, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι Κλεοπάτραν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν μίσει λαβοῦσαν, ἐμφαίνων δὲ μεγαλοψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἐξ<sup>2</sup> ἐπιεικείας
- 49 αὐτοῖς συνεγνωκέναί. προῦκειτο μέντοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὸ μειράκιον ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ μηδ' ἄμα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐδόκει πιθανώτερον εἰς τὸ λανθάνειν.
- 50 (3) Καὶ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐνστάσης<sup>3</sup> (ἐορτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν αὕτη παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τηρουμένη) ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ὑπερεβάλλετο, καὶ πρὸς εὐφροσύναις<sup>4</sup> αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἦν. ἐκίνησε δ' αὐτὸν ὅμως κακ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισπεῦσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐμφανῶς παροξύνων ὁ φθόνος.
- 51 τὸ γὰρ μειράκιον Ἀριστόβουλος ἑβδομον ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα γεγωνῶς ἔτος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν συντελέσων τὰ θύματα, τὸν τε κόσμον ἔχων τὸν τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τὰ περὶ<sup>5</sup> τὴν θρησκείαν ἐκτελῶν, κάλλει τε κάλλιστος καὶ μεγέθει πλέον ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπεράγων, τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Hudson : βουλόμενον codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ con. Naber.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεχούσης P : ἐχούσης FV.

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

<sup>5</sup> πρὸς PFVE.

<sup>a</sup> The phrase βουλομένω ἦν αὐτῷ (plausibly conjectured by Hudson) is Thucydidean, cf. Thuc. ii. 3. 2, iv. 80. 2 *et al.*

<sup>b</sup> This is a somewhat free rendering. The Greek text is difficult and perhaps corrupt.

<sup>c</sup> The festival of Tabernacles lasted a week or, by extension, nine days, since it was immediately followed by the festivals of *Semini Asereth* and *Simhath Torah*. The reference here is probably to the festival celebrated in October of

offence because he did not dare take any harsh measures against her, even though he would have liked to,<sup>a</sup> for Cleopatra, out of hatred toward him, would not have allowed her to be accused; and so he made a show of magnanimity as if forgiving them out of kindness rather than for another reason.<sup>b</sup> He was determined at all costs, however, to get the youth out of the way; but it seemed to him that he would be more likely to have his motives escape detection if he did not act at once or immediately after what had happened.

(3) When Tabernacles came round—this is a festival observed by us with special care—he waited for these days to pass,<sup>c</sup> while he himself and the rest of the people gave themselves up to rejoicing. But it was the envy arising from this very occasion and clearly working within him that led him to carry out his purpose more quickly. For Aristobulus was a youth of seventeen<sup>d</sup> when he went up to the altar to perform the sacrifices in accordance with the law,<sup>e</sup> wearing the ornamental dress of the high priests and carrying out the rites of the cult, and he was extraordinarily handsome and taller than most youths of

Herod has  
Aristobulus  
murdered  
by  
drowning.

35 B.C. rather than 36 B.C., see Schürer, *GJV* i. 362 and Otto, *Herodes*, p. 42.

<sup>d</sup> Since Josephus says below, in § 56, that Aristobulus died at the age of eighteen after being high priest for one year, he must have been appointed to this office just before or just after his seventeenth birthday.

<sup>e</sup> Most Rabbinic authorities of about the time of Josephus seem to have held that in theory all priests should be at least twenty years old when officiating in the Temple, basing this ruling on 2 Chron. xxxi. 17, in which they interpreted the word "Levites" to include priests. But some Rabbis made the age of puberty the lower limit of age of service. See Bab. Talmud, *Hullin* 24b.

## JOSEPHUS

γε μὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀξιώματος πλείστον ἐν τῇ  
 52 μορφῇ διαφαίνων, ὄρμῃ τε τῷ πλήθει πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 εὐνοίας ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ πάππῳ  
 πεπραγμένων ἐναργῆς μνήμη παρέστη, νικώμενοί  
 τε κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξηλέγχοντο τὰς διαθέσεις, χαί-  
 ροντες ὁμοῦ καὶ συγχεόμενοι, καὶ φωνὰς εὐφήμεους  
 εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφιέντες εὐχαῖς μεμιγμένας, ὡς ἐμφανῆ  
 γενέσθαι τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν ὄχλων, καὶ προπετεστέραν  
 ἐν<sup>1</sup> βασιλείᾳ δοκεῖν τὴν ὧν ἐπεπόνθησαν<sup>2</sup> ὁμολογίαν.  
 53 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν Ἡρώδης ἔγνω τὴν προαίρεσιν<sup>3</sup>  
 ἣν εἶχεν εἰς τὸ μεираάκιον ἐξεργάσασθαι. καὶ τῆς  
 ἐορτῆς παρελθούσης εἰσιτιάτο μὲν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι,  
 δεχομένης αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας, φιλοφρονού-  
 μενος δὲ τὸ μεираάκιον καὶ προέλκων εἰς ἀδεῆ  
 πότον<sup>4</sup> ἔτοιμος ἦν συμπαίξειν καὶ νεανιεύεσθαι  
 54 κεχαρισμένως ἐκείνῳ. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἰδιώ-  
 ματος θερινωτέρου τυγχάνοντος, συνειλεγμένοι  
 τάχιον ἐξῆλθον ἀλύοντες, καὶ ταῖς κολυμβήθραις  
 ἐπιστάντες, αἱ μεγάλαι περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐτύγγανον,  
 55 ἀνέψυχον τὸ θερμότατον τῆς μεσημβρίας. καὶ  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐώρων τοὺς νέοντας τῶν οἰκετῶν<sup>5</sup> καὶ  
 φίλων, ἔπειτα προαχθέντος καὶ τοῦ μεираακίου τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἐν Cocceji.

πεπόνθησαν P : εὐ πεπόνθησαν LAMW Lat.

<sup>3</sup> διάθεσιν V.

<sup>4</sup> πότον P Lat. : τόπον rell. E.

<sup>5</sup> οἰκείων Naber.

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<sup>a</sup> Or "gradually being overcome, they revealed their feelings."

<sup>b</sup> Variant "of the benefits which they had received" (under Aristobulus II or the Hasmonaeans generally).

his age, and in his appearance, moreover, he displayed to the full the nobility of his descent. And so there arose among the people an impulsive feeling of affection toward him, and there came to them a vivid memory of the deeds performed by his grandfather Aristobulus. Being overcome, they gradually revealed their feelings,<sup>a</sup> showing joyful and painful emotion at the same time, and they called out to him good wishes mingled with prayers, so that the affection of the crowd became evident, and their acknowledgment of their emotions<sup>b</sup> seemed too impulsive in view of their having a king.<sup>c</sup> As a result of all these things Herod decided to carry out his designs against the youth. When the festival was over and they were being entertained at Jericho as the guest of Alexandra, he showed great friendliness to the youth and led him on to drink without fear,<sup>d</sup> and he was ready to join in his play and to act like a young man in order to please him. But as the place was naturally very hot, they soon went out in a group for a stroll, and stood beside the swimming-pools,<sup>e</sup> of which there were several large ones around the palace, and cooled themselves off from the excessive heat of noon. At first they watched some of the servants and friends (of Herod) as they swam, and then, at Herod's urging, the youth was induced (to

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Herod.

<sup>d</sup> Of poisoning. The variant reads "led him on to a safe place."

<sup>e</sup> The remains of Herod's palace have been excavated by the American Schools of Oriental Research and Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary, see James L. Kelso, "New Testament Jericho," *Biblical Archaeologist* 14 (1951), 39: "The concrete walls of this 'sunken garden,' however, were so massive that they could also have served as walls for a swimming pool."

- καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη παροξύναι, τῶν φίλων οἷς ταῦτα ἐπιτέτακτο, σκότους ἐπέχοντας,<sup>1</sup> βαροῦντες αἰεὶ καὶ βαπτίζοντες ὡς ἐν παιδιᾷ νηχόμενον οὐκ ἀνῆκαν  
 56 ἕως καὶ παντάσιν ἀποπνίξαι. καὶ διεφθάρη μὲν οὕτως Ἀριστόβουλος, ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν τὰ πάντα<sup>2</sup> βιοὺς ἔτη, τὴν δ' ἀρχιερωσύνην<sup>3</sup> κατασχὼν ἐνιαυτόν, ἦν Ἀνάνηλος ἐκομίσαστο πάλιν.
- 57 (4) Ἐξαγγελθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ταῖς γυναιξίν εὐθύς μὲν ἐκ μεταβολῆς θρήνος ἦν ἐπὶ προκειμένῳ τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ πένθος ἄσχετον, ἧ τε πόλις τοῦ λόγου διαδοθέντος ὑπερήλγει, πάσης ἐστίας οἰκειουμένης τὴν συμφορὰν ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῳ γενομένην.
- 58 Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκπαθῆς ἦν συνέσει τῆς ἀπωλείας, τὸ μὲν ἀλοῦν ἐκ τοῦ γινώσκειν ὅπως ἐπράχθη πλείον ἔχουσα, τὸ δ' ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἐπὶ μείζονος κακοῦ προσδοκίᾳ ποιουμένη.
- 59 καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἦλθεν<sup>4</sup> αὐτοχειρία περιγράψασθαι<sup>5</sup> τὸν βίον, ἐπέστη δ' ὁμως, εἰ δύναιτο ζῶσα προσαρκέσαι τῷ κατ' ἐπιβουλάς ἀνόμως διεφθαρμένῳ, τό τε πλεόν ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῇ παρεκρότει<sup>6</sup> τὸν βίον, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ὑποψίαν ἐνδοῦναι τοῦ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ἀπολέσθαι τὸν υἱὸν ἱκανὸν εἰς εὐκαιρίαν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιόντος Ernesti.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ πάντα PFE : ἅπαντα V : om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἱερωσύνην PFVE.

<sup>4</sup> ἤθελεν Herwerden.

<sup>5</sup> Wesseling : παραγράψασθαι codd. : finire Lat.

<sup>6</sup> παρεκράτει LAMW.

<sup>a</sup> The one-sentence account in *B.J.* i. 437 reads " He was consequently sent by night to Jericho, and there, in accordance with instructions, plunged into a swimming-pool by

join them). But with darkness coming on while he swam, some of the friends, who had been given orders to do so, kept pressing him down and holding him under water as if in sport, and they did not let up until they had quite suffocated him. In this manner was Aristobulus done away with <sup>a</sup> when he was at most eighteen years old and had held the high priesthood for a year. This office Ananel again obtained for himself.

(4) When this sad event was reported to the women, they suddenly gave way to lamentation over the dead body that lay before them and to ungovernable grief.<sup>b</sup> The city,<sup>c</sup> too, was greatly saddened when the report was circulated, and every household felt the misfortune as if it had happened to one of its own members and not to a stranger. But Alexandra was most deeply affected of all because she understood what the death (of her son) meant. But although she had the greater pain for knowing how it had been brought about, she held it necessary to bear up bravely in anticipation of a still greater evil. Often she came close <sup>d</sup> to ending her life with her own hands, but still she held back, hoping that if she lived she might help to avenge <sup>e</sup> the son who had been treacherously and lawlessly killed. For that reason she was all the more encouraged to live, and thought that by giving no indication of suspecting that her son's death had been premeditated she would have sufficient opportunity for revenge.

Alexandra's  
grief and  
Herod's  
dissimula-  
tion.

the Gauls, and so died." The Gauls are an anachronism, see Dr. Thackeray's note *ad loc.*

<sup>b</sup> πένθος ἄσχετον is an Homeric echo.

<sup>c</sup> Jerusalem is meant.

<sup>d</sup> Conjectured variant "she wished."

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "bring help to"; προσαρκεῖν is a Sophoclean word.

- 60 ἀμύνης ἐνομίζετο.<sup>1</sup> κακείνη μὲν ἐγκρατῶς ἔφερε<sup>2</sup> τὴν ὑποψίαν. Ἡρώδης δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔξωθεν πιθανῶς ἀπεσκευάζετο μὴ μετὰ προνοίας γενέσθαι τῷ παιδί τὸν θάνατον, οὐχ ὅσα πρὸς πένθος ἐπιτηδεύων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δάκρυσι χρώμενος καὶ σύγχυσιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμφαίνων ἀληθινῆν, τάχα μὲν καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἀπονικῶντος αὐτὸν ἐν ὄψει τῆς τε ὥρας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐνομίζετο, δῆλον δ' ὡς ἀπολογίαν αὐτὰ
- 61 πραγματευόμενος. τά γε μὴν εἰς τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεδείξατο,<sup>3</sup> πολλὴν μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν περὶ τε τὰς θήκας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θυμιαμάτων ποιησάμενος, πολὺν δὲ συγκαταθάπτων κόσμον, ὡς ἐκπλήξαι τὸ λυπηρὸν τῆς ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀλγηδόνας καὶ παραμυθήσασθαι τούτῳ τῷ μέρει.
- 62 (5) Τὴν δ' Ἀλεξάνδραν ἤττησε<sup>4</sup> μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων, αἰεὶ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μνήμη τοῦ κακοῦ παρέχουσα τὴν ὀδύνην ὀδυρτικὴν ἐποίει καὶ φιλόνεικον, καὶ γράφει τὴν ἐπιβουλήν Ἡρώδου τῇ
- 63 Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ παιδός. ἡ δὲ καὶ πάλαι σπεύδουσα προσαρκέσαι δεομένη καὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας οἰκτείρουσα τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας, αὐτῆς ἐποίητο τὸ πᾶν πρᾶγμα, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐκ ἀνίει τίσασθαι τὸν φόνον τοῦ παιδὸς παροξύνουσα<sup>5</sup>. οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον Ἡρώδη, δι' αὐτοῦ καταστάντα βασιλέα τῆς οὐδὲν προσηκούσης ἀρχῆς, εἰς τοὺς ὄντως

<sup>1</sup> ἐνόμιζε, διὸ LAMW.<sup>2</sup> οὕτως ἔφερε LAMW.<sup>3</sup> ὑπερεδείξατο PFVE.<sup>4</sup> ἠπάτησε Naber.<sup>5</sup> ἐρεθίζουσα E : om. PFV : petere Lat.



And so she resolutely kept her suspicion to herself. Herod also convincingly dispelled any thought in the minds of outsiders that the lad's death had been premeditated, not only by showing all the signs of mourning but also by giving way to tears and exhibiting real perturbation of soul. It may be, too, that emotion overcame him when he looked upon the youthful beauty of the lad even though his death had been considered necessary for his own safety. But it was clear that he was taking these measures to excuse himself. At any rate, he made all the more display of lavishness in the burial rites, providing a very fine tomb and a great quantity of perfumes and burying with him a great amount of fine apparel,<sup>a</sup> and so he drove out some of the sorrow <sup>b</sup> felt by the grieving women and consoled them to this extent.

(5) Alexandra, however, was not won over <sup>c</sup> by any such actions. The memory of her misfortune, which caused her ever greater pain, made her the more querulous and resentful, and she wrote to Cleopatra about Herod's plot and the killing of her son. Since she had long been eager to come to the help <sup>d</sup> of Alexandra in answer to her pleas, and pitied her ill fortune, Cleopatra made the whole matter her own concern, and did not cease urging Antony to avenge the murder of Alexandra's son, for, she said, it was not right that Herod, who had been appointed by him as king of a country which he had no claim to rule, should have exhibited such lawlessness toward

On Alexandra's plea Cleopatra persuades Antony to question Herod.

<sup>a</sup> Or "ornaments."

<sup>b</sup> ἐκπλήξαι τὸ λυπηρόν is taken from Pericles' funeral oration in Thucydides ii. 38. 1. As used there the phrase seems somewhat out of place in this passage of Josephus.

<sup>c</sup> Conjectured variant "was not deceived."

<sup>d</sup> See above, p. 29 note *e*.

64 βασιλεῖς τοιαύτας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι παρανομίας. τού-  
 τοις ἀναπειθόμενος Ἀντώνιος, ὡς ἐπὶ Λαοδικείας  
 ἐστάλη, πέμπει κελεύων Ἡρώδην ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς  
 Ἀριστόβουλον ἀποδύσασθαι<sup>1</sup>. πεπρᾶχθαι γὰρ οὐκ  
 65 ὀρθῶς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, εἰ δι' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. ὁ δὲ  
 τὴν τε αἰτίαν δεδοικῶς καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας δυσ-  
 μένεια, ὡς οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐξεργαζομένη κακῶς<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ  
 τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἔγνω μὲν ὑπακούειν, οὐδὲ<sup>3</sup>  
 γὰρ ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἐνῆν, καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν θεῖον  
 αὐτοῦ Ἰώσηπον ἐπίτροπον τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ  
 πραγμάτων ἐνετείλατο λεληθότως, εἰ πάθοι τι παρ'  
 Ἀντωνίῳ, παραχρῆμα καὶ τὴν Μαριάμμην ἀνελεῖν<sup>4</sup>.  
 66 αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἔχειν φιλοστόργως πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα  
 καὶ δεδοικέναι τὴν ὕβριν, εἰ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἐκείνη  
 67 κατ' εὐμορφίαν ἄλλῳ τινὶ σπουδάζοιτο. τὸ δὲ  
 σύμπαν ἐνέφαινε ὄρμην Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὴν ἄνθρω-  
 πον, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι παρακηκοῶς<sup>5</sup> ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐμορ-  
 φίας ἐτύγχανεν. Ἡρώδης μὲν οὖν ἐπιστείλας

<sup>1</sup> P: ἀπολύσασθαι rell. (sed cf. B.J. i. 452, ii. 92).

<sup>2</sup> καθὼς PF: κακοήθως V.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲν PFV Lat.

<sup>4</sup> + καθὼς τὰ περὶ τούτου ἀριδηλότερον ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀλώσεως  
 πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ δεδηλώκαμεν V, in quo sequentia usque ad § 88  
 desunt.

<sup>5</sup> προακηκοῶς Naber: γὰρ ἀκηκοῶς con. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> Cleopatra's intervention probably took place during the winter of 35-34 B.C. while Antony was in Egypt or sometime before he invaded Armenia early in 34 B.C. On the appointment of Herod as king through Antony's influence see *Ant.* xiv. 385. That Herod laid particular stress on the beginning of his titular reign in 40 B.C. in contrast to that of his *de facto* reign in 37 B.C. has been plausibly argued on the basis of

those who were the real kings.<sup>a</sup> Being persuaded by this argument, Antony, on setting out for Laodicea,<sup>b</sup> wrote to Herod, ordering him to come there and clear himself of the charges relating to Aristobulus, for, he said, he had acted criminally<sup>c</sup> in the plot if it had been formed by him. Thereupon Herod, in fear of both this accusation and the hostility of Cleopatra, who had never ceased doing her best to make Antony his enemy, decided to obey, since there was nothing else to do. So he left his uncle<sup>d</sup> Joseph in charge of the affairs of the realm, secretly giving him instructions that if anything (fatal) happened to him while he was with Antony, Joseph should at once do away with Mariamme too.<sup>e</sup> For, he said, he was very much in love with his wife and feared the outrage (it would be to his memory) if even after his death she were pursued by another man because of her beauty. All this was a way of indicating Antony's desire for the woman, of whose beauty, as it happened, he had long before casually heard.<sup>f</sup> And so, with these instructions and with

numismatic evidence by B. Kanael, "The Coins of King Herod of the Third Year," *JQR* 42 (1951/2), 261-264.

<sup>b</sup> On the coast of Syria.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "not rightly."

<sup>d</sup> In *B.J.* i. 441 Josephus calls Joseph the husband of Herod's sister Salome but says nothing of his being Herod's uncle. Below, moreover, in *Ant.* xv. 169 Josephus seems to be unaware of such a relation between Joseph and Herod. For that reason one is inclined to agree with several scholars that in this passage *θεῖον* "uncle" is an error for *πενθερόν* "brother-in-law."

<sup>e</sup> Cod. V adds "as we have related more clearly in the first book of the *Halosis*" (*i.e.* *B.J.*), and then breaks off to the end of § 87.

<sup>f</sup> Text and meaning slightly uncertain. On Antony's first acquaintance with Mariamme's beauty see above, § 26.

- ταῦτα καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς ἔχων ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων, ἀπῆει πρὸς Ἀντώνιον.
- 68 (6) Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως ὧν τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ πραγμάτων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνεχῆς ἐντυγχάνων τῇ Μαριάμμῃ περί τε πραγματείας καὶ τιμῆς ἔνεκεν, ἣν ἔδει βασιλευούσῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, καθίει εἰς<sup>1</sup> συνεχεῖς ὁμιλίας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἡρώδου
- 69 πρὸς αὐτὴν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας. ἐξειρωνευομένων δὲ γυναικείως τοὺς λόγους καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας, ὑπερεσπουδακῶς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐπιδείξει τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως, προήχθη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν εἰπεῖν, πίστιν αὐτὰ ποιούμενος ὡς οὔτε<sup>2</sup> χωρὶς ἐκείνης ζῆν δύναται, κἂν εἰ πάσχοι τι δεινὸν οὐκ ἀξιούντος οὐδὲ θανάτῳ διαζευχθῆναι.
- 70 ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἰώσηπος. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ὡς εἰκός, οὐ τὸ φιλόστοργον τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην διαθέσεως, τὸ δὲ χαλεπὸν, εἰ μῆδ' ἀποθνήσκοντος ὑστερήσειαν ἀπωλείας καὶ θανάτου τυραννικοῦ, προλαμβάνουσαι,<sup>3</sup> χαλεπὴν τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ ῥηθέντος εἶχον.
- 71 (7) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ λόγος ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν παρὰ τῶν ἐν ἔχθει τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐχόντων, ὡς Ἀντώνιος αἰκισάμενος αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειεν. ἡ δὲ φήμη πάντας μὲν ἐτάραξεν, ὡς εἰκός, τοὺς περὶ τὸ βασιλείον, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς
- 72 γυναῖκας. Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀναπείθει τῶν βασιλείων ἐξελθόντα σὺν αὐταῖς προσφυγεῖν τοῖς σημείοις τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ τάγματος, ὃ

<sup>1</sup> E : καθίει M et ex corr. A : καθίεις rell. : inseruit Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf : οὐδὲ codd.

<sup>3</sup> προσλαμβάνουσαι LAMW : putaverunt Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "concerning the (fate of the) government" (τῶν ὄλων).

uncertain hopes concerning the outcome of the whole matter,<sup>a</sup> he went off to meet Antony.

(6) Now <sup>b</sup> Joseph, while administering the affairs of the kingdom and for that reason repeatedly meeting with Mariamme about public business or because of the respect which he was bound to show her as the queen, repeatedly fell into talks about Herod's affection and great love for her. And when in women's fashion she and, even more so, Alexandra, affected not to believe his statements, Joseph in an excess of zeal to reveal the king's feelings let himself go so far as to speak of the instructions given him, offering them as proof of the fact that Herod could not live without her nor, if he should suffer a malign fate, would he even then consent to be separated from her by death. That was Joseph's argument. But the women, as was natural, were chiefly impressed <sup>c</sup> not with Herod's feeling of great love but with his cruelty, reflecting that not even by his death would they escape the doom of a tyrannical death themselves, and so in what was told them they found an implication of cruelty.

Joseph reveals Herod's secret instructions concerning Mariamme.

(7) At this juncture a report went round the city of Jerusalem, coming from those who hated Herod, that Antony had tortured him and put him to death. This rumour, as was natural, excited all the people in the palace, especially the women. And Alexandra persuaded Joseph to leave the palace with them and flee for refuge to the standards of the Roman legion,<sup>d</sup> which at that time was encamped

The false rumour of Herod's death.

<sup>b</sup> There is a partial parallel to §§ 68-87 in *B.J.* i. 441-444, see below.

<sup>c</sup> Text and meaning somewhat uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> Antony had thirteen legions in Syria, including one at Jerusalem, according to W. W. Tarn in *CAH* x. 77.

τότε περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς βασιλείας  
 73 ἔστρατοπέδευεν ἡγουμένου Ἰουλίου<sup>1</sup>. διὰ γὰρ τού-  
 του<sup>2</sup> πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ καὶ τις ἀπαντήσῃε ταραχὴν  
 περὶ τὴν αὐλήν, ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρω διάξῃεν αὐτοὶ  
 Ῥωμαίους εὐμενεῖς ἔχοντες· ἔπειτα καὶ τεύξεσθαι  
 παντὸς ἡλπικένοι, τὴν Μαριάμμην Ἀντωνίου  
 θεασαμένου, δι' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ  
 μηδενὸς ὑστερήσειν ὧν εἰκὸς τοῖς ἐν εὐγενείᾳ  
 βασιλικῇ γεγονόσιν.

74 (8) Ἐπὶ τούτων δὲ τῶν λογισμῶν τετυχηκόσιν  
 αὐτοῖς γράμματα παρ' Ἡρώδου περὶ τῶν ὄλων  
 ἀφίκετο, τῆς φήμης ἐναντία καὶ τῶν προλαληθέν-  
 75 των.<sup>3</sup> ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγένετο παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, ταχὺ  
 μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνεκτήσατο τοῖς δώροις ἃ φέρων ἦκεν  
 ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ταχὺ δὲ ταῖς ὀμιλίαις παρ-  
 εστήσατο μὴ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν<sup>4</sup> εἰς αὐτόν, οἷ τε τῆς  
 Κλεοπάτρας λόγοι πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου θεραπείαν  
 76 ἦττον ἠδυνήθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν Ἀν-  
 τώνιος βασιλέα περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγε-  
 νημένων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ  
 βασιλεὺς εἶη· δόντας δὲ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας  
 καταξιώσαντας εἶαν αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ  
 τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> υἱοῦ Ἰούδα PF et in marg. AM.

<sup>2</sup> Niese : τοῦτο codd.

<sup>3</sup> προληφθέντων LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> τὸ χαλεπῶς ἔχον Niese.

<sup>a</sup> Against popular uprisings.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "a son of Juda." The identity of this officer has not been established.

about the city to protect the king's position <sup>a</sup> and was under the command of Julius.<sup>b</sup> For, she said, through this (force of Romans) <sup>c</sup> they would, in the first place, live in greater security by having the Romans friendly to them if any disturbance should take place in the palace; in the second place, she also hoped to obtain everything she wanted if Antony were to see Mariamme, for through him they might recover the throne and so lack for nothing which it was proper for those of royal birth to have.

(8) While they were occupied with these thoughts, a letter came to them from Herod concerning the affairs of the country, which was contrary to rumour and to what had earlier been reported.<sup>d</sup> For when he had met with Antony he had quickly won him over with the gifts which he had brought from Jerusalem, and by his speeches he had quickly disposed him not to feel angry toward him. As for the arguments of Cleopatra, they were of little avail against Herod's way of currying his favour, for Antony had said that it was improper to demand an accounting of his reign from a king, since in that case he would not be a king at all, and those who had given a man this office and conferred authority upon him should permit him to exercise it. At the same time he told Cleopatra that she would be better off if she did not meddle in <sup>e</sup> the affairs of the

Herod writes of his success with Antony.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "had been anticipated." The report of Herod, which follows, is open to suspicion of distortion either by Herod himself or of Josephus' source.

<sup>e</sup> Or perhaps "were not overmuch concerned with," the exact shade of meaning depending upon the accuracy of Herod's report. Below, in § 165, *πολυπραγμονεῖν* means "to take part in public affairs."

## JOSEPHUS

- 77 ἀρχὰς ἔλεγε συμφέρειν. ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔγραφεν  
 Ἡρώδης καὶ τὰς ἄλλας διεξήκει τιμάς, ἃς ἔχοι παρ'  
 Ἀντωνίῳ, συνθακῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσι καὶ  
 συνεστιώμενος ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, καὶ τούτων  
 ὅπως<sup>2</sup> τυγχάνοι χαλεπῆς εἰς τὰς διαβολὰς αὐτῷ τῆς  
 Κλεοπάτρας οὔσης, ἣ πόθῳ τῆς χώρας ἐξαιτουμένη  
 τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῇ προσγενέσθαι, πάντα τρόπον ἐκ-  
 78 ποδῶν αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάκει ποιεῖσθαι. δικαίου μέντοι  
 τυγχάνων Ἀντωνίου μηδὲν ἔτι προσδοκᾶν δυσχερές,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ θάπτον ἤξειν, βεβαιότεραν τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ προσειληφῶς τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τοῖς  
 79 πράγμασιν. καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μηκέτι προσεῖναι  
 τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς πλεονεξίας, δόντος Ἀντωνίου ἀνθ'  
 ὧν ἠξίου τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ διὰ τούτου παρη-  
 γορήσαντος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποσκευασαμένου τὰς ἐντεύ-  
 ξεις ἃς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐποιεῖτο.
- 80 (9) Τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ἀπενεχθέντων ἐπαύ-  
 σαντο μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς ὀρμῆς, ἣν ὡς ἀπολωλότης  
 εἶχον καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· οὐ μὴν ἔλα-  
 θεν αὐτῶν ἡ προαίρεσις, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ παραπέμψας ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ Πάρθους εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν  
 ὑπέστρεψεν, εὐθύς μὲν ἢ τε ἀδελφῇ Σαλώμῃ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Hudson : *συνθηκῶν* aut *συνθωκῶν* codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> ὁμως LAMWE Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> Probably Chalcis in the Lebanon region, as plausibly argued by Schürer, *GJV* i. 362-364. This gift is apparently different from that made later (*cf. Ant.* xv. 92 ff.) in the same year, which Plutarch, *Ant.* 36 and Dio Cassius, xlix. 32,



ruler. This was the content of Herod's letter, in which he also recounted the other honours which he had received from Antony, such as sitting with him when he gave judgment and being entertained at dinner by him every day; and (he told) how he received such privileges in spite of Cleopatra's bitter charges against him, for in her desire to possess his land she demanded his throne for herself and sought by every means to get him out of the way. Herod, however, had found Antony fair and he no longer expected anything unpleasant to happen but would in fact soon come home with the assurance of having strengthened Antony's goodwill toward his throne and his government. And Cleopatra, he said, could no longer cherish any hope of fully satisfying her greed, for Antony had given her Coele-Syria <sup>a</sup> instead of the territory which she had asked for and in this way had placated her while at the same time ridding himself of the appeals which she had been making for Judaea.

(9) When this letter was delivered, the women abandoned the project of fleeing to the Romans which they had formed in the belief that Herod was dead. Their plan, however, had not remained a secret, for when the king returned to Judaea after escorting Antony part of his way against the Parthians,<sup>b</sup> his sister Salome and his mother <sup>c</sup> immedi-

Herod's  
jealousy of  
Mariamme.  
Joseph  
executed.

place earlier, at the beginning of Antony's campaign against the Parthians in 36 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> Some scholars suspect that "Parthians" here is a slip for "Armenians," but this supposition is unnecessary, since Antony in 34 B.C. planned to invade Parthia although he actually ended up by invading and subduing Armenia, see below, § 104, and Debevoise, pp. 133-134.

<sup>c</sup> Her name was Cyprus (Kypros), see *Ant.* xiv. 121.

ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν ἔσχον οἱ περὶ τὴν  
 81 Ἀλεξάνδραν ἀπείσημαν, ἡ δὲ Σαλώμη καὶ κατὰ  
 τὰνδρὸς Ἰωσήπου λόγον εἶπεν,<sup>1</sup> ἐν διαβολῇ ποι-  
 οῦσα καὶ τὸ<sup>2</sup> Μαριάμμη συγγενόμενον διατελεῖν.  
 ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔχουσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκ  
 πλείονος, ὅτι κατὰ τὰς διαφορὰς φρονήματι χρω-  
 μένη μείζονι, τὴν ἐκείνων ἐξωνείδιζε δυσγένειαν.  
 82 Ἡρώδης δὲ θερμῶς αἰεὶ καὶ λίαν ἐρωτικῶς πρὸς  
 τὴν Μαριάμμη ἔχων, εὐθύς μὲν ἐξετετάρακτο καὶ  
 τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν οὐκ ἔφευγεν, ἐπικρατούμενος δ' αἰεὶ<sup>3</sup>  
 τοῦ μὴ προπετές τι ποιῆσαι διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, συντόνω  
 τῷ πάθει καὶ τῷ ζήλῳ παρωξυμμένος ἰδίᾳ τὴν  
 Μαριάμμη ἀνέκρινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον.  
 83 ἀπομνυμένης δ' ἐκείνης καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῇ μηδὲν  
 ἀμαρτούσῃ προσῆν εἰς ἀπολογίαν καταλογιζομένης,  
 ἀνεπείθετο κατὰ μικρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετέβαιεν  
 ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἡττώμενος τῆς περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα  
 φιλοστοργίας, ὡς ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔδοξεν  
 ἀκούσας πεπιστευκένας, καὶ περὶ τῆς κοσμιότητος  
 84 αὐτῇ πολλὴν ὠμολόγει χάριν, αὐτὸς τε ὅπως ἔχοι  
 στοργῆς καὶ εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνωμολόγει· καὶ  
 τέλος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς φιλεῖ, προὔπιπτον εἰς  
 δάκρυα μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἐμπεφυκότες ἀλλή-  
 85 λους. αἰεὶ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ βασιλέως πιστουμένου  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάθεσιν ἔλκοντος,<sup>4</sup> “ οὐ φιλοῦν-  
 τος,” εἶπεν ἡ Μαριάμμη, “ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, εἰ  
 πάσχοι τι χαλεπὸν ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου, καμὲ συναπολέ-

<sup>1</sup> εἶπεν τὸ P : ante ἐν διαβολῇ lacunam stat. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ Bekker : τῇ codd.

ately revealed to him what the intentions of Alexandra and her friends had been. Salome also spoke against her husband Joseph, accusing him of having frequently had intercourse with Mariamme. She said these things because for a long time she had hated Mariamme, who had shown a proud spirit in their disputes and had reproached Salome's family with their low birth. Herod, who had always felt a burning love for Mariamme, was at once violently disturbed and was scarcely able to bear his jealousy, but he had enough control of himself all this time not to do <sup>a</sup> anything rash because of his love. But goaded by his intense emotion and jealousy, he privately questioned Mariamme about her relations with Joseph. As she denied everything on oath and in her defence said everything that could possibly be said by a woman who had done no wrong, the king gradually let himself be persuaded and got over his anger, and being overcome by his fondness for his wife, he actually apologized for seeming to believe what he had heard. He freely admitted his gratitude for her modest behaviour and he acknowledged how fond of her and how devoted to her he was. Finally, as is usual with lovers, they fell to weeping and to embracing one another with great intensity. But as the king continued to assure her of his feeling for her and to urge her to share this,<sup>b</sup> Mariamme said, "It was not the act of a lover to command that if anything serious should happen to him at the hands of Antony, I should be put to death

<sup>a</sup> Variant "for fear of doing."

<sup>b</sup> Variant omits "and to urge her to share this."

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<sup>3</sup> δ' αἰ] δέει LW.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ . . . ἔλκοντος] τὴν αὐτοῦ διάθεσιν PFV.

## JOSEPHUS

86 σθαι τὴν οὐδενὸς αἰτίαν.” τούτου προσπεσόντος<sup>1</sup>  
 τοῦ λόγου περιπαθήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθύς μὲν ἐκ  
 τῶν χειρῶν αὐτὴν ἀφήκεν, ἐβόα δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτὸς  
 ἑαυτοῦ τριχῶν ἐδράττετο, περιφανὲς φώριον ἔχειν  
 87 τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνίας λέγων· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἂν ἐξείπειν ἂ κατ’ ἰδίαν ἤκουσε, μὴ μεγάλης  
 αὐτοῖς πίστεως ἐγγενομένης. οὕτως δ’ ἔχων ὀλίγου  
 μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὴν γυναῖκα, νικώμενος δὲ τῷ πρὸς  
 αὐτὴν ἔρωτι ταύτης μὲν τῆς ὀρμῆς<sup>2</sup> ἐκράτησεν  
 ἑαυτοῦ, διακαρτερήσας ὀδυνηρῶς καὶ δυσχερῶς,  
 τὸν μέντοι Ἰώσηπον οὐδ’ εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντα διαχρή-  
 σασθαι προσέταξε, καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ὡς ἀπάν-  
 των παραιτίαν δήσας ἐφύλαττεν.

88 (iv. 1) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Συρίαν  
 ταραχὰς εἶχεν, οὐκ ἀνιείσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας τὸν  
 Ἀντώνιον μὴ πᾶσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν· ἔπειθε γὰρ ἀφαιρού-  
 μενον ἐκάστων τὰς δυναστείας αὐτῇ διδόναι, καὶ  
 πλείστον ἴσχυεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπι-  
 89 θυμίας. φύσει δὲ πλεονεξία χαίρουσα παρανομίας  
 οὐδὲν ἐνέλιπε,<sup>3</sup> τὸν μὲν ἀδελφόν, ᾧ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 ἤδει γενησομένην, προανελοῦσα φαρμάκοις πεντε-  
 καιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχοντα, τὴν δ’ ἀδελφὴν Ἀρσινόην  
 ἰκετεύουσαν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρὸς τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος

<sup>1</sup> προσπεσόντος Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ταύτην . . . ὀρμὴν PFLWE.

<sup>3</sup> ἔλιπε V : ἔλειπε(ν) PF Exc.

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<sup>a</sup> In *B.J.* i. 441-444 Josephus relates the same story about Mariamme and Joseph except that there Mariamme too is said to have been put to death by her jealous husband. Moreover, in *Ant.* xv. 185-231 Josephus narrates a similar

too, though not guilty of anything." When these words came out, the king became violently indignant and at once released her from his arms, crying out and tearing his hair and saying that he now had clear and damning proof of Joseph's sexual intimacy with her, for he would not have disclosed what he had been privately told if there had not been full confidence between them. Being in this state, he was near to killing his wife, but being overcome by his love for her, he restrained the impulse, though the effort was painful and difficult. He did, however, give orders for Joseph to be executed without even being admitted to see him, and he kept Alexandra in chains and under guard on the ground that she was partly to blame for all these troubles.<sup>a</sup>

(iv. 1)<sup>b</sup> Meanwhile there was confusion in the affairs of Syria, for Cleopatra did not give up trying to make Antony attack all (its rulers) and to persuade him to take away the dominions of each and give them to her; and she had a great influence over him because of his passion for her. Since she was prone to covetousness by nature, there was no lawless deed which she did not commit; she had already caused the death by poisoning of her brother when he was only fifteen years old because she knew that he was to become king,<sup>c</sup> and she had her sister Arsinoë killed by Antony when she was a suppliant incident involving Herod's friend Soëmus on the occasion of Herod's visits to Octavian in 30-29 B.C. The accounts in *Ant.* appear preferable to that in *B.J.* with its evident anachronisms.

Antony gives Cleopatra some parts of Syria.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 88-107 have a partial parallel in *B.J.* i. 359-363.

<sup>c</sup> This was Ptolemy XIII (surnamed Theos Philopator after his elder brother, Cleopatra's boy-husband, had mysteriously disappeared in 47 B.C.), who died soon after Cleopatra returned to Egypt from Rome in 44 B.C.

- 90 ἱερῶ<sup>1</sup> ἀποκτείνασα δι' Ἀντωνίου· χρημάτων γὰρ ἔνεκεν, εἴ που μόνον ἐλπισθείη, καὶ ναοὶ καὶ τάφοι παρενομήθησαν, οὐθ' ἱεροῦ τινος οὕτως ἀσύλου δόξαντος ὡς μὴ περιαιρεθῆναι τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κόσμον, οὔτε βεβήλου μὴ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων παθόντος, εἰ μέλλοι μόνον εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀρκέσειν<sup>2</sup>
- 91 τῇ τῆς ἀδικούσης πλεονεξία. τὸ δ' ὄλον οὐδὲν αὐτάρκες ἦν γυναικὶ καὶ πολυτελεῖ καὶ δουλευούσῃ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, μὴ καὶ τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐνδεῖν ὧν ἐσπουδάκει. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνιον ἤπειγεν αἰεὶ τὰ<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτῇ χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ διαβᾶσα σὺν ἐκείνῳ τὴν Συρίαν
- 92 ἐπενόει κτῆμα ποιήσασθαι. Λυσανίαν μὲν οὖν τὸν Πτολεμαίου Πάρθους αἰτιασαμένη τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπάγειν ἀποκτίννυσιν, ἥτει δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τὴν τε Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων, ἀξιοῦσα τοὺς
- 93 βασιλεύοντας αὐτῶν ἀφελέσθαι. τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ τὸ μὲν ὄλον ἠττᾶσθαι συνέβαινε τῆς γυναικός, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς ὀμιλίας ἀλλὰ καὶ φαρμάκοις δοκεῖν

<sup>1</sup> ἱερῶ om. PF: ναῶ V.

<sup>2</sup> ἀρκέσειν ex Lat. (satisfacere) add. Richards et Shutt: συμφέρειν add. Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> τι PFV: aliquid Lat.

<sup>a</sup> According to Dio Cassius, *xlvi. 24. 2*, Antony killed Cleopatra's ἀδελφούς after dragging them out of the temple of Artemis in Ephesus. Appian, *B.C. v. 9*, says that he had her sister Arsinoë killed when she was a suppliant of Artemis Leukophryene "in Miletus," an error for "Ephesus," since "Megabyzos," whom Appian there mentions as the priest of Artemis, was the official Persian name of Artemis' priest in Ephesus, as pointed out by D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, ii. 887 note 86, 1279 note 5.

<sup>b</sup> The infinitive "to satisfy" is conjecturally supplied from the Latin.

at the temple of Artemis in Ephesus.<sup>a</sup> For the sake of any money which there was the slightest hope of getting, both temples and tombs were violated. No sacred place was considered so inviolable that it did not have its furnishings removed and there was no secular place that did not suffer every kind of forbidden treatment so long as it was likely to satisfy<sup>b</sup> to the full the greed of this wicked woman. In sum, nothing was enough by itself for this extravagant woman, who was enslaved by her appetites, so that the whole world failed to satisfy the desires of her imagination.<sup>c</sup> That was why she continually prodded Antony to take away the possessions of others and give them to her. And when she passed through Syria with him, she thought of ways to get it into her possession. She therefore accused Lysanias, the son of Ptolemaeus, of bringing in the Parthians against the interests of the (Roman) government,<sup>d</sup> and had him killed. She also asked Antony for Judaea and Arabia, requesting him to take them away from their royal rulers.<sup>e</sup> Now Antony was so much dominated by this woman, as it happened, that it seemed as if he obeyed her every wish not only because of his intimacy with her but also because of

<sup>c</sup> The meaning is not quite clear ; possibly the text means "she imagined that she lacked everything if she lacked anything that she desired."

<sup>d</sup> This was in 40 B.C., when Lysanias was allied with Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, see *Ant.* xiv. 330-333. Lysanias was ruler of Chalcis or Ituraea, a small territory E. of Mt. Hermon and S. of Damascus. According to Plutarch and Dio Cassius (see above, § 79 note *a*) Lysanias was killed in 36 B.C., while Josephus makes it appear that Lysanias was killed in 34 B.C., see above, § 80 note *b*.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* Herod, king of Judaea, and Malchus, king of Arabia, see *B.J.* i. 360.

- ὑπακούειν εἰς ὃ τι ἂν ἐκείνη θέλῃ· τὸ μέντοι περι-  
 φανὲς τῆς ἀδικίας ἐξεδυσώπει μὴ μέχρι τοσούτου<sup>1</sup>  
 94 κατήκοον γενόμενον ἐπὶ μεγίστοις ἀμαρτάνειν. Ἰν'  
 οὖν μήτ' ἀρνηθῆ παντάπασιν μήθ' ὅσα προσέταπτεν  
 ἐκείνη διαπραξάμενος ἐκ φανεροῦ δόξῃ κακός, μέρη  
 τῆς χώρας ἐκατέρου παρελόμενος τούτοις αὐτὴν  
 95 ἔδωρήσατο. δίδωσι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου  
 ποταμοῦ πόλεις ἄχρις Αἰγύπτου χωρὶς Τύρου καὶ  
 Σιδῶνος, ἐκ προγόνων εἰδὼς ἐλευθέρως, πολλὰ  
 λιπαρούσης αὐτῆς αὐτῆ<sup>2</sup> δοθῆναι.
- 96 (2) Τούτων ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τυχούσα καὶ παρα-  
 πέμψασα μέχρις Εὐφράτου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ' Ἀρ-  
 μενίαν στρατευόμενον ἀνέστρεφε καὶ γίνεται μὲν  
 ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ καὶ Δαμασκῶ, παρῆλθε δὲ καὶ εἰς  
 τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Ἡρώδου συντυχόντος αὐτῆ καὶ τῆς  
 τε Ἀραβίας τὰ δοθέντα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὴν Ἰερι-  
 χοῦντα προσόδους μισθωσαμένου<sup>3</sup>. φέρει δ' ἡ χώρα  
 τὸ βάλσαμον,<sup>4</sup> ὃ τιμιώτατον τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ παρὰ  
 μόνοις φύεται, τὸν τε φοίνικα πολὺν καὶ καλόν.
- 97 ἐν τούτοις οὐσα καὶ πλείονος αὐτῆ συνηθείας πρὸς  
 τὸν Ἡρώδη γινομένης διεπείραζεν εἰς συνουσίαν  
 ἐλθεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ, φύσει μὲν ἀπαρακαλύπτως ταῖς  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἡδοναῖς χρωμένη, τάχα δέ τι καὶ παθοῦσα

<sup>1</sup> τοσοῦδε LAMWE.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς om. LVW : αὐτῆ om. PF Exc.

<sup>3</sup> E Lat. : Ἡρώδου μισθωσαμένου codd.

<sup>4</sup> ὀποβάλσαμον (ex Ant. xiv. 54) con. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of Herod and Malchus.

<sup>b</sup> The cities on the sea-coast of Phoenicia and Palestine.

<sup>c</sup> On these grants and those mentioned above, in § 79, see Momigliano, *Ricerche*, pp. 349-350.



being under the influence of drugs. The openness of her wrongdoing, however, made him feel ashamed and kept him from being so obliging as to commit the most serious crimes. And so, in order not to refuse her altogether or openly to appear wicked by carrying out all her orders, he took away some parts of either's <sup>a</sup> territory and presented them to her. He also gave her the cities between the Eleutherus River and Egypt <sup>b</sup> with the exception of Tyre and Sidon, which he knew to have been free from the time of their ancestors, although she earnestly pleaded that they be given to her. <sup>c</sup>

(2) After obtaining these grants and escorting Antony as far as the Euphrates on his expedition against Armenia, <sup>d</sup> Cleopatra returned and stopped in Apamea and Damascus. She then went on to Judaea, where Herod met her and leased from her those parts of Arabia that had been given to her and also the revenues of the region about Jericho. <sup>e</sup> This country bears balsam, which is the most precious thing there and grows there alone, <sup>f</sup> and also palm trees, which are both numerous and excellent. <sup>g</sup> Being in this situation and having Herod's company very often, Cleopatra attempted to have sexual relations with the king, for she was by nature used to enjoying this kind of pleasure without disguise. Per-

The concealed enmity between Cleopatra and Herod.

<sup>d</sup> In *B.J.* i. 362 Josephus writes "against the Parthians." The expedition actually ended with the capture of the Armenian king, see below.

<sup>e</sup> The payment was two hundred talents annually, according to *B.J.* i. 362 and *Ant.* xv. 132.

<sup>f</sup> In *Ant.* ix. 7 Josephus says that balsam also grows at En-gedi, on the W. shore of the Dead Sea.

<sup>g</sup> On the products of Jericho see *Ant.* xiv. 54 and the detailed account in *B.J.* iv. 459-475. The ancient Testimonia are given by Schürer, *GJV* i. 380 note 37.

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἢ καὶ τὸ πιθανώτερον ἀρχὴν  
 ἐνέδρας τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ γενησομένην ὕβριν ὑποκατα-  
 σκευάζουσα· τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας ἠττήσθαι<sup>1</sup>  
 98 διέφαινε. Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν οὐκ εὖνους  
 ἦν τῇ Κλεοπάτρα, χαλεπὴν εἰς ἅπαντας ἐπιστά-  
 μενος, τότε δὲ καὶ μισεῖν ἀξιῶν εἰ δι' ἀσέλγειαν εἰς  
 τοῦτο πρόεισιν, καὶ φθῆναι τιμωρούμενος, εἰ ἐν-  
 εδρεύουσα<sup>2</sup> τοιούτοις ἐγχειροίη, τοὺς μὲν λόγους  
 αὐτῆς διεκρούσατο, βουλὴν δ' ἐποιήσατο σὺν τοῖς  
 99 φίλοις ὑποχείριον ἔχων ἀποκτεῖναι· πολλῶν γὰρ  
 ἀπαλλάξειν κακῶν ἅπαντας οἷς ἐγένετό τε ἤδη  
 χαλεπὴ καὶ προσεδοκάτο· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ  
 Ἄντωνίω λυσιτελήσειν οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ πιστῆς ἐσο-  
 μένης, εἴ τις αὐτὸν καιρὸς ἢ χρεῖα κατάσχοι  
 100 τοιούτων δεησόμενον. ταῦτα βουλευόμενον<sup>3</sup> ἐκώ-  
 λυον οἱ φίλοι, πρῶτον μὲν διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐκ  
 ἄξιον μείζω πράττοντα κινδύνων τὸν φανερώτατον  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἐγκείμενοι δὲ καὶ δεόμενοι μηδὲν ἐκ  
 101 προπετείας ἐπιτηδεύειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν<sup>4</sup> ἀνασχέσθαι τὸν  
 Ἄντωνιον, οὐδ' εἰ σφόδρα τις αὐτῷ τὸ συμφέρον  
 στήσειε πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων· τὸν τε γὰρ ἔρωτα  
 μᾶλλον ὑπεκκαύσειν τὸ δοκεῖν βία καὶ κατ' ἐπι-  
 βουλὴν αὐτῆς<sup>5</sup> στέρεσθαι, μέτριόν τε<sup>6</sup> οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν  
 ἀπολογίαν φανείσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ἐπιχειρήματος εἰς

<sup>1</sup> ἠττᾶσθαι PFV.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker (ex Lat. vid.): συνεδρεύουσα codd.

<sup>3</sup> βουλόμενον FLVW.

<sup>4</sup> ἂν Exc. Bekker: om. codd.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτὸν αὐτῆς ex Lat. ed. pr.

<sup>6</sup> δὲ P.

haps, too, she really felt some measure of passion for him or, what is more probable, she was secretly arranging that any violence which might be done her should be the beginning of a trap for him. In short, she gave the appearance of being overcome by desire. But Herod had for a long while been far from friendly to Cleopatra, knowing how vicious she was to everyone, and at this time he had reason to think her particularly contemptible if it was through lust that she went so far; and if she was making such advances in order to trap him,<sup>a</sup> he would have to hurt her before she could hurt him. He therefore evaded<sup>b</sup> her proposals and took counsel with his friends whether he should kill her while he had her in his power. In this way, he said, he would rid of many evils all those to whom she had already been vicious or was likely to be in future. At the same time, he argued, this would be a boon to Antony, for not even to him would she show loyalty if some occasion or need should compel him to ask for it. But his friends prevented him from acting upon this plan. In the first place they pointed out that it was not worth his while to incur the very obvious danger of this serious step, and they also urgently begged him not to act impulsively. Antony, they said, would not tolerate such action even though one were to place its advantages before his very eyes; for one thing, his love would flame up the more fiercely if he thought that she had been taken from him by violence and treachery, and, for another, no excuse could appear reasonable for making an attempt

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly emended.

<sup>b</sup> Hudson, Whiston and Chamouard render *διεκρούσατο* as "rejected" or the like, but this meaning seems not to be attested.

- γυναῖκα γεγενημένου μέγιστον ἀξίωμα τῶν κατ'  
 ἐκείνον ἐσχηκυῖαν τὸν χρόνον, τῆς δ' ὠφελείας, εἰ  
 καὶ ταύτην τις οἰηθείη, σὺν αὐθαδείᾳ καὶ κατα-  
 102 γνώσει τῆς ἐκείνου διαθέσεως φανουμένης. ἔξ ὧν  
 οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς μεγάλων καὶ ἀπαύστων<sup>1</sup> κακῶν  
 ἀναπλησθήσεται τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶ καὶ τὸ  
 γένος, ἔξ ὃν ἀποκρουσάμενον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν εἰς ἣν  
 ἐκείνη παρακαλεῖ, θέσθαι τὸν καιρὸν εὐσχημόνως.  
 103 τοιαῦτα δεδιττόμενοι καὶ τὸ κινδυνῶδες ἔξ εἰκότος  
 παραδηλοῦντες ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. ὁ  
 δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δωρεαῖς θεραπεύσας ἐπ' Αἰγύ-  
 πτου προὔπεμψεν.  
 104 (3) Ἀντώνιος δὲ<sup>2</sup> τὴν Ἀρμενίαν λαβών,<sup>3</sup> Ἀρτα-  
 βάξην τὸν Τιγράνου σὺν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ<sup>4</sup> σατράπαις  
 δέσμιον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποπέμπει, δωρούμενος τού-  
 τοις τὴν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ τῶ παντὶ κόσμῳ τῆς  
 105 βασιλείας ὃν ἔξ αὐτῆς ἔλαβεν. Ἀρμενίας δ'  
 ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρταξίας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἐκείνου  
 παίδων, διαδρὰς ἐν τῶ τότε. καὶ τοῦτον Ἀρχέλαος  
 καὶ Νέρων Καῖσαρ ἐκβαλόντες Τιγράνην τὸν νεώ-  
 τερον ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγον. ταῦτα  
 μὲν οὖν ἐν ὑστέρῳ.  
 106 (4) Περὶ δὲ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ἔδει τελεῖν τῆς ὑπ'

<sup>1</sup> ἀπάντων PFV.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν οὖν E.

<sup>3</sup> ἀναλαβών PF: καταλαβών V: παραλαβών E: cepisset  
Lat.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ WE: om. rell.

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

<sup>b</sup> In the latter half of 34 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> Also known as Artavasdes (*Artarazd*), the third Armenian king of that name. In *B.J.* i. 363 Josephus (or his source) calls him a "Parthian," evidently confusing him with Artavasdes, king of Media, against whom the Armenian

against a woman who held the greatest position of those living at that time. As for the benefit from it, if any such might be thought to exist, it would be viewed together with his reckless disregard of Antony's attitude. Such a course, it was not hard to see, would bring a host of unending <sup>a</sup> evils upon his throne and his family. Moreover, it lay open to him to avoid the sin to which she was inviting him and to deal with the situation in a respectable way. By frightening him with such arguments and making plain to him the danger which would probably result from his attempt, they kept him from carrying it out. Instead, he courted Cleopatra with gifts and escorted her on the way to Egypt.

(3) When Antony had seized Armenia,<sup>b</sup> he sent off Artabazes,<sup>c</sup> the son of Tigranes, a prisoner to Egypt with his sons and satraps, making Cleopatra a present of them and of all the trappings which he had captured with their kingdom. And Artabazes' eldest son Artaxias,<sup>d</sup> who had escaped at the time, became king of Armenia. Then Archelaus<sup>e</sup> and Nero Caesar<sup>f</sup> expelled him and restored his younger brother Tigranes<sup>g</sup> to the throne. But these things happened later.

Antony in Armenia.

(4) As for the tribute which he had to pay Cleopatra, Herod pays Artavasdes had earlier fought as an ally of Antony, whom he later deserted.

<sup>a</sup> Or Artaxes (II).

<sup>c</sup> King of Cappadocia, who received Lesser Armenia as his territory. See Debevoise, p. 141.

<sup>f</sup> Tiberius Claudius Nero, the future emperor Tiberius, who had been sent by Augustus to restore order after the Armenians had killed Artaxes. Josephus is thus inaccurate in saying that Archelaus and Tiberius expelled him.

<sup>g</sup> Tigranes III, who died soon afterward. See De Morgan, p. 89.

Ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ἔθνεϊ, ὁ μὲν Ἑρῳδῆς δίκαιος ἦν, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἠγοούμενος διδόναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ  
 107 μίσους αἰτίαν. ὁ δ' Ἄραβ' Ἑρῳδοῦ τὴν φορὰν ἐπιδειξαμένου<sup>1</sup> χρόνον μὲν τινα παρείχεν ἐκείνῳ τὰ διακόσια τάλαντα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ κακοθήτης ἦν καὶ βραδὺς εἰς τὰς ἀποδόσεις, καὶ μόλις εἰ καὶ μέρη τινὰ διαλύσειεν οὐδὲ ταῦτα διδόναι δοκῶν ἀζημίως.

108 (v. 1) Ἑρῳδῆς δέ, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀγνωμονοῦντος καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν δικαίων ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντος, εἶχε μὲν ὡς ἐπεξελευσόμενος,<sup>2</sup> προθεσμίᾳ δὲ ἐχρήσατο τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ πολέμῳ.  
 109 τῆς γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης προσδοκωμένης, ἣν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδος γενέσθαι συνέβη, Καῖσαρ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ τῶν ὄλων ἔμελλεν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι πραγμάτων, Ἑρῳδῆς δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας εὐβοτουμένης αὐτῷ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ προσόδων καὶ δυνάμεων<sup>3</sup> εὐρημένων,<sup>4</sup> Ἀντωνίῳ συμμαχίαν κατέλεξεν, ἐπι-  
 110 μελέστατα<sup>5</sup> ταῖς παρασκευαῖς χρησάμενος. Ἀντωνῖος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐκείνου συμμαχίας οὐδὲν ἔφη δεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἄραβα (καὶ γὰρ ἠκηκόει παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας τὴν ἀπιστίαν) ἐπεξελεθεῖν προσέταττεν. ἡξίου γὰρ ἢ Κλεοπάτρα ταῦτα,

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιδειξαμένου (-os W) FLAWE : conduxisset Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπελευσόμενος PFVW : persequi Lat.

<sup>3</sup> δυνάμεως P.

<sup>4</sup> ἡξήμένων Bekker : συνειλεγμένων ex Lat. (collectis) con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπιμελεστάταις PFV.

patra for the land given her by Antony, Herod fulfilled his contract, since he thought it would be unsafe to give her any reason to hate him. And the Arab king, for whose payment of the tribute Herod had taken responsibility, continued for some time to send him the two hundred talents, but eventually he became refractory and was slow in making the payments. Indeed, he could hardly be made to settle even some portion of his obligation, and not even that did he see fit to give without withholding part of it.<sup>a</sup>

tribute to Cleopatra.

(v. 1)<sup>b</sup> Since the Arab king<sup>c</sup> was being refractory in this way and finally refused any longer to do what he was rightly supposed to, Herod got ready to march against him but made the Roman war an occasion of delay. As the battle of Actium was expected, which, as it happened, took place in the hundred and eighty-seventh Olympiad,<sup>d</sup> when Caesar was to contest with Antony for the empire of the world, Herod, whose country had been yielding him rich crops for a long time, having procured revenues and resources, enrolled an auxiliary force for Antony and furnished it with the most carefully chosen equipment. Antony, however, said that he had no need of his help and ordered him to march against the Arab king, of whose disloyalty he had heard from both Herod and Cleopatra. Now Cleo-

At Antony's order Herod attacks the Arabs, and is defeated.

<sup>a</sup> More literally "without causing loss" (*cf. Ant. xv. 120*). Thackeray (*Lexicon*) suggests "without fraud."

<sup>b</sup> §§ 108-160 are parallel to *B.J. i. 364-385*.

<sup>c</sup> The Nabataean Arab king Malchus (Malichus) I, see *Ant. xiv. 370*; see also Jean Starcky, "The Nabataeans," *Biblical Archaeologist*, 18 (1955), 93.

<sup>d</sup> This began in July, 32 B.C. The battle of Actium took place on Sept. 2, 31 B.C.

λυσιτελεῖν αὐτῇ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ θατέρου κακῶς  
 111 πάσχειν ἡγουμένη. τούτων αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀντωνίου  
 λεχθέντων, ὑποστρέψας Ἡρώδης συνεῖχε τὸ στρα-  
 τιωτικὸν ὡς εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλῶν<sup>1</sup>. καὶ  
 παρασκευασθέντος ἱππικοῦ καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως εἰς  
 Διόσπολιν ἀφικνεῖται, τῶν Ἀράβων ἐκεῖ συναν-  
 τάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐλελήθει τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον  
 αὐτοῦς· καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐκράτησαν  
 112 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλὴ στρατιὰ τῶν  
 Ἀράβων εἰς Κάνατα<sup>2</sup> συνήει· χωρία δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα  
 τῆς κοίλης Συρίας· Ἡρώδης δὲ προπεπυσμένος ἦκεν  
 ἄγων ἐπ' αὐτοῦς τὸ πλεῖστον ἧς εἶχεν δυνάμεως,  
 καὶ πλησιάσας ἐν καλῷ<sup>3</sup> στρατοπεδεύεσθαι διεγνώ-  
 κει, χάρακά τε βαλόμενος ἐξ εὐκαίρου ταῖς μάχαις  
 113 ἐπιχειρεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ διατάττοντος, ἐβόα τὸ  
 πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρελόμενον τῆς τριβῆς  
 ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας· ὄρμητο δὲ καὶ τῷ συν-  
 τετάχθαι πιστεύειν καλῶς, καὶ ταῖς προθυμίαις  
 ἄμεινον ἐχόντων ὅσοι τὴν πρώτην μάχην νενική-  
 κεσαν, οὐδ' εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέψαντες<sup>4</sup> τοῖς  
 114 ἐναντίοις.<sup>5</sup> θορυβούντων οὖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιδεικνυ-

<sup>1</sup> sequuntur verba εἴρηται δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου πολέμου καὶ τῆς νίκης Ἡρώδου ἐν ἐτέρᾳ ἡμῶν πραγματεία σαφέστερον in cod. V, in quo desunt reliqua usque ad § 161.

<sup>2</sup> Kanā LAMW Lat. : Κάναθα B.J. i. 366.

<sup>3</sup> Kanā LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιτρέφοντες Naber.

<sup>5</sup> πολεμίοις LAMW.

<sup>a</sup> That Josephus' source meant the city of Dion (Δῖον πόλιν)  
 310



patra had requested this, thinking that it would be to her profit if either of the two kings were to be weakened by the other. When this order came to him from Antony, Herod turned back and kept his army together with the intention of invading Arabia immediately. And after equipping a force of cavalry and infantry, he came to Diospolis,<sup>a</sup> where the Arabs met him, for his war-measures had not escaped their notice. A fierce battle took place, and the Jews were victorious. But afterwards a large army of Arabs gathered at Kanata,<sup>b</sup> which is a region in Coele Syria,<sup>c</sup> and Herod, who had been informed of this in advance, came to meet them with the largest part of his force. When he drew near them, he decided to camp in a favourable spot<sup>b</sup> and to put up a palisade as a vantage-point from which to make his attack. But as he was arranging this, the multitude of Jews clamoured for him to end the delay and lead them against the Arabs. What spurred them on was their confidence in being well organized; and the most eager of them were those who had been victorious in the first battle and had not even allowed their adversaries to fight hand to hand. Because of the uproar and the great zeal which they

is suggested by Reinach, *ad loc.*, and Abel, *HP* i. 354 note 2. It lay about halfway between the Lake of Galilee and the place mentioned below.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "Kana." Reinach and Abel (*loc. cit.*) suggest that Kanatha (mod. *Qanawat*), about 15 miles E. by N. of Kanata (mod. *Kerak*) in the Hauran region, is meant. Schürer, ii. 129-134, and Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 762, doubt that Kanata-Kerak was distinct from Kanatha-Qanawat but D. Sourdel, *Les Cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine* (Paris, 1952), pp. 13-14, seems to distinguish the former as a *kōmē* from the latter as a *polis*.

<sup>c</sup> Here meaning Transjordan, see *Ant.* xi. 25 note a.

- μένων σπουδῆν, ἔγνω τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποχρήσασθαι, καὶ προειπὼν ὡς οὐ λείψεται τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς, πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἠγγήσατο, πάντων κατ' οἰκεία τέλη συνακολουθη-
- 115 σάντων. ἔκπληξις δ' εὐθύς ἐμπίπτει τοῖς "Αραψιν· ἀντιστάντες γὰρ εἰς ὀλίγον, ὡς ἑώρων ἀμάχους ὄντας καὶ μεστοὺς φρονήματος, ἔφευγον<sup>1</sup> οἱ πλείους ἐγκλίναντες<sup>2</sup>. κὰν διεφθάρησαν, Ἰαθηνίωνοσ μὴ
- 116 κακώσαντοσ Ἡρώδην καὶ τοὺσ Ἰουδαίουσ. οὗτοσ γὰρ ὢν στρατηγὸσ μὲν Κλεοπάτρασ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ, διάφοροσ δὲ Ἡρώδῃ, τὸ μέλλον οὐκ ἀπαράσκευοσ<sup>3</sup> ἐσκόπει, δρασαντων μὲν τι λαμπρὸν τῶν Ἀράβων ἐγνωκῶσ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἡττωμένων δέ, ὁ καὶ συνέβῃ, τοῖσ ἀπὸ τῆσ χώρασ συνελλυθόσι τῶν οἰκείων παρεσκευασμένος ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖσ Ἰου-
- 117 δαίοισ. καὶ τότε κεκμηκόσι τε καὶ νικᾶν οἰομένοισ ἀπροσδοκήτωσ ἐπιπεσῶν πολὺν ἐποἶει φόνον· τὰσ τε γὰρ προθυμίας εἰσ τοὺσ ὁμολογουμένωσ<sup>4</sup> ἐχθροὺσ ἐκδαπανήσαντεσ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ τῷ νικᾶν ἐπ' ἀδείας χρώμενοι, ταχὺ τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων ἡττωντο, καὶ πολλὰς ἐλάμβανον πληγὰσ ἐν χωρίοισ ἀφίπποισ καὶ πετρώδεσιν, ὢν πλείω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν
- 118 εἶχον οἱ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιησάμενοι. κακῶσ δὲ πασχόντων οἱ τε "Αραβεσ αὐτοὺσ ἀνειλήφεσαν καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέψαντεσ ἔκτεινον ἡδῃ τετραμμένουσ, ἐγένοντό τε παντοδαπαὶ κτιννυμένων ἀπώλειαι, καὶ τῶν διαπιπτόντων οὐ πολλοὶ συνέφυγον<sup>5</sup> εἰσ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ἔφυγον FW.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: ἐκκλίναντεσ codd.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: ἀπαρασκεύωσ codd.

<sup>4</sup> Naber: ὁμολογουμένουσ codd.

<sup>5</sup> συνέφυγον PF.

showed, the king decided to exploit the eagerness of his men, and after telling them that he would not be outdone by them in manly fighting, he armed himself and led them out, all of them following in their appropriate positions. Consternation quickly seized the Arabs, for after a brief resistance they saw that the Jews were unbeatable and full of spirit, and so most of them avoided battle and fled. And they would have been destroyed if Athenion had not attacked Herod and the Jews. He was one of Cleopatra's generals, in charge of her forces there, and was at odds with Herod. As he watched the action, he was not unprepared for its outcome, for he had made up his mind to remain inactive if the Arabs performed brilliantly, but if they were defeated, as they actually were, to attack the Jews with a force of his own that he had prepared from the natives of the region who had joined him. He then unexpectedly fell upon the Jews, who were weary and imagined themselves victorious, and he slaughtered a great many of them.<sup>a</sup> For since the Jews had spent all their ardour on their declared enemies and were enjoying their victory without thought of danger, they were quickly beaten by their assailants and suffered great losses on ground which was stony and unsuitable for horses and more familiar to those who attacked them.<sup>b</sup> And while the Jews were in this bad situation, the Arabs regained confidence, returned and killed them after their rout. The Jews therefore suffered death in various forms, and only a few of those who escaped

<sup>a</sup> At Ormiza, according to *B.J.* i. 368. The location is unknown.

<sup>b</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 369, this calamity was brought upon Herod "by the insubordination of his officers."

- 119 στρατόπεδον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἀπεγνωκῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ἀφιππάζεται βοήθειαν ἄξων· οὐ μὴν ἔφθη καίπερ ἐσπουδακῶς ἐπαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἦλω τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ δ' Ἄραβες οὐδὲ μετρίως εὐτυχήκεσαν, ἐκ παραλόγου νίκην τε ἧς πλείστον ἀπεδέησαν ἀνειληφότες<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολλὴν
- 120 τῶν ἐναντίων ἀφηρημένοι δύναμιν. τὸν τεύθειν ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης ληστείαις ἐχρήτο καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κατατρέχων τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἐκάκου ταῖς ἐπιδρομαῖς,<sup>2</sup> στρατοπεδεύομενος ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐξίστατο κατὰ τοῦμφανὲς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ἀζήμιος δὲ γινόμενος τῇ συνεχείᾳ καὶ τῷ φιλοπόνῳ<sup>4</sup> τῶν<sup>5</sup> οἰκείων ἐπεμελεῖτο, παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸ πταῖσμα διορθούμενος.
- 121 (2) Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης συνεσταμένης Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐβδόμου δ' ὄντος Ἡρώδη τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους, σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἐδόκει, τῶν ἐν τῇ
- 122 χώρα κτηνῶν πολὺν φθόρον<sup>6</sup> ἐποίησεν. ἐφθάρησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ ταῖς πεπτωκυῖαις οἰκίαις περὶ τρισμυρίους<sup>7</sup>. τὸ μέντοι στρατιωτικὸν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ἀντειληφότες LAM : obtinuerunt Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ταῖς ἐπιδρομαῖς om. M.

<sup>3</sup> ὄρων LW : ὄρων Niese : montes Lat.

<sup>4</sup> post φιλοπόνῳ lacunam stat. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> τῶν Bekker : τῶν τε codd.

<sup>6</sup> φόρον P : φόνον FE : φθορὰν Hudson.

<sup>7</sup> decem milia Lat. : μυρίους ed. pr.

<sup>a</sup> Reckoning from the effective beginning of Herod's reign in 37 B.C., see *Ant.* xv. 63 note a.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently the earthquake occurred in the spring of 31 B.C., several months before the battle of Actium in September of that year. But it is dated in the spring of 30 B.C.

found shelter in their camp. Then King Herod in despair of the outcome of the battle rode off to get aid but in spite of his haste he was not quick enough in bringing help, and the Jews' camp was taken. But the Arabs were exceedingly fortunate in winning so unexpected a victory and one which had been far from their grasp, and in destroying a large part of the enemy's force. From then on Herod resorted to brigandage and overran many parts of the Arabs' territory, which he damaged in his raids. Camping in the mountains and always avoiding open battle, he still did considerable damage by his incessant and energetic movements, and he was also very careful of his own men, using every means to make good his losses.

(2) Meanwhile the battle of Actium took place between Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of Herod's reign,<sup>a</sup> and there was an earthquake in Judaea, such as had not been seen before, which caused great destruction of the cattle throughout the country.<sup>b</sup> And about thirty thousand persons also perished in the ruins of their houses, but the army, which lived

The earthquake in Judaea. Herod decides to address the people.

by Schwartz, *apud* Otto, p. 49, and the same date is assumed by Judah Goldin, *Journal of Religion*, 26 (1946), 270, who believes that it influenced Hillel in ruling that the paschal lamb may be offered on the Sabbath, whereas the priests feared that the people could not afford it during a Sabbatical year, since Goldin further assumes that a Sabbatical year had begun in the autumn of 31 B.C. If, however, the reckoning of Sabbatical years adopted in this translation is correct (see *Ant.* xii. 278 note a, xiii. 234 note b, xiv. 475 note a), the Sabbatical year in question began in the autumn of 30 B.C. For the archaeological evidence of this earthquake at the site of the Essene settlement near the Dead Sea in Wady Qumran see James Kelso, "The Archaeology of Qumran," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 74 (1955), 141-147.

## JOSEPHUS

- 123 ὑπαίθρῳ διαιτώμενον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους κατ-  
 εβλάβη. ταῦτα πυνθανομένοις τοῖς Ἰσραηλῶσι, καὶ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐξαγγελλόντων αὐτοῖς ὅσοι  
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων λόγους τῷ μίσει τῶν  
 ἀκουσομένων ἐχαρίζοντο, μείζον ἐπήγει φρονεῖν, ὡς  
 τῆς τε χώρας ἀνατετραμμένης τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ  
 διεφθορότων τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν ἔτι μηδ' εἰς  
 124 αὐτοὺς ἀντίπαλον καταλελειφθαι δοκεῖν. καὶ τῶν  
 τε Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρέσβεις (ἦκον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 γεγενημένοις εἰρήνην ποιησόμενοι<sup>1</sup>) συλλαβόντες  
 ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐχώρουν  
 125 ἐπὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν αὐτῶν. οἱ δ' οὔτε τὴν ἔφοδον  
 ἐξεδέξαντο καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀθύμως δια-  
 κείμενοι προῖεντο τὰ πράγματα, πλεῖστον ἀπογνώ-  
 σεως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πεπονθότες· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὔτε  
 ἰσοτιμίας ἐλπίς προηττημένοις ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οὔτε  
 βοηθείας κεκακωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν οἴκοι πραγ-  
 126 μάτων. οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων ἐπήγγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 λόγῳ τε πείθων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ πειρώμενος  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτῶν πεπτωκότα τὰ φρονήματα.  
 προδιακινήσας δὲ καὶ παραθαρρύνας τινὰς τῶν  
 ἀμεινόνων, ἐτόλμησεν ἤδη καὶ τῷ πλήθει διαλέγε-  
 σθαι, πρότερον ὀκνῶν αὐτό, μὴ καὶ χαλεπῶ<sup>2</sup> χρή-  
 σῃται διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας. παρεκάλει δὲ τοιοῦτους  
 ποιούμενος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον τοὺς λόγους·  
 127 (3) " Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν,<sup>3</sup> ὧ<sup>4</sup> ἄνδρες, ὅτι πολλὰ

<sup>1</sup> εἰρήνην ποιησόμενοι om. L.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: χαλεπῶς codd. et ut vid. Lat.: χαλεποῖς Cocceji.

<sup>3</sup> ἀγνοῶμεν PFL<sup>1</sup>W.

<sup>4</sup> ὧ om. PF.

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<sup>a</sup> Herod's speech here, §§ 127-146, reads differently from that in *B.J.* i. 373-379, of which Thackeray notes *ad loc.* that

in the open, was not at all harmed by this calamity. When the Arabs learned of it—what had happened had been reported in a form that went beyond the truth by some persons who tried to please their hearers in their hatred (of the Jews)—, they became over-confident in the belief that the enemy's land was in ruins and his men destroyed, for now, they thought, there was no longer anything to stand against them. And they seized and killed the envoys of the Jews, who had come to make peace with them as a result of these events, and with great eagerness they marched against their camp. The Jews did not withstand their attack, for they were discouraged by their misfortunes and gave up their cause as lost. And they were in the greatest despair, since they had no hope either of getting to be on equal terms after their defeats in earlier battles or of getting help (from abroad) with their affairs at home in such bad condition. In this state of things the king tried to give his commanders confidence in a speech and sought to raise their fallen spirits. Having first made an impression upon some of the better men and given them courage, he then ventured to address the majority, which he had hesitated to do before in the fear of finding them recalcitrant because of their reverses. And so he exhorted the masses, speaking in these terms.

(3)<sup>a</sup> “ I am not unaware, men, that during this time Herod encourages his troops.

in some respects it recalls Pericles' speech in Thucydides ii. 60 ff. The present version also contains Thucydidean echoes (esp. from ii. 45 ff., 51 ff.), such as *φόρον ἐποίησεν* in § 121, *ἀθύμως . . . προΐεντο* in § 125, *οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον* in § 134 (*cf.* Thuc. i. 32) and *τὸ εὐβουχον* in § 141. Both versions, however, contain the same general themes of hope for victory with God's help and condemnation of the Arabs' barbarity.

- παρὰ<sup>1</sup> τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν γεγένηται πρὸς τὰς πράξεις  
 ἡμῖν ἐναντιώματα, καὶ θαρρεῖν εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τοι-  
 οῦτοις οὐδὲ τοὺς πλείστον ἀνδραγαθία διενηνοχότας.  
 128 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ κατεπείγει τὸ<sup>2</sup> πολεμεῖν, καὶ τῶν  
 γεγονότων οὐδέν ἐστιν τοιοῦτον ὃ μὴ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου  
 καλῶς πραχθέντος ἐπανορθώσεται,<sup>3</sup> παρακαλέσαι  
 προειλόμην ὑμᾶς ἅμα καὶ διδάξαι δι' ὧν ἂν ἐμμί-  
 129 ναίτε<sup>4</sup> τοῖς οἰκείοις φρονήμασιν. βούλομαι δὲ πρῶ-  
 τον μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὡς δικαίως αὐτὸ  
 ποιούμεν ἐπιδειῖξαι, διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τῶν ἐναντίων  
 ἠναγκασμένοι· μέγιστον γάρ, εἰ μάθοιτε τοῦτο,  
 προθυμίας αἴτιον ὑμῖν ἔσται· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δεῖξαι  
 διότι καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν δεινὸν<sup>5</sup> οὐδέν ἐστιν καὶ  
 130 πλείστας εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἔχομεν τὰς ἐλπίδας. ἄρξομαι  
 δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου, μάρτυρας ὑμᾶς ποιούμενος ὧν  
 λέγω· τὴν γὰρ τῶν Ἀράβων παρανομίαν ἴστε μὲν  
 δήπου, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οὕτως  
 ἀπίστως διακειμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς ἔχει τὸ βάρβαρον  
 καὶ ἀνεπνόητον θεοῦ· πλείστα μέντοι προσέκρουσαν  
 ἡμῖν πλεονεξία καὶ φθόνω, καὶ ταῖς ταραχαῖς  
 131 ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐξ ὑπογύου. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί δεῖ  
 λέγειν; ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύοντας αὐτοὺς τῆς οἰκείας  
 ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ δουλεύειν Κλεοπάτρα τίνες  
 ἄλλοι τοῦ δέους ἀπήλλαξαν; ἢ γὰρ ἐμὴ πρὸς  
 Ἀντώνιον φιλία κακείνου πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάθεσις αἰτία  
 γεγένηται μηδὲ τούτους ἀνήκεστόν τι παθεῖν,  
 φυλαττομένου τάνδρὸς μηδὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν ὃ δύναιτ'  
 132 ἂν ὑποπτον ἡμῖν γενέσθαι. βουλευθέντος δὲ ὅμως  
 Κλεοπάτρα μέρη τινὰ παρασχεῖν ἀφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Naber : περὶ codd. : per Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τε P.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπανορθώσετε ed. pr.



we have met many obstacles in our undertakings, and in such circumstances it is not likely that even men of superior prowess will keep up their courage. But since we are pressed to fight and nothing that has happened is so bad that it cannot be made good by one action well performed, I propose to encourage you and at the same time show you how you can keep your proper spirit. But first I wish to speak of the war and to prove that we are justly fighting one into which we have been forced by the outrageous acts of our opponents, for if you understand this, it will be the greatest cause of zeal on your part. Next I wish to point out that there is nothing to fear in our situation and that we have every reason to hope for victory. I will begin with the first point and make you the witnesses of what I say, for you surely know how lawless the Arabs are and how faithlessly they also deal with all other nations, as is to be expected of a barbarous people without any conception of God. But it is chiefly with us that they have come into conflict because of their greed and envy, biding their time so as to take sudden advantage of our confusion. But why should I speak at length? I need only ask who (but we) freed them from fear when they were in danger of losing their autonomy and becoming slaves of Cleopatra. For it was my friendship with Antony and his goodwill toward us that were the reason why these Arabs did not suffer irreparable harm, since Antony was careful not to take any measure that might seem suspect to us. When, however, it was his wish to present certain parts of both our dominions to Cleopatra, it was I

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf: ἐμμείνετε aut ἐμμένητε codd.

<sup>5</sup> δεινῶν LAMW et ut vid. Lat.

ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦτο διωκησάμην ἐγώ, καὶ πολλὰ δῶρα  
 δούς ἰδία τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς ἀμφοτέροις ἐπορισάμην,  
 τὰς δὲ δαπάνας αὐτὸς ἀνέλαβον, διακόσια μὲν δούς<sup>1</sup>  
 τάλαντα, διακοσίων δ' ἐγγυητῆς γενόμενος, ἃ τῇ  
 μὲν<sup>2</sup> προσοδομενῆ γέγονεν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπὸ τούτων  
 133 ἀπεστερήμεθα. καίτοι γε ἄξιον ἦν μηδενὶ τῶν  
 ὄντων Ἰουδαίους φόρον ἢ τῆς χώρας ἀπόμοιραν τε-  
 λεῖν, εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ γε τούτων οὐς αὐτοὶ  
 σεσώκαμεν, οὐδὲ τοὺς Ἄραβας ὁμολογήσαντας  
 μετὰ πολλῆς<sup>3</sup> ἐντεύξεως καὶ χάριτος ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ἐδόκουν τυγχάνειν ἀδικεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀποστεροῦντας,  
 134 καὶ ταῦτα οὐ πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀλλὰ φίλους.<sup>4</sup> ὥς  
 ἦ γε πίστις ἔχουσα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους  
 τόπον τοῖς γε φίλοις ἀναγκαιοτάτη τητηρῆσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τούτοις, οἳ τὸ μὲν κερδαίνειν ἐκ  
 παντὸς τρόπου κάλλιστον ὑπειλήφασιν, τὸ δ'  
 ἀδικεῖν<sup>5</sup> οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον, εἰ μόνον κερδαίνειν δυνη-  
 135 θεῖεν. ἔστιν οὖν ἔτι ζήτησις<sup>6</sup> ὑμῖν εἰ δεῖ τοὺς  
 ἀδίκους τιμωρῆσασθαι, τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλο-  
 μένου καὶ παραγγέλλοντος ἀεὶ μισεῖν τὴν ὕβριν  
 καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον δίκαιον ἀλλὰ  
 136 καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πόλεμον ἐπεξιόντων; ἃ γὰρ ὁμο-  
 λογεῖται παρανομώτατα τοῖς τε Ἑλλησιν καὶ τοῖς  
 βαρβάροις, ταῦτα ἔπραξαν εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους πρέ-  
 σβεις, ἀποσφάζαντες αὐτούς, τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων

<sup>1</sup> διδούς PFLW.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν γῆ LAMW.

<sup>3</sup> μετὰ πολλῆς om. P.

<sup>4</sup> εἰ δ' . . . φίλους] quod etsi praebendum esset pro nobis, non etiam pro Arabis daretur, qui nobis nec gratias agunt; nam pro beneficiis iniqua circa nos egerunt prius quidem quod nos amicos non hostes rediverunt Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ἀδικον P.

<sup>6</sup> ἔτι ζήτησις] ἐπιζήτησις P: quaestio Lat.

<sup>7</sup> καὶ τοῦ νόμου con. Niese.

who managed this too, and by giving him many gifts from my private means, I obtained security for both of us. I myself assumed the costs, giving him two hundred talents and becoming surety for another two hundred, which went toward her revenue, but of this sum we ourselves have been cheated by these Arabs. And yet no one had a right to expect the Jews to pay tribute for their possessions to anyone <sup>a</sup> or to give up a portion of their land. And even if it were, we should at least (not have been expected to pay) on behalf of these men whom we ourselves have saved. Nor should the Arabs, after making a bargain, wrong us by cheating us of a sum which they originally regarded as a concession and favour, <sup>b</sup> especially when we are not their enemies but their friends. For if indeed there is room for good faith even toward one's greatest enemies, it must surely be most necessary to keep faith with one's friends. But that is not the case with these men, who suppose that gain is best and to be got by any means, and that there is no harm in acting unjustly if only gain can be got thereby. Is there then any question in your minds whether we should punish these unjust men, especially when God wishes this and always exhorts us to hate arrogance and injustice, and when, too, we are carrying on a war that is not only just but also necessary? For those things which are admitted by both Greeks and barbarians to be most lawless, these men have done to our envoys and have cut their throats, although the Greeks have declared heralds <sup>c</sup> to be

<sup>a</sup> Or, more literally, "to anyone alive." Nothing is said in *B.J.* about the revenues paid to Cleopatra by Herod.

<sup>b</sup> Text and meaning slightly uncertain.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* when proclaiming a truce in time of war; *cf.* Plato, *Laws* 941 A.

ἱεροῦς καὶ ἀσύλους εἶναι τοὺς κήρυκας φαμένων,  
 ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν δογμάτων καὶ τὰ ὀσιώ-  
 τατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δι' ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 μαθόντων· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἀνθρώποις θεὸν  
 εἰς ἐμφάνειαν ἄγειν<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολεμίους πολεμίους δι-  
 137 ἀλλάττειν δύναται. ποῖον οὖν μείζον ἂν γένοιτο  
 ἀσέβημα ἢ πρέσβεις ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 δικαίου διαλεγομένους; πῶς δ' ἂν ἔτι δύναιντο ἢ  
 περὶ τὸν βίον εὐσταθεῖν ἢ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον  
 εὐτυχεῖν τοιούτων αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένων; ἐμοὶ μὲν  
 138 οὐδαμῶς δοκοῦσιν. ἴσως τοίνυν ἐρεῖ τις,<sup>2</sup> τὸ μὲν  
 ὄσιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἀνδριότεροι δὲ  
 ἢ πλείους ἐκείνοι τετυχήκασιν. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἀνάξιον ὑμῖν ταῦτα λέγειν· μεθ' ὧν γὰρ τὸ δίκαιόν  
 ἐστι μετ' ἐκείνων ὁ θεός, θεοῦ δὲ παρόντος καὶ  
 139 πληθὸς καὶ ἀνδρεία πάρεστιν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τὰ καθ'  
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐξετάσωμεν, ἐνικήσαμεν τῇ πρώτῃ μάχῃ·  
 συμβαλόντες τὴν δευτέραν οὐδὲ ἀντέσχον ἡμῖν, ἀλλ'  
 ἔφυγον εὐθύς, οὐχ ὑπομείναντες τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ τὰ  
 φρονήματα· νικῶσι δ' ἡμῖν Ἀθηνίων ἐπέθετο,  
 140 πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον ἐπάγων. πότερον ἀνδραγαθία  
 τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐκείνων ἢ δευτέρα παρανομία καὶ  
 ἐνέδρα;<sup>3</sup> τί οὖν ἔλαττον φρονοῦμεν ἐφ' οἷς μείζους

<sup>1</sup> ἄγει PFA<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ἐρεῖ τις om. PF Lat.

<sup>3</sup> πότερον . . . ἐνέδρα] πότερον μὲν γὰρ ἀνδραγαθία ἡμῶν ἐνίκησεν, δεύτερον δὲ παρανομία τούτων καὶ ἐνέδρα con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>a</sup> Most scholars take ἀγγελοι here to mean "angels" but it seems to me that the prophets (or priests) are meant, cf. *Ap. i. 37*. Ginzberg, *Legends* vi. 47, is probably right in insisting that "Jos. unmöglich die Gesetzgebung den Engeln

saered and inviolable, and we have learned the noblest of our doctrines and the holiest of our laws from the messengers <sup>a</sup> sent by God. For this name <sup>b</sup> can bring God's presenee to men and reeoneile enemies to one another. What greater impiety, therefore, could there be than to kill envoys who have come to discuss a just settlement? And how can they possibly lead tranquil lives or have good fortune in war when such aets have been eommitted by them? To me it seems impossible. Perhaps, however, someone will say that while godliness and justice are on our side, these others happen to be more eourageous or more numerous. But you have no right to say this in the first plaee, for those who have justiee with them, have God with them, and where God is, there too are both numbers and eourage. Then let us also examine our own situation. We were victorious in the first battle, and in the second eneounter too they failed to make a stand and immediately fled, unable to withstand our attaek and our spirit. But in spite of our victory-Athenion attaeked us and started an undeclared war. Was this manly eourage on their part or a second instanee of lawlessness and treachery? Why, then, do we show less spirit in faee of that

zuschreiben konnte." Note that in the Midrash *Wayyiqra Rabba*, ed. Mordecai Margolies (Jerusalem, 1953), p. 3, Rabbi Yohanan states that "the prophets were called *mal'akim* (= ἄγγελοι)," that Hecataeus of Abdera (*ap. Diodorus* xl. 3) speaks of the high priest as ἄγγελον τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων, and that in the lxx of Malachi ii. 7 the high priest, as interpreter of the Torah, is called ἄγγελον τοῦ κυρίου. See also the recent articles of W. D. Davies, "A Note on Josephus, Antiquities 15. 136," *Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954), 135-140, and Francis R. Walton, "The Messenger of God in Hecataeus of Abdera," *Harvard Theological Review* 48 (1955), 255-257. <sup>b</sup> Of "herald."

## JOSEPHUS

- ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας; πῶς δ' ἂν καταπλαγείημεν  
 τούς, ὅταν μὲν ἐξ ἀληθείας ἀγωνίζωνται, πάντοτε  
 νικωμένους, ὅταν δὲ κρατεῖν νομισθῶσιν ἐξ ἀδικίας  
 141 αὐτὸ ποιοῦντας; πῶς δ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ γενναίους  
 ἡγεῖται τις αὐτούς, οὐ παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον  
 ὀρμηθεῖ; τὸ γὰρ εὐψυχον οὐκ ἐν τῷ τοῖς ἀσθενε-  
 στέροις<sup>1</sup> ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τῶν  
 142 ἰσχυροτέρων κρατεῖν. εἰ δέ τινα καταπλήττει<sup>2</sup> τὰ  
 οἰκεία πάθη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν σεισμόν συμβεβηκότα,  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοηθήτω διότι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς  
 "Αραβας ἐξαπατᾶ, μείζω τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ὑπειληφότας, ἔπειτα ὡς οὐ καλὸν ἐκείνοις τε τόλμης  
 143 καὶ ἡμῖν δειλίας τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι· οἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ οἰκείου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸ εὐψυχον ἔχου-  
 σιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς κάμνοντας ἤδη τοῖς  
 κακοῖς ἐλπίδος, ἡμεῖς δὲ χωρήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτούς  
 παραιρησόμεθα μὲν ἐκείνων τὸ μείζον φρονεῖν, ἀνα-  
 ληψόμεθα δ' αὐτοὶ τὸ μηκέτι θαρροῦσι μάχεσθαι.  
 144 καὶ γὰρ οὔτε κεκακώμεθα τοσοῦτον οὔθ', ὅπερ  
 οἴονταί τινες, ὀργὴν θεοῦ παρέχει τὸ γεγονός, ἀλλὰ  
 ταῦτα συμπτώματα γίνεται καὶ πάθη τινά. καὶ εἰ  
 κατὰ θεοῦ γνώμην πέπρακται, δῆλον ὡς καὶ πέ-  
 παυται κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ἀρκουμένου τοῖς  
 γεγονόσιν· βουλόμενος γὰρ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖν, οὐκ  
 145 ἂν μετεβάλετο. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ὅτι καὶ θέλει τοῦ-

<sup>1</sup> ἀσθενεστάτοις PFLW : debilium Lat.

<sup>2</sup> A marg. : καταπλήττεται LAMW : καταπλήξεται PF : κατ-  
 ἐπληξε Niese.

which ought to give us greater hopes? And how can we possibly be terrified by men who are beaten every time they fight in an honest way, and if they seem to win, achieve this only by unjust means? But even if someone thinks them heroic, how could we possibly fail to be spurred to greater efforts by this very thought? For a stout heart is shown not by attacking those who are weaker but by being able to conquer even those who are stronger. But if any should be terrified by our own sufferings and the effects of the earthquake, he should first of all bear in mind that this very situation is deceiving the Arabs, who have assumed that things are worse than they actually are, and in the second place that it is unseemly that we should be cowardly for the same reason for which they are daring. For these men get their stoutness of heart not from any good quality of their own but merely from the hopes which they base on the belief that we have already been exhausted by our misfortunes, and if we go out against them, we shall take from them their overconfidence and at the same time regain the advantage of fighting against men who have become discouraged. For we have not been so badly hurt nor is what has happened to us a sign of God's wrath, as some believe. These things are only accidents and casual misfortunes; and if they have been inflicted in accordance with God's will, it is clear that they have also come to an end in accordance with His will, after His being satisfied with what has happened. For if He had wished to harm us still more, He would not have changed His mind.<sup>a</sup> That He wishes this war to be carried on

<sup>a</sup> The whole tenor of Herod's speech in *Ant.* is more theological than in *B.J.*

- τον ἐνεργεῖσθαι καὶ δίκαιον οἶδεν, δεδήλωκεν αὐτός· ἐνίων γὰρ ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπολομένων οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἔπαθε τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐσώθητε, φανερόν ποιοῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ διότι κἂν εἰ πανδημεὶ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστρατεύεσθε,<sup>1</sup> περιῆν ἂν ὑμῖν μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον  
 146 παθεῖν. ταῦτα ἐνθυμηθέντες, καὶ τὸ μείζον ὅτι παρὰ πάντα καιρὸν προϋστάμενον ἔχετε τὸν θεόν, ἐπεξέλθετε δικαίαις ἀνδραγαθίαις τοὺς ἀδίκους μὲν πρὸς φιλίαν, ἀσπόνδους δὲ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἀνοσίους δὲ εἰς πρέσβεις, αἰὶ δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἡττημένους.”
- 147 (4) Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολὺ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀμείνους ἐγένοντο<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὴν μάχην. Ἡρώδης δὲ θυσίας κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀναλαβῶν αὐτοὺς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 148 Ἄραβας, διαβὰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμόν. καὶ τῶν μὲν<sup>3</sup> πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύεται πλησίον, ἐδόκει δ’ αὐτῷ φρούριον ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον καταλαβεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν ὠφεληθήσεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θᾶπτον συνάψαι τὴν μάχην, καὶ<sup>4</sup> εἰ παρέλκειν δέοι,  
 149 ἐρυμνὸν αὐτῷ πεπορισμένος τὸ στρατόπεδον. τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων προνοούντων, ἄμιλλα γίνεται περὶ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἦσαν,<sup>5</sup> εἴτ’ ἤδη καὶ πλείους εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχόμενοι παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἔπιπτον,<sup>6</sup> ἕως ἡττηθέντες οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀπεχώρουν.”

<sup>1</sup> ἐστράτευσθε Naber.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγίνοντο PF.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν om. PF.

<sup>4</sup> κἂν LAMW.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἦσαν E : ἀκροβολισμοῖς PF : ἀκροβολισμὸς LAMW.

<sup>6</sup> ἔπιπτον om. PF.



and knows it to be a just one He Himself has made clear, for though numbers of persons throughout the country were killed by the earthquake, no one in the armed forces suffered any harm, and you were all unhurt. Thus God has made it plain that even if you had taken the field in a mass with your children and wives, the net result would have been your escaping irreparable misfortune. Bearing in mind these things and—what is more important—that you have God as your protector at all times, go out with justice and manliness to attack men who are unjust to friendship, truce-violators in battle, sacrilegious toward envoys and always unequal to your prowess.”

(4) After hearing this speech the Jews began to be in much better spirits for the battle. Then Herod performed the customary sacrifices,<sup>a</sup> and moving in haste, led them against the Arabs. Crossing the river Jordan, he encamped near the enemy<sup>b</sup> but thought it wise to seize the fortress that lay between them, for he thought that in this way he would have the advantage, either by joining battle more quickly or, if it should be necessary to postpone it, by having a fortified camp prepared for him. But since the Arabs had the same thing in mind, a contest began for the place. At first there was only skirmishing, but as they closed in, more and more fell on either side until those from the Arab camp were beaten

Herod  
defeats the  
Arabs.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Herod asked the priests of the temple in Jerusalem to offer sacrifice.

<sup>b</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 380, Herod encamped in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia = the biblical Rabbath Ammon and the modern 'Ammān (capital of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan).

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<sup>7</sup> totum hunc locum graviter laborare mon. Niese.

- 150 τοῦτο εὐθὺς εἰς ἐλπίδας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐ μικρὸν ἐγεγόνει.<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> ἐννοούμενος<sup>3</sup> πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μάχην ἰέναι βουλομένην,<sup>4</sup> θρασύτερον ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῶν τὸν χάρακα διασπᾶν καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσάγων ἄπτεσθαι· τούτοις γὰρ ἐκβιασθέντες προήεσαν ἄτακτοι καὶ προθυμίας ἢ τῆς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἐλπίδος οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἐσχηκότες.
- 151 ὁμῶς δ' οὖν εἰς χεῖρας ἤεσαν, πλείους τε ὄντες καὶ διὰ τὸ κατεπεΐγειν ἐπὶ τὸ τολμηρὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης στρατηγούμενοι, καὶ μάχη γίνεται καρτερά, πιπτόντων ἐκατέρωθεν οὐκ ὀλίγων· τέλος δὲ τρα-
- 152 πέντες οἱ Ἄραβες ἔφευγον. ἦν δὲ τοσοῦτος<sup>5</sup> φόβος ἐγκλινάντων,<sup>6</sup> ὡς μὴ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς παραιτίους γίνεσθαι τῶν κακῶν, ὑπὸ τε πλήθους καὶ φορᾶς ἀτάκτου συμπατουμένων καὶ περιπιπτόντων τοῖς οἰκείοις ὄπλοις· πεντακισχίλιοι γοῦν αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο νεκροί.
- 153 τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἔφθη μὲν εἰς τὸ χαράκωμα συμφυγεῖν, εἶχε δ' οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ μᾶλλον ὕδατος.
- 154 οἳ τε<sup>7</sup> Ἰουδαῖοι διώκοντες συνεισπεσεῖν μὲν οὐ κατἴσχυσαν, περικαθεζόμενοι δὲ τὸν χάρακα<sup>8</sup> καὶ παρα-

<sup>1</sup> εἰς . . . ἐγεγόνει] ἐλπίδας τε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐ μικρὰς ἐνήγειρε ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt: post ἐγεγόνει lacunam stat. Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ PF.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson: ἐννοούμενον PFLAM: ἔτοιμον W: Ἔλθεμον ex B.J. con. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> Ernesti: βουλόμενος codd.

<sup>5</sup> τοσοῦτος om. PF.

<sup>6</sup> Bekker: ἐκκλινάντων codd.

<sup>7</sup> δὲ ex Lat. Hudson.

and withdrew.<sup>a</sup> This at once contributed not a little to raising the hopes of the Jews, and when Herod observed that the enemy's force would rather have done anything than go into battle, he attempted the more boldly to break down their palisades and to get nearer to their camp and attack it. When they were forced out by these means, they advanced in disorder and without the slightest eagerness or hope of victory.<sup>b</sup> They fought hand to hand, however, because they were more numerous and also because they were led by necessity to act with reckless speed.<sup>c</sup> And there followed a stubborn battle, in which not a few fell on either side.<sup>d</sup> But finally the Arabs were routed and began to flee; and so great was the slaughter when they gave way that they were not only killed by the enemy but also contributed to their own misfortunes, being trampled by the multitude of those rushing along in disorder, and falling upon their own weapons. At least five thousand of them were left dead. And while the rest of their number succeeded in reaching the shelter of their palisades, they had no sure hope of being saved, because of their lack of provisions, especially water. And the Jews pursued them but did not succeed in entering their camp with them, and so they surrounded their breastworks and kept watch

<sup>a</sup> The text of this and the following sentence is difficult and probably corrupt.

<sup>b</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 381, the Arab general Elthemus was "paralysed with fright."

<sup>c</sup> τὸ τολμηρόν is a Thucydidean echo, as is μάχη γίνεται καρτερά in the next sentence.

<sup>d</sup> The facts are reported differently in *B.J.* i. 383, where it is said that the Arabs' casualties were slight so long as they fought determinedly but increased greatly when they turned their backs.

<sup>8</sup> τῷ χάρακι PF.

τηροῦντες εἰσόδου τε τοὺς ἐπαρκοῦντας καὶ ἐξόδου  
φυγεῖν βουλομένους εἶργον.

- 155 (5) Ἐν τοιούτοις<sup>1</sup> ὄντες οἱ Ἄραβες ἐπρεσβεύοντο  
πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως,  
ἔπειτα (τὸ γὰρ δῖψος ἤπειγε) πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ὑφιστά-  
156 μενοι καὶ τυχεῖν εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἀδείας ἠξιωκότες. ὁ  
δὲ οὔτε πρέσβεις οὔτε λύτρα τῶν ἠλωκότων οὔτ'  
ἄλλο τι μέτριον προσίετο, φιλόνεικος ὢν ἐκδικῆσαι  
τὰς παρανομίας τὰς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγενη-  
μένας. καταναγκαζόμενοί τε τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ  
τῷ δῖψει, προϊόντες αὐτοὺς ἐνεχειρίζον ἄγειν καὶ  
157 δεῖν.<sup>2</sup> καὶ<sup>3</sup> πέντε μὲν ἡμέραις τετρακισχίλιοι τὸ  
πλήθος οὕτως ἐάλωσαν, τῇ δὲ ἕκτη πάντες οἱ  
λοιποὶ διέγνωσαν ἐξιέναι<sup>4</sup> πόλεμον νόμῳ χωρή-  
σοντες<sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἐγχειρεῖν, εἰ καὶ<sup>6</sup> δέοι  
τι πάσχειν, αἰρούμενοι καὶ μὴ διαφθειρεσθαι κατ'  
158 ὀλίγους ἀδόξως. ταῦτα δὲ γνόντες ἐξῆλθον μὲν  
τοῦ χαρακώματος, διήρκεσαν δ' οὐδαμῶς τῇ μάχῃ,  
λαμπρῶς μὲν ἀγωνίσασθαι κεκακωμένοι καὶ τὰς  
ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα τόπον οὐκ ἔχοντες, κέρδος  
δ' εἰ θνήσκοιεν, ἐν συμφορᾷ τὸ ζῆν ποιούμενοι,  
καὶ πίπτουσιν αὐτῶν<sup>7</sup> ἐν τῇ καρτερᾷ<sup>8</sup> μάχῃ περὶ  
159 ἑπτακισχιλίουσ.<sup>9</sup> τοιαύτη δὲ πληγῇ χρησαμένων,  
φρονήματος μὲν ὅσον ἦν αὐτοῖς πρότερον ἀφήρητο,  
τεθναυμακότες δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις συμφοραῖς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> + οὖν PFAMWE.

<sup>2</sup> δὴ LE: om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ om. PFLE.

<sup>4</sup> E: ἐξεῖναι codd.

<sup>5</sup> Naber: χωρήσαντες codd.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ εἰ PFE.

<sup>7</sup> + σὺν τοῖς Herwerden.

<sup>8</sup> conieci: προτέρᾳ aut προτεραίᾳ codd.: priori Lat.

over them, preventing from entering any who came to help them, and preventing from leaving those who wanted to flee.

(5) Being in this (difficult) situation, the Arabs sent envoys to Herod, first to discuss a truce, and next, since their thirst was pressing, offering to accept any condition whatever so long as they might obtain safety for the moment. But Herod refused to accept the envoys or a ransom<sup>a</sup> for the prisoners or any other moderate terms because he was grimly intent upon taking vengeance for the lawless acts committed by them against the Jews. And so, being compelled by a number of things, especially their thirst, they came forward and handed themselves over to be led away in chains. In the course of five days the number of those who were taken prisoner in this way was four thousand, and on the sixth day all the rest decided to sally out in a warlike attack upon their adversaries, choosing to make this attempt, even if they should have to suffer disaster, rather than be ingloriously destroyed a few at a time. With this intention they came out from behind their palisades but were unable to make a fight because, being afflicted in body and soul, they had no chance to battle with glory, and so they counted it a gain to die and a misfortune to live. In the terrible<sup>b</sup> battle some seven<sup>c</sup> thousand of them fell. After suffering such a blow they lost the spirit of confidence which they had had before, but they admired the qualities

Herod's  
second  
victory  
over the  
Arabs.

<sup>a</sup> Of five hundred talents, according to *B.J.* i. 384.

<sup>b</sup> Text emended : MSS. "in the former battle."

<sup>c</sup> Epitome has "six" : *B.J.* i. 384 has "seven," as do the MSS. here.

## JOSEPHUS

- Ἡρώδου στρατηγίαν εἷς τε τὸ λοιπὸν εἶξαν καὶ  
 160 προστάτην ἀπεφήναντο τοῦ ἔθνους. ὁ δὲ πλείστον  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐημερήμασιν ἠξιώκως φρονεῖν, ἀνέστρε-  
 ψεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, μέγα προσειληφὼς ἀξίωμα καὶ  
 διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν.
- 161 (vi. 1)<sup>1</sup> Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ,  
 δυσεπιχειρήτῳ κατὰ πάντα γεγενημένῳ, κίνδυνος  
 δ' ἐμπίπτει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων κρίσιν ἐπάγων,<sup>2</sup>  
 Ἀντώνιον Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀκτιον μάχῃ  
 162 νενικηκότος· τότε γὰρ ἀπέγνωστο αὐτῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ  
 τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ἐχθροῖς  
 τε καὶ φίλοις· οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰκὸς ἀτιμώρητον μενεῖν<sup>3</sup>  
 τοσαύτης αὐτῷ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γεγενημένης.
- 163 ἦν οὖν τοῖς μὲν φίλοις ἀπόγνωσις τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν  
 ἐλπίδων, ὅσοι δ' ἐχθρωδῶς<sup>4</sup> εἶχον ἐδόκουν μὲν ἐξ  
 ἐμφανοῦς συνάχθῃσθαι, πάθος δὲ λεληθὸς ἐφηδο-  
 μένων εἶχον ὡς ἀμείνονος τευξόμενοι τῆς μετα-  
 164 βολῆς. αὐτὸς τε Ἡρώδης τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ὄρων  
 μόνον ἐπ' ἀξιώματος βασιλικοῦ, συμφέρειν ᾤετο  
 μηκέτ' ἐμποδῶν εἶναι, εἰ μὲν περισωθείη καὶ δια-

<sup>1</sup> hic rursus incipit cod. V.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξάγων P.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf: μένειν codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἐχθρῶς PFVE.

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<sup>a</sup> Or "protector." Otto, p. 50, suggests that the statement may be "pure invention" or that possibly Josephus has misunderstood a technical term of Hellenistic political usage. Momigliano, in *CAH* x. 325 note 2, observes that the precise meaning of the term *προστάτης* here is obscure. A parallel to the meaning "ruler" occurs in *B.J.* i. 633, where Augustus is referred to as *προστάτης τῆς οἰκουμένης* (see also *Ant.* xii. 161 note *d*). For parallels to the meaning "protector" in a non-political or only semi-political sense see *Ant.* xiv. 157, 332

of leadership which Herod showed in the midst of his own reverses, and thereafter they submitted to him and proclaimed him ruler <sup>a</sup> of their nation. And so, thinking himself entitled to take great pride in his successes, Herod returned home, having acquired new prestige from this brave exploit.

(vi. 1) <sup>b</sup> Now while things went well for Herod in other respects, since he was unassailable on every side, he did find himself in danger threatening his whole power as a result of Caesar's victory over Antony in the battle of Actium.<sup>c</sup> For at that time his situation seemed desperate both to Herod himself and to the enemies and friends around him as well, since it appeared unlikely that he would remain free from punishment for the great friendship which he had formed with Antony.<sup>d</sup> His friends, therefore, gave up hope for him, while those who were hostile to him appeared outwardly to share his trouble but secretly experienced a feeling of pleasure at the prospect of having a change for the better. And Herod himself, seeing that Hyrcanus was the only one left of royal rank, thought it would be to his advantage not to let him stand as an obstacle any longer. He believed that, if, on the one hand, he were

The battle of Actium. Herod plans to be rid of Hyrcanus.

where Herod's father Antipater warns the Jews not to rebel lest they find him "a master in place of a protector" (*ἀντὶ προστάτου δεσπότην*); see also *Ant.* xiv. 444 where the soldiers saved by Herod from a Parthian ambush hail him as "their saviour and protector" (*σωτήρα καὶ προστάτην*).

<sup>b</sup> §§ 161-162 are partial parallels to *B.J.* i. 386, but the following sections, down to § 187, have no parallel in *B.J.*

<sup>c</sup> In September, 31 B.C., as noted above on § 121.

<sup>d</sup> *Ant.* has no parallel to the curious statement in *B.J.* i. 386 that Herod inspired more fear than he himself felt and that Caesar considered Antony unbeaten so long as Herod remained his ally.

φύγοι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις αὐτοῦ καιροῖς ἐφορμῆν ἄνδρα τυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιώτερον,<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὲ καὶ πάσχοι τι ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup> Καίσαρος, φθόνῳ τὸν μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας γενησόμενον ἐπιθυμῶν ἐξελεῖν.

- 165 (2) Ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ δι' ἐννοίας ἔχοντος ἐνεδόθη τι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπικεικία τρόπου καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐκ ἠξίου πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ νεωτέρων ἄπτεσθαι, συγχωρῶν τῇ τύχῃ πᾶν τὸ δι' ἐκείνης γενόμενον ἡγα-  
 166 πηκέναι. φιλόνεικος δ' ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρα, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς ἀκρατῶς φέρουσα λόγους ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, μὴ μέχρι παντὸς ἀναμείναι τὴν Ἡρώδου παρανομίαν εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> οἶκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ<sup>4</sup> προλαβεῖν ἀσφαλεία τὰς αὐθις<sup>5</sup>  
 167 ἐλπίδας, καὶ γράφειν ἠξίου περὶ τούτων Μάλχῳ τῷ τὴν ἀραβαρχίαν<sup>6</sup> ἔχοντι δέξασθαι τε αὐτοὺς<sup>7</sup> καὶ δι' ἀσφαλείας ἄγειν<sup>8</sup>. ὑπεξελθόντων γὰρ εἰ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη οὕτως χωρήσειεν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν ἔχθρᾳ Καίσαρος, αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι τοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντας μόνους καὶ διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ διὰ  
 168 τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν ὄχλων. ταῦτα πειθούσης ὁ μὲν Ὑρκανὸς διωθεῖτο τοὺς λόγους, φιλόνεικον δέ τι

<sup>1</sup> E: ἀξιολογώτερον codd.

<sup>2</sup> διὰ PFVE.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν A<sup>1</sup>VW: αὐτοῦ ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ om. PV.

<sup>5</sup> εἰσαῦθις Herwerden.

<sup>6</sup> Ἀραβίαν VE Lat.

<sup>7</sup> αὐτὸν PFV.

<sup>8</sup> ἔχειν P.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 434, "he roused Herod's resentment not by making any claim to the throne but because the kingship belonged to him (by right)."

<sup>b</sup> On Hyrcanus' mild character see *Ant.* xiv. 13.



to survive and escape danger, it would be safest not to have a man who was worthier than himself of obtaining the kingship wait to seize his opportunity at such a time of difficulty for himself<sup>a</sup>; if, on the other hand, he were to suffer death at Caesar's hand, he wished because of envy to remove the only man who might succeed him as king.

(2) While he was occupied with these thoughts, an opportunity was given him by his opponents. Now Hyrcanus because of his mild character did not choose either then or at any other time to take part in public affairs or start a revolution, and he submitted to Fortune and appeared to be pleased with whatever she brought about.<sup>b</sup> But Alexandra<sup>c</sup> was aggressive, and being undiscourageably hopeful of a change, she kept telling her father that he ought not forever to put up with Herod's lawless treatment of their family but move betimes to secure the safety of their future hopes. And she begged him to write of this matter to Malchus, who was ruler of the Arabs,<sup>d</sup> and ask him to receive them<sup>e</sup> and lead them to safety. For, she said, if they got away and things turned out badly for Herod, as was likely in view of Caesar's enmity to him, they would be the only candidates for the royal power both because of their lineage and because of the goodwill of the masses toward them. But though she tried to persuade him in this way, Hyrcanus rejected her arguments. Since, however, she had an aggressive and very

Herod discovers Hyrcanus' plan to take refuge with the Arab king. Hyrcanus is executed.

<sup>c</sup> The daughter of Hyrcanus and the mother of Mariamme, Herod's wife.

<sup>d</sup> The Nabataean king Malchus I, see above, § 108. According to *B.J.* 1. 440, it was Cleopatra who contrived his death soon after (c. 30 B.C.).

<sup>e</sup> Variant "him" (Hyrcanus).

καὶ γυναικεῖον αὐτῆς πεπονθυίας καὶ μήτε νύκτα  
 μήθ' ἡμέραν ἀπολειπομένης ἀλλ' αἰεὶ περὶ τούτων  
 καὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλῆς διαλεγο-  
 μένης, ἀνεπίσθη τέλος ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δοσιθέω  
 τινὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων, ἐν ἧ συντέτακτο  
 πέμπειν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄραβα τοὺς ἀναληψομένους  
 καὶ παραπέμφοντας ἰππέας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν  
 λίμνην· αὕτη δ' ἀπέχει τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὄρων  
 169 σταδίουσ τριακοσίουσ.<sup>2</sup> ἐπίστευε δὲ τῷ Δοσιθέω,<sup>3</sup>  
 θεραπεύοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν  
 καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἡρώδην δυσνοίας οὐ μικρὰς αἰτίας  
 ἔχοντος· Ἰωσήπου τε γάρ, ὃν ἐκείνος ἀνηρήκει,  
 συγγενὴς ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ φονευθέντων ὑπ'  
 170 Ἀντωνίου πρότερον<sup>4</sup> ἀδελφός. οὐ μὴν ἐνήγαγε<sup>5</sup>  
 ταῦτα τὸν Δοσίθεον Ὑρκανῷ πιστὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπηρε-  
 σίαν γενέσθαι, προτιμήσας δὲ τῶν ἐκείνου τὰς ἐκ  
 τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐλπίδας, ἐπιδίδωσιν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν  
 171 ἐπιστολὴν. ὁ δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας ἀποδεξάμενος, ἔτι καὶ  
 τοῦτο προσυπουργῆσαι παρεκελεύετο, πτύξαντα τὴν  
 ἐπιστολὴν καὶ κατασημηνάμενον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ  
 Μάλχῳ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου γράμματα λαβεῖν· οὐ  
 γὰρ μικρὸν τὸ διάφορον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην  
 172 αὐτὸν εἰδέναι. ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Δοσιθέου προθύμως  
 ὑπουργήσαντος, ὁ μὲν Ἄραψ ἀντεπέστειλεν αὐτόν

<sup>1</sup> πέμφειν PFLVE.

<sup>2</sup> ducentis Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Δωσιθέω AW hic et infra (etiam P infra).

<sup>4</sup> πρότερος LAMW: prior Lat.: fort. hic latere nomen fratris putat Niese.

<sup>5</sup> Niese: ἐπήγαγε codd.

womanly nature and did not leave off either night or day but always kept speaking to him about this matter and about Herod's treacherous designs against them, he finally let himself be persuaded to give to Dositheüs, one of his friends, a letter in which it was arranged that the Arab should send him some horsemen who were to take them and escort them to Lake Asphaltitis,<sup>a</sup> which is three hundred <sup>b</sup> stades <sup>c</sup> from the borders of Jerusalem. Now he had faith in Dositheüs because he was devoted both to himself and to Alexandra and had no slight reasons for being an enemy of Herod, for he was a relative of Joseph, whom the king had slain,<sup>d</sup> and a brother of the men who had earlier been murdered at Tyre by Antony.<sup>e</sup> These considerations, however, did not induce Dositheüs to be faithful in serving Hyrcanus, and since he counted on hopes of greater reward from the king than from Hyrcanus, he handed the letter over to Herod. The king expressed satisfaction with his loyalty but urged him to do him the further service of folding and sealing the letter and taking it to Malchus, and to bring back a letter from him, for, he said, it was of great importance for him to know how Malchus felt. This service Dositheüs willingly performed. And the Arab ruler wrote in

<sup>a</sup> The Dead Sea.

<sup>b</sup> Lat. "two hundred."

<sup>c</sup> Three hundred stades are roughly 35 miles. The distance here given must have been measured from the north end of the Dead Sea.

<sup>d</sup> Joseph, the husband of Herod's sister Salome, had been executed by Herod on suspicion of adultery with Mariamme, see above, § 87 (parallel to *B.J.* i. 443).

<sup>e</sup> See *Ant.* xiv. 327-329 (parallel to *B.J.* i. 245-247). Since a good many men were murdered by Antony, Josephus must mean that Dositheüs was a brother of some of them.

τε Ἵρκανὸν δέξεσθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας  
 καὶ<sup>2</sup> Ἰουδαίων ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνου φρονουῖσιν, δύναμίν  
 τε πέμψειν τὴν μετ' ἀσφαλείας αὐτοὺς κομιοῦσαν  
 173 καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδεήσειν ὧν ἤξιον.<sup>3</sup> ὡς δὲ καὶ  
 ταύτην Ἡρώδης ἐδέξατο τὴν ἐπιστολήν, εὐθύς τε<sup>4</sup>  
 μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἵρκανὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν γενομέ-  
 νων αὐτῷ συνθηκῶν πρὸς τὸν Μάλχον ἀνέκρινεν.  
 ἀρνησαμένου δέ, τὰς ἐπιστολὰς δείξας τῷ συνεδρίῳ  
 διεχειρίσατο<sup>5</sup> τὸν ἄνδρα.  
 174 (3) Ταῦτα δὲ γράφομεν ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνή-  
 μασιν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου περιείχετο. τοῖς  
 δ' ἄλλοις οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα συμφωνεῖ· τὸν γὰρ Ἡρώ-  
 δην οὐκ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις δοκουῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς  
 μᾶλλον Ἵρκανῷ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπάγοντα κατὰ τὸν  
 175 αὐτοῦ<sup>6</sup> τρόπον ἀποκτεῖναι· γράφουσι γὰρ οὕτως,  
 ἐν συμποσίῳ τινὶ μηδὲν ὑποψίας ἐνδιδόντα λόγον  
 Ἵρκανῷ προσφέρειν, εἴ τινας ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τοῦ  
 Μάλχου λάβοι, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὁμολογῆσαι προσ-  
 176 αγορευτικὰ γράμματα κομίσασθαι, τὸν δ', εἰ καί  
 τινα δωρεὰν εἰληφῶς εἶη, πάλιν ἐπερέσθαι· τοῦ  
 δὲ μηδὲν πλέον ἢ κτηνῶν ἀναβατικῶν τέτταρα<sup>7</sup>  
 πέμψαντος αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, εἰς αἰτίαν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπ-

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: δέχεσθαι codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ καὶ PFE.

<sup>3</sup> ἤξιον AMW.

<sup>4</sup> εὐθύς τε om. PFV: τε om. E.

<sup>5</sup> διεχρήσατο W.

reply that he would receive both Hyrcanus himself and all his party and as many of the Jews as sympathized with his cause, and that he would send a force to bring them in safety, and Hyrcanus would lack nothing for which he asked. When Herod received this letter, he immediately sent for Hyrcanus and questioned him about the agreements which he had made with Malchus. When the other denied having made any, Herod showed the letters to the Council <sup>a</sup> and had the man put to death.<sup>b</sup>

(3) We have written about these matters as they are found in the Memoirs <sup>c</sup> of King Herod. But other sources do not agree with this account, for they hold that it was not for such reasons that Herod killed Hyrcanus but rather that he did so after bringing charges against him which were invented with characteristic trickery. Their account is as follows. Once, while they were at a banquet, Herod, without giving Hyrcanus any ground for suspicion, put the question to him whether he had received any letters from Malchus, and when Hyrcanus admitted having received greeting-cards from him, he asked also whether he had taken any gift from him, and the other replied that he had received nothing more than four beasts for riding, which Malchus had sent him. This act Herod construed as evidence of bribe-

An alternative account of the execution of Hyrcanus.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Sanhedrin. Cf. Mishnah, *Sanhedrin* ii. 1, "The king may neither judge nor be judged."

<sup>b</sup> See p. 84 note *a* on the manner of execution, which probably took place early in 30 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> Reinach *ad loc.* conjectures that Josephus knew Herod's presumably unpublished Memoirs only through the writings of Herod's secretary, Nicolas of Damascus.

<sup>6</sup> αὐτὸν LAMW.

<sup>7</sup> τέτταρα ζεύγη con. Niese.

## JOSEPHUS

αναφέροντα δωροδοκίας καὶ προδοσίας, ἀπάγειν<sup>1</sup>  
 177 προστάξει τὸν ἄνδρα. τεκμήρια δὲ τοῦ μηδὲν  
 ἀμαρτόντα τοιούτῳ τέλει περιπεσεῖν καταλογίζονται  
 τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τὸ μήτ'<sup>2</sup> ἐν νεότητι  
 θράσους ἢ προπετείας ἐπίδειξιν πεποιῆσθαι μήθ'<sup>3</sup>  
 ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτη τὰ  
 πλεῖστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν Ἀντιπάτρῳ παρα-  
 178 κεχωρηκέαι. τότε δὲ ἐνὸς<sup>4</sup> πλείῳ μὲν ἢ ὄγδοή-  
 κοντα γεγονῶς ἐτύγχανεν ἔτη, κρατοῦντα δὲ μετὰ  
 πάσης ἀσφαλείας τὸν Ἑρώδη ἠπίστατο, διαβε-  
 βήκει δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην τοὺς ἐν τῷ πέραν τι-  
 μῶντας αὐτὸν καταλιπών, ὡς<sup>5</sup> ὅλως ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ  
 γενησόμενος· ἐγχειρεῖν οὖν<sup>6</sup> τι καὶ καινοτέρων  
 ἄπτεσθαι πάντων ἀπιθανώτατον καὶ οὐ πρὸς τῆς  
 ἐκείνου φύσεως, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα σκῆψιν Ἑρώδου  
 γενέσθαι.  
 179 (4) Τοῦτο μὲν<sup>7</sup> τὸ τέλος Ὑρκανῶ συνέπεσε τοῦ  
 βίου ποικίλαις καὶ πολυτρόποις χρησαμένῳ ταῖς ἐν  
 τῷ ζῆν τύχαις· εὐθύς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλευούσης  
 αὐτῷ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἀρχιερεὺς καταστάς  
 τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἔτεσιν ἑννέα τὴν τιμὴν κατέ-  
 180 σχεν. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποθανούσης

<sup>1</sup> ἀπάγειν P : ἀπαγαγεῖν FA<sup>1</sup>V : occidi Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf : μηδ' codd.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf : μηδ' codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἐντῷ PF : om. V.

<sup>5</sup> ὡς om. PFLVW.

<sup>6</sup> οὖν om. PFLVW Lat.

<sup>7</sup> μὴν Dindorf.

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<sup>a</sup> Of the seven crimes for which strangling (as opposed to the other three forms of capital punishment, namely stoning, burning and beheading) is prescribed in the Mishnah, *Sanhedrin* xi. 1, there is none that would seem to fit Hyrcanus' case even if he had actually been guilty of treason. See also Israel Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, ii 340

taking and treason, and ordered the man to be strangled.<sup>a</sup> And as proof that it was without committing any crime that he came to such an end they specify his mildness of character and the fact that not even in his youth did he give any sign of boldness or recklessness nor yet when he himself had royal power,<sup>b</sup> but even then yielded the greatest part of the administration to Antipater. Then, too, he was at this time eighty-one years old<sup>c</sup> and knew that Herod was altogether secure in his rule. Moreover, when he crossed the Euphrates and left behind on the other side of the river those who held him in honour, it was to put himself wholly in Herod's power. It is therefore most unlikely and out of keeping with his nature, they say, that he should have attempted anything like revolution, and these charges were a pretext invented by Herod.

(4) This, then, was the way in which Hyrcanus was fated to end his life after experiencing a lifetime of diverse and varied fortunes. At the very beginning of the reign of his mother Alexandra he was appointed high priest of the Jewish nation and held this office for nine years. After taking the throne

The character of Hyrcanus.

(Cambridge, 1924), pp. 130-131, "This Roman method of inflicting the death penalty does not arouse Josephus' surprise; it had evidently become acclimated among the Jews. But it is not the Mishnah statement as to the use of this method that is unhistoric."

<sup>b</sup> See *Ant.* xiv. 4 note b.

<sup>c</sup> According to this reckoning Hyrcanus II would have been born c. 110 B.C. But his parents, Alexander Jannaeus and Salome Alexandra, had been married sometime after 103 B.C., when Salome's first husband died. Hyrcanus therefore was in his early seventies when he was executed, as was pointed out by Wellhausen in his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (8th ed., p. 307 note 2).

- τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶ, καὶ ταύτην κατασχὼν τρεῖς  
 μῆνας ἐκπίπτει μὲν ὑπ' Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ,  
 κατάγεται δ' αὖθις ὑπὸ Πομπηίου καὶ πάσας τὰς  
 τιμὰς ἀπολαβὼν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα διετέλεσεν ἐν  
 181 αὐταῖς.<sup>1</sup> ἀφαιρεθεὶς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου  
 καὶ λωβηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα, παρὰ Πάρθοις αἰχμάλωτος  
 ἐγένετο. κακέειπεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν<sup>2</sup> ἐπανήει χρόνῳ  
 διὰ τὰς ἐξ Ἡρώδου προτεινομένας<sup>3</sup> ἐλπίδας, ὧν  
 οὐδὲν αὐτῶ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ἀπήντα, πολυπαθεία  
 βίου χρησαμένῳ, τὸ δυσχερέστατον δέ, ὡς προειρη-  
 182 καμεν, ἐν γήρᾳ τέλους οὐκ ἀξίου<sup>4</sup> τυχεῖν<sup>5</sup>. δοκεῖ  
 γὰρ ἐπιεικῆς καὶ μέτριος ἐν πᾶσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ  
 πλεῖστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ διοικηταῖς ἄγειν, οὐ πολυ-  
 πράγμων οὐδὲ δεινὸς ὧν βασιλείας ἐπιστατεῖν,  
 Ἀντιπάτρῳ τε καὶ Ἡρώδῃ μέχρι τοῦδε προελθεῖν  
 ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τὴν ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ  
 πέρασ οὔτε δίκαιον οὔτ' εὐσεβὲς ἐξ αὐτῶν εὖρατο  
 τοιούτου τέλους.<sup>6</sup>
- 183 (5) Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐκποδῶν  
 ἐποιήσατο, σπεύδων πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ μηδὲν ἐλ-  
 πίσαι περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων δυνάμενος χρησ-  
 τὸν ἐκ τῆς γενομένης αὐτῶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον φιλίας,  
 ὑποπτον μὲν εἶχε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, μὴ τῶ καιρῶ  
 συνεπιθεμένη τό τε πλήθος ἀποστήσῃ καὶ στασιάσῃ  
 184 τὰ περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν πράγματα. παρετίθετο δὲ  
 πάντα Φερῶρα τὰδελφῶ, καὶ τὴν μητέρα Κύπρον

<sup>1</sup> ἐν αὐταῖς scripsi : ἐνιαυτοῖς PF : ἐν αὐτοῖς rell.

<sup>2</sup> οἰκίαν LA<sup>1</sup>MVW.

<sup>3</sup> προσγενομένας PFV.

<sup>4</sup> τέλους οὐκ ἀξίου] + τοιούτου LAMW : τοιούτου τέλους Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> ἔτυχεν con. Richards et Shutt.



on the death of his mother he held it for three months, but was driven from it by his brother Aristobulus. When it was restored to him later by Pompey, he received all his honours back and continued to enjoy them for forty years more.<sup>a</sup> But he was deprived of them a second time by Antigonus, mutilated in body, and taken prisoner by the Parthians. From their country he returned to his own land some time later because of the hopes held out to him by Herod, but none of these was fulfilled in accordance with his expectations, after he had experienced much suffering in his lifetime. But what was most painful of all, as we have said before, was that in his old age he came to an unworthy end. For he seems to have been mild and moderate in all things and to have ruled by leaving most things for his administrators to do, since he was not interested in general affairs nor clever enough to govern a kingdom. That Antipater and Herod advanced so far was due to his mildness, and what he experienced at their hands in the end was neither just nor an act of piety.

(5) And so, after getting Hyrcanus out of the way, Herod hastened to Caesar, and not being able to hope that any favour would be shown to his cause because of his past friendship with Antony, he held Alexandra in suspicion, fearing that she would seize the opportunity to cause the people to revolt and bring factional strife into the government of the kingdom. And he entrusted all his affairs to his brother Pheroras, and placed his mother Cyprus and

Herod  
hastens to  
meet  
Octavian.

<sup>a</sup> Actually the interval between Pompey's restoration of Hyrcanus to power in 63 B.C. and Antigonus' usurpation in 40 B.C. is only 23 years.

<sup>6</sup> τοιούτου τέλους secl. Dindorf.

- καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὴν γενεὰν ἅπασαν ἐν Μασάδοις<sup>1</sup> κατεστήσατο, παρακελευσάμενος, εἴ τι περὶ αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> ἀκούσαιεν<sup>3</sup> δυσχερές, ἔχουσαι τῶν πραγ-  
 185 μάτων. Μαριάμην δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα (δυνατὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐν διαφορᾷ τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνου δίαιταν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν) ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείῳ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ μητρὶ κατεστήσατο, Ἰώσηπον τὸν ταμίαν<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὸν Ἰουραῖον Σόαιμον<sup>5</sup> ἐπ' αὐτῶ<sup>6</sup> καταλιπὼν, πιστοτάτους μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένους αὐτῶ, τότε δὲ προφάσει τιμῆς  
 186 φρουρεῖν ἀπολειφθέντας τὰς γυναῖκας. ἦν δὲ κακείνοις ἐντολὴ μαθόντας τι περὶ αὐτοῦ δυσχερές ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀμφοτέρας μεταχειρίσασθαι,<sup>7</sup> τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ σὺν ταδελφῶ Φερῶρα διατηρεῖν.  
 187 (6) Ταύτας δούς τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥόδον<sup>8</sup> ἠπέιγετο Καίσαρι συντυχεῖν. κάπειδὴ κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφήρητο μὲν τὸ διάδημα, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιώματος οὐδὲν ὑφεικῶς, ὅτε δὲ καὶ κοινωνῆσαι λόγου κατὰ τὴν συντυχίαν ἠξιώθη, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐνέφηγε τὸ μεγαλεῖον τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> Μεσάδοις FAW : Μεσσάδοις M.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr. : αὐτὸν codd. E.

<sup>3</sup> ἀκούσει ed. pr. : ἀκούσειε Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> ταμιαίαν P : ταμείαν F : ταμέαν E : latere cognomen aut patris nomen suspicatur Niese. <sup>5</sup> P : Σόεμον rell. E Lat.

<sup>6</sup> ed. pr. : αὐτὸν LV : αὐτῶν rell. : αὐταῖς con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>7</sup> διαχειρίσασθαι E : διαχρήσασθαι Cobet.

<sup>8</sup> Ῥώμην P.

<sup>a</sup> One of Herod's fortified palaces, on the W. (not E., as erroneously stated in note a to *Ant.* xiv. 296) shore of the Dead Sea. See now S. Guttman, "Masada," *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*, 18 (1954), 254-262 [in Hebrew, English summary]; and Avī-Yonah (see Appendix C, next volume).

his sister and all his children in Masada,<sup>a</sup> and instructed (Pheroras) to take charge of the government if they heard any bad news about him. As for his wife Mariamme—since it was impossible for her to live in the same place because of the quarrel between her and his mother and sister,—he placed her in Alexandreion <sup>b</sup> with her mother Alexandra, leaving in charge there his steward Joseph <sup>c</sup> and Soēmus the Ituraean, who from the beginning had been most faithful to him and on this occasion were left to keep the women under surveillance under the pretext of showing them honour. And they, too, were given instructions that if they learned that anything bad had happened to him, they were to dispose of both women at once and do everything in their power to preserve the kingdom for his sons together with his brother Pheroras.

(6)<sup>d</sup> Having given these instructions, he himself hastened to Rhodes to meet Caesar. And when his ship arrived at the city, he removed his diadem but did not leave off anything else that belonged to his rank.<sup>e</sup> And when, on meeting (Caesar), he was permitted to converse with him, he showed still more

Herod admits to Octavian that he has been an ally of Antony.

<sup>b</sup> Mod. *Qarn Sartabeh*, c. 3 miles S.W. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan Rivers; cf. *Ant.* xiii. 417 note c.

<sup>c</sup> The name Joseph may possibly be due to a confusion with Herod's brother-in-law Joseph, the husband of Salome, with whom Herod supposedly had left Mariamme on an earlier occasion, the meeting with Antony described above in §§ 65-87.

<sup>d</sup> §§ 187-201 are parallel to *B.J.* i. 387-395.

<sup>e</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 387, Herod appeared before Octavian "without a diadem, a commoner in dress and bearing but with the proud spirit of a king." Here the text seems to mean that Herod did wear royal insignia except for the diadem, but perhaps it is merely his bearing that is referred to. The meeting with Octavian took place in the spring of 30 B.C.

## JOSEPHUS

- 188 φρονήματος, οὐτ' εἰς ἱκεσίαν,<sup>1</sup> ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοιού-  
τοις, τραπόμενος οὔτε δέησίν τινα προτείνων ὡς  
ἐφ' ἡμαρτημένοις, ἀποδοὺς δὲ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν  
189 πεπραγμένων ἀνυποτιμήτως.<sup>2</sup> ἔλεγε γὰρ τῷ  
Καίσαρι καὶ φιλίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι μεγίστην πρὸς  
Ἀντώνιον καὶ<sup>3</sup> πάντα πράξαι κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
δύναμιν ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενήσεται τὰ πράγματα,  
στρατείας μὲν οὐ κοινωρήσας κατὰ περιολκὰς τῶν  
Ἀράβων, πέμψας δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ σίτον ἐκείνῳ.  
190 καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι μετριώτερα τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων αὐτῷ  
γενέσθαι· τὸν γὰρ ὁμολογοῦντα μὲν εἶναι φίλον,  
εὐεργέτην δ' ἐκείνον ἐπιστάμενον, παντὶ μέρει καὶ  
ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ περιουσίας συγκινδυνεύειν  
δέον. ὦν<sup>4</sup> αὐτὸς ἔλαττον ἢ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀνα-  
στραφεῖς ἀλλ' ἐκείνό γε συνειδέναί καλῶς ἑαυτῷ  
πεποιηκότι τὸ μῆθ' ἠττηθέντα τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ μά-  
191 χην καταλιπεῖν, μῆτε<sup>5</sup> συμμεταβῆναι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν  
φανερῶς ἤδη μεταβαινούσης τῆς<sup>6</sup> τύχης, φυλάξαι  
δ' αὐτόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ συναγωνιστὴν ἀξιόχρεων, ἀλλὰ  
σύμβουλόν γε δεξιώτατον<sup>7</sup> Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν μίαν αἰ-  
τίαν τοῦ καὶ<sup>8</sup> σώζεσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν πραγμάτων  
ἐκπεσεῖν ὑποδεικνύντα, Κλεοπάτραν ἐπανελέσθαι.  
192 " προανηρημένης γὰρ ἐκείνης αὐτῷ τε τῶν πραγ-  
μάτων ἄρχειν ὑπεῖναι καὶ τὰς πρὸς σέ συμβάσεις

<sup>1</sup> ἱκετείας LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνεπιτιμήτως Cocceji : ἀνυποστόλως Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> + τὰλλα ὅσα προείπομεν V.

<sup>4</sup> ὦν spurium esse suspicatur Niese.

<sup>5</sup> μῆθ' . . . μῆτε Dindorf : μηδ' . . . μηδέ codd.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ τῆς PFV.

<sup>7</sup> ἀξιώτατον LAMW : fidissimus Lat.

<sup>8</sup> κἂν Niese.

fully the greatness of his spirit by neither turning to supplication, as would have been natural in the circumstances, nor offering a petition as if in acknowledgment of transgression; instead, he gave an account of what he had done, and this without making excuses for himself.<sup>a</sup> For he told Caesar that he had had the greatest friendship for Antony and had done everything in his power to bring control of affairs into his hands. He had not, to be sure, taken part in his campaign because he had been distracted therefrom by the Arabs, but he had sent him money and grain though these were more modest contributions than he ought to have made. For when a man acknowledges himself to be another's friend and knows that friend to be his benefactor, he ought to share his danger by risking every bit of his soul and body and substance. In this he had behaved less well than he ought but in one respect at least he was conscious of having done well, namely in not having abandoned Antony after his defeat in the battle of Actium and in not shifting his hopes when Antony's fortune was clearly changing. Instead, he had continued to show himself, if not a valuable fellow-fighter, at least a very skilful<sup>b</sup> adviser to Antony, to whom he had suggested that the only way to save himself and not lose his power was to do away with Cleopatra. "For," he said, "if she had first been got out of the way, it would have been possible for him to keep his power, and he would have found it easier to come to an understanding

<sup>a</sup> Or possibly "without fear of punishment." In *B.J.* Herod's speech is given entirely in direct discourse. Otto, p. 50, expresses strong doubt about the truthfulness of Herod's statements as reported by Josephus.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "worthy."

## JOSEPHUS

- ῥᾶον εὐρίσκεισθαι τῆς ἔχθρας. ὦν οὐδὲν ἐκείνος  
 ἐννοηθεὶς ἀλυσιτελῶς μὲν αὐτῷ, συμφερόντως δὲ  
 193 σοὶ προετίμησε τὴν ἀβουλίαν. νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν τῇ  
 πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὀργῇ κρίνεις καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν προ-  
 θυμίαν, οὐκ ἂν εἶη μοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἄρνησις,  
 οὐδ' ἀπαξιώσω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνον εὐνοίαν  
 ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λέγειν· εἰ δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνελὼν,  
 τίς εἶμι πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ ποῖος φίλος ἐξ-  
 ετάζοις, ἐνέσται<sup>1</sup> σοι πείρα τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων  
 ἡμᾶς εἰδέναί· τοῦ γὰρ ὀνόματος ὑπαλλαγέντος, οὐ-  
 δὲν ἔλαττον αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς φιλίας βέβαιον ἐν ἡμῖν  
 εὐδοκιμεῖν δυνήσεται.”  
 194 (7) Τοιαῦτα λέγων καὶ παράπαν ἐμφαίνων τὸ  
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλευθέριον, οὐ μετρίως ἐπεσπάσατο τὸν  
 Καίσαρα φιλότιμον ὄντα καὶ λαμπρόν, ὥστ' αὐτῷ  
 τὰς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἰτίας σύστασιν ἤδη τῆς πρὸς  
 195 ἐκείνον εὐνοίας πραγματεύεσθαι. καὶ τό τε διά-  
 δημα πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν αὐτῷ, καὶ προτρεψά-  
 μενος μηδὲν ἐλάττω περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ πρότερον ἦν περὶ  
 τὸν Ἀντώνιον φαίνεσθαι, διὰ πάσης ἠγε τιμῆς,  
 προσθεὶς ὅτι Κύντας Δίδιος<sup>2</sup> γράψειεν, ἀπάσῃ προ-  
 θυμίᾳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ συλλαβέσθαι  
 196 τὸν Ἡρώδη. τοσαύτης ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιωμένος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἔσται LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> Κύντος Δίδιος ex Dione Cass. li. 7 con. Hudson: καιταιδιος P: καὶ τὰ ἴδιος F: καὶ ταῖδιος V: Καπίδιος LAMW Exc.: Βεντίδιος aut καὶ Βεντίδιος B.J.: καὶ Δίδιος con. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> πρόσωπον can here also mean “ expression ” or “ mask ” or “ rôle.”

<sup>b</sup> τὸ τῆς φιλίας βέβαιον is reminiscent of Thucydides ii. 89. 6, cf. *Ant.* xiii. 411 note a. Actually Herod's loyalty to Antony was questionable in view of the reference below to

with you than remain at enmity. But he paid no attention to any of these suggestions, and preferred his own lack of prudence, which was as unprofitable for him as it was beneficial to you. If now in your anger at Antony you also condemn my zeal (in his cause), I will not deny that I have acted in this way nor will I be ashamed to speak openly of my loyalty to him. But if you disregard the outward appearance <sup>a</sup> and examine how I behave toward my benefactors and what sort of friend I am, you can find out about me from what you learn concerning my past actions. For with merely a change in name the very ideal of firm friendship,<sup>b</sup> as exemplified in me, will no less fully win approval."

(7) By such words and by his general behaviour he showed his freedom of soul, and greatly attracted Caesar, who was honourable and generous, so that the acts which had caused charges to be brought against Herod now served to form the basis of Caesar's goodwill toward him. He then restored his diadem to him, at the same time urging him to show himself no less a friend to him than he had formerly been to Antony. He also bestowed all sorts of honours upon him, adding that Quintus Didius <sup>c</sup> had written that Herod had most zealously supported him in the matter of the gladiators. Having been

Octavian  
honours  
Herod, and  
visits  
Judaea.

Q. Didius. Moreover, according to Plutarch, *Antony* 71, soon after the battle of Actium the report came to Canidius that Herod had gone over to Octavian.

<sup>c</sup> The various corrupt forms of the name in the mss. of *Ant.* and *B.J.* have been corrected by Hudson from Dio Cassius li. 7. This historian, incidentally, does not mention Herod's support of Q. Didius who, as governor of Syria, intercepted the gladiators who had been trained for Antony at Cyzicus and had been sent to help him after the battle of Actium.

## JOSEPHUS

παρ' ἐλπίδας ὄρων αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς βεβαιό-  
 τεραν τὴν βασιλείαν δώσει Καίσαρος καὶ δόγματι  
 Ῥωμαίων, ὅπερ ἐκείνος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ βέβαιον  
 ἐπραγματεύσατο, παρέπεμψεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου Καί-  
 σαρα, δωρησάμενος ὑπὲρ δύναμιν αὐτόν τε καὶ  
 τοὺς φίλους καὶ πᾶσαν ἐμφαίνων μεγαλοψυχίαν.  
 197 ἤτείτο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀντωνιώων συνήθων Ἀλέξαν<sup>1</sup> ὡς  
 μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν οὐκ  
 198 ἔτυχεν, ὄρκω προκατειλημμένου Καίσαρος· ἐπανήει  
 δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πλείονί τε τιμῇ καὶ  
 παρρησίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία προσδοκήσασιν ἔκ-  
 πληξιν παρέσχε, ὡς αἰεὶ τὸ λαμπρότερον ἐκ τῶν  
 κινδύνων κατ' εὐμένειαν τοῦ θεοῦ προσεπικτώ-  
 μενος. εὐθὺς οὖν<sup>2</sup> περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἐγεγόνει  
 Καίσαρος ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν<sup>3</sup> μέλ-  
 199 λοντος. κάπειδῃ παρῆν, δέχεται μὲν αὐτόν ἐν  
 Πτολεμαΐδι πάσῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ,<sup>4</sup> παρέσχε  
 δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ξένια καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων  
 ἀφθονίαν. κἂν τοῖς εὐνουστάτοις ἐξητάζετο τὰς  
 τε δυνάμεις ἐκτάττοντος συνιππαζόμενος καὶ δε-  
 χόμενος αὐτόν καὶ φίλους ἀνδρῶσι<sup>5</sup> ἑκατὸν καὶ  
 200 πενήκοντα πᾶσιν εἰς πολυτέλειαν καὶ πλοῦτον  
 ὑπηρεσίας ἡσκημένοις. παρέσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄν-

<sup>1</sup> ex B.J. Niese: Ἀλέξανδρον codd. E Lat.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν οὖν PFVE Exc.

<sup>3</sup> εἰσβαλεῖν PFVE.

<sup>4</sup> πάσῃ . . . θεραπείᾳ] πάσῃ τιμῇ βασιλικῇ PFVE Exc.

<sup>5</sup> ex Lat. (domibus) con. Hudson: ἀνδράσιν codd. Exc.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus here anticipates the account of Octavian's visit to Egypt given below in § 199.

<sup>b</sup> The mss. here have "Alexander" but the parallel in B.J. i. 393 correctly gives "Alexas"; cf. Plutarch, *Antony* 72, who writes that Alexas, a friend of Antony and tool of Cleopatra, had been sent to dissuade Herod from deserting



granted so favourable a reception and seeing his throne restored to him more firmly than ever beyond his hopes by the gift of Caesar and the decree of the Romans, which Caesar had obtained for him in the interest of his security, he escorted him on his way to Egypt, giving him and his friends more costly presents than he could afford and showing the utmost generosity.<sup>a</sup> He also requested that Alexas,<sup>b</sup> one of Antony's close friends, should not suffer the penalty of death,<sup>c</sup> but this request was refused since Caesar was already bound by an oath. Then he returned to Judaea with even greater honour and freedom of action, thereby causing consternation among those who had expected the contrary, for it seemed as if he were one who by the kindness of God always achieved more brilliant success in the midst of danger.<sup>d</sup> And so he at once prepared for the reception of Caesar, who was about to invade Egypt from Syria. And when Caesar arrived, Herod received him at Ptolemais with all royal attendance<sup>e</sup> and furnished his army with gifts of welcome and an abundance of provisions. He was also counted among the loyalest friends of Caesar, with whom he would ride along as he reviewed his forces, and he lodged him and his friends in a hundred and fifty apartments,<sup>f</sup> which were all appointed with rich magnificence for their comfort. And when they were crossing the desert,

but was himself persuaded to desert to Octavian. He was, however, put to death by Octavian while Antony was still alive, in spite of Herod's plea for him.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "anything fatal."

<sup>d</sup> Nothing is said in *B.J.* of the consternation caused by Herod's good fortune.

<sup>e</sup> Variant "honour."

<sup>f</sup> Text slightly emended. This detail is missing in *B.J.*

## JOSEPHUS

- υδρον διερχομένοις τὴν τῶν ἐπειγόντων χορηγίαν, ὡς μήτε οἴνου μήτε ὕδατος, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἦν ἐν χρεία τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὑστερηθῆναι. αὐτὸν γὰρ μὴν Καίσαρα ταλάντοις ὀκτακοσίοις ἔδωρήσατο καὶ παρέστησεν ἅπασιν ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν ὅτι τῆς βασιλείας ἧς εἶχε πολὺ μείζω καὶ λαμπρότερα κατὰ<sup>1</sup> τὰς
- 201 ὑπουργίας ἐπεδείκνυτο. τοῦτ' αὐτὸν καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς πίστιν εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας ἐπισυνίστη, καὶ πλείστον ἠνέγκατο τῇ χρεία τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἀρμόσας. ὁ δέ, καὶ πάλιν ἐπανιόντων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, τῶν πρώτων οὐδὲν εἰς<sup>2</sup> τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἤττων ἐφάνη.
- 202 (vii. 1) Τότε μέντοι γεγόμενος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τεταραγμένην αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν καταλαμβάνει καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐχούσας τὴν τε γυναῖκα Μαριάμμη καὶ
- 203 τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνης Ἀλεξάνδραν. οἰηθεῖσαι γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν ὑποπτον, οὐκ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν σωμάτων εἰς ἐκεῖνο κατατεθῆναι τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ<sup>3</sup> μηθενὸς μήτε τῶν ἄλλων μήθ' αὐτῶν
- 204 ἐξουσίαν ἔχοιεν, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον. ἢ τε Μαριάμμη τὸν μὲν ἔρωτα τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπόκρισιν ἄλλως καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῷ γινομένην ἀπάτην ὑπελάμβανεν, ἢ χθετο δὲ τῷ μηδ' εἰ πάσχοι τι δεινὸν ἐκεῖνος, ἐλπίδα τοῦ βιώσεσθαι δι' αὐτὸν ἐσχηκέναι καὶ τὰς Ἰωσήπῳ δοθείσας ἐντολὰς ἀνεμνημόνευσεν,

<sup>1</sup> τὰ κατὰ FV Exc.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν εἰς] οὐδενῶς P : οὐδενὸς P corr. FV.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν φρουρᾷ] φρουρὰν P : εἰς φρουρὰν FV : φρουρᾷ LA.

<sup>a</sup> The wine is not mentioned in the parallel, *B.J.* i. 395.

<sup>b</sup> The parallel in *B.J.* does not refer to Herod's gift of money to Octavian.

<sup>c</sup> The following narrative concerning Herod's jealousy of

he supplied them lavishly with things urgently needed, so that they lacked neither wine<sup>a</sup> nor water, which was even more of a necessity for the soldiers. As for Caesar himself, Herod made him a present of eight hundred talents and thereby gave everyone the idea that he was making a show of greater and more splendid service than the kingdom which he possessed could afford.<sup>b</sup> This caused Caesar to have even greater faith in his loyalty and devotion, and what brought particular credit to Herod was that he had suited his generosity to the needs of the moment. And when they returned from Egypt, he appeared no less ready to serve than he had been on the first occasion.

(vii. 1)<sup>c</sup> But when he now returned to his kingdom, he found his household disturbed and both his wife Mariamme and her mother Alexandra in an angry mood. For being persuaded—as it was natural to suspect—that they had been placed in that fortress<sup>d</sup> not for the safety of their persons but to be in custody and without any authority over others or themselves, they were angry. And Mariamme considered the king's love to be a pretence and a sham especially meant for his own advantage. She was also vexed by the thought that because of him she would not have any hope of remaining alive even if he suffered grave harm. And she recalled the instructions which had been given to Joseph,<sup>e</sup> so that she now began to

Mariamme doubts Herod's love for her.

Mariamme and the history of Salome's husband Costobar (§§ 202-266) has no parallel in *B.J.* except for the brief section §§ 213-217 on the territories given to Herod by Octavian. On the relation of this narrative to the earlier one on Herod's jealousy *cf.* §§ 80-87.

<sup>a</sup> Of Masada, see above, § 184.

<sup>e</sup> See above, § 65.

## JOSEPHUS

ὥστ' ἤδη διὰ θεραπείας εἶχε τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ  
 μᾶλλον τὸν Σόαιμον,<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ πᾶν ἐπισταμένη.  
 205 Σόαιμος δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς πιστὸς ἦν, οὐδὲν  
 ὦν Ἑρώδης ἐνετέταλτο<sup>2</sup> παριείς, λόγοις δὲ καὶ  
 δωρεαῖς λιπαρέστερον τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκθεραπευ-  
 ουσῶν αὐτόν, ἠττάτο κατὰ μικρὸν ἤδη, καὶ τέλος  
 ἐξείπεν ἀπάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ βασιλέως, μάλιστα  
 μὲν οὐδ' ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποστρέψειν<sup>3</sup>  
 206 ἐξουσίας· ἐν ᾧ<sup>4</sup> καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκφυγῶν τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὰ χαριεῖσθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὑπελαμ-  
 βανεν, ἂς<sup>5</sup> ἦν εἰκὸς οὐκ ἀποτεύξεσθαι τοῦ περιόντος  
 ἀξιώματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλέον εἰς τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἔξειν  
 ἢ<sup>6</sup> βασιλευσούσας<sup>7</sup> ἢ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἀγχοῦ γε-  
 207 νησομένας.<sup>8</sup> ἐπήλπιζε δ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ἦττον, εἰ καὶ  
 πάντα κατὰ νοῦν πράξας ὑποστρέψειεν Ἑρώδης,  
 τὸ μηδὲν<sup>9</sup> τῇ γυναικὶ δυνήσεσθαι βουλομένη γε-  
 ἀντειπεῖν· ἠπίστατο γὰρ τὸν πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμην  
 ἔρωτα μείζονα λόγου τῷ βασιλεῖ. ταῦτ' ἦν τὰ<sup>10</sup>  
 208 προσελκύσαντα<sup>11</sup> τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐξαγγεῖλαι. Μαρι-  
 άμμη δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν<sup>12</sup> ἤκουσεν, εἰ μηδὲν πέρασ  
 αὐτῇ τῶν ἐξ Ἑρώδου κινδύνων ἔσται, χαλεπῶς δὲ  
 διέκειτο, μηδενὸς μὲν τυχεῖν αὐτὸν τῶν ἴσων εὐ-  
 χομένη, δυσύποιστον δ', εἰ τύχοι, τὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> P: Σόεμον rell. E Lat., et sic infra; cf. etiam § 185.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνετείλατο FLAMW.

<sup>3</sup> ὑποστρέψειν LAMW: ἐπιστρέψειν V.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν ᾧ] εἰ δὲ μὴ ex Lat. (sed et) con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>5</sup> Dindorf: als codd.

<sup>6</sup> ἔξειν ἢ Niese: ἔξειν εἰ P: ἐξείναι FLAMVW: ἐξιέναι Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> Niese: βασιλευσούσας AMW: βασιλευσούσης PFV: βασι-  
 λεύσας L.

<sup>8</sup> γεννησομένης FV.

<sup>9</sup> τὸ μηδὲν Dindorf: μηδὲν ὅτι codd.

court the favour of her guards, especially Soēmus, whom she knew to be in full charge. Now at first Soēmus was faithful (to the king) and neglected none of the instructions given him by Herod, but after the women had persistently wooed him with words and gifts, he gradually began to yield, and finally he disclosed all the king's instructions, chiefly because he did not expect that Herod would return with the same authority (as he had before). In so doing he was especially mindful of the probability that he would escape danger from the king and also greatly please the women, who, it was natural to suppose, would not lose their present rank but would improve their position either by becoming sovereigns themselves or by being close to the sovereign. Nor did he take less hope<sup>a</sup> from the thought that even if Herod returned with everything arranged as he had planned, he would not be able to gainsay any of his wife's wishes, for Soēmus knew that the king's love for Mariamme was beyond all reason. It was these considerations that induced him to disclose his instructions. Mariamme heard them with resentment, wondering whether there would never be an end of the danger<sup>b</sup> threatening her from Herod, and in her resentful state she prayed that he would not obtain favourable treatment (from Caesar), for in her judgment life with him would be intolerable if he should

<sup>a</sup> ἐπήλπιζε is a Thucydidean word (Thuc. viii. 1. 1), occurring also in *Ant.* xiii. 329.

<sup>b</sup> εἰ μὴδὲν πέρασ . . . κινδύνων ἔσται is another Thucydidean echo (Thuc. vii. 42. 2).

<sup>10</sup> ταῦτ' ἦν τὰ] PFV : ταῦτα rell.

<sup>11</sup> M : προσεκλύσαντα rell.

<sup>12</sup> δέ, μέν om. PFV.

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- βίον κρίνουσα. καὶ τοῦτο διέδειξεν<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὑστέρω, μὴδὲν ἐπικρυψαμένη τοῦ καθ' αὐτήν<sup>2</sup> πάθους.
- 209 (2) Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις οἷς παρ' ἐλπίδας εὐτυχῆκει καταπεπλευκῶς πρώτη μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, τῇ γυναικὶ περὶ τούτων εὐηγγελίζετο, μόνην δὲ ἐκ πάντων διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν οὔσαν αὐτῷ συν-
- 210 ἠθείαν προτιμῶν ἠσπάζετο. τῇ δ' οὔτε τὰς εὐ-ημερίας διηγούμενου χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ χαλεπῶς φέρειν συνέβαινεν, οὔτ' ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὸ πάθος δυνατὸν ἦν. ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀδοξίας<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῆς περιούσης εὐγενείας πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἀνέστενε, τοῖς δὲ διηγήμασιν ἄχθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συγχαίρειν ἐνέφαινε, ὥστ'<sup>4</sup> οὐχ ὑποπτα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
- 211 καταφανῆ γινόμενα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπιταράττει. ἠδημόνει μὲν γὰρ ὄρων τὸ παράλογον τῆς γυναικὸς εἰς αὐτὸν μῖσος οὐκ ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ἤχθετο δὲ τῷ πράγματι καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα φέρειν ἀδυνατῶν ταῖς τε ὀργαῖς καὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς οὐκ ἐνέμενε, αἰεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ θατέρου μεταβαίνων εἰς θάτερον ἐφ' ἐκατέρω
- 212 πολλὴν εἶχεν ἀπορίαν. οὕτως οὖν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στυγεῖν<sup>5</sup> καὶ στέργειν ἀποληφθεὶς καὶ πολλάκις ἔτοιμος ὢν ἀμύνασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτήν, διὰ τὸ προκατειληφθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθενέστερος εἰς τὸ μεταστήσασθαι τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἐγίνετο. τὸ δὲ συμπαν ἠδέως ἂν ἐκείνην κολάσας ἐδεδοίκει μὴ λάθοι μείζονα παρ' αὐτῆς<sup>6</sup> τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀποθανούσης εἰσπραττόμενος.

<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἔδειξεν LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> καθ' αὐτήν Dindorf: κατ' αὐτήν PFAMVE: κατ' αὐτῶν L: κατ' αὐτὸν W.

<sup>3</sup> εὐδοξίας F: ἀ . . ξίας A: ἀξίας PLE.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf: ὡς PFVE: ὡς δ' rell. Lat.

<sup>5</sup> δυστυχεῖν (male) PFVE.

<sup>6</sup> αὐτοῦ PF: αὐτῷ V.

succeed. And this she later showed clearly, for she did not conceal any of her inner feelings.

(2) Now when Herod returned from his sea-voyage<sup>a</sup> after achieving greater success than he had hoped for, he naturally brought the good news to his wife first of all, and because of his love for her and the intimacy between them he singled her out from all others to embrace her. But when he told her of the good time<sup>b</sup> he had had, she was actually more depressed than happy, and it was also impossible for her to conceal her feelings. Instead, because of her disesteem<sup>c</sup> (of him) and the superiority of her birth she groaned aloud at his embrace, and she made it plain that she was more displeased than pleased by his reports, so that it was not merely his suspicion but the obvious fact (of her dislike) that greatly disturbed Herod. For he was dismayed to see that his wife's unreasonable hatred of him was unconcealed, and he was grieved by this fact, but being unable to control his love, he did not long remain either angry or reconciled but kept passing from one extreme to the other and in either case was in great suspense. And though he was caught between hate<sup>d</sup> and love and was often ready to retaliate for her disdain, still, because of the hold which she already had on his feelings, he had not the strength to put the woman away. In sum, though he would gladly have punished her, he was afraid that if she died he would unwittingly inflict greater punishment (upon himself than) upon her.<sup>e</sup>

Herod  
learns of  
Mariamme's  
dislike.

<sup>a</sup> Apparently this refers to Herod's visit to Octavian at Rhodes, see above, § 187.

<sup>b</sup> Or "success."

<sup>c</sup> Variant "good repute" (*i.e.* her own).

<sup>d</sup> Variant "misfortune."

<sup>e</sup> Text and meaning slightly uncertain.

- 213 (3) Συνιδούσαι δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν  
 Μαριάμμην ἢ τε ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἢ μήτηρ, κάλλιστον  
 ᾤθησαν τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνην μίσους εἰλη-  
 φέναι, καὶ διελάλουν οὐ μικραῖς<sup>1</sup> παροξύνουσαι τὸν  
 'Ηρώδην διαβολαῖς, μῖσος ὁμοῦ καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν  
 214 ἐμποιεῖν δυνησομέναις. ὁ δ' οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων  
 ἀηδῶς ἤκουε<sup>2</sup> λόγων οὔτε δρᾶν τι κατὰ τῆς γυναι-  
 κὸς ὡς πεπιστευκῶς ἀπεθάρρει, χεῖρον μέντοι πρὸς  
 αὐτὴν εἶχεν αἰεί, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀντεξεκαίετο, τῆς  
 μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρυπτομένης τὴν διάθεσιν, τοῦ δὲ τὸν  
 215 ἔρωτα πρὸς ὄργην αἰεί μεταλαμβάνοντος.<sup>3</sup> κἂν εὐ-  
 θὺς ἐπράχθη τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων· νῦν δὲ Καίσαρος  
 ἀγγελθέντος κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τεθνηκότων  
 'Αντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ἔχειν Αἴγυπτον, ἐπει-  
 γόμενος εἰς τὸ Καίσαρι ἀπαντᾶν, κατέλιπεν ὡς  
 216 εἶχε τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. ἐξιόντι δὲ Μαριάμμη  
 παρασησαμένη<sup>4</sup> τὸν Σόαιμον πολλὴν τε χάριν τῆς  
 ἐπιμελείας ὠμολόγει, καὶ μεριδαρχίαν αὐτῷ παρὰ  
 217 τοῦ βασιλέως ἠτήσατο. κακεῖνος μὲν τυγχάνει τῆς  
 τιμῆς. 'Ηρώδης δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Καίσαρι  
 τε μετὰ πλείονος παρρησίας εἰς λόγους ἦλθεν ὡς  
 ἤδη φίλος, καὶ μεγίστων ἠξιώθη· τῶν τε γὰρ  
 Κλεοπάτραν δορυφορούντων Γαλατῶν τετρακοσίοις  
 αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> VE: μικρῶς rell.

<sup>2</sup> ἤκουσε PF.

<sup>3</sup> μεταβάλλοντος LAMWE.

<sup>4</sup> παρασησομένη PF: commendans I.at.

<sup>a</sup> Antony died at the end of July, Cleopatra at the end of August, 30 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> There may be some confusion here about Herod's visits to Octavian at Rhodes (see above, §§ 187 ff.) and in Egypt, as some scholars believe, but note that below, in § 217, Josephus says that Herod met Octavian in Egypt as "an



(3) When his sister and mother saw that he felt this way about Mariamme, they thought it an excellent opportunity to satisfy their hatred of her, and they provoked Herod's anger against her by continually spreading serious slanders about her, which would be likely to fill him with hatred and jealousy at the same time. And he was neither unwilling to listen to such statements nor courageous enough to take any action against his wife through belief in them. However, he became more and more hostile toward her, and each of them was incensed against the other, for she, on the one hand, would not conceal her feelings about him, while he, on the other hand, continually changed from love to anger. And some irreparable harm would soon have been done to her if the news had not just then come that Caesar had won the war and with the death of Antony and Cleopatra <sup>a</sup> was in possession of Egypt. Herod thereupon hastened to meet Caesar and left affairs at home just as they were.<sup>b</sup> But as he was leaving, Mariamme brought Soëmus to him and acknowledged her gratitude for the care which he had given her, and asked that the governorship of a district <sup>c</sup> be given him by the king. This office Soëmus obtained. And when Herod came to Egypt,<sup>d</sup> he began to discuss matters with Caesar with greater freedom, as an old friend, and was granted very great favours. For example, Caesar presented him with the four hundred Gauls who had been Cleopatra's bodyguards, and gave him back the territory which had been taken old friend," which implies that he had become acquainted with him earlier.

Herod's sister and mother intensify his doubts about Mariamme. Herod meets Octavian in Egypt.

<sup>c</sup> Ἡ μεριδαρχία was a subdivision of the kingdom such as, e.g., Samaria, see *Ant.* xii. 261.

<sup>d</sup> § 217 has a parallel in *B.J.* i. 396-397.

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πάλιν ἦν δι' ἐκείνης ἀφηρέθη. προσέθηκε δὲ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἴππον καὶ Σαμάρειαν, ἔτι δὲ τῆς παραλίου Γάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Στράτωνος πύργον.

- 218 (4) Ἐπιτυχῶν δὲ καὶ τούτων λαμπρότερος ἦν, καὶ τὸν μὲν Καίσαρα παρέπεμψεν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπανελθὼν ὅσον ᾤετο τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ διὰ τῶν ἕξωθεν ἐπιδιδόναί πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, τοσοῦτον ἔκαμνε τοῖς<sup>1</sup> οἰκείοις καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὸν γάμον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον εὐτυχεῖν ἐδόκει πρότερον· ἔρωτα γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἐλάττω τῶν ἱστορουμένων ἐπε-
- 219 πόνθει μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου τῆς<sup>2</sup> Μαρριάμμης. ἡ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σώφρων καὶ πιστὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν, εἶχε δέ τι καὶ<sup>3</sup> γυναικεῖον ὁμοῦ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκ φύσεως, ἱκανῶς<sup>4</sup> μὲν<sup>5</sup> ἐντρυφῶσα δεδουλωμένῳ διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ἄλλον αὐτῆς οὐ συγκαταλογιζομένη τῷ καιρῷ, πολλάκις μὲν ὑβριστικῶς αὐτῷ προσηνέχθη, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκείνος ἐξειρωνευόμενος ἔφερεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μειζόνως·
- 220 ἀναφανδὸν δὲ τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐπὶ τῇ δυσγενείᾳ διεχλεύαζε καὶ κακῶς ἔλεγεν, ὥστ' ἤδη στάσιν ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν εἶναι καὶ μῖσος ἄσπον-
- 221 δον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε<sup>6</sup> καὶ διαβολὰς μερίζονας. ἡ τε

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τοῖς W.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς om. LAMW: τῶν Dindorf. corruptela latere mihi vid.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ om. LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> ἀνικάνως LWA marg.

<sup>5</sup> αἰεὶ μὲν A marg. LW: αἰεὶ M.

<sup>6</sup> + καιρῷ LAMW.

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<sup>a</sup> Including Jericho, see §§ 95-96 and the parallel in *B.J.* i. 361 ff. For opposed views as to the reliability of Josephus' account of the reapportionment of Jewish territory by the Romans see Otto, p. 49, and Momigliano, *Ricerche*, pp. 349-350.

from him by her.<sup>a</sup> He also added to his realm Gadara, Hippus<sup>b</sup> and Samaria, and on the coast also Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa and Straton's Tower.<sup>c</sup>

(4) On obtaining these possessions Herod became still more renowned. And he escorted Caesar on the way to Antioch, and then returned home. But the more he believed himself to be increasingly successful in external affairs, so much the more did he fail in domestic affairs, especially in his marriage, in which he had formerly seemed to be so fortunate. For the love which he felt for Mariamme was no less intense than those justly<sup>d</sup> celebrated in story. As for her, she was in most respects prudent and faithful to him but she had in her nature something that was at once womanly and cruel, and she took full advantage of his enslavement to passion. Since she did not take into account that she was subject to the king and that he was her master, as would have been proper under the circumstances,<sup>e</sup> she frequently treated him with arrogance. He for his part pretended to take this lightly<sup>f</sup> and bore it with self-restraint and patience. But she openly jeered at both his mother and his sister for their low birth and reviled them, so that for some time there had been dissension and implacable hatred among the women, but at this particular time even more serious slanders were spread. And the suspicion which was thereby

Herod's increasing distrust of Mariamme.

<sup>b</sup> Cities in Transjordan briefly held by the Jews under Alexander Jannaeus and his successors before they regained their autonomy from Pompey in 63 B.C., see *Ant.* xiv. 75.

<sup>c</sup> The later Caesarea, see below, §§ 331 ff.

<sup>d</sup> The text is slightly uncertain.

<sup>e</sup> The meaning is not wholly clear.

<sup>f</sup> This rendering may be slightly free but gives the general sense.

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ὑποψία τρεφομένη παρέτεινεν ἐνιαυτοῦ μῆκος ἐξ  
 οὗ παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἑρώδης ὑπεστρόφει. τέλος  
 μέντοι τὸ<sup>1</sup> προοικονομούμενον ἐκ πλείονος ἐξερράγη,  
 222 τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς ἐγγενομένης· κατακλινόμενος ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς ὡς ἀναπαύσασθαι μεσημβρίας οὔσης,  
 ἐκάλει τὴν Μαριάμμην ὑπὸ φιλοστοργίας ἧς αἰ  
 περὶ αὐτὴν εἶχεν. ἡ δὲ εἰσῆλθε μὲν, οὐ μὴν καὶ  
 κατεκλίθη σπουδάζοντος,<sup>2</sup> ἐκφάυλίσασα καὶ προσ-  
 λοιδορηθεῖσα, τὸν τε πατέρα<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 223 αὐτῆς ὡς ἀπεκτόνοι. χαλεπῶς δ' ἐκείνου τὴν  
 ὕβριν ἐνηνοχότος καὶ γεγονότος εἰς προπέτειαν  
 ἐτοιμοῦ, τῆς ταραχῆς αἰσθημένη μείζονος ἢ τοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἀδελφῆ Σαλώμῃ παρεσκευασμένον ἐκ  
 πλείστου τὸν οἰνοχόον εἰσπέμπει, κελεύουσα λέγειν  
 ὡς πείθοι Μαριάμμη φίλτρον αὐτῇ συγκατασκευά-  
 224 σαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. κὰν ταραχθῆ καὶ πυνθάνηται τί  
 ποτε τοῦτ' ἦν, λέγειν ὅτι<sup>4</sup> . . . φάρμακον ἐκείνης  
 μὲν χεύουσης<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῦ δὲ διακοιῆσαι παρακαλουμένου,  
 μὴ κινηθέντος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ φίλτρῳ τὸν λόγον ἀργὸν  
 εἶαν· οὐδένα<sup>6</sup> γὰρ αὐτῷ κίνδυνον φέρειν. τοιαῦτα  
 προδιδάξασα κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰσπέμπει δια-  
 225 λεξόμενον. ὁ δὲ πιθανῶς ἅμα καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς

<sup>1</sup> τὸ added by Warmington.

<sup>2</sup> σπουδάζοντος om. FVE. <sup>3</sup> πάππον LE.

<sup>4</sup> post ὅτι lacunam stat. Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> conieci: ἐχούσης codd. E Lat.

<sup>6</sup> οὐδὲν PFV: nequaquam Lat.: οὐδέ con. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> "Storm" is a free rendering.

<sup>b</sup> One ms. and the Epitome have "grandfather," probably a correction of an original slip on Josephus' part. The reference is, of course, to Mariamme's grandfather, Hyrcanus (see above, § 173), and not to her father, Alexander, who was

nourished extended for the space of a year from the time when Herod returned from his visit to Caesar. Finally, however, the storm <sup>a</sup> which had long been kept under control burst upon them on the following occasion. One noon the king lay down to rest and out of the great fondness which he always had for her called for Mariamme. And so she came but she did not lie down (with him) in spite of his urging. Instead, she expressed contempt for him and bitterly reproached him for having killed both her father <sup>b</sup> and her brother. <sup>c</sup> And when he showed resentment of her arrogance and was about to do something rash, the king's sister Salome, who perceived how greatly he was disturbed, sent his butler, who had long before been prepared for this, and ordered him to say that Mariamme had tried to persuade him to help her prepare a love-potion for the king. And (she said) if Herod should be disturbed and ask what it was, (he should reply that he did not know), <sup>d</sup> for Mariamme had poured <sup>e</sup> the drug while he had (merely) been requested to serve it. But (she said) if Herod were not excited over the love-potion, he should let the matter drop, for it would not involve him in any danger. Having given him these instructions in advance, she sent him in to speak to Herod on that occasion. And so he went in obediently <sup>f</sup>

executed in 49 B.C. by the proconsul of Syria at the order of Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. 125) without the participation of Herod.

<sup>c</sup> This was the young high priest Aristobulus, treacherously killed by drowning at Herod's order in the autumn of 35 B.C., some five years earlier than the present events.

<sup>d</sup> The text is probably defective here.

<sup>e</sup> This verb is conjectured for mss. "had had." The emendation requires merely the transposition of the first two letters of the verb.

<sup>f</sup> Or perhaps "with a plausible story."

εἰσῆει, δῶρα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν Μαριάμμη παρεσχῆ-  
 σθαι λέγων, ἀναπέθειν δὲ φίλτρον αὐτῷ διδόναι.  
 πρὸς τοῦτο διακινήθentos καὶ τί τὸ φίλτρον εἶη  
 ἐρωτήσαντος, φάρμακον εἶπεν ὑπ'<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνης δεδο-  
 μένον,<sup>2</sup> οὗ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς οὐκ εἶδέναι, διὸ καὶ  
 προσαγγεῖλαι, τοῦτ' ἀσφαλέστερον αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ  
 226 βασιλεῖ διειληφότα. τοιούτων ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης  
 λόγων, καὶ πρότερον κακῶς διακείμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 ἀνηρεθίσθη, τὸν τε εὐνοῦχον,<sup>3</sup> ὃς ἦν τῇ Μαριάμμη  
 πιστότατος, ἐβασάνιζεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φαρμάκου, γινώ-  
 σκων ὡς οὐ χωρὶς ἐκείνου τι δυνατὸν ἦν οὔτε μεῖζον  
 227 οὔτε ἔλαττόν τι πεπραῆχθαι. γενόμενος δ' ἐν ταῖς  
 ἀνάγκαις ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲν μὲν ὦν ἔνεκεν ἐβασα-  
 νίζετο λέγειν εἶχεν, τὸ μέντοι τῆς γυναικὸς ἔχθος εἰς  
 αὐτὸν ἔφη γενέσθαι διὰ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ὁ Σόαιμος  
 228 αὐτῇ φράσαι. ταῦτα δ' ἔτι λέγοντος, μέγα βοήσας  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἂν ἔφη Σόαιμον, πιστότατον ὄντα  
 τὸν γε ἄλλον χρόνον αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, κατα-  
 προδοῦναι τὰς ἐντολάς, εἰ μὴ καὶ περαιτέρω προ-  
 229 εληλύθει τῆς πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμη κοινωνίας. καὶ  
 τὸν μὲν Σόαιμον εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκτεῖναι συλλα-  
 βόντας· τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ κρίσιν ἀπεδίδου, συναγαγὼν  
 τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐσπου-  
 δασμένην ποιούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὰς διαβολὰς  
 φίλτρων καὶ φαρμάκων. ἦν δὲ ἀκρατῆς ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τί . . . ὑπ'] τὸ φίλτρον ἔλεγεν εἶναι φάρμακον ὑπ' PFVE  
 Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Herwerden : διδόμενον codd. E : quod illa monebat dari  
 Lat. <sup>3</sup> οἰνοχόον E.

<sup>a</sup> The Epitome has "butler."

<sup>b</sup> Or "remanded for (trial)."

and with alacrity, saying that Mariamme had first given him gifts and then tried to persuade him to give the love-potion to the king. When Herod showed great excitement over this and asked what the love-potion was, the butler said that it was a drug which had been given him by Mariamme and that he did not know its properties, and for that reason he had informed Herod about it, for he had decided that this was the safer course for both himself and the king. On hearing these statements Herod, who was already in an ugly mood, was even more provoked, and to learn about the drug he proceeded to torture the eunuch<sup>a</sup> who was most faithful to Mariamme, for he knew that it would have been impossible for her to do anything great or small without him. But in his extremity the man could not say anything about the things which he was being asked under torture. He did say, however, that the hatred which his wife felt for the king had arisen from the things which Soëmus had told her. And while he was still speaking, the king cried aloud, saying that Soëmus, who had all along been most faithful to him and his realm, would never have betrayed his instructions if he had not gone too far in his intimacy with Mariamme. And so he gave orders that Soëmus should be arrested and put to death at once, while to his wife he conceded the right to<sup>b</sup> a trial. Calling together those who were closest to him,<sup>c</sup> he brought an elaborately framed accusation against her concerning the love-potions and drugs which she was alleged<sup>d</sup> to have prepared. Since he

<sup>c</sup> Reinach endorses Destimon's suggestion that Nicolas of Damascus was among these counsellors.

<sup>d</sup> Possibly we should render "slandorously alleged."

- λόγω καὶ κρίσεως ὀργιλώτερος, καὶ τέλος οὕτως  
 ἔχοντα γινώσκοντες αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες θάνατον  
 230 αὐτῆς κατεψηφίσαντο. διενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης  
 ὑπεγίνετο μὲν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τισιν  
 τῶν παρόντων μὴ προπετῶς οὕτως ἀναιρεῖν, κατα-  
 θέσθαι δὲ εἰς ἓν τι τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ φρουρίων.  
 231 ἐσπουδάσθη δὲ ταῖς<sup>1</sup> περὶ τὴν Σαλώμην ἐκποδῶν<sup>2</sup>  
 ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ μᾶλλον ἔπεισαν τὸν  
 βασιλέα, τὰς ταραχὰς τοῦ πλήθους, εἰ ζῶσα τύχοι,  
 φυλάξασθαι συμβουλεύουσαι. Μαριάμμη μὲν οὖν  
 οὕτως ἤγετο τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.  
 232 (5) Συνθεωρήσασα δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρα  
 καὶ διότι μικρὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοι μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν  
 ὁμοίων ἐξ Ἡρώδου τυχεῖν, ἐναντίως πρὸς τὸ πρῶ-  
 233 τον θράσος καὶ λίαν ἀπρεπῶς μετεβάλλετο· βουλο-  
 μένη γὰρ ἐμφῆναι τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὧν<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνη τὰς  
 αἰτίας εἶχεν, ἐκπηδήσασα καὶ λοιδορουμένη τῇ  
 θυγατρὶ πάντων ἀκουόντων ἐβόα κακὴν καὶ ἀχά-  
 ριστον πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι καὶ δίκαια πάσχειν  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τολμήμασιν<sup>4</sup>. οὐ γὰρ ἀμείψασθαι  
 234 δεόντως τὸν πάντων αὐτῶν εὐεργέτην. τοιαῦτα  
 μεταξὺ καθυποκρινομένης ἀσχημόνως καὶ τολμώσης  
 ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ τῶν τριχῶν, πολλὴ μὲν, ὡς εἰκός,  
 καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ κατάγνωσις ἦν τῆς ἀπρε-  
 ποῦς προσποιήσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνεφάνη παρ' αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> εὐθύς ἐκποδῶν con. Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> ὧν ἔνεκα ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> τολμήσασαν P.



was intemperate in speech and too angry to judge (calmly), those who were present realized in what a state he was, and finally condemned her to death. But after sentence had been passed, it occurred both to him and to some of those present that she ought not to be done away with so hastily but be put away in one of the fortresses of the kingdom. But Salome and her friends made every effort to get rid of the poor woman, and they prevailed upon the king to do so by advising him to take precautions against the popular disturbances which would break out if she should be allowed to live. That is how Mariamme came to be led to execution.<sup>a</sup>

(5) Alexandra, considering the situation and having small hope of escaping similar treatment from Herod, changed her attitude in very unseemly fashion to one which was the opposite of her former boldness. For in her desire to make plain her ignorance of the things with which Mariamme was charged, she sprang up and in the hearing of all the people cried out and reproached her daughter with having been wicked and ungrateful to her husband, and said that she was suffering just punishment for her reckless behaviour, for she had not properly requited the benefactor of them all. In so indecently acting a part and even daring to seize Mariamme by the hair she naturally incurred the strong disapproval of the others for her unseemly play-acting. Especially was this clear in the case of the condemned woman

Alexandra betrays Mariamme, who is put to death.

<sup>a</sup> Late in 29 B.C., if we rely upon the accuracy of Josephus' statement above in § 221 that Herod's suspicion of Mariamme lasted for a year from the time of his visit to Octavian. But according to *B.J.* i. 442, Mariamme was executed soon after Herod's visit to Antony, which was in 34 B.C. See *Ant.* xv. 87 note a.

## JOSEPHUS

- 235 τῆς ἀπολλυμένης· οὔτε γὰρ λόγον δοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν  
οὔτε ταραχθεῖσα πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης δυσχέρειαν ἐπέ-  
βλεπεν<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' ὡς<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ φρονήματος τὴν ἀμαρτίαν  
καὶ μᾶλλον ἄχθεσθαι περιφανῶς ἀσχημονούσης ἐν-  
236 ἔφηνεν. αὐτὴ γε μὴν ἀτρεμαίῳ τῷ καταστήματι  
καὶ τῇ χροῆα τῆς σαρκὸς ἀμεταβλήτῳ πρὸς τὸν  
θάνατον ἀπῆει, τὴν εὐγένειαν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις  
ἄδηλον τοῖς ἐπιθεωροῦσιν αὐτὴν ἐμφαίνουσα.
- 237 (6) Κάκεινη μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανε, γυνὴ καὶ πρὸς  
ἐγκράτειαν καὶ πρὸς μεγαλοψυχίαν ἄριστα γεγενη-  
μένη, τὸ δ' ἐπιεικὲς ἔλειπεν αὐτῇ καὶ πλείον ἦν ἐν  
τῇ φύσει τὸ φιλόνεικον· κάλλει δὲ σώματος καὶ τῷ  
περὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις ἀξιώματι μειζόνως ἢ φράσαι τὰς  
238 κατ' αὐτὴν ὑπερήρην,<sup>3</sup> ἣ τε πλείων ἀφορμὴ τοῦ μὴ  
κεχαρισμένως τῷ βασιλεῖ μηδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ζῆν  
ἐντεῦθεν ἐγεγόνει· θεραπευομένη γὰρ αἰεὶ<sup>4</sup> διὰ τὸν  
ἔρωτα καὶ δυσχερὲς οὐδὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου προσδοκῶσα,  
239 τὴν παρρησίαν ἀσύμμετρον εἶχεν. ἡνία δ' αὐτὴν  
καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς  
ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἐπεπόνθει λέγειν ἡξίου, καὶ πέρασ  
ἐξενίκησεν<sup>5</sup> ἐχθρὰς αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὴν τε μητέρα  
καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κάκεινον αὐτόν, ᾧ  
μόνῳ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν τι δυσχερὲς ἀπεπίστευεν.
- 240 (7) Ἀναιρεθείσης δ' αὐτῆς τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξ-  
ήφθη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔχοντος  
μὲν οὕτως καὶ πρότερον, ὡς<sup>6</sup> ἐδηλώσαμεν· οὐ γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπέτρεπεν LA<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>W : respexisset Lat. : ἀπέβλεπεν con. Ernesti.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλως con. Post.

<sup>3</sup> Havercamp : ὑπερήγεν codd. E : anteibat Lat.

<sup>4</sup> αἰεὶ om. PF.

<sup>5</sup> E : ἐξεκίνησεν codd.

<sup>6</sup> οὕτως . . . ὡς Bekker : οὕτως ὡς καὶ πρότερον codd. E.

herself, for she spoke not a single word nor did she show confusion as she watched her mother's disgusting behaviour, but in her greatness of spirit she did make it plain that she was indeed greatly distressed by her offence in behaving in this conspicuously disgraceful manner. Mariamme herself, at least, went to her death with a wholly calm demeanour and without change of colour, and so even in her last moments she made her nobility of descent very clear to those who were looking on.

(6) Thus died Mariamme, a woman unexcelled in continence and in greatness of soul, though lacking in reasonableness and of too quarrelsome a nature. But in beauty of body and in dignity of bearing in the presence of others she surpassed her contemporaries more greatly than one can say. And this was the chief source of her failure to please the king and to live with him agreeably. For being constantly courted by him because of his love, and expecting no harsh treatment from him, she maintained an excessive freedom of speech. And since she was also distressed by what had happened to her relatives,<sup>a</sup> she saw fit to speak to Herod of all her feelings, and finally succeeded in incurring the enmity of the king's mother and sister and his own as well, though he was the one person from whom she had mistakenly expected not to suffer any harm.

The character of Mariamme.

(7) But once she had been disposed of, the king's desire for her burned still more strongly, for such had been his feeling even earlier, as we have related.<sup>b</sup>

Herod's remorse and illness.

<sup>a</sup> Her grandfather Hyrcanus and her brother Aristobulus, see above, § 222; *cf. B.J.* i. 437, where Aristobulus is mentioned by his other (Hebrew) name, Jonathan.

<sup>b</sup> Text slightly emended; mss. "such had been his feeling, as we related earlier."

ἀπαθῆς οὐδ' οἷος ἂν ἐκ συνηθείας ἦν ὁ πρὸς αὐτὴν  
 ἔρως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον ἤρξεν ἐνθουσιαστικῶς,  
 καὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῆς συμβιώσεως οὐκ ἀπενικήθη  
 241 μὴ πλείων αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι· τότε μέντοι καὶ μᾶλλον  
 ἐδόκει κατὰ νέμεσίν τινα τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μαριάμμην  
 ἀπωλείας ἐπιθέσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀνακλήσεις  
 ἦσαν αὐτῆς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ θρήνος ἀσχήμων,  
 ἐπενόει δὲ πᾶν εἶ<sup>1</sup> τι δυνατὸν εἰς ψυχαγωγίαν,  
 πότους καὶ συνουσίας αὐτῷ πραγματευόμενος, καὶ  
 242 τούτων οὐδὲν ἤρκει. τὰς οὖν διοικήσεις τῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν βασιλείαν παρητεῖτο, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤττητο τοῦ  
 πάθους ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ<sup>2</sup> καλεῖν τὴν Μαριάμμην  
 προστάξαι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ὡς ζῶσαν ἔτι καὶ δυνα-  
 243 μένην ὑπακούειν. οὕτως δὲ ἔχοντος ἐπιγίνεται  
 λοιμώδης νόσος, ἣ καὶ τῶν ὄχλων τοὺς πλείους καὶ  
 τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐντιμοτάτους διέφθειρε, καὶ  
 παρέσχεν ἅπασιν ἐξυπονοῆσαι κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 τοῦτο<sup>3</sup> συνενεχθῆναι διὰ<sup>4</sup> τὴν γεγεννημένην παρα-  
 244 νομίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Μαριάμμῃ. χεῖρον οὖν διετίθει καὶ  
 τοῦτ' αὐτὸν<sup>5</sup> τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τέλος εἰς τὰς ἐρημίας  
 αὐτὸν διδοὺς καὶ προφάσει κυνηγεσιῶν ταύταις  
 ἐναδημονῶν οὐκ ἔφθη πλείους διενεγκεῖν ἡμέρας  
 245 καὶ περιπίπτει νόσῳ δυσχερεστάτῃ· φλόγωσις γὰρ  
 ἦν καὶ πείσις<sup>6</sup> τοῦ ἰνίου καὶ τῆς διανοίας παραλ-  
 λαγή· τῶν τε θεραπευμάτων οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πρὸς  
 ὠφέλειαν ἐξήνυεν, ἀλλ' ἐναντιούμενα τέλος<sup>7</sup> εἰς ἀπό-  
 246 γνωσιν ἦγεν. ὅσοι τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἰατροί,

<sup>1</sup> ὁ Naber.

<sup>2</sup> ποτὲ LAMW : aliquando Lat. : καὶ ποτὲ Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο I.E : τοῦτο P : τοῦτου θεοῦ F (sic) : τοῦτο θεοῦ AV : τοῦ θεοῦ MW.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν κατὰ P.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτὸ P : om. E.

<sup>6</sup> πύσις con. Cobet et al.

<sup>7</sup> τέως P.

For his love for her was not passionless nor such as arises from familiarity, but in its very earliest beginnings had been a divine madness, and even with freedom of cohabitation it was not restrained from growing greater. But now more than ever he seemed to be a prey to it as if by a kind of divine punishment for the death of Mariamme. And he would frequently call out for her and frequently utter unseemly laments. He would also devise all kinds of distraction possible, and arrange banquets and parties for himself, and yet none of these would help. And so he put aside the administration of the kingdom, and was so far overcome by his passion that he would actually order his servants to summon Mariamme as if she were still alive and able to heed them. While he was in this state there arose a pestilential disease which destroyed the greater part of the people and also the most honoured of his friends, and this caused all to suspect that their misfortune had been brought upon them by God in His anger at what had lawlessly been done to Mariamme. This, therefore, made the king himself feel worse, and finally he went off to the wilderness, where under the pretext of hunting he gave way to his suffering; but he did not hold out for many days before he succumbed to a serious illness. This was an inflammation and pain<sup>a</sup> in the back of his head, and the loss of his reason temporarily. And none of the remedies tried was effective enough to help him; instead, they had the opposite effect and finally brought him to the point where his life was despaired of. And all the physicians who surrounded him, partly because the illness did not

<sup>a</sup> Conjectured variant "suppuration." Otto, p. 55, supposes that Herod suffered from an infected boil.

τὰ μὲν οἷς αὐτοὶ προσέφερον βοηθήμασιν οὐδὲν ὑπεικούσης τῆς νόσου, τὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἔχοντος ἄλλως ἢ κατὰ τὸ βιαζόμενον τῆς ἀρρωστίας διαιτᾶσθαι, πάνθ' οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἐπειχθείη<sup>1</sup> παρέχειν ἡξίου, τὸ δύσελπι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν ἐξουσία τῆς διαίτης ἀνατιθέντες τῇ τύχῃ. καὶ κεῖνος μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῇ κληθείσῃ Σεβαστῇ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐνοσηλεύετο.

- 247 (8) Διατρίβουσα δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ πυνθανομένη<sup>2</sup> τὰ κατ' αὐτόν, ἐσπουδάκει τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν φρουρίων ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι.
- 248 δύο δ' ἦν, ἐν μὲν αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, ἕτερον δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ τούτων οἱ κρατοῦντες ὑποχείριον τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐσχήκασιν· τὰς μὲν γὰρ θυσίας οὐκ ἄνευ τούτων οἶόν τε γενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταύτας συντελεῖν οὐδενὶ Ἰουδαίων δυνατόν,<sup>3</sup> τοῦ ζῆν ἐτοιμότερον ἂν παραχωρησάντων ἢ τῆς θρησκείας ἦν εἰς τὸν θεὸν
- 249 εἰώθασιν συντελεῖν. τοῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν φυλακτηρίων Ἀλεξάνδρα προσήνεγκε τοὺς λόγους, ὡς δέον αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἡρώδου παιδίοις παραδοῦναι, μὴ καὶ φθῆ τις ἐκείνου μεταλλάξαντος<sup>4</sup> ἕτερος ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων· ῥωσθέντι μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀσφαλέστερον τῶν οἰκειοτάτων διατηρήσει.
- 250 τούτους τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπεικῶς ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ πιστοὶ<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ὄντες ἔτι

<sup>1</sup> Naber: ἐπενεχθείη codd.

<sup>2</sup> πυθομένη M: cum audisset Lat.

<sup>3</sup> θεμιτόν M.

<sup>4</sup> + τὸν βίον AM.

<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ' ἀπιστοὶ PLAMW.

<sup>a</sup> The plague and Herod's illness are not mentioned in connexion with Mariamme's death in the partial parallel, *B.J.* i. 444. For rabbinic legends about Mariamme's execu-

yield to any of the medicines which they themselves applied, and partly because the king was in no condition to follow any regimen other than that which his illness forced upon him, thought it best to give him whatever he might be moved to ask for, thus leaving to Fortune the faint hope of his recovery, which depended upon his regimen.<sup>a</sup> And so he suffered from this illness in Samaria, (later) called Sebaste.<sup>b</sup>

(8) When Alexandra, who was staying in Jerusalem, learned of his condition, she made an effort to seize control of the fortified places in the city. There were two of these ; one (guarded) the city itself, and the other the temple. Whoever was master of these had the whole nation in his power, for sacrifices could not be made without (controlling) these places, and it was impossible for any of the Jews to forgo offering these, for they would rather give up their lives than the worship which they are accustomed to offer God. Alexandra therefore argued with those in charge of these defences, saying that they ought to surrender them to her and to Herod's sons lest upon Herod's death someone else should seize power before them ; and, on the other hand, if he should be restored to health, no one would guard them more securely than his nearest of kin. These arguments of hers they listened to without sympathy ; in fact, though they had been faithful (to Herod) <sup>c</sup> before this, they now

Herod  
executes  
Alexandra.

tion (Bab. Talmud, *Baba Batra* 3 b, *Qiddushin* 70 b) see Derenbourg, pp. 151-152.

<sup>b</sup> The city was renamed in honour of Augustus (*Sebastos* in Greek) c. 27 B.C., two years after Mariamme's execution. On the problem of chronology in this portion of *Ant.* xv. see Schürer, i. 366 note 8, and *cf.* below, §§ 259, 296.

<sup>c</sup> Most mss. read "unfaithful."

μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ τότε διέμειναν, μίσει τε τῆς Ἀλεξ-  
 άνδρας καὶ τῷ μηδ' ὅσιον ὑπολαμβάνειν ζῶντα τὸν  
 Ἑρώδην ἀπεγνωκέσαι· φίλοι γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἦσαν,  
 εἰς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀχίαβος  
 251 ἦν.<sup>1</sup> εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξήγγειλαν πέμψαντες ἐκείνῳ τὴν  
 γνώμην τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνα-  
 βαλλόμενος<sup>2</sup> ἀποκτεῖναι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μόλις  
 καὶ σὺν κακοπαθείᾳ διαφυγὼν τὴν νόσον χαλεπὸς  
 ἦν, ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι κεκακωμένος ὁμοῦ πρὸς τὸ  
 δυσάρεστον, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐτοιμοτέρως  
 252 εἰς τιμωρίαν τῶν ὑποπεσόντων ἐχρήτο. φονεῦει  
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους, Κοστό-  
 βαρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ τὸν Γαδία<sup>3</sup> καλούμενον  
 Ἀντίπατρον, ἔτι δὲ Δοσίθεον, ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης.  
 253 (9) Κοστόβαρος ἦν γένει μὲν Ἰδουμαῖος, ἀξιώ-  
 ματος τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ προγόνων  
 ἱερατευσάντων τῷ Κωζέ<sup>4</sup>. θεὸν δὲ τοῦτον Ἰδου-  
 254 μαῖοι νομίζουσιν. Ὑρκανοῦ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν  
 αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα μεταστή-

<sup>1</sup> ὑπῆρχεν FLAMW: om. P.

<sup>2</sup> ἀναβαλλόμενος P corr. VE: ἀναβαλομένους con. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Γαδίαν AMWE.

<sup>4</sup> Κοζαί P.

<sup>a</sup> Achiab(us) was later to prevent Herod from committing suicide, see *Ant.* xvii. 184.

<sup>b</sup> c. 28 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> See note f.

<sup>d</sup> The (Aramaic) name *gadia* might mean either "kid" or "lucky."

<sup>e</sup> Possibly the same person who betrayed Hyrcanus, see above, §§ 168 ff. Niese in the *Index nominum* to his edition of Josephus suggests that this Dositheüs may possibly be the same as the Alexandrian who appealed to the Roman consul



continued to be even more faithful, both because they hated Alexandra and because they considered it impious to give Herod up for lost while he was still alive. For they were old friends of the king, and one of them, Achiabus, was actually his cousin.<sup>a</sup> They therefore immediately sent someone to inform him of Alexandra's intention, and without delay he gave orders for her to be put to death.<sup>b</sup> As for the king himself, having barely recovered from his illness after suffering greatly, he was in an ugly mood, and being afflicted in mind and body at once, he found fault with everything and was quick to use any and every pretext to inflict punishment on those who fell into his hands. Indeed, he slew his closest friends, Costobarus,<sup>c</sup> Lysimachus and Antipater, surnamed Gadia,<sup>d</sup> and also Dositheüs,<sup>e</sup> for the following reason.

(9) Costobarus<sup>f</sup> was of Idumaeen race and was one of those first in rank among them, and his ancestors had been priests of Koze,<sup>g</sup> whom the Idumaeans believe to be a god. Now Hyrcanus<sup>h</sup> had altered their way of life and made them adopt the customs

Costobarus, governor of Idumaea, offers his services to Cleopatra but is pardoned by Herod.

Lentulus to exempt the Jews of Ephesus from military service, see *Ant.* xiv. 236.

<sup>f</sup> This Edomite (Idumaeen) name is not listed in H. Wuthnow's *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften u. Papyri d. vorderen Orients* (Leipzig, 1930). It is semitized as *Qozgeber* by Klausner, iv. 9 notes 2, 26 on the basis of older inscriptions (which may, however, refer to a different God—*Qaws*). However, it is quite possible that the form *Kostobaros* is a miswriting of an original *Kosgaros*, as suggested by, among others, S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (London, 1930), pp. 203-204.

<sup>g</sup> Probably the same as the N. Arab god *Qozah*, a divine archer, associated in Hellenistic-Roman times with Apollo; see *Ap.* ii. 112, 117.

<sup>h</sup> John Hyrcanus I, see *Ant.* xiii. 257-258.

σαντος Ἡρώδης παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἄρχοντα  
 τῆς Ἰουμαίας καὶ Γάζης ἀποδείκνυσιν τὸν Κοστό-  
 βαρον, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σαλώμην,  
 Ἰώσηπον ἀνελὼν τὸν εἰληφότα πρότερον αὐτὴν, ὡς  
 255 ἐδηλώσαμεν. Κοστόβαρος δὲ τούτων τυχὼν ἀσ-  
 μένως καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἤρθη μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς  
 εὐτυχίας καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξέβαιεν, οὐθ' αὐτῷ  
 καλὸν ἠγούμενος ἄρχοντος Ἡρώδου τὸ προσταττό-  
 μενον ποιεῖν οὔτε τοῖς Ἰουμαίοις τὰ Ἰουδαίων  
 256 ἔθῃ<sup>1</sup> μεταλαβοῦσιν<sup>2</sup> ὑπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι. διαπέμ-  
 πεται οὖν<sup>3</sup> πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Ἰουμαίαν φά-  
 μενος αἰεὶ τῶν ἐκείνης προγόνων γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτ' εἶναι δίκαιον αἰτεῖσθαι παρ' Ἀντωνίου  
 τὴν χώραν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔτοιμος εἶναι μεταφέρειν τὴν  
 257 εὐνοίαν εἰς ἐκείνην. ἔπραττε δὲ ταῦτα, τῇ Κλεο-  
 πάτρᾳ μὲν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρεσκό-  
 μενος, εἰ δὲ παραιρεθείη τῶν πλειόνων Ἡρώδης,  
 εὐεπιχείρητον ἤδη νομίζων καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἄρξειν<sup>4</sup>  
 τοῦ τῶν Ἰουμαίων γένους καὶ μείζον πράξειν·  
 ἐπιδιέβαινε γὰρ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, οὐκ ὀλίγας ἀφορμὰς  
 ἔχων καὶ γένους καὶ χρημάτων, ἃ μετὰ διηνεκοῦς  
 αἰσχροκερδείας ἐπεπόριστο, καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπε-  
 258 νόει. Κλεοπάτρα μὲν οὖν Ἀντωνίου δεηθεῖσα περὶ  
 τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀποτυγχάνει. λέγονται δὲ πρὸς  
 Ἡρώδη οἱ λόγοι, κακείνος ἔτοιμος ὢν<sup>5</sup> ἀποκτεῖναι  
 τὸν Κοστόβαρον, ὅμως τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ δεηθεί-

<sup>1</sup> ἔθῃ om. PE.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς Ἰουμαίοις . . . μεταλαβοῦσιν] τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσι  
 τοὺς Ἰουμαίους χρωμένους V.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ διαπέμπεται PFVE.

and laws of the Jews. When Herod took over royal power, he appointed Costobarus governor of Idumaea and Gaza, and gave him (in marriage) his sister Salome, after putting to death Joseph, her former husband, as we have related.<sup>a</sup> Costobarus gladly received these favours, which were more than he had expected, and in his great elation over his good fortune he gradually exceeded all bounds. For he did not think that it was proper for him to carry out the orders of Herod, who was his ruler, or for the Idumaeans to adopt the customs of the Jews and be subject to them. And so he sent to Cleopatra, saying that Idumaea had always belonged to her ancestors and for that reason it was right that she should ask Antony for this territory. He himself, he said, was ready to transfer his loyalty to her. This he did not because he was especially pleased to be under Cleopatra's rule but because he thought that if Herod were deprived of the greater part (of his power), it would be a simple matter for him to become ruler of the Idumaeian nation and to achieve greater things. And he set no limit to his hopes, having good reason for this both in his lineage and in the wealth which he had acquired through continual and shameless profit-seeking; and it was no small matter that he had in mind.<sup>b</sup> Cleopatra, therefore, asked Antony for this territory, but she was refused. And when these things were reported to Herod, he was ready to kill Costobarus but at the request of his

<sup>a</sup> See above, § 87, *cf.* *B.J.* i. 443. Salome's marriage with Costobarus probably took place in 34 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> The phrase *μικρόν οὐδέν ἐπενόει* recalls Thuc. ii. 8. 1, *ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδέν.*

<sup>4</sup> Niese: *ἄρξε* (sic) W: *ἄρξαι* rell.

<sup>5</sup> *ἦν* LAMWE.

σης καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀφίησι καὶ συγγνώμης ἡξίωσεν, οὐκ ἀνύποπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχων τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως τῆς τότε.

- 259 (10) Χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος ἐπισυνέβη τὴν Σαλώμην στασιάσαι πρὸς τὸν Κοστόβαρον, καὶ πέμπει μὲν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ γραμματεῖον, ἀπολυομένη τὸν γάμον, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων νόμους· ἀνδρὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔξεστι παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, γυναικὶ δὲ οὐδὲ διαχωρισθεῖσιν καθ' αὐτὴν γαμηθῆναι, μὴ τοῦ πρό-  
260 τερον ἀνδρὸς ἐφιέντος.<sup>1</sup> οὐ μὴν ἢ Σαλώμη τὸν ἐγγενῆ<sup>2</sup> νόμον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπ'<sup>3</sup> ἐξουσίας ἐλομένη, τὴν τε συμβίωσιν προαπηγόρευσεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἑρώδη ἐλεγεν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰς ἐκείνον εὐνοίας ἀποστῆναι τὰνδρός· ἐγνωκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν μετ' Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου καὶ Δοσιθέου νεωτέρων ἐφιέμενον. καὶ πίστιν παρείχε τοῦ λόγου τοὺς Βάβα<sup>4</sup> παῖδας, ὅτι διασώζονται παρ' αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἀφιέντος FLAMVW Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν γένει FLV: generali Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπ' FAMVWE: ὑπ' L.

<sup>4</sup> Σάββα P hic et infra.

<sup>a</sup> On the confused chronology of this passage see Schürer, i. 366 note 8.

<sup>b</sup> The word *γράμματα* is also used by Josephus in *Ant.* iv. 253 in place of *LXX βιβλίον ἀποστασίου*, rendering Heb. *sepher k'eritut*, A.V. "bill of divorcement," which the Rabbis called a *get*.

<sup>c</sup> Dent. xxiv. 1 states that the bill of divorcement must be issued by the husband. According to the Mishnah, *Gittin* ix. i-3, the essential formula of the bill of divorcement is "Lo, thou art free to marry any man," but there are certain

sister and mother let him go and granted him a pardon. But from that time on he always regarded him as suspect because of the attempt made then.<sup>a</sup>

(10) Some time afterwards Salome had occasion to quarrel with Costobarus and soon sent him a document<sup>b</sup> dissolving their marriage, which was not in accordance with Jewish law. For it is (only) the man who is permitted by us to do this, and not even a divorced woman may marry again on her own initiative unless her former husband consents.<sup>c</sup> Salome, however, did not choose to follow her country's law but acted on her own authority and repudiated her marriage,<sup>d</sup> telling her brother Herod that she had separated from her husband out of loyalty to Herod himself. For, she said, she had learned that her husband together with Antipater and Lysimachus and Dositheüs was planning to revolt. As proof of her charges she cited the fact that the Sons of Baba<sup>e</sup> had been kept safe by Costobarus for a period of

Salome  
divorces  
Costobarus.

exceptions which some authorities recognize as valid. Louis Epstein in *The Jewish Marriage Contract*, trans. into Hebrew by Mosheh Maisels (New York, 1954), p. 128, concludes that "according to Jewish law the wife may not divorce her husband," *i.e.* take the initiative by sending him a writ. On the bearing of this passage on Mark x. 12 see Ralph Marcus, "Notes on Torrey's Translation of the Gospels," *Harvard Theological Review* 27 (1934), 220-221.

<sup>d</sup> The Rabbis appear to have recognized the validity of a pagan divorce instituted by the wife through a *repudium*, see Boaz Cohen, "Concerning Divorce in Jewish and Roman Law," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 21 (1952), 3-34.

<sup>e</sup> MS. P "Sabba(s)." Niese's preference for the latter reading is condemned by Klausner, iv. 26 note 50, *cf.* Schürer, i. 386 note 54. A Baba ben Buta appears in rabbinic tradition (see Derenbourg, pp. 152-153) as a counsellor of Herod, later mutilated by him.

261 χρόνον ἐνιαυτῶν ἤδη δεκαδύο.<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο δὲ εἶχεν οὕτως· ὁ καὶ πολλὴν ἔκπληξιν ἐνεποίησε<sup>2</sup> τῷ βασιλεῖ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀκουσθέν, ἐκεκίνητό τε μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ λόγου· τὰ γὰρ περὶ τοὺς Βάβα παῖδας ἐσπουδάσθη μὲν αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπεξελεῖν,<sup>3</sup> δυσμενεῖς γενομένους τῇ διαθέσει, τότε δὲ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς μνήμης ἐξ-  
 262 εληλύθεσαν. ἡ δὲ ἔχθρα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ μῖσος ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἦν· Ἀντιγόνου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχοντας Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐπολιόρκει δυνάμει τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν<sup>4</sup> πόλιν, ὑπὸ δὲ χρείας κακῶν,<sup>5</sup> ὅσα τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις παρίσταται, πλείους ἦσαν οἱ τὸν Ἡρώδη ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀπονεύ-  
 263 οντες ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ὄντες δὲ ἐπ' ἀξιώματος οἱ τοῦ Βάβα παῖδες καὶ παρὰ τῷ πλήθει δυνατοί, πιστοὶ διετέλουν Ἀντιγόνῳ τὸν τε Ἡρώδην διέβαλλον αἰεὶ, καὶ συμφυλάττειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τὴν ἐκ γένους ἀρχὴν προὔτρεπον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν, ἅμα καὶ συμφέρειν αὐτὰ νομίζοντες, ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἐπο-  
 264 λιτεύοντο. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀλικομένης καὶ κρατουήντος τῶν πραγμάτων Ἡρώδου Κοστόβαρος ἀποδειχθεὶς τὰς διεκβολὰς ἀναφράττειν<sup>6</sup> καὶ φρουρεῖν τὴν πόλιν ὡς μὴ διαπίπτειν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς ὑπόχρεως τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τὰναντία τῷ βασιλεῖ πολιτευομένους, εἰδὼς δ' ἐν ὑπολήψει καὶ τιμῇ τοὺς τοῦ Βάβα τῷ παντὶ πλήθει, καὶ νομίζων μέγα

<sup>1</sup> δώδεκα LAMW : ιβ' V.

<sup>2</sup> ἐποίησε PFVE.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεξελεῖν Dindorf : ἐπεξελεῖν αὐτοὺς codd.

<sup>4</sup> Ἱεροσολύμων PLAMW Lat.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ κακῶν LAMWE : εἰς κακόν V : vel malis Lat.

<sup>6</sup> διαβολὰς ἀνεκφράττειν L : ἐπιβουλὰς ἀνατρέπειν PFV et in marg. AM : exitus civitatis obstructurus Lat.

twelve years now, as was really the case.<sup>a</sup> This news, which the king heard with surprise, made a very strong impression upon him, and he was the more disturbed because the report was so unexpected. For in the case of the Sons of Baba he had earlier made an effort to take steps against them because they were hostile in their attitude to him, but now after so long a time had passed they had quite escaped his memory. His enmity and hatred toward them had arisen from the following circumstances. When Antigonus was king<sup>b</sup> and Herod's force was besieging the city of Jerusalem, under the stress of the miseries which came upon the besieged many of them called upon Herod for help and were already placing their hopes in him. But the Sons of Baba, who had a high position and great influence with the masses, remained loyal to Antigonus and were always speaking ill of Herod and exhorting the people to preserve for the kings<sup>c</sup> the power which was theirs by birth. Such was the policy followed by these men in the belief that it was to their advantage. And when Herod was in control of things after the capture of the city, Costobarus was appointed to block the exits and guard the city in order to prevent the escape of those citizens who were in debt<sup>d</sup> or followed a policy of opposition to the king. Since Costobarus knew that the Sons of Baba were held in esteem and honour by all the people, and believed that by saving them

Herod's  
enmity  
toward the  
Sons of  
Baba.

<sup>a</sup> Assuming that Costobarus had begun to protect the Sons of Baba soon after becoming governor of Idumaea c. 37 B.C. (see above, § 254), the present incident took place c. 25 B.C. Otto, p. 55, however, would read "ten" for "twelve" years, and date it in 28/27 B.C., soon after Alexandra's execution.

<sup>b</sup> 40-37 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> Of the Hasmonaean line.

<sup>d</sup> Presumably to Herod.

- μέρος αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἐκείνων σωτηρίαν, ὑπεξέθετο καὶ  
 265 κατέκρυψε ἐν οἰκείοις χωρίοις. καὶ τότε μὲν Ἡρώδην (διεληλύθει<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποψία) πιστωσάμενος ὄρκους ἢ μὴν οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους, ἀφείτο τῆς ὑπονοίας. αὖθις δὲ κηρύγματα καὶ μήνυτρα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκτιθέντος καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἐρεύνης ἐπινοοῦντος οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἕξαρνος γενέσθαι τὸ φωραθῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ<sup>2</sup> ἀνυποτίμητον αὐτῷ πεπεισμένος, οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἤδη τοῦ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς περιείχετο.<sup>3</sup>  
 266 τούτων<sup>4</sup> ἐξαγγελθέντων αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὁ βασιλεὺς πέμψας εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς διατρίβειν ἐμηνύθησαν, ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς συγκαταίτιαθéntας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστ' εἶναι μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκ τῆς Ἰρκανοῦ συγγενείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῷ, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐπ' ἀξιώματος ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι τοῖς παρανουμένοις.  
 267 (viii. 1) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέβαινε τῶν πατριῶν ἐθῶν καὶ ξενικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑποδιέφθειρεν τὴν πάλαι κατάστασιν ἀπαρεγχείρητον οὔσαν. ἐξ ὧν οὐ μικρὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὖθις χρόνον ἠδικήθημεν, ἀμεληθέντων ὅσα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν

<sup>1</sup> διελύθη Cobet.<sup>2</sup> οὐκ om. PFVW.<sup>3</sup> αὖθις . . . περιείχετο om. E.<sup>4</sup> τούτων Dindorf cum E: περὶ τούτων codd.

<sup>a</sup> The words "the king's mind" are supplied from the context.

<sup>b</sup> How the persons associated with Costobarus were related to the Hasmonaeans is not known. In speaking of "the



he would have an important part in any change of government, he removed them from danger and hid them on his own estate. At the same time he assured Herod on oath—for a suspicion of the truth had entered the king's mind <sup>a</sup>—that he knew absolutely nothing about these men, and so he disposed of his misgivings. And even when the king later proclaimed a reward for information about them and devised every kind of inquiry, he did not bring himself to confess, for he was convinced that having first denied (any knowledge of them) he would not go unpunished if they were caught, and so he was bound to keep them concealed not only by loyalty (to them) but also by necessity. When the king was informed of these things by his sister, he sent (his men) to the place where they were reported to be staying, and had them kill both these men and those who were accused with them, so that none was left alive of the family of Hyrcanus,<sup>b</sup> and the kingdom was wholly in Herod's power, there being no one of high rank to stand in the way of his unlawful acts.

(viii. 1) <sup>c</sup> For this reason Herod went still farther in departing from the native customs, and through foreign practices he gradually corrupted the ancient way of life, which had hitherto been inviolable. As a result of this we suffered considerable harm at a later time as well, because those things were neglected which had formerly induced piety in the

Herod  
offends the  
Jews by  
introducing  
pagan  
games.

family of Hyrcanus " Josephus must be thinking only of the males, since, as Schürer reminds us, i. 387 note 55, according to *Ant.* xvii. 92, the daughter of Antigonus was many years later married to Herod's son Antipater.

<sup>c</sup> Schürer, i. 366 note 8, conjectures that §§ 267-298 (ch. viii) come from a different source and that originally §§ 299 ff. followed directly after § 266.

- 268 ἦγε τοὺς ὄχλους· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀγῶνα πενταετη-  
 ρικὸν ἀθλημάτων κατεστήσατο Καίσαρι, καὶ θέα-  
 τρον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑποδόμησεν, αὐτὸς τ' ἐν τῷ  
 πεδίῳ μέγιστον ἀμφιθέατρον, περίοπτα μὲν ἄμφω  
 τῇ πολυτελείᾳ, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔθους  
 ἀλλότρια· χρήσις τε γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ θεαμάτων  
 269 τοιούτων ἐπίδειξις<sup>1</sup> οὐ παραδέδοται.<sup>2</sup> τὴν μέντοι  
 πανήγυριν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιφανεστάτην τὴν τῆς πεντα-  
 ετηρίδος συνετέλει, καταγγείλας τε τοῖς πέριξ καὶ  
 συγκαλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ<sup>3</sup> παντὸς ἔθνους. οἱ δ' ἀθληταὶ  
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς  
 ἐκαλοῦντο κατ' ἐλπίδα τῶν προκειμένων καὶ τῆς  
 νίκης εὐδοξία,<sup>4</sup> συνελέγησάν τε οἱ κορυφαιότατοι  
 270 τῶν ἐν τοῖς<sup>5</sup> ἐπιτηδεύμασιν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῖς  
 περὶ τὰς γυμνικὰς ἀσκήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ  
 μουσικῇ διαγινομένοις καὶ<sup>6</sup> θυμηλικοῖς καλουμένοις  
 προὔτιθει μέγιστα νικητήρια· καὶ διεσπούδαστο  
 πάντας τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμιλλαν.  
 271 προὔθηκε δὲ καὶ τεθρίπποις καὶ συνωρίσι καὶ  
 κέλησιν οὐ μικρὰς δωρεάς, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ  
 πολυτέλειαν ἢ σεμνοπρέπειαν παρ' ἐκάστοις ἐσπού-  
 दाστο, φιλοτιμία τοῦ διάσημον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν

<sup>1</sup> χρήσεις . . . ἐπιδείξεις LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: παραδίδοται PFV: παραδίδονται LAMW: tra-  
 dita fuerat Lat.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ secl. Chamonard.

<sup>4</sup> εὐδοξίαν P: εὐεξίαν FV.

<sup>5</sup> τούτοις aut τοιούτοις Ernesti.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ secl. cum Lat. Hudson.

<sup>a</sup> Every four years by our reckoning.

<sup>b</sup> Remains of this theatre were discovered by Schick some seventy years ago near *Wady Yasul*, 850 metres S. of Jerusalem, see *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1887, pp. 161-166. Schick is thought to be in error, however, in taking these remains to be those of the amphitheatre. A

masses. For in the first place he established athletic contests every fifth year <sup>a</sup> in honour of Caesar, and he built a theatre in Jerusalem, and after that a very large amphitheatre in the plain,<sup>b</sup> both being spectacularly lavish but foreign to Jewish custom, for the use of such buildings and the exhibition of such spectacles have not been traditional (with the Jews). Herod, however, celebrated the quinquennial festival in the most splendid way, sending notices of it to the neighbouring peoples and inviting participants from the whole <sup>c</sup> nation. Athletes and other classes of contestants were invited from every land, being attracted by the hope of winning the prizes offered and by the glory of victory. And the leading men in various fields were assembled, for Herod offered very great prizes not only to the winners in gymnastic games but also to those who engaged in music and those who are called *thymelikoi*.<sup>d</sup> And an effort was made to have all the most famous persons come to the contest. He also offered considerable gifts to drivers of four-horse and two-horse chariots and to those mounted on race-horses. And whatever costly or magnificent efforts had been made by others, all these did Herod imitate in his ambition to see his

hippodrome, probably also built by Herod, is mentioned in *Ant.* xvii. 255 (parallel to *B.J.* ii. 44), see H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem* (2 vols. in 4, Paris, 1912-1926), ii. 34, pl. I. Dalman, *SSW*, p. 278, thinks that the amphitheatre and hippodrome were identical.

<sup>c</sup> The conjectured variant "from every" is unlikely in view of what follows.

<sup>d</sup> Probably actors and musicians like those of the guild of Dionysos, see Rostovtzeff, *HHW* ii. 1048 ff. For the association of *thymelikoi* and other entertainers cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* 36, *συνῆν μίμοις γυναιξὶ καὶ κιθαριστρίαις καὶ θυμηλικοῖς ἀνθρώποις*.

## JOSEPHUS

272 ἐπίδειξιν ἐξεμιμήσατο. τό γε μὴν θέατρον ἐπι-  
 γραφαὶ κύκλῳ περιείχον Καίσαρος, καὶ τρόπαια  
 τῶν ἐθνῶν ἃ πολεμήσας ἐκείνος ἐκτήσατο, χρυσοῦ  
 τε ἀπέφθου καὶ ἀργύρου πάντων αὐτῷ πεποιη-  
 273 μένων. τὰ δ' εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν οὐδὲν οὕτως ἦν οὐτ'  
 ἐσθήτος τίμιον οὔτε σκευῆς λίθων, ὃ μὴ τοῖς ὀρω-  
 μένοις ἀγωνίσμασι συνεπεδείκνυτο. παρασκευὴ δὲ  
 καὶ θηρίων ἐγένετο, λεόντων τε πλείστων αὐτῷ  
 συναχθέντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα καὶ τὰς ἀλκὰς  
 ὑπερβαλλούσας<sup>1</sup> ἔχει καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐστὶν σπανιώ-  
 274 τερα· τούτων αὐτῶν τε πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπλοκαὶ καὶ  
 μάχαι πρὸς αὐτὰ τῶν κατεγνωσμένων ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐπετηδεύοντο, τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἔκπληξις ὁμοῦ τῆς  
 δαπάνης καὶ ψυχαγωγία τῶν περὶ τὴν θέαν κιν-  
 δύνων, τοῖς δ' ἐπιχωρίοις φανερὰ κατάλυσις τῶν  
 275 τιμωμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐθνῶν· ἀσεβὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ  
 προδήλου<sup>2</sup> κατεφαίνετο θηρίοις ἀνθρώπους ὑπορ-  
 ρίπτειν ἐπὶ τέρψει τῆς ἀνθρώπων θέας, ἀσεβὲς δὲ  
 ξενικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐξαλλάττειν τοὺς ἐθισμούς.<sup>3</sup>  
 276 πάντων δὲ μᾶλλον ἐλύπει τὰ τρόπαια· δοκοῦντες  
 γὰρ εἰκόνας εἶναι αὐτὰ<sup>4</sup> τοῖς ὄπλοις περιειλημμένας,  
 ὅτι μὴ πάτριον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα σέβειν, οὐ  
 μετρίως ἐδυσχέρανον.

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλας ὑπερβολὰς LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> προχείρου L.

<sup>3</sup> θεσμούς LAMW: solita Lat.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτὰ con. Niese: τὰς codd. E: τὰς secl. Ernesti.

<sup>a</sup> For examples of such honorary inscriptions see L. Wenger, "Griechische Inschriften zum Kaiserkult," *Zeit. d. Savigny Stiftung, Röm. Abt.* 44 (1929), 308-314.

<sup>b</sup> This protest against the trophies was the forerunner of a

spectacle become famous. All round the theatre were inscriptions concerning Caesar <sup>a</sup> and trophies of the nations which he had won in war, all of them made for Herod of pure gold and silver. As for serviceable objects, there was no valuable garment or vessel of precious stones which was not also on exhibition along with the contests. There was also a supply of wild beasts, a great many lions and other animals having been brought together for him, such as were of extraordinary strength or of very rare kinds. When the practice began of involving them in combat with one another or setting condemned men to fight against them, foreigners were astonished at the expense and at the same time entertained by the dangerous spectacle, but to the natives it meant an open break with the customs held in honour by them. For it seemed glaring impiety to throw men to wild beasts for the pleasure of other men as spectators, and it seemed a further impiety to change their established ways for foreign practices. But more than all else it was the trophies that irked them, for in the belief that these were images surrounded by weapons, which it was against their national custom to worship,<sup>b</sup> they were exceedingly angry.

more serious protest against the Roman legionary standards introduced into Jerusalem by Pontius Pilate, see *Ant.* xviii. 55-59 (parallel to *B.J.* ii. 169-174), because of the Jews' feeling that the objects were idols. See Carl H. Kraeling, "The Episode of the Roman Standards in Jerusalem," *Harvard Theological Review* 35 (1942), 263-289, and A. D. Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year," *id.* 45 (1952), 187-252. In the recently discovered Dead Sea (Qumran) *Commentary on Habakkuk*, vi. 3-5, there is a reference to the Kittî'im, *i.e.* Romans, as sacrificing to their standards (Heb. 'ôlôtām = σφημεία) and venerating their weapons.

- 277 (2) Ἐλάνθανον δ' οὐδὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἔκταραττό-  
 μνοι· καὶ βίαν μὲν ἐπάγειν ἄκαιρον ᾤετο, καθ-  
 ωμίλει δ' ἐνίους καὶ παρηγόρει, τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας  
 ἀφαιρούμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυσχερείας  
 ὧν ἐδόκουν ἐκεῖνον πλημμελεῖν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐξε-  
 βόων, εἰ καὶ πάντα δοκοῖεν οἰστά, μὴ φέρειν εἰκόνας  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐν<sup>1</sup> τῇ πόλει, τὰ τρόπαια λέγοντες· οὐ  
 278 γὰρ εἶναι πάτριον αὐτοῖς. Ἡρώδης δὲ τεταραγ-  
 μένους ὀρῶν καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως ἂν μεταπεσόντας, εἰ μὴ  
 τύχοιεν παρηγορίας, καλέσας αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπιφανε-  
 στάτους εἰς τὸ θέατρον παρήγαγε καὶ δείξας τὰ  
 τρόπαια, τί ποτ' ἔστιν ὃ<sup>2</sup> δοκεῖ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἐπύ-  
 279 θετο. τῶν δὲ ἐκβοησάντων, "ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνας,"<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐπιτάξας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸν περιθέσιμον κόσμον, ἐπι-  
 δείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς γυμνὰ τὰ ξύλα. τὰ δ' εὐθύς ἦν  
 ἀποσυληθέντα γέλως, καὶ πλείστον εἰς διάχυσιν<sup>4</sup>  
 ἐδυνήθη τὸ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ τίθε-  
 σθαι τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων.  
 280 (3) Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ παρακρουσα-  
 μένου τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὀρμὴν ἣν ἐπεπόνθεισαν ἐξ  
 ὀργῆς διαχέαντος, οἱ μὲν πλείους εἶχον ὡς<sup>5</sup> μετα-  
 281 βεβλήσθαι καὶ μὴ χαλεπαίνειν ἔτι, τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν  
 ἐπέμενον τῇ δυσχερείᾳ τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτηδευ-  
 μάτων, καὶ τὸ καταλύεσθαι τὰ πάτρια μεγάλων<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ὀρᾶν ἐν E.

<sup>2</sup> ποτ' ἔστιν ὃ] ποτε LAMW: ποτ' ἔστιν εἰ E.

<sup>3</sup> εἰκόνας FVE.

<sup>4</sup> διάλυσιν PLE: διάθεςιν M.

<sup>5</sup> οὕτως ὡς LAMW.

<sup>6</sup> μεγάλων et seqq. usque ad § 290 (κατεμήνυσεν) desunt in P.

<sup>a</sup> δεισιδαιμονία can mean either "religious scruple," as here, or "superstition"; see Thackeray-Marcus, *Greek Lexicon to Josephus*, s.v.

<sup>b</sup> Variants "disbanding," "disposition."

(2) That the Jews were highly disturbed did not escape Herod's notice, and since he thought it inopportune to use force against them, he spoke to some of them reassuringly in an attempt to remove their religious scruples.<sup>a</sup> He did not, however, succeed, for in their displeasure at the offences of which they thought him guilty, they cried out with one voice that although everything else might be endured, they would not endure images of men being brought into the city—meaning the trophies,—for this was against their national custom. Herod, therefore, seeing how disturbed they were and that they could not easily be brought round if they did not get some reassurance, summoned the most eminent among them and leading them to the theatre, showed them the trophies and asked just what they thought these things were. When they cried out “Images of men,” he gave orders for the removal of the ornaments which covered them and showed the people the bare wood. So soon as the trophies were stripped, they became a cause of laughter; and what contributed most to the confusion<sup>b</sup> of these men was the fact that up to this point they had themselves regarded the arrangement as a disguise for images.<sup>c</sup>

Herod removes the pagan ornaments to pacify the Jews.

(3) When Herod had put off the people in this way and had dissipated the force of the anger which they felt, most of them were inclined<sup>d</sup> to change their attitude and not to be angry any longer. But some of them persisted in their resentment of these practices as departures from tradition, and in the belief that the violation of the customs of their country

A conspiracy is formed to assassinate Herod.

<sup>c</sup> Or perhaps we should render, “up to this point they (the authorities) had dissembled concerning the structure of the images.”

<sup>d</sup> On this meaning of εἶχον ὡς see Schmidt, p. 419.

ἡγούμενοι ἀρχὴν κακῶν, ὅσιον ὤθηθησαν ἀποκινδυνεύσαι μᾶλλον ἢ δοκεῖν, ἐξαλλαττομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιτείας, περιορᾶν Ἡρώδην πρὸς βίαν ἐπεισάγοντα τὰ μὴ δι' ἔθους ὄντα, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν βασιλέα, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πολέμιον φαινόμενον τοῦ παντὸς  
 282 ἔθνους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνομοσάμενοι πάντα κίνδυνον ὑποδύεσθαι<sup>1</sup> δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες, καὶ  
 283 ξιφίδια τοῖς ἱματίοις ὑποβαλόντες<sup>2</sup> . . . ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς δι' ἀναξιοπάθειαν ὧν ἤκουε<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῶν διεφθορότων τις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς συνομωμοσμένος,<sup>4</sup> οὐχ ὡς ἐνεργῆσαί τι καὶ δρᾶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἰκανός, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐτοίμῳ κατατιθεὶς αὐτὸν παθεῖν εἴ τι κακείνοις συμβαίνοι δυσχερές, ὥστε μὴ μετρίαν τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι δι' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι.  
 284 (4) Ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπὸ συνθήματος εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐχώρουν, ἐλπίσαντες μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδην διαφεύξεσθαι προσπεσόντων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς, πολλοὺς δ', εἰ καὶ μὴ τυγχάνοιεν ἐκείνου, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀναιρήσειν οἰόμενοι· καὶ ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἀρκέσειν, εἰ καὶ θνήσκοιεν, εἰς ἔννοιαν ὧν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξυβρίζειν ἐδόκει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἀγαγεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν προκαταστάντες<sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἦσαν  
 285 προθυμίας<sup>6</sup>. εἰς δὲ τῶν ὑφ' Ἡρώδου πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ διαγγέλλειν τὰ τοιαῦτα τεταγμένων ἐξευρηκῶς ὄλην τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, εἰς τὸ θέατρον  
 286 εἰσιέναι μέλλοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατεμήνυσεν. ὁ δ' (οὐ γὰρ ἀνοίκειον ὤθηθη τὸν λόγον εἰς τε τὸ μῖσος

<sup>1</sup> ὑποδύεσθαι Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> post ὑποβαλόντες et ante ἦν lacunam stat. Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> ἤκουον LAMW : ἤκουσαν ed. pr. : ἤκουσεν Hudson.

<sup>4</sup> Niese : συνωμοσμένος codd.

<sup>5</sup> προκαταστάντες om. LWE.

<sup>6</sup> προθεσμίας FV.



would be the beginning of great evils, they thought it a sacred duty to undertake any risk rather than seem to be indifferent to Herod's forcible introduction of practices not in accord with custom, by which their way of life would be totally altered, and to his behaving in appearance as the king but in reality as the enemy of the whole nation. For this reason ten of the citizens conspired together, swearing to undergo any danger and placing daggers under their clothes. . . .<sup>a</sup> Among them was a man who had lost the use of his eyes but had joined the conspiracy out of indignation at what he heard. And though he was not able to do anything effective in their attempt, he held himself in readiness to suffer too if any serious harm should come to them, and so he gave no small encouragement to the conspirators.

(4) Having made this decision, they (severally) went to the theatre, as had been agreed. It was their hope that Herod himself would not escape if they fell upon him unexpectedly but, they thought, even if they should not come upon Herod himself, they would at least kill many of his men. It seemed to them that even if they should die for it, they would have achieved enough by making the people and the king himself understand what outrages he was, in their opinion, committing. And having made these preparations, they were eager to act. But one of the men appointed by Herod to investigate and report such matters to him discovered the whole plot and revealed it to the king as he was about to enter the theatre. Herod, therefore,—for when he considered the hatred which many of the people felt

The conspirators are discovered and put to death.

<sup>a</sup> A finite verb seems to be missing after the second participial phrase.

ἀφορῶν ὁ συνήδει παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων αὐτῷ, καὶ  
 τὰς ταραχὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστα γινομένοις  
 παρυφισταμέναις) ἀναχωρήσας εἰς τὸ βασιλείον  
 287 ὄνομαστί τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐκάλει. προσπιπ-  
 τόντων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν αὐτόφωροι λαμ-  
 βανόμενοι τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἂν διαφύγοιεν ἤδεσαν,  
 ἐπεκόσμησαν δὲ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν καταστροφὴν τοῦ  
 288 τέλους τῷ μηδὲν ὑφίεναι τοῦ φρονήματος· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἐντραπέντες οὐδ' ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀνέδειξαν  
 μὲν ἤδη κρατούμενα<sup>1</sup> τὰ ξίφη, διωμολογήσαντο δὲ  
 καλῶς καὶ σὺν εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν συνωμοσίαν αὐτοῖς  
 γενέσθαι, κέρδους μὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδ' οἰκείων ἔνεκεν  
 παθῶν, τὸ δὲ πλεον ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἐθῶν, ἃ καὶ  
 πᾶσιν ἢ φυλάττειν ἢ θνήσκειν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἄξιον.  
 289 τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐκείνοι τῇ προαιρέσει τῆς ἐπιβουλήs  
 ἐμπαρρησιασάμενοι, περιστάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν βασι-  
 λικῶν ἤγοντο, καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ὑπομείναντες  
 διεφθάρησαν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν ταῦτα  
 μηνύσαντα κατὰ μῖσος ἀρπασάμενοί τινες οὐκ ἀπ-  
 ἔκτειναν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μελιστὶ διελόντες προὔ-  
 290 θεσαν κυσίν. ἐωρᾶτο δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ<sup>2</sup>  
 γινόμενα καὶ κατεμήνυσεν οὐδεῖς,<sup>3</sup> ἕως Ἡρώδου  
 πικροτέραν καὶ φιλόνεικον ποιουμένου τὴν ἔρευ-  
 ναν ἐκβασανισθεῖσαι γυναικῆς τινος ὠμολόγησαν ἃ  
 πραχθέντα εἶδον. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐνεργησάντων ἐγέ-  
 νετο τιμωρία, πανοικὶ τὴν προπέτειαν αὐτῶν ἐπ-  
 291 ἐξιόντος, ἣ δ' ἐπιμονή<sup>4</sup> τοῦ πλήθους<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὸ τῆs

<sup>1</sup> L: κρατούμενοι rell.: om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα LAMW.

<sup>3</sup> hic rursus inc. P.

for him and the disturbances which invariably followed every incident, he did not think the report improbable—retired to his palace and summoned by name the men who were accused. And as they were caught in the act by his servants who fell upon them, they knew that they could not escape, but they gave dignity to the inevitable end of their lives by not flinching in their resolution. For they confessed no shame at their act nor did they deny it but showed their daggers already held in readiness, and professed that their conspiracy had been formed with a noble and pious intent, not for the sake of gain or because of their own feelings but, what was more important, on behalf of their communal customs, which all men had the duty either to preserve or to die for. Such was the bold tone used by these men in speaking of the plot which they had undertaken. And so they were led away by the king's men, who had surrounded them, and were put to death after enduring every torment. Not long afterwards the informer was seized by some men who hated him, and they not only killed him but also cut him apart, limb from limb, and threw him to the dogs. This act was witnessed by many of the citizens, but no one informed the authorities until Herod had a very strict and relentless inquiry made, and some women confessed under torture that they had seen the act committed. And when the perpetrators were punished Herod for their rashness penalized their entire families as well. But the steadfastness <sup>a</sup> of the people

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

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<sup>4</sup> ἐπιδρομή LAMW : concursus Lat.  
<sup>5</sup> πάθους P.

ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων πίστεως ἀκατάπληκτον οὐ ράδιον<sup>1</sup>  
ἐποίει τὸν Ἡρώδη, εἰ μὴ<sup>2</sup> μετὰ πλείονος<sup>3</sup> ἀσφα-  
λείας κρατοίη, καὶ διέγνω<sup>4</sup> πάντοθεν περιειληφέναι  
τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς μὴ νεωτεριζόντων φανεράν γενέσθαι  
τὴν ἀπόστασιν.

- 292 (5) Ἐξωχυρωμένης οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως μὲν  
ὑπὸ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐν ἧ̄ διητάτο, τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῇ περὶ  
τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρότητι τὸ καλούμενον Ἀντωνίαν  
κατασκευασθὲν ὑπ'<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῦ, τρίτον παντὶ τῷ λαῷ  
τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἐπενόησεν<sup>6</sup> ἐπιτείχισμα, καλέσας  
293 μὲν αὐτὴν Σεβαστήν, οἰόμενος δὲ κατὰ τῆς χώρας<sup>7</sup>  
οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἰσχυροποιεῖν<sup>8</sup> τὸν τόπον, ἀπέχοντα  
μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων μιᾶς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, εὐχρηστον δ'  
ὄντα καὶ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ  
χώρα γενησόμενον. τῷ δὲ ἔθνει παντὶ φρούριον  
ἐνωκοδόμησε τὸ πάλαι μὲν καλούμενον Στράτωνος  
πύργον, Καισάρειαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορευθέν.  
294 ἔν τε τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἰππέων τῶν<sup>9</sup>  
περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκληρώσας χωρίον συνέκτισεν ἐπὶ<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> οὐ ράδιον] ὀρρωδεῖν Ernesti: non remissiore[m] Lat., unde οὐ ράδιον con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> μὴ secl. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> πάσης P.

<sup>4</sup> δὴ ἔγνω con. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> δι' P.

<sup>6</sup> ἐνόησεν PFV.

<sup>7</sup> + γίνεσθαι τοῦτο LAMW.

<sup>8</sup> ἰσχυροποιεῖ LAMW.

<sup>9</sup> τῶν ins. Niese.

<sup>10</sup> Niese: ἐπὶ τε codd.

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> On Herod's policy of using Roman and Hellenistic forces to protect himself against the hostility of Jewish nationalists see Schalit, pp. 40 ff.

<sup>c</sup> At the N.W. corner of the temple precinct, referred to again in §§ 403 ff. The fullest description is given in *B.J.* v.

and their undaunted loyalty to their laws had the effect of making Herod feel uneasy until he had taken measures for greater security.<sup>a</sup> And so he decided to hem the people in on all sides lest their disaffection should become open rebellion.<sup>b</sup>

(5) When, therefore, the city had been made safe for him by the palace in which he lived, and the temple by the strong fortress called Antonia,<sup>c</sup> which had been built by him,<sup>d</sup> he thought of making a third rampart against the entire nation out of Samaria, which he called Sebaste,<sup>e</sup> for he believed that this place would give him no less security against the country (than the others),<sup>f</sup> since it was only a day's journey from Jerusalem and would be equally useful for controlling affairs in the city and in the country. And he built a fortress for the entire nation in the place formerly called Straton's Tower but by him named Caesarea.<sup>g</sup> And in the Great Plain<sup>h</sup> he founded a site for some of his picked cavalrymen, to whom he gave allotments,<sup>i</sup> (namely) the place

Herod builds fortresses throughout the country.

238-246. Père L. H. Vincent, "L'Antonia, palais primitif d'Hérode," *Revue Biblique* 61 (1954), 87-107, argues that Herod used the Antonia fortress as a palace in place of the Hasmonaeon palace in the Upper City. According to Watzinger, ii. 32, "As a combination of residential palace and Roman *castellum* the Antonia appears as a forerunner of the palace of Gallienus in Antioch and that of Diocletian in Spoleto."

<sup>a</sup> On the site of John Hyrcanus' *baris* cf. *Ant.* xiii. 307 note a.

<sup>c</sup> See above, § 246.

<sup>f</sup> Apparently meaning the fortresses in Judaea itself.

<sup>g</sup> See below, §§ 331 ff.

<sup>h</sup> The Plain of Esdraelon, between Samaria and Galilee, cf. *Ant.* v. 83, viii. 36, *B.J.* ii. 188 *et al.*

<sup>i</sup> *i.e.* of land on military tenure as cleruchs; see below, p. 141 note e.

τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ Γάβα καλούμενον, καὶ τῇ Περαιᾷ τὴν  
 295 Ἑσσεβωνίτιν.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος  
 αἰεὶ τι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐπεξευρίσκων καὶ διαλαμ-  
 βάνων φυλακαῖς τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος, ὡς ἤκιστα μὲν  
 ἀπ' <sup>2</sup> ἐξουσίας εἰς τὰς ταραχὰς προπίπτειν,<sup>3</sup> αἷς καὶ  
 μικροῦ κινήματος ἐγγενομένου συνεχῆς ἐχρῶντο,  
 λανθάνειν δὲ μηδ' εἴ τι <sup>4</sup> παρακινοῖεν, ἐφεστηκότων  
 296 αἰεὶ τινων πλησίον οἳ καὶ γινώσκειν καὶ κωλύειν  
 ἐδύναντο. τότε δὲ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ὠρμημένος τει-  
 χίζειν, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν συμμαχησάντων αὐτῷ  
 κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους, πολλοὺς<sup>5</sup> δὲ τῶν ὁμόρων συμ-  
 πολίξειν ἐπετηδεύειν, ὑπὸ τε φιλοτιμίας τοῦ νέαν<sup>6</sup>  
 ἐγείρειν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πρότερον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἐπι-  
 σήμοις οὔσαν,<sup>7</sup> καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν  
 αὐτῷ τὸ φιλότιμον ἐπετηδεύετο, τὴν τε προσ-  
 ηγορίαν ὑπήλλαττε, Σεβαστὴν καλῶν,<sup>8</sup> καὶ τῆς  
 χώρας ἀρίστην οὔσαν τὴν πλησίον κατεμέριζε τοῖς  
 297 οἰκέϊν. καὶ τείχει καρτερῶ τὴν πόλιν περιέβαλε τό

<sup>1</sup> Ἑσσεβωνίτιν MV.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπ' LAMW.

<sup>3</sup> προσπίπτειν LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> τι add. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> πλείους con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: νέον aut νεῶν codd. Lat.

<sup>7</sup> καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ . . . οὔσαν] quod prius nec in novis civitati-  
 bus existebat Lat.

<sup>8</sup> τὴν τε . . . καλῶν] in honorem augusti caesaris sebastium  
 appellavit Lat.

<sup>a</sup> In *B.J.* iii. 36 Josephus speaks of Gaba as being adjacent to Carmel and called "the city of cavalry" from the cavalry who on their discharge were settled there by Herod. See A. Alt, "Die Reiterstadt Gaba," *ZDPV* 62 (1939), 3-21, and Abel, *GP* ii. 319-320. Recently Gaba has been identified

called Gaba <sup>a</sup> in Galilee, and in Peraea (he rebuilt) Esebonitis.<sup>b</sup> These several measures for security he kept thinking up from time to time, and he placed garrisons throughout the entire nation so as to minimize the chance of their taking things into their own hands and plunging into disturbances such as they continually made when the slightest incitement was given, and to keep them from starting any trouble without his learning of it through some of his men who were stationed near them at all times and thus could discover and prevent it. And at this time, being eager to fortify Samaria, he arranged to have settled in it many of those who had fought as his allies in war and many of the neighbouring populations. This he did because of his ambition to erect it as a new (city) <sup>c</sup> by his own action, for hitherto it had not been among the famous cities, and even more because he made his ambitious scheme a source of security to himself. He also changed the city's name, calling it Sebaste,<sup>d</sup> and apportioned the near-by territory, which was the best in the country, among its inhabitants in order that they might find prosperity so soon as they came together to live there.<sup>e</sup> He surrounded the city with a strong wall, using the

as *el-Harithiyye* by B. Maisler (Mazar), "Beth She'arim, Gaba and Harosheth of the Peoples," *HUCA* 24 (1952-1953), 75-84. On Herod's establishment of military colonies see Otto, pp. 59-60.

<sup>b</sup> Earlier captured by Alexander Jannaeus, *cf. Ant.* xiii. 397. Avi Yonah, p. 55, supposes that Herod had recovered the site from the Arabs, see above, §§ 108-160.

<sup>c</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> The Latin adds "in honour of Augustus Caesar." See above, § 246 note *b*.

<sup>e</sup> In *B.J.* i. 403 Josephus says that Herod settled 6000 colonists there.

## JOSEPHUS

τε τοῦ χωρίου πρόσαντες εἰς ἐρυμνότητα κατα-  
 σκευαζόμενος, καὶ μέγεθος οὐχ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλ'  
 ὥστε μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων πόλεων  
 298 περιλαμβάνων· στάδιοι γὰρ ἦσαν εἴκοσιν. ἐντὸς δὲ  
 καὶ κατὰ μέσσην τριῶν ἡμισταδίων<sup>1</sup> τέμενος ἀνῆκεν  
 παντοίως κεκοσμημένον, καὶ ναὸν ἐν αὐτῷ μεγέθει  
 καὶ κάλλει τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων ἤγειρεν· ἐν τε τοῖς  
 κατὰ μέρος διὰ πάντων ἐκόσμη<sup>2</sup> τὴν πόλιν, τὸ μὲν  
 ἀναγκαῖον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὄρων καὶ τῆ τῶν περι-  
 βόλων ἐρυμνότητι φρούριον αὐτὴν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ  
 τῆ μείζονι, τὸ δ' εὐπρεπὲς ὡς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν  
 καὶ μνημεῖα φιλανθρωπίας ἀπολιπεῖν ἐν ὑστέρω.  
 299 (ix. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τρισ-  
 καιδέκατον ὄντα τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας πάθη  
 μέγιστα τὴν χώραν ἐπέλαβεν, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἡμισυ σταδίων FLAMW : unius et semis stadii Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκράτει κοσμῶν V : ἐκαρτέρει κοσμῶν Ernesti.

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<sup>a</sup> The remains of Herod's buildings at Samaria-Sebaste are described by G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher and D. G. Lyon in *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1909-1910*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), and more recently and fully by J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon and E. L. Sukenik, *The Buildings at Samaria* (London, 1942). For briefer accounts see R. W. Hamilton, *Guide to the Historical Site of Sebastieh* (Jerusalem, 1936), and Watzinger ii. 47-54.

<sup>b</sup> A little over two miles.

<sup>c</sup> The temple of Augustus, surrounded by a colonnaded portico in the Corinthian order, was built on an artificial platform on the western part of the summit of the hill. The stairway and other parts of the construction can still be seen. According to Watzinger, the temple was more Hellenistic than Roman in style (he compares it with the temple of Dionysos at Pergamon), while Crowfoot, Kenyon and Sukenik remark, pp. 126-127, that "The building up of artificial



steep slope of the place as a means of strengthening it.<sup>a</sup> And he enclosed an area that was not of the same size as that of the former city but did not fall short of that of the most renowned cities, for it was twenty stades <sup>b</sup> (in circumference). Within it, at its centre, he consecrated a precinct of one and a half stades (in circumference), which was adorned in a variety of ways, and in it he erected a temple which in size and beauty was among the most renowned.<sup>c</sup> The various parts of the city he also adorned in a variety of ways, and seeing the necessity of security, he made it a first-class <sup>d</sup> fortress by strengthening its outer walls. He also made it splendid in order to leave to posterity a monument of the humanity that arose from his love of beauty.

(ix. 1) Now in this (same) year, which was the thirteenth of Herod's reign,<sup>e</sup> the greatest hardships came upon the country, whether from God's being

Drought and plague afflict Herod's people.

platforms for the forecourts of temples was quite a usual practice in Syria in the early Roman period, and in a number of cases subterranean corridors and vaults were employed as in the Second Roman period at Samaria. The most striking parallel is Herod's rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem."

<sup>a</sup> Or "major."

<sup>e</sup> This would be 25/24 B.C. The rebuilding of Samaria probably began in 27 B.C. Schürer, i. 366 note 8, therefore supposes that ch. ix. 1 (§§ 299 ff.) originally followed right after ch. vii. 10 (§ 266) and that the words "in the same year" do not refer to the time when Samaria was rebuilt but to that of Costobarus' execution. Otto, p. 80, agrees with Schürer that §§ 299 ff. are from a different source than the immediately preceding sections (§§ 267-298), which he ascribes to a "Jewish Anonymous," but he does not consider §§ 299 ff. a direct continuation of § 266 because he regards the latter as part of an anti-Herodian source while §§ 299 ff. are, he thinks, in the style of Nicolas of Damascus. Otto admits, however, that Nicolas may have referred to the completion of the rebuilding of Samaria in 25 B.C.

## JOSEPHUS

μηνίσαντος ἢ καὶ κατὰ περιόδους οὕτως ἀπαντή-  
 300 σαντος τοῦ κακοῦ· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐχομοὶ διη-  
 νεκεῖς ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄκαρπος ἢ γῆ  
 μηδ' ὅσα καθ' αὐτὴν εἶωθεν ἀναβλαστάνειν φέ-  
 ρουσα<sup>1</sup>. ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς διαίτης κατὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν  
 τῶν σιτίων ἐξαλλαττομένης νόσοι τῶν σωματίων καὶ  
 πάθος ἤδη λοιμικὸν ἐκράτει, διηνεκῶς ἀντεφοδιαζο-  
 301 μένων αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν. τό τε γὰρ ἠπορηθῆσαι  
 θεραπείας καὶ τροφῆς ἐπέτεινεν εἰς πλεόν ἀρξαμένην  
 ἰσχυρῶς τὴν λοιμώδη νόσον, ἢ τε φθορὰ τῶν οὕτως  
 ἀπολλυμένων ἀφηρέϊτο καὶ τοὺς περιόντας εὐθυμίας,  
 ἐπεὶ προσαρκεῖν ταῖς ἀπορίαις ἐξ ἐπιμελείας οὐκ<sup>2</sup>  
 302 ἐδύνατο. φθαρέντων γε μὴν τῶν ἐπ' ἔτος καρπῶν  
 καὶ τῶν ὅσοι πρότερον ἀπέκειντο δεδαπανημένων,  
 οὐδὲν εἰς ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν ὑπελείπετο, μᾶλλον ἢ  
 κατὰ προσδοκίαν ἐπιτείνοντος τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ οὐδὲ  
 κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι  
 μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπόλοιπον, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ καὶ<sup>3</sup> τῶν περι-  
 ὄντων τὰ σπέρματα μηδὲ τὸ δεύτερον<sup>4</sup> ἀνεισίης<sup>5</sup> τῆς  
 303 γῆς. ἢ τε ἀνάγκη πολλὰ διὰ τὰς χρείας ἐκαινούργει.  
 καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας οὐκ ἐλάττους εἶναι συνέβαινεν  
 αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν τε φόρων οὓς ἐλάμβανεν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀφηρημένω,<sup>6</sup> καὶ τὰ χρήματα δεδα-  
 πανηκότι πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ὧν τὰς πόλεις ἐπεσκεύα-  
 304 ζεν. ἦν τε<sup>7</sup> οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ βοηθείας ἄξιον ἐδόκει,  
 προκατειληφὸς τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ μῖσος εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> καθ' αὐτὴν . . . φέρουσα] κατ' αὐτὴν ἀναβλαστάνειν PFV :  
 antea aliquid excedisse putat Niese. <sup>2</sup> οὐκ om. P.

<sup>3</sup> κάκ LAMW. <sup>4</sup> μηδὲ τὸ δεύτερον] μηδέτερον PFVE.

<sup>5</sup> ἀνεισίης E. <sup>6</sup> ἀφηρημένων LAMW. <sup>7</sup> δὲ PAM.

<sup>a</sup> Apparently they continued into the following year, see below, § 307.

angry or because misfortune occurs in such cycles. For in the first place, there were continual droughts,<sup>a</sup> and as a result the earth was unproductive even of such fruits as it usually brought forth by itself. In the second place, because of the change of diet brought about by the lack of cereals bodily illnesses and eventually the plague prevailed, and misfortunes continually assailed<sup>b</sup> them. For their lack of medical care and nourishment increased the intensity of the pestilential disease, which had begun violently enough, and the death of those who perished in this manner deprived the survivors of their courage also, because they were unable by any diligence to cope with their difficulties. And since, too, the fruits of that year were destroyed and those which had been stored up had been consumed, there was no hope of relief left, for their bad situation gradually became worse than they had expected. And it was not only for that year that they had nothing left, but the seed of the crops that survived was also lost when the earth yielded nothing the second year.<sup>c</sup> So their necessity made them find many new ways of sustaining themselves. And the king himself, as it happened, was in no less want, for he was deprived of the revenue which he received from the (products of the) earth, and he had used up his money in the lavish reconstruction of cities. And there was nothing that seemed adequate to meet the case, for these misfortunes had already brought upon him the

<sup>b</sup> More literally "were successively doled out to."

<sup>c</sup> Otto, pp. 69-70, takes the text to mean that the earth did not yield a second harvest that year but the context is against his interpretation, I think. Otto also differs from other scholars in supposing that the drought began in the winter of 26-25 rather than 25-24 B.C.

τῶν ἀρχομένων· τὸ γὰρ οὐκ εὖ πράττειν φιλαίτιον  
ἀεὶ κατὰ τῶν προεστηκότων.

- 305 (2) Ἐν τοιούτοις ὧν διανοεῖτο βοηθεῖν τῷ καιρῷ·  
χαλεπὸν δ' ἦν, οὔτε τῶν πλησίον ἐχόντων ἀπο-  
δόσθαι σιτία τῷ μηδ' αὐτοὺς ἐλάττω πεπονθέναι,  
χρημάτων τε οὐκ ὄντων, εἰ καὶ δυνατὸν ὀλίγων ἐπὶ  
306 πολλοῖς εὐπορηθῆναι. καλῶς μέντοι νομίζων ἔχειν  
πάντως<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν μῆ<sup>2</sup> ἀμελεῖν,<sup>3</sup> τὸν ὄντα  
κόσμον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ συνέκοψεν ἀργυρίου  
καὶ χρυσίου, μήτε τῆς ἐν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐπι-  
μελείας μῆτ' εἴ τι τέχνη τίμιον ἦν, τούτου φει-  
307 σάμενος. ἔπεμπε δ' ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ χρήματα,  
Πετρωνίου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ<sup>5</sup> Καίσαρος εἰλη-  
φότος. οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καταπεφευ-  
γόντων διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς χρείας, ἰδία τε φίλος ὧν  
'Ηρώδῃ καὶ διασώσασθαι θέλων τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ,  
πρώτοις μὲν ἔδωκεν ἐξάγειν τὸν σίτον, εἰς ἅπαντα  
δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὠνήν καὶ τὸν ἔκπλου συνήργησεν, ὡς  
μέγα μέρος ἦ τὸ πᾶν γενέσθαι ταύτης τῆς βοη-  
308 θείας.<sup>6</sup> ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης, τούτων ἀφικομένων ἐν  
ἀφορμῇ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν αὐτοῦ προστιθείς<sup>7</sup> οὐ  
μόνον ἀντιμετέστησε τὰς γνώμας τῶν πρότερον  
χαλεπῶς ἐχόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστην ἐποιήσατο  
τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς προστασίας.  
309 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅσοις οἶόν τε καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰ  
περὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκπονεῖν ἔνειμε τοῦ σίτου, τὴν

<sup>1</sup> πάντας PFV : ἐκ παντὸς E : παντὸς Niese.

<sup>2</sup> μῆ om. PFV.

<sup>3</sup> ἀμελεῖν PFV.

<sup>4</sup> ἀρχὴν PFVE.

<sup>5</sup> παρὰ con. Cobet.

<sup>6</sup> + τὸν Ἡρώδην LAMW.

<sup>7</sup> προστιθείς LAMW.

<sup>a</sup> The text is slightly uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> C. Petronius was prefect of Egypt in the years 24-21

hatred of his subjects, and when people do not get on well, there is always a tendency to blame those who rule over them.

(2) Being in such straits, Herod considered how to meet the crisis, but this was difficult both because the neighbouring peoples could not sell grain, having suffered no less themselves, and because he did not have the money, even if it were possible to obtain small quantities at a high price. Thinking it best, however, not to neglect any source of help,<sup>a</sup> he cut up into coinage all the ornaments of gold and silver in his palace, without sparing even objects made with special care or having artistic value. And this money he sent to Egypt, where Petronius<sup>b</sup> had received the office of prefect from Caesar. Petronius, to whom a great many persons had fled because of the same needs, was a friend of Herod and wished to rescue his subjects, and so he gave them priority in the export of grain (from Egypt), and fully assisted them to purchase and transport it by ship, so that the greater part if not the whole of this aid came from him.<sup>c</sup> For on the arrival of these provisions Herod attributed their coming to his own solicitude, and thus he not only brought about a reversal of attitude on the part of those who had formerly been hostile to him, but also made a very great demonstration of his goodwill and protective attitude toward them. For in the first place, to those who were able to provide food for themselves by their own labour he

Herod  
generously  
relieves the  
distress of  
the starving  
population.

B.C., see Arthur Stein, *Die Präfekten von Aegypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bern, 1950), pp. 17-18.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Jones, p. 88, "Egyptian corn was normally reserved for official use and export licences were rarely granted to private persons. But on this occasion Herod was able in view of the special circumstances to obtain a permit."

## JOSEPHUS

ἕκταξιν<sup>1</sup> ἀκριβεστάτην ποιούμενος, ἔπειτα πολλῶν  
 ὄντων οἱ κατὰ γῆρας ἢ τινα προσοῦσαν ἄλλην  
 ἀσθένειαν οὐχ ἰκανῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζειν  
 τὰ σιτία, προϋνοεῖ καταστήσας ἀρτοποιούς καὶ  
 310 παρέχων ἐτοίμας τὰς τροφάς. ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦ μὴ διαχειμάσαι μετὰ κινδύνων αὐτοὺς ἐποιή-  
 σατο, συγκατειληφύϊας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας  
 ἀπορίας, ἐφθαρμένων καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξαναλω-  
 θέντων τῶν βοσκημάτων, ὡς οὔτε ἐρίων εἶναι χρῆ-  
 311 σιν οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων σκεπασμάτων. ἐκπορισθέντων  
 δ' αὐτῶ καὶ τούτων, ταῖς πλησίον ἤδη πόλεσιν  
 ἐπεβάλλετο τὰς ὠφελείας παρέχειν, σπέρματα τοῖς  
 ἐν Συρίᾳ διδούς.<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῦτ' ὤνησεν οὐχ ἦττον  
 αὐτόν, εὐστοχηθείσης<sup>3</sup> εἰς εὐφορίαν τῆς χάριτος,  
 312 ὡς ἅπασιν ἰκανὰ τὰ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς γενέσθαι. τὸ  
 δὲ σύμπαν ἀμήτου περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποφανέντος,<sup>4</sup> οὐκ  
 ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, οὓς αὐτὸς  
 ἔθρεψε<sup>5</sup> καὶ περιεποίησεν,<sup>6</sup> εἰς τὴν χώραν διέπεμψε,  
 καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κακωθεῖσαν αὐτῶ τὴν  
 βασιλείαν ὑπὸ πάσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἀνα-  
 λαβῶν, οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ τοὺς πέριξ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς  
 313 κακοπαθείαις ὄντας ἐπεκούφισεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ'  
 ὅστις ὑπὸ χρείας ἐντυχὼν ἀπελείφθη μὴ βοήθειαν  
 εὔρασθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆμοι καὶ  
 πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὅσοις ἀπορία διὰ τὸ πλειό-  
 νων προΐστασθαι συνετύγχανεν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατα-  
 314 φεύγοντες ἔσχον ὧν ἐδεήθησαν, ὥστε γενέσθαι  
 λογιζομένῳ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τῆς ἀρχῆς δοθέντας σί-

<sup>1</sup> ἕκτασιν FV : ἕκτασιν καὶ ἐξέτασιν A marg.

<sup>2</sup> διαδούς P. <sup>3</sup> εὐθύς τε χυθείσης PFV : ἀστοχηθείσης F.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιφανέντος V : ὑποφαίνοντος Niese.

distributed grain in very exact proportions.<sup>a</sup> Then, since there were many who because of old age or some other attendant infirmity were unable to prepare the grain for themselves, he provided for them by putting bakers to work and furnishing them food already prepared. He also took care that they should go through the winter without danger (to health), including that of being in need of clothing, for their flocks had been destroyed and completely consumed, so that they had no wool to use or any other material for covering themselves. And when these things had been provided for his subjects, he also applied himself to aiding the neighbouring cities, and gave seeds to the inhabitants of Syria. And this brought him not a little profit, for his generosity was so well timed as to bring a good harvest, so that enough food was produced for them all. In sum, when the time drew near for harvesting the land, he sent into the country no fewer than fifty thousand men, whom he himself fed and cared for, and in this way, when he had helped his damaged realm recover by his unflinching munificence and zeal, he also did not a little to relieve the neighbouring peoples, who were in the same difficulties. For there was no one who asked for aid in his need and was turned away without getting such help as he deserved. Moreover, both peoples and cities and those private persons who found themselves in need because they had provided for too many others, on applying to him for help received what they asked for, so that when the reckoning is made, there were ten thousand *kors*—

<sup>a</sup> Text and meaning somewhat uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> ἐξέθρεψε FLAMW.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ περιποίησεν om. V Lat.

## JOSEPHUS

- του κόρους μυρίουσ (ὁ δὲ κόρος δύναται μεδίμνους Ἀττικουὺς δέκα), τοὺς δ' εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλείαν  
 315 περὶ ὀκτάκις μυρίουσ. ταύτην δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς χάριτος εὐκαιρίαν οὕτως ἐν αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἰσχύσαι συνέβη καὶ διαβοηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τὰ μὲν πάλαι μίση κινηθέντα διὰ τὸ παραχαράττειν ἔνια τῶν ἐθῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξαιρεθῆναι τοῦ<sup>1</sup> παντὸς ἔθνους, ἀντικατάλλαγμα δὲ φαίνεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῇ  
 316 βοηθείᾳ τῶν δεινοτάτων φιλοτιμίαν. εὐκλεία δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἦν, καὶ δοκεῖ τὰ δυσχερῆ συμβῆναι μὲν αὐτῷ μείζω λόγου, κακώσαντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν οὐχ ἤκιστα πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ὠφελῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις μεγαλόψυχον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀντιμετέστησε τοὺς ὄχλους,<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς δοκεῖν οὐχ οἶον ἢ πείρα τῶν πάλαι γεγενημένων, ἀλλ' οἶον ἢ μετὰ τῆς χρείας ἐπιμέλεια παρεστήσατο.
- 317 (3) Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ συμμαχικὸν ἔπεμψε Καίσαρι πεντακοσίους ἐπιλέκτους τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, οὓς Γάλλος Αἴλιος ἐπὶ<sup>3</sup> τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἤγεεν, εἰς πολλὰ χρησίμους αὐτῷ γενο-  
 318 μένους. πάλιν οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῦ AM.

<sup>2</sup> πολλοὺς PE.

<sup>3</sup> PE Lat. : περὶ rell.

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<sup>a</sup> As usual, Josephus is inconsistent in equating Hebrew with Greek measures. In *Ant.* iii. 321 he says that 70 *kors* are equal to 41 Attic *medimnoi*, which would make 1 *kor* equal c. 4/7 of a *medimnos*. Actually the *kor* equals about 7 Attic *medimnoi*.

<sup>b</sup> See *Ant.* xv. 365 and xvi. 64 for later instances of Herod's generosity in times of need.



the *kor* equals ten Attic *medimnoi*<sup>a</sup>—given to those outside the realm, and about eighty thousand to those within the kingdom itself. Now Herod's solicitude and the timeliness of his generosity made such a powerful impression upon the Jews and were so much talked about by other nations, that the old hatreds which had been aroused by his altering some of the customs and royal practices were completely eradicated throughout the entire nation, and the munificence shown by him in helping them in their very grave difficulties was regarded as full compensation.<sup>b</sup> He was also well spoken of among foreign nations, and it seemed that although difficulties had beset him to an extent hard to describe and had devastated his realm, still they greatly contributed to his reputation. For the unexpected greatheartedness which he showed in this time of difficulty brought about a reversal of attitude among the masses, so that he was thought to have been at bottom not the kind of person that their earlier experiences indicated but the kind that his care for them in their need made him out to be.

(3)<sup>c</sup> It was at that time<sup>d</sup> also that he sent to Caesar five hundred picked men from his bodyguards as an auxiliary force, and these men were very useful to Aelius Gallus, who led them to the Red Sea.<sup>e</sup> And when Herod's affairs were again in good order and

Herod builds a palace in Jerusalem, and marries the daughter of the priest Simon.

<sup>c</sup> §§ 317-341 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 402-415.

<sup>d</sup> 25-24 B.C.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Strabo xvi. 4. 23, p. 780. The other ancient sources for Aelius Gallus' unsuccessful expedition against the Sabaeans of Arabia Felix (listed by Schürer i. 367 note 9) are Dio Cassius liii. 29; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 28. 160 ff.; Monumentum Ancyranum v. 18 ff. For a modern account see J. G. C. Anderson in *CAH* x. 248-252.

ἐπίδοσιν εὐθηνουμένων, βασιλείον ἐξωκοδόμει περὶ  
 τὴν ἄνω πόλιν, ὑπερμεγέθεις οἴκους ἐγείρων καὶ  
 κόσμῳ κατασκευάζων πολυτελεστάτῳ χρυσοῦ καὶ  
 λίθων καὶ περιαιμιμάτων,<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν  
 κλισίας μὲν ἔχειν παμπόλλους ἄνδρας ὑποδέχεσθαι,  
 319 Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππα κέκλητο. προσελάμβανε  
 δὲ καὶ γάμον αὐτῷ, κινήθεις ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς ἐπιθυμίας,  
 μηδένα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἡδονὴν ζῆν ὑπολογισ-  
 μὸν ποιούμενος. ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτῷ τῶν γάμων ἐγένετο  
 320 τοιαύδε· Σίμων ἦν Ἱεροσολυμίτης υἱὸς Βοηθοῦ τινος  
 Ἀλεξανδρέως, ἱερεὺς ἐν τοῖς γνωρίμοις, εἶχε δὲ  
 321 θυγατέρα καλλίστην τῶν τότε νομιζομένην.<sup>3</sup> ὄντος  
 οὖν λόγου παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις περὶ<sup>4</sup> αὐτῆς,  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς κεκινήσθαι τὸν  
 Ἡρώδην συνέβαινε, ὡς δὲ καὶ θεασάμενον ἢ τῆς  
 παιδὸς ἐξέπληξεν ὥρα, τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἐξουσίας χρώ-  
 μενον διατελεῖν ἅπαν<sup>5</sup> ἀπεδοκίμαζεν, ὑποπτεύων,  
 ὅπερ ἦν, εἰς βίαν καὶ τυραννίδα διαβληθήσεσθαι,  
 322 βέλτιον δ' ᾤετο γάμῳ τὴν κόρην λαβεῖν. καὶ τοῦ  
 Σίμωνος ὄντος ἀδοξοτέρου μὲν ἢ πρὸς οἰκειότητα,  
 μείζονος δὲ ἢ καταφρονεῖσθαι, τὸν ἐπιεικέστερον

<sup>1</sup> κατακλιμάτων Hudson : ποικιλμάτων Ernesti : post περι-  
 αιμιμάτων quaedam excidisse putat Niese, et similiter post  
 ὑποδέχεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὰ W : κατὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ rell.

<sup>3</sup> P : νομιζομένων rell.

<sup>4</sup> περὶ V : om. rell.

<sup>5</sup> ἄγαμον Herwerden.

<sup>a</sup> This was the citadel of Herod, more fully described in *B.J.* v. 156-183, cf. Abel, *HP* i. 365-367. It lay at the N.W. corner of the Upper City (near the beginning of the Joppa Road), W. of the Hasmonaeon Palace, and is to be distinguished from the Antonia which was at the N.W. corner of the Temple precinct (see above, § 292 note).

increasingly prosperous, he built a palace in the Upper City,<sup>a</sup> in which he constructed exceedingly large, high rooms and decorated them in very costly fashion with gold, stones<sup>b</sup> and colour-washes.<sup>c</sup> Each of them had enough couches to hold a great many persons, and they varied in size and name, one being called Caesar's, and another Agrippa's.<sup>d</sup> And at the prompting of his amorous desire he married again, for he had no qualms about living solely for his own pleasure. His marriage came about in the following way. There lived in Jerusalem a well-known priest named Simon, the son of one Boethus,<sup>e</sup> an Alexandrian, who had a daughter<sup>f</sup> considered to be the most beautiful woman of her time. And since there was much talk about her among the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Herod, as it happened, first became excited by what he heard, and then, on seeing her, was greatly smitten by the girl's loveliness, but he dismissed the thought of abusing his power in order to achieve his full desire, for he suspected with good reason that he would be accused of violence and tyranny, and so he thought it better to take the girl in marriage. And since Simon was, on the one hand, not illustrious enough to become related (to the king) but, on the other hand, too important to be treated with contempt, Herod fulfilled his desire in a rather reasonable way by increasing his and his

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps marble.

<sup>c</sup> The exact meaning of the last word is not certain.

<sup>d</sup> After Augustus and M. Vipsanius Agrippa.

<sup>e</sup> Not to be confused with Simon (surnamed Kantheras), son of Boethus, who was high priest during the reign of Agrippa I (see *Ant.* xix. 297).

<sup>f</sup> Named Mariamme (II), according to *Ant.* xviii. 136 and *B.J.* i. 562.

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τρόπον μετήει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, αὐξων αὐτοὺς καὶ τιμιωτέρους ἀποφαίνων· αὐτίκα γοῦν Ἰησοῦν μὲν τὸν τοῦ Φάβητος<sup>1</sup> ἀφαιρείται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, Σίμωνα δὲ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ τὸ κῆδος πρὸς αὐτὸν συνάπτεται.

- 323 (4) Τελεσθέντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ γάμου, προσκατεσκευάσατο φρούριον ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐνίκα Ἰουδαίους ὅτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσόντος Ἀντίγονος  
 324 ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φρούριον ἀπέχει μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων περὶ ἐξήκοντα σταδίου, φύσει δὲ ἐχυρὸν καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν ἐπιτηδειότατον. ἔστι γὰρ<sup>2</sup> ἐγγὺς ἐπιεικῶς<sup>3</sup> κολωνός, εἰς ὕψος ἀνιῶν χειροποίητον, ὡς εἶναι μαστοειδῆ τὴν περιφοράν, διείληπται δὲ κυκλοτερέσι πύργοις ὀρθίαν ἔχων ἄνοδον ξεσταῖς βαθμίσιν ἐξωκοδομημένην εἰς διακοσίας. ἐντὸς δ' αὐτοῦ καταγωγαὶ βασιλικοὶ πολυτελεῖς, εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ὁμοῦ καὶ κό-  
 325 σμον πεποιημένοι· περὶ δὲ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ λόφου διατριβαὶ κατασκευῆς ἀξιοθεάτου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς τῶν ὑδάτων (οὐ γὰρ οὗτος<sup>4</sup> ὁ τόπος ἔσχηκεν) ἐκ μακροῦ καὶ διὰ πλειόνων ἀναλωμάτων πεποιημένης. τὰ δ' ἐπίπεδα περιωκοδόμηται πό-

<sup>1</sup> Φοάβητος P: Foauetis aut Favetis Lat.: Φαυβῆ Hypomn. Ios.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ L: om. P.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιεικῆς ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> οὕτως AMW: αὐτὸς con. Niese.

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<sup>a</sup> Variants "Phoabis," "Foavis," "Faves," etc. The correct form was undoubtedly Phiabi, as in *Ant.* xviii. 34 (cod. A) and xx. 179 (cod. A and Lat.). The Hebrew form *Pi'abi* occurs several times in the Mishnah, cf. Schürer ii. 216 note 6.

daughter's prestige and making their position one of greater honour. That is to say, he promptly removed Jesus, the son of Phabes,<sup>a</sup> from the high priesthood and appointed Simon to this office, and contracted marriage with his daughter.

(4) When the wedding-ceremonies were concluded, Herod constructed another fortress<sup>b</sup> in the region where he had defeated the Jews after his expulsion from the realm, when Antigonus was in power.<sup>c</sup> This fortress, which is some sixty stades<sup>d</sup> distant from Jerusalem, is naturally strong and very suitable for such a structure, for reasonably near by is a hill, raised to a (greater) height by the hand of man and rounded off in the shape of a breast. At intervals it has round towers, and it has a steep ascent formed of two hundred steps of hewn stone. Within it are costly royal apartments made for security and for ornament at the same time. At the base of the hill there are pleasure grounds built in such a way as to be worth seeing, among other things because of the way in which water, which is lacking in that place, is brought in from a distance and at great expense.<sup>e</sup> The surrounding plain was built up as a city second

Herod  
builds  
another  
fortress  
(Hero-  
deion).

<sup>b</sup> It is called Herodeion in *B.J.* i. 419, where Josephus says that there were two fortresses of this name; one was in the hill country on the Arab frontier (its identification with Machaerus by Clermont-Ganneau is questioned by Otto, p. 82); the other one is the same as that mentioned here, sixty stades from Jerusalem.

<sup>c</sup> *Cf. Ant.* xiv. 360.

<sup>d</sup> About 7 miles. The site is thought to be the modern *Jebel el-Fureidis* or Frank Mountain, c. 4 miles S.E. of Bethlehem, *cf. Schürer* i. 390 note 66, and Abel, *GP* ii. 348.

<sup>e</sup> Traces of an aqueduct can still be seen extending from the spring of *Urtas*, which is on the road from Bethlehem to Etam.

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λις<sup>1</sup> οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάσσων,<sup>2</sup> τὸν λόφον ἀκρόπολιν ἔχουσα<sup>3</sup>  
τῆς ἄλλης οἰκήσεως.

- 326 (5) Πάντων δ' αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκότων εἰς δέον  
ῶν ἠλπίζει, τὰς μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ταραχὰς  
οὐδ' ὅπως οὖν δι' ὑποψίας εἶχεν, ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπη-  
κόους παραστησάμενος, φόβῳ μὲν ῶν<sup>4</sup> ἀπαραίτητος  
εἰς τὰς τιμωρίας, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ<sup>5</sup> μεγαλόψυ-  
327 χος ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις εὐρίσκετο. περιεβάλλετο  
δὲ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἀσφάλειαν, ὥσπερ ἐπιτείχισμα αὐ-  
τοῦ<sup>6</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τοῦτο<sup>7</sup> ποιούμενος· πόλεσι  
μὲν<sup>8</sup> γὰρ ὠμίλει δεξιῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως, καὶ  
τοὺς δυνάστας ἐθεράπευεν εὐκαιρίαις ὧν ἐκάστους  
ἐδωρεῖτο μείζους τὰς χάριτας ἐμποιῶν, καὶ τὸ  
μεγαλόψυχον φύσει πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν εὐπρεπῶς<sup>9</sup>  
ἔχων, ὥστ' αὐτῷ πάντα διὰ πάντων αὔξεσθαι πρὸς  
328 τὸ πλεῖον αἰεὶ προχωρούντων.<sup>10</sup> ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς  
τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς θεραπείας, ἣν ἐθεράπευε  
Καίσαρα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλείστον δυναμένους,  
ἐκβαίνειν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἠναγκάζετο καὶ πολλὰ τῶν  
νομίμων παραχαράττειν, πόλεις τε κτίζων ὑπὸ  
329 φιλοτιμίας καὶ ναοὺς ἐγείρων (οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῶν  
Ἰουδαίων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἠνέσχοντο τῶν τοιούτων  
ἀπηγορευμένων ἡμῖν ὡς ἀγάλματα καὶ τύπους  
μεμορφωμένους τιμᾶν πρὸς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον,  
τὴν δ' ἔξω χώραν καὶ τὰ περίξ οὕτως κατεσκευά-

<sup>1</sup> πόλεως F (vid.) LAMVWE.

<sup>2</sup> ἐλάσσω FLAMVE.

<sup>3</sup> ἔχοντα con. Hudson.

<sup>4</sup> ῶν Niese : om. E.

<sup>5</sup> δὲ ὧν P : δὲ ὧν Niese.

<sup>6</sup> αὐτοῦ codd. (om. P) : post ἀρχομένοις trans. Naber.

<sup>7</sup> τοῦτο ante τοῖς ἀρχ. hab. PFLAMWE.

<sup>8</sup> τε PE.

to none, with the hill serving as an acropolis for the other dwellings.

(5) Since all his affairs were prospering as they should and as he hoped, Herod had not the least suspicion that any disturbance might arise in the kingdom itself, for he kept his subjects submissive in two ways, namely by fear, since he was inexorable in punishment, and by showing himself greathearted in his care of them when a crisis arose. He also surrounded himself with security on the outside, as though making this a reinforcement for himself against his subjects, for he treated the (gentile) cities skilfully and humanely, and he cultivated their local rulers, making them the more grateful to him because of the nice timing of the gifts which he presented to each of them.<sup>a</sup> And his natural magnanimity he used in a manner appropriate to his royal power, so that his position became stronger in all ways as his affairs prospered. But because of his ambition in this direction and the flattering attention which he gave to Caesar and the most influential Romans, he was forced to depart from the customs (of the Jews) and to alter many of their regulations, for in his ambitious spending he founded cities and erected temples—not in Jewish territory, for the Jews would not have put up with this, since we are forbidden such things, including the honouring of statues and sculptured forms in the manner of the Greeks,—but these he built in foreign and surround-

Herod's  
gifts to  
pagan  
cities.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Abel, *HP* i. 401 note 1, "Les plaintes des Gadaréniens contre Hérode sont dictées par les revendications d'une ville libre humiliée assujettie au dynaste d'une nation méprisée."

<sup>9</sup> εὐπρεπὲς P.

<sup>10</sup> P: προσχωρούντων rell.

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- 330 ζετο), Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἀπολογούμενος μὴ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐντολῆς καὶ προσταγμάτων αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, Καίσαρι δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἐθῶν ὅσον τῆς ἐκείνων τιμῆς ἐστοχάσθαι χαριζόμενος,<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς μέντοι τὸ σύμπαν αὐτοῦ στοχαζόμενος ἢ καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος μείζω τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς αὐθις ὑπολιπέσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐπισκευὰς τῶν πόλεων ἐκεκίνητο, καὶ πλείστας εἰς τοῦτο τὰς δαπάνας ἐποιεῖτο.
- 331 (6) Κατιδῶν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον δέξασθαι πόλιν, ὃ πάλαι Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πύργος, τῇ τε διαγραφῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπεβάλλετο καὶ τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀνιστὰς ἅπασαν οὐ παρέργως ἀλλ' ἐκ λευκῆς πέτρας, καὶ διακοσμῶν βασιλείοις τε πολυτελεστάτοις καὶ διαίταις
- 332 πολιτικαῖς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ πλείστην ἐργασίαν παρασχόν, ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι, μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καταγωγὰς δ' ἔνδον ἔχοντι καὶ δευτέρους ὑφόρμους, τῇ δὲ δομήσει περίβλεπτον ὅτι μηδ' ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς μεγαλουργίας εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεισάκτοις καὶ πολλαῖς ἐξετελειώθη
- 333 ταῖς δαπάναις. κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ

<sup>1</sup> προφασιζόμενος Naber.

<sup>a</sup> A list of Herod's gifts to Hellenistic cities is given by Josephus in *B.J.* i. 422-428.

<sup>b</sup> A. Tcherikover, *Ereṣ Yiśra'el* i (1951), 101 note 23 (in Hebrew), makes the valid point that Herod's hellenizing policy differed from that of the pre-Maccabean high priests Jason and Menelaus in that Herod made no attempt to force Hellenism upon the Jews in Jewish territory.



ing territory.<sup>a</sup> To the Jews he made the excuse that he was doing these things not on his own account but by command and order,<sup>b</sup> while he sought to please Caesar and the Romans by saying that he was less intent upon observing the customs of his own nation than upon honouring them. On the whole, however, he was intent upon his own interests or was also ambitious to leave behind to posterity still greater monuments of his reign. It was for this reason that he was keenly interested in the reconstruction of cities and spent very great sums on this work.

(6)<sup>c</sup> And when he observed that there was a place near the sea, formerly called Strato's Tower, which was very well suited to be the site of a city, he set about making a magnificent plan and put up buildings all over the city, not of ordinary material but of white stone.<sup>d</sup> He also adorned it with a very costly palace,<sup>e</sup> with civic halls and—what was greatest of all and required the most labour—with a well-protected harbour, of the size of the Piraeus,<sup>f</sup> with landing-places and secondary anchorages inside. But what was especially notable about this construction was that he got no material suitable for so great a work from the place itself but completed it with materials brought from outside at great expense. Now this city is located in Phoenicia, on the sea-route

Herod  
rebuilds  
Strato's  
Tower as  
Caesarea.

<sup>a</sup> The description of Caesarea that follows is closely parallel to that given in *B.J.* i. 408-415; *cf.* Leo Haefeli, *Cæsarea am Meer* (Münster, 1923). For a brief account of a recent exploration of the site see A. Reifenberg, "Caesarea, a Study in the Decline of a Town," *Israel Exploration Journal* 1 (1950-1951), 20-32 (with photographs).

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* marble.

<sup>e</sup> Or perhaps "palaces."

<sup>f</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 410, the harbour of Caesarea was larger than Piraeus.

Φοινίκη κατὰ τὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παράπλουν, Ἰόππης  
 μεταξὺ καὶ Δώρων. πολισμάτια ταῦτ' ἐστὶ παρ-  
 ἄλια, δύσσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβολάς, αἱ αἰεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου θίνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἡύονα σύρουσαι  
 καταγωγὴν οὐ μειλίχιον<sup>2</sup> διδοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀν-  
 αγκαῖον ἀποσαλεύειν τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐπ'  
 334 ἀγκύρας. τοῦτο τὸ δύσθητον τῆς χώρας διορθού-  
 μενος καὶ περιγράψας τὸν κύκλον τοῦ λιμένος ἐφ'  
 ὅσον ἦν αὐτάρκες πρὸς τῇ χέρσῳ μεγάλοις στόλοις  
 ἐνορμείσθαι, λίθους ὑπερμεγέθεις καθίει<sup>3</sup> τὸ<sup>4</sup> βάθος  
 εἰς<sup>5</sup> ὄργυιὰς εἴκοσι. πεντήκοντα ποδῶν ἦσαν οἱ  
 πλείους τὸ μῆκος, καὶ πλάτος οὐκ ἔλαττον δεκα-  
 οκτώ, βάθος δὲ ἐννέα, τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν μείζους οἱ  
 335 δὲ ἐλάττους. ἡ δὲ ἐνδόμησις, ὅσην<sup>6</sup> ἐνεβάλετο  
 κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διακοσίους πόδας. τούτων  
 τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ προβέβλητο ταῖς κυματωγαῖς<sup>7</sup> ὡς  
 ἀπομάχεσθαι περικλῶμενον ἐκεῖ τὸν κλύδωνα· προ-  
 336 κυμία<sup>8</sup> γοῦν ἐκαλεῖτο· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν περιεῖχε λί-  
 θινον τεῖχος πύργοις διειλημμένον, ὧν ὁ μέγιστος  
 Δρούσος<sup>9</sup> ὀνομάζεται, πάνυ καλὸν τι χρῆμα, τὴν  
 προσηγορίαν εἰληφῶς ἀπὸ Δρούσου τοῦ Καίσαρος  
 337 προγόνου, τελευτήσαντος νέου. ψαλίδες δὲ ἐνε-  
 πεποίηντο συνεχεῖς καταγωγαὶ τοῖς ναυτίλοις, τὸ

<sup>1</sup> αἰεὶ om. FLAMVW.

<sup>2</sup> μειλίχιον om. P.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson: καθεῖς P: καθιεῖς rell.

<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸ P.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπ' ex B.J. con. Niese.

<sup>6</sup> ὅσον ἦν P.

<sup>7</sup> Cocceji: κυματώσαις P: κυμαγωγαῖς AW: κυμαγωγίαις rell.

<sup>8</sup> προκυμία FLAMW: προθυμία E.

<sup>9</sup> Δρούσιον P (cf. B.J.).

<sup>a</sup> The variant omits "always."

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Reifenberg (see p. 415 note c above), p. 21, "Sand has

to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora. These are small towns on the seashore and are poor harbours because the south-west wind beats on them and always <sup>a</sup> dredges up sand from the sea upon the shore, and thus does not permit a smooth landing <sup>b</sup>; instead, it is usually necessary for merchants to ride unsteadily at anchor off shore. To remedy this inconvenient feature of the land Herod laid out a circular harbour enclosing enough space for large fleets to lie at anchor near shore, and (along this line) he sank enormous rocks to a depth of twenty fathoms. Most of these rocks were fifty feet in length, and no less than eighteen in breadth, <sup>c</sup> and nine in height, some of them being larger, some smaller than that. The structure <sup>d</sup> which he set in the sea as a barrier was two hundred feet (in width). Half of it was opposed to the surge of the waves and held off the flood of waters breaking there from all sides, and was therefore called a breakwater. The other half, supported on a stone wall, was divided at intervals by towers, of which the largest, a very handsome thing, is called Drusus, <sup>e</sup> taking its name from Drusus, the stepson of Caesar, who died young. <sup>f</sup> Into it had been built a series of vaulted recesses <sup>g</sup> as shelters for sailors.

been deposited by the south-north current and has then been driven inland by the prevailing south-westerly wind."

<sup>a</sup> *B.J.* i. 411 "ten in breadth."

<sup>b</sup> Called a "mole" (τεῖχος) in *B.J.* i. 412.

<sup>c</sup> One ms. and *B.J.* have "Drusion."

<sup>f</sup> Nero Claudius Drusus was the son of Augustus' wife Livia, by her first husband Tiberius Claudius Nero, and the brother of the future emperor Tiberius. He died suddenly in Germany in 9 B.C. when he was only thirty. Presumably Herod named this tower after him while he was still alive, since the building of Caesarea was begun much earlier.

<sup>g</sup> Chamouard renders, "d'abris."

## JOSEPHUS

δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀπόβασις πλατεῖα κύκλῳ περιεστε-  
 φάνωκε τὸν πάντα λιμένα, περίπατος τοῖς ἐθέλου-  
 σιν<sup>1</sup> ἡδιστος. ὁ δ' εἴσπλους καὶ τὸ στόμα πεποιήται  
 338 πρὸς βορρᾶν, ὡς ἀνέμων αἰθριώτατος. βάσις δὲ  
 τοῦ περιβόλου παντὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν εἰσπλεόντων  
 πύργος νενασμένος<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ πολὺ στερρῶς ἀντέχει,  
 κατὰ δεξιὰν δὲ δύο λίθοι μεγάλοι καὶ τοῦ κατὰ  
 θάτερα πύργου μείζους, ὀρθοὶ δὲ καὶ συνεζευγμέ-  
 339 νοι. περίκεινται δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα λειο-  
 τάτου λίθου κατασκευῇ συνεχεῖς οἰκῆσεις κὰν τῷ  
 μέσῳ κολωνός τις, ἐφ' οὗ νεὼς Καίσαρος ἄποπτος  
 τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν, ἔχων ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Ῥώμης,  
 τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἢ τε πόλις αὐτῇ Καισάρεια  
 καλεῖται, καλλίστης καὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς κατα-  
 340 σκευῆς τετυχηκυῖα. τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν ὑπόνομοί τε  
 καὶ λαῦραι πραγματεῖαν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπερ-  
 ωκοδομημένων ἔχουσαι.<sup>3</sup> τούτων αἱ μὲν κατὰ  
 σύμμετρα διαστήματα φέρουσιν εἰς τὸν λιμένα καὶ  
 τὴν θάλατταν, μία δὲ ἐγκαρσία πάσας ὑπέζωκεν,  
 ὡς τοὺς τε ὄμβρους εὐμαρῶς καὶ τὰ λύματα  
 τῶν οἰκητόρων συνεκδίδοσθαι, τὴν τε θάλατταν,

<sup>1</sup> θέλουσιν FLAMVW : εἰληθεροῦσιν con. Naber : corruptela latere vid.

<sup>2</sup> περιηγμένος AMW.

<sup>3</sup> ἔχονται con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>a</sup> Presumably " before " here means along the shore.

<sup>b</sup> Text uncertain.

<sup>c</sup> Or, more literally, " piled up " ; variant " carried round."

<sup>d</sup> Strictly speaking, it was a temple to Rome and Augustus, as Josephus indicates just below.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Reifenberg, *op. cit.* (see note c on § 331), p. 23, " The outlines of an immense public building (approx. 100 × 100

And before them <sup>a</sup> there was a wide quay which encircled the harbour and was a very pleasant place to walk around for those who wished to do so.<sup>b</sup> The entrance or mouth of the harbour was made to face north, for this wind always brings the clearest weather. The foundation of the whole circular wall on the left of those sailing into the harbour was a tower resting <sup>c</sup> upon piled stones as a broad firm base to withstand pressure (from the water), while on the right were two great stone blocks, larger than the tower on the other side, which were upright and joined together. In a circle round the harbour there was a continuous line of dwellings constructed of the most polished stone, and in their midst was a mound on which there stood a temple of Caesar,<sup>d</sup> visible a great way off to those sailing into the harbour,<sup>e</sup> which had a statue of Rome and also one of Cacsar. The city itself is called Caesarea and is most beautiful both in material and in construction. But below the city the underground passages and sewers <sup>f</sup> cost no less effort than the structures built above them. Of these some led at equal distances from one another to the harbour and the sea, while one diagonal passage connected all of them, so that the rainwater and the refuse of the inhabitants were easily carried off together. And whenever the sea metres) are discernible on the hill just east of the modern Jewish settlement [S. of the harbour, close to the shore] . . . and ground observations showed a straight line of remains, including a column protruding through the sand with a rectangular prolongation in a westerly direction. Only excavation will show whether we have in these remains the vestiges of Caesar's temple . . ."

<sup>f</sup> Remains of these are not mentioned by Reifenberg. The aqueducts revealed by the survey were probably built after the time of Josephus.

ὅταν ἔξωθεν ἐπείγῃται,<sup>1</sup> διαρρεῖν καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν  
 341 ὑποκλύζειν πόλιν. κατεσκεύασε δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ  
 θέατρον ἐκ πέτρας<sup>2</sup> καὶ πρὸς τῷ νοτίῳ τοῦ λιμένος  
 ὅπισθεν ἀμφιθέατρον, πολὺν ὄχλον ἀνθρώπων δέχε-  
 σθαι δυνάμενον καὶ κείμενον ἐπιτηδείως ἀποπτεύειν  
 εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις οὕτως ἐξετελέσθη  
 δωδεκαετῆ χρόνῳ, καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις οὐκ ἐγ-  
 καμόντος καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἐπαρκέσαντος τοῦ βα-  
 σιλέως.

342 (x. 1) Ἐπὶ τοιούτοις δὲ ὧν καὶ τῆς Σεβαστῆς  
 ἤδη πεπολισμένης ἔγνω τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πέμπειν  
 εἰς Ῥώμην Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, συντευ-  
 343 ξομένους<sup>3</sup> Καίσαρι. τούτοις ἀνελθοῦσιν καταγωγῇ  
 μὲν ἦν Πολλίωνος<sup>4</sup> οἶκος ἀνδρὸς τῶν μάλιστα  
 σπουδασάντων περὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου φιλίαν, ἐφέϊτο δὲ  
 καὶ τοῖς Καίσαρος κατάγεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐξεδέξατο<sup>5</sup>  
 μετὰ πάσης φιλανθρωπίας τοὺς παῖδας· καὶ δίδωσιν  
 Ἡρώδῃ τὴν τε βασιλείαν ὅτῳ βούλεται βεβαιοῦν

<sup>1</sup> P : ἐπιγένηται rell.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ πέτρας om. P Lat.

<sup>3</sup> συνεντευξομένους M : ἐντευξομένους E.

<sup>4</sup> Παλλίωνος Exc. : Πωλίωνος Bekker.

<sup>5</sup> P : ἐδέξατο rell. E Exc.

<sup>a</sup> The variant omits " of stone."

<sup>b</sup> What " farther back " means here is not clear but see next note.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Reifenberg, *op. cit.* (§ 331 note c), p. 25, " Now the building to the south of the harbour was a theatre and not an amphitheatre. It seems, therefore, that this passage has to be amended by changing ' amphitheatre ' into ' theatre ' and vice versa. This would also meet the postulate that a wide view could be obtained over the sea, which is true for the theatre only. Neither from the amphitheatre nor from the hippodrome can a wide view over the sea be obtained." See also on *Ant.* xvi. 136.

was driven in from offshore, it would flow through the whole city and flush it from below. Herod also built a theatre of stone <sup>a</sup> in the city, and on the south side of the harbour, farther back, <sup>b</sup> an amphitheatre large enough to hold a great crowd of people and conveniently situated for a view of the sea. <sup>c</sup> Now the city was completed in the space of twelve <sup>d</sup> years, for the king did not slacken in the undertaking and he had sufficient means for the expenses.

(x. 1) <sup>e</sup> At this juncture, with Sebaste already built as a city, he decided to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus <sup>f</sup> to Rome to present themselves to Caesar. And when they arrived, they stayed in the house of Pollio, <sup>g</sup> who professed himself one of Herod's most devoted friends. And permission was given (them) to stay with Caesar himself, for he received the boys with the greatest consideration. He also gave Herod the right to secure in the possession of his kingdom whichever of his offspring he wished,

Herod sends his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome. Augustus gives him additional territory in northern Trans-jordan.

<sup>a</sup> According to *Ant.* xvi. 136, the rebuilding of Caesarea took ten years, and since its completion is there dated in the 28th year of Herod's reign (=10-9 B.C.), the beginning of the work would have to be dated in 20 B.C. But the number "twelve" given here for the duration of the work is to be preferred for various reasons, and we should therefore date the beginning of the rebuilding in 22 B.C.; see Schürer i. 368 ff., and Otto, p. 70.

<sup>e</sup> In chap. x only the following passages have parallels in *B.J.*: § 344 is parallel to *B.J.* i. 398; §§ 360-364 are parallel to *B.J.* i. 399-406.

<sup>f</sup> His sons by Mariamme (I), the granddaughter of the high priest Hyrcanus II.

<sup>g</sup> Presumably C. Asinius Pollio, consul in 40 B.C., to whom Virgil dedicated his Fourth Eclogue. On this Pollio's possible interest in Judaism as a Gentile sympathizer see Louis H. Feldman, "Asinius Pollio and his Jewish Interests," *TAPA* 84 (1953), 73-80.

τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ χώραν ἔτι τὸν τε  
 Τράχωνα καὶ Βαταναίαν καὶ Αὐρανήτιν ἔδωκε,<sup>1</sup> διὰ  
 344 τοιαύτην αἰτίαν παραλαβών<sup>2</sup>. Ζηνόδωρός τις ἐμε-  
 μίσθωτο τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Λυσανίου. τούτῳ τὰ μὲν  
 κατὰ τὰς προσόδους οὐκ ἤρκει, τὰ ληστήρια δὲ  
 ἔχων ἐν τῷ Τράχωνι πλείω τὴν πρόσοδον ἔφερον.  
 οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀπονοίας ζῶντες τοὺς τόπους,  
 οἱ τὰ Δαμασκηῶν ἐλήζοντο, καὶ Ζηνόδωρος οὗτ'  
 345 εἶργεν αὐτὸς τε<sup>3</sup> τῶν ὠφελειῶν ἐκοινώνει. κακῶς  
 δὲ πάσχοντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι Οὐάρρωνος κατεβίων  
 τοῦ τότε ἡγεμονεύοντος, καὶ γράφειν ἤξιον Καί-  
 σαρι τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου τὴν ἀδικίαν. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀνε-  
 εχθέντων τούτων ἀντέγραφεν ἐξελεῖν τὰ ληστήρια  
 τὴν τε<sup>4</sup> χώραν Ἡρώδη προσένειμ,<sup>5</sup> ὡς διὰ τῆς  
 ἐπιμελείας τῆς ἐκείνου μηκέτ'<sup>6</sup> ὀχληρῶν τῶν περι  
 346 τὸν Τράχωνα γενησομένων τοῖς πλησίον· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 ῥάδιον ἦν ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἔθει τὸ ληστεύειν πε-  
 ποιημένους καὶ βίον οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἔχοντας· οὔτε  
 γὰρ πόλις αὐτοῖς οὔτε κτήσις<sup>7</sup> ἀγρῶν ὑπῆρχεν,<sup>8</sup>  
 ὑποφυγαὶ δὲ κατὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ σπήλαια καὶ κοινὴ  
 μετὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων δίαίτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ καὶ  
 συναγωγὰς ὑδάτων καὶ προπαρασκευὰς σιτίων,

<sup>1</sup> ἔδωκε δὲ P.

<sup>2</sup> παραλαβών om. WE Exc. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸς τε] οὔτε A<sup>1</sup>M: om. W: αὐτοὺς οὔτε Exc.

<sup>4</sup> δὲ FLAMVW.

<sup>5</sup> προσένειμε PE.

<sup>6</sup> Schmidt: μηκέτ' ἂν codd.

<sup>7</sup> πόλεις . . . κτήσεις P.

<sup>8</sup> ὑπῆρχεν om. P.

<sup>a</sup> The territory N.E. of the Sea of Galilee (beginning c. 30 miles to the E.).

<sup>b</sup> The territory S.W. of Trachonitis.

<sup>c</sup> The hilly country E. of Batanaea and S. of Trachonitis. Together these three districts constitute the Biblical Bashan and Gilead in Transjordan, E. and N. of the Yarmuk River. See Dussaud, ch. vi, who remarks, p. 323, "On ne devra pas



and in addition he gave him the territory of Trachonitis,<sup>a</sup> Batanaea<sup>b</sup> and Auranitis,<sup>c</sup> which he had taken over<sup>d</sup> for the following reason. There was a certain Zenodorus who had leased the domain of Lysanias,<sup>e</sup> but not being satisfied with the revenues, he increased his income by using robber bands in Trachonitis. For the inhabitants of that region led desperate lives and pillaged the property of the Damascenes, and Zenodorus did not stop them but himself shared in their gains. The neighbouring peoples, feeling these serious losses, protested to Varro, who was then their governor,<sup>f</sup> and asked him to write to Caesar about the misdeeds of Zenodorus. When these reports were brought to Caesar, he wrote back that he should drive out the robber bands and assign that territory to Herod in order that through his supervision Trachonitis might cease to be an annoyance to its neighbours. For it was really not easy to restrain people who had made brigandage a habit and had no other means of making a living, since they had neither city nor field of their own but only underground shelters and caves, where they lived together with their cattle. They had also managed to collect supplies of water and of food

oublier que les limites entre ces divers territoires sont mal déterminées.”

<sup>a</sup> The variant omits “ which he had taken over.”

<sup>e</sup> Ruler of Chalcis or Iturea in the Lebanon (*Ant.* xiv. 330-332), who had been killed by Mark Antony at the instigation of Cleopatra (*Ant.* xv. 92, *B.J.* i. 440). On the coins of Zenodorus with the legend “ Zenodorus tetrarch and high priest ” see Schürer i. 714-716. Otto, p. 72 note, *vs.* Schürer, in part, argues that Zenodorus did not obtain all of Lysanias' territory but only his private estate.

<sup>f</sup> Which of several Varros is meant is not certain, see Schürer i. 319-320.

347 καὶ<sup>1</sup> δύνανται πλείστον ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἀντέχειν. αἱ γε  
 μὴν εἴσοδοι στεναὶ καὶ καθ' ἓνα παρερχομένων, τὰ  
 δ' ἔνδον ἀπίστως μεγάλα καὶ πρὸς εὐρυχωρίαν ἐξ-  
 ειργασμένα· τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔδαφος οὐχ  
 ὑψηλόν, ἀλλ' οἶον ἐξ ἐπιπέδου. πέτρα δὲ τὸ σύμ-  
 παν σκληρὰ καὶ δύσσοδος, εἰ μὴ τρίβῳ χρωτό τις  
 ἐξ ὁδηγίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐταὶ κατ' ὀρθὸν ἀλλὰ πολ-  
 348 λὰς ἑλικὰς ἐξελίττονται. τούτοις, ἐπειδὴ τῶν εἰς  
 τοὺς πλησίον κακουργημάτων ἐκωλύοντο, καὶ<sup>2</sup> κατ'  
 ἀλλήλων ἦν ὁ τῆς ληστείας τρόπος, ὡς μηδὲν  
 ἀνομίας ἐν τούτῳ λελεῖφθαι. λαβὼν δὲ τὴν χάριν  
 Ἑρώδης παρὰ Καίσαρος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν  
 χώραν ὁδηγῶν ἐμπειρία τοὺς τε πονηρευομένους  
 αὐτῶν κατέπαυσε καὶ τοῖς πέριξ ἀδεῆ τὴν εἰρήνην  
 παρέσχευ.  
 349 (2) Ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδωρος ἀχθόμενος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τῇ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἀφαιρέσει, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ φθόνῳ  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἑρώδου μετεληφότος, ἀνῆλθεν εἰς  
 Ῥώμην κατηγορήσων αὐτοῦ. κάκεῖνος μὲν ἄ-  
 350 πρακτος ἀναστρέφει. πέμπεται δὲ Ἀγρίππας τῶν  
 πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι· καὶ τούτῳ περὶ  
 Μιτυλήνην χειμάζοντι συντυχῶν Ἑρώδης (ἦν γὰρ  
 εἰς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος καὶ συνήθης), πάλιν εἰς τὴν  
 351 Ἰουδαίαν ἀναστρέφει.<sup>3</sup> Γαδαρέων δέ τινες ἐπ'

<sup>1</sup> αἱ P.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ om. V.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνέστρεφεν PE.

<sup>a</sup> "Eparchy" seems here to be used as a synonym of "tetrarchy," see above, § 344 note e.

<sup>b</sup> M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the son-in-law and viceroy of Augustus; on his friendliness to Herod and the Jews see *Ant.* xii. 125 ff., xvi. 27 ff.

<sup>c</sup> He had been given the *proconsulare imperium*, see Meyer Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa* (Geneva, N.Y., 1933), p. 83.

beforehand, and so they were able to hold out for a very long time in their hidden retreat. Moreover, the entrances (to their caves) were narrow, and only one person at a time could enter, while the interiors were incredibly large and constructed to provide plenty of room, and the ground above their dwellings was not high but almost level with the (surrounding) surface. The whole place consisted of rocks that were rugged and difficult of access unless one used a path with a guide leading the way, for not even these paths were straight, but had many turns and windings. Now when these men were prevented from harming their neighbours, their custom was to rob even one another, so that no form of lawlessness was meanwhile left untried. But when Herod received this grant from Caesar and reached their territory with the help of experienced guides, he put a stop to their criminal acts and brought security and peace to the surrounding peoples.

(2) Zenodorus, however, was angry in the first place at having his eparchy<sup>a</sup> taken away from him, and was still more angry in the next place because he was envious of Herod, who had taken it over. He therefore went up to Rome to bring charges against him, but he returned without accomplishing anything. Now Agrippa<sup>b</sup> was sent as Caesar's deputy<sup>c</sup> to the countries beyond the Ionian Sea, and as he was wintering in Mitylene,<sup>d</sup> Herod, who was one of his closest friends and companions, went to meet him there and then returned to Judaea. And when some of the Gadarenes<sup>e</sup> went to Agrippa with

The Arabs invade part of Herod's newly acquired territory.

<sup>a</sup> On the island of Lesbos. The visit of Herod to Agrippa probably took place in 23-22 B.C. rather than 22-21 B.C., see Reinhold, *op. cit.* p. 84 note 47.

<sup>e</sup> See above, § 217.

## JOSEPHUS

Ἀγρίππαν ἦλθον κατηγοροῦντες Ἡρώδου,<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
τούτους ἐκείνος οὐδὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς δούς ἀναπέμπει  
τῷ βασιλεῖ δεσμίους. οἳ τε Ἄραβες καὶ πάλαι  
δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἡρώδου  
διεκεκίνηθητο καὶ στασιάζειν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτῷ τὰ  
πράγματα τότε καὶ μετὰ αἰτίας, ὡς ἐδόκουν,  
352 εὐλογωτέρας· ὁ γὰρ Ζηνόδωρος ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη  
τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, ἔφθη τῆς ἐπαρχίας μέρος τι τὴν  
Αὐραῖτιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦσθαι ταλάντων πεντήκοντα.  
ταύτης ἐμπεριεχομένης τῇ δωρεᾷ Καίσαρος, ὡς  
μὴ δικαίως ἀφαιρούμενοι διημφισβήτουν, πολλάκις  
μὲν ταῖς καταδρομαῖς καὶ τῷ βιάζεσθαι θέλειν, ἄλ-  
353 λοτε δὲ καὶ πρὸς δικαιολογίαν ἰόντες. ἀνέπειθον δὲ  
καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ δυσμενεῖς  
ἦσαν, ἐπελπίζοντες<sup>2</sup> αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν νεωτερισμὸν  
ἐνδιδόντες, ᾧ μάλιστα χαίρουσιν οἱ κακῶς πράττον-  
τες τῷ βίῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ μακροῦ πραττόμενα γι-  
νώσκων Ἡρώδης ὁμῶς οὐκ εἰς τὸ δυσμενές, ἀλλ' ἐξ  
ἐπιλογισμοῦ παρηγόρει, ταῖς ταραχαῖς οὐκ ἀξιῶν  
ἀφορμὰς ἐνδιδοῖναι.

354 (3) Ἦδη δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἑπτακαιδεκάτου  
παρελθόντος<sup>3</sup> ἔτους Καίσαρ εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο.  
καὶ τότε τῶν Γάδαρα κατοικούντων οἱ πλείστοι  
κατεβόων Ἡρώδου, βαρὺν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτάγ-  
355 μασι καὶ τυραννικὸν εἶναι. ταῦτα δὲ ἀπετόλμων  
μάλιστα μὲν ἐγκειμένου καὶ διαβάλλοντος αὐτὸν<sup>4</sup>  
Ζηνοδώρου καὶ παρασχόντος ὄρκους ὡς οὐκ ἐγ-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ PE.      <sup>2</sup> Niese: ἐφελπίζοντες P: ἐλπίζοντες rell.

<sup>3</sup> VE: προσελθόντος W: προελθόντος rell.

<sup>4</sup> διαβάλλοντος αὐτὸν] διακινουόντος αὐτοῦ E.

charges against Herod, he sent them in chains to the king without even giving them a hearing. Then the Arabs, who had long been hostile to Herod's rule, were stirred up and now attempted to revolt against his authority on what they thought were very reasonable grounds. For Zenodorus, who by now despaired of his own cause, had hastened to sell them a part of his eparchy, (namely) Auranitis, for fifty talents. And since this was included in Caesar's grant (to Herod), they disputed (his possession of it) on the ground that they had been deprived of it unjustly. Sometimes they overran his territory and attempted to take it by force, and at other times they resorted to legal proceedings. They also won over those soldiers who were poor and hostile (to Herod), and were always hopefully inclined <sup>a</sup> toward revolution, which is especially welcome to those who fare badly in life. And though he knew that this had been going on for a long time, Herod still did not take any hostile action, but sensibly tried to soothe them, for he did not think it wise to give them an excuse for causing disorder.

(3) And when Herod had completed the seven-  
 teenth year of his reign, Caesar came to Syria.<sup>b</sup> And on this occasion most of those who inhabited Gadara denounced Herod as being too severe in his orders and tyrannical. These charges they dared to make because Zenodorus was particularly insistent in his accusations against him and offered them sworn assurances that he would not give up making every

Augustus visits Judaea and acquits Herod of charges of cruelty brought by the Gadarenes.

<sup>a</sup> ἐπελπίζειν is a Thucydidean word, see above, § 207.

<sup>b</sup> Herod's seventeenth year as king was 21-20 B.C. Dio Cassius, liv. 7, dates Augustus' visit to Syria in the consulship of M. Apuleius and P. Silius, which fell in 20 B.C., thus confirming Josephus' date.

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καταλείψει μὴ πάντα τρόπον ἀφελέσθαι μὲν τῆς  
 Ἑρώδου βασιλείας, προσθήσειν<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῇ διοικήσει  
 356 τῇ Καίσαρος. τούτοις ἀναπεισθέντες οἱ Γαδαρεῖς  
 οὐ μικρὰν καταβολὴν ἐποιήσαντο θράσει τοῦ μηδὲ  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα παραδοθέντας ἐν τιμωρίᾳ γε-  
 νέσθαι διέντος<sup>2</sup> Ἑρώδου καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν εἰρ-  
 γασμένου· καὶ γάρ, εἴ τις καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἄλλος, ἐδόκει δυσ-  
 παραίτητος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις, μεγαλόψυχος δὲ  
 357 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀμαρτόντας ἀφιέναι. κατηγο-  
 ρούντων οὖν ὕβρεις καὶ ἀρπαγὰς καὶ κατασκαφὰς  
 ἱερῶν, ὁ μὲν Ἑρώδης ἀταρακτῆσας<sup>4</sup> ἔτοιμος ἦν  
 εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἐδεξιούτο δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτόν,  
 οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς τοῦ πλήθους μεταβαλὼν  
 358 τῆς εὐνοίας. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν οἱ  
 περὶ τούτων ἐρρέθησαν λόγοι, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς οὐκέτι  
 προῆλθεν ἡ διάγνωσις· οἱ γὰρ Γαδαρεῖς ὄρωντες  
 τὴν ῥοπὴν αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου,  
 καὶ προσδοκῆσαντες, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, ἐκδοθήσεσθαι  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ φόβον αἰκίας οἱ μὲν ἀπέσφαττον  
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τινὲς δὲ καθ' ὕψους ἠφίεσαν,  
 ἄλλοι δ' εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτοντες ἕκοντι  
 359 διεφθείροντο. ταῦτα δὲ ἐδόκει κατάγνωσις εἶναι  
 τῆς προπετείας καὶ<sup>5</sup> ἀμαρτίας, ὅθεν<sup>6</sup> οὐδὲν<sup>7</sup> μελλή-  
 σας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυε τῶν αἰτιῶν Ἑρώδην. ἐπι-  
 συμπίπτει δὲ οὐ μέτριον εὐτύχημα τοῖς ἤδη  
 γεγονόσιν· ὁ γὰρ Ζηνόδωρος ῥαγέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ  
 σπλάγχνου, καὶ πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὑποχω-

<sup>1</sup> προσθήσειν vix sanum esse putat Niese.

<sup>2</sup> διαφέντος FAMV: διαφέροντος LW.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ om. FLAMVW.

<sup>4</sup> ἀγανακτῆσας L<sup>2</sup> Lat.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ οὐχ con. Richards et Shutt.

effort to have them removed from Herod's kingdom and joined to the territory governed by Caesar.<sup>a</sup> Persuaded by these assurances, the Gadarenes raised a great outcry, for they were emboldened by the fact that Herod had let off the men turned over (to him) by Agrippa for punishment, and had done them no harm. He had, indeed, the reputation of being the most inexorable of all men toward those of his own people who sinned, but magnanimous in pardoning foreigners. And so they accused him of violence and pillage and the overthrowing of temples. But Herod, unperturbed, was prompt to defend himself, and Caesar greeted him with friendliness and in no way changed his attitude of goodwill because of the disturbance made by the crowd. Speeches about these matters were made on the first day, but the inquiry did not proceed farther on the following days, for the Gadarenes saw to which side both Caesar himself and his council were inclined, and since they expected, as they had reason to do, to be turned over to the king, they were afraid of being maltreated, and so some of them cut their own throats during the night, while others threw themselves down from high places or wilfully destroyed themselves by jumping into the river.<sup>b</sup> This was regarded as (self-) condemnation of their rashness and guilt, and consequently Caesar, without any delay, acquitted Herod of the charges made against him. Moreover, a substantial piece of good fortune came his way in addition to the earlier ones. For Zenodorus suffered a ruptured intestine, and losing a great quantity of

<sup>a</sup> The text is slightly uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps the Yarmuk River is meant.

<sup>6</sup> E: ἐνθεν codd.

<sup>7</sup> Naber: οὐδέ codd.

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ροῦντος αἵματος, ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἐκλείπει  
 360 τὸν βίον. Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτου μοῖραν οὐκ  
 ὀλίγην οὔσαν Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν, ἣ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τρά-  
 χωνος ἦν καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, Οὐλάθαν καὶ Πανει-  
 άδα<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν περίξ χώραν. ἐγκαταμίγνυσι δ'  
 αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἐπιτροπεύουσιν τῆς Συρίας, ἐντειλά-  
 361 μενος μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τὰ πάντα ποιεῖν. τό-  
 τε σύνολον εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθεν εὐτυχίας ὥστε δύο  
 τούτων τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διεπόντων τοσσηνδε τὸ  
 μέγεθος οὔσαν, Καῖσαρος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> Ἀγρίππα,  
 κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοϊαν, Καῖσαρ μὲν οὐδένα  
 μετὰ Ἀγρίππαν Ἡρώδου προετίμησεν, Ἀγρίππας  
 δὲ μετὰ Καῖσαρα πρῶτον ἀπεδίδου φιλίας τόπον  
 362 Ἡρώδῃ. τοσαύτης δὲ ἐχόμενος παρρησίας τῷ  
 μὲν ἀδελφῷ Φερώρᾳ παρὰ Καῖσαρος ἠτήσατο  
 τετραρχίαν, αὐτὸς ἀπονείμας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας  
 πρόσοδον ἑκατὸν ταλάντων, ὡς εἰ καὶ τι πάσχοι,  
 τὰ κατ' ἐκείνον ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τοὺς υἱοὺς  
 363 αὐτῆς<sup>4</sup> κρατεῖν. Καῖσαρα δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν προ-  
 πέμψας, ὡς ἐπανῆκεν, ἐν τῇ Ζηνοδώρου περικαλ-  
 λέστατον αὐτῷ ναὸν ἐγείρει πέτρας λευκῆς, πλησίον  
 364 τοῦ Πανείου<sup>5</sup> καλουμένου. σπήλαιον ἐν ὄρει περι-

<sup>1</sup> Niese : Πανιάδα codd.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὴν P : post hoc verbum lacunam stat. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῦ ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> P : αὐτοῦ rell. E Lat.

<sup>5</sup> Hudson : Πανίου codd. E : Paniada Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> The region N. of the Lake of Merom, Talmudic *Hol<sup>o</sup>thah*, modern *Huleh*.

<sup>b</sup> Modern *Baniyas*, E. of *Huleh*, including the sources of the Jordan and the later Caesarea-Philippi. That Augustus



blood in his illness, departed this life in Antioch of Syria. Caesar therefore gave his territory, which was not small, to Herod. It lay between Trachonitis and Galilee, and contained Ulatha <sup>a</sup> and Paneas <sup>b</sup> and the surrounding country. He also associated him with the procurators of Syria, <sup>c</sup> instructing them to obtain Herod's consent to all their actions. Altogether he reached such a height of good fortune that as for the two men who ruled the mighty Roman empire, (namely) Caesar, and next to him Agrippa, to whom he was devoted, there was no one after Agrippa whom Caesar held in greater esteem than Herod, while Agrippa gave Herod the first place in his friendship after Caesar. Enjoying, therefore, so great a measure of freedom of speech, Herod asked of Caesar a tetrarchy <sup>d</sup> for his brother Pheroras, and allotted to him from his own kingdom a revenue of a hundred talents in order that, if he should suffer death, the position of Pheroras might be safe, and that his (Herod's) sons might not seize possession of this (tetrarchy). And when he returned home after escorting Caesar to the sea, he erected to him a very beautiful temple of white stone in the territory of Zenodorus, near the place called Paneion. <sup>e</sup> In the

Augustus gives Zenodorus' territory to Herod.

gave Herod the tetrarchy of Zenodorus is also stated by Dio Cassius liv. 9.

<sup>c</sup> According to *B.J.* i. 399, Augustus appointed Herod "procurator of all Syria," which seems an exaggeration unless we read "Coele-Syria" (*Κοιλήτης Συρίας*) for "all Syria" (*ὅλης Συρίας*), see Otto, p. 74 note.

<sup>d</sup> In Transjordan, *i.e.* Peraea, according to *B.J.* i. 483.

<sup>e</sup> This temple is probably the one represented on the coins of Herod's son Philip, who was later tetrarch of this region. See G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (London, 1914), Plate XXIV, or A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (Jerusalem, 1947), Plate IV, Nr. 43.

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καλλές ἐστίν, ὑπ' αὐτὸ δὲ γῆς ὀλίσθημα καὶ βάθος ἀπερρωγὸς ἄβατον,<sup>1</sup> ὕδατος ἀκινήτου πλέον, καθ' ὑπερθε δ' ὄρος παμμέγεθες· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀνατέλλουσιν αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ. τοῦτον ἐπισημότατον ὄντα τὸν τόπον καὶ τῷ ναῶ προσεκόσμησεν, ὃν ἀφιέρου Καίσαρι.

365 (4) Τότε καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἀφῆκε τῶν φόρων τοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἀφορίας, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀνακτώμενος ἔχοντας δυσμενῶς· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξεργασίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὡς ἂν λυομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ μεταπιπτόντων τῶν ἐθῶν χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ λόγοι δὲ<sup>2</sup> πάντων ἐγίνοντο παροξυνο-  
366 μένων αἰεὶ καὶ ταραττομένων. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον πολλὴν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπῆγεν, ἀφαιρούμενος μὲν τὰς εὐκαιρίας, ἐπιτάττων δ' αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοῖς πόνοις, ἦν δ' οὔτε σύνοδος ἐφειμένη<sup>3</sup> τοῖς περὶ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε κοινωνία περιπάτου καὶ διαίτης, ἀλλ' ἐτετήρητο τὰ πάντα. καὶ χαλεπαὶ τῶν φωραθέντων ἦσαν αἱ κολάσεις, πολλοὶ τε καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λεληθότως εἰς τὸ φρούριον ἀναγόμενοι, τὴν Ἰρκανίαν, ἐκεῖ διεφθείροντο, κὰν τῇ πόλει κὰν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἦσαν οἱ τοὺς συνιόντας εἰς ταῦτόν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> ἄφατον FLAMVE: inaccessibilis Lat.: ἀμέτρητον B.J.

<sup>2</sup> διὰ con. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Bekker: ἐφειμένη PFVW: ἀφειμένη L: ἀφειμένη AM: ἐφεῖτο E.

mountains here there is a beautiful cave, and below it the earth slopes steeply to a precipitous and inaccessible <sup>a</sup> depth, which is filled with still water, while above it there is a very high mountain.<sup>b</sup> Below the cave rise the sources of the river Jordan. It was this most celebrated place that Herod further adorned with the temple which he consecrated to Caesar.

(4) It was at this time <sup>c</sup> also that Herod remitted to the people of his kingdom a third part of their taxes, under the pretext of letting them recover from a period of lack of crops, but really for the more important purpose of getting back the goodwill of those who were disaffected. For they resented his carrying out of such arrangements as seemed to them to mean the dissolution of their religion and the disappearance of their customs. And these matters were discussed by all of them, for they were always being provoked and disturbed. Herod, however, gave the most careful attention to this situation, taking away any opportunities they might have (for agitation) and instructing them to apply themselves at all times to their work. No meeting of citizens was permitted, nor were walking together or being together permitted, and all their movements were observed. Those who were caught were punished severely, and many were taken, either openly or secretly, to the fortress of Hyrcania <sup>d</sup> and there put to death. Both in the city and on the open roads there were men

Herod takes steps to prevent his subjects from revolting.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "untold": *B.J.* has "immeasurable." For this site see also *B.J.* iii. 509-515.

<sup>b</sup> Mt. Hermon.

<sup>c</sup> C. 20 B.C., see above, § 354.

<sup>d</sup> Modern *Khirbet Mird*, c. 8 miles S.E. of Jerusalem, see on *Ant.* xiii. 417.

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- 367 σκοποῦντες. ἤδη δέ φασιν οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀμελεῖν  
 τούτου τοῦ μέρους, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἰδιώτου σχῆμα  
 λαμβάνοντα καταμίνυσθαι νύκτωρ εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους,  
 καὶ πείραν αὐτῶν ἦν<sup>1</sup> ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἀρχῆς<sup>3</sup>  
 368 λαμβάνειν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν παντάπασιν ἐξαιθαδιζο-  
 μένους πρὸς τὸ μὴ συμπεριφέρεσθαι<sup>4</sup> τοῖς ἐπιτη-  
 δεύμασι πάντας ἐπεξήγει τοὺς τρόπους, τὸ δ' ἄλλο  
 πλήθος ὄρκοις ἡξίου πρὸς τὴν πίστιν ὑπάγεσθαι  
 καὶ συνηνάγκαζεν ἐνώμοτον αὐτῷ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἧ  
 369 μὴν διαφυλάξειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμολογεῖν. οἱ μὲν  
 οὖν πολλοὶ κατὰ θεραπείαν καὶ δέος εἶκον οἷς ἡξίου,  
 τοὺς δὲ φρονήματος μεταποιουμένους καὶ δυσχεραί-  
 νοντας ἐπὶ τῷ καταναγκάζεσθαι παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐκ-  
 370 ποδῶν ἐποιεῖτο. συνέπειθε δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ  
 Πολλίωνα τὸν Φαρισαῖον καὶ Σαμαίαν καὶ τῶν  
 ἐκείνοις συνδιατριβόντων τοὺς πλείστους ὁμνύειν·  
 οἱ δ' οὔτε συνεχώρησαν οὔθ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀρνη-  
 σαμένοις ἐκολάσθησαν, ἐντροπῆς διὰ τὸν Πολλίωνα  
 371 τυχόντες. ἀφείθησαν δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ  
 οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑσσαιῶι καλούμενοι· γένος δὲ τοῦτ'  
 ἔστιν διαίτη χρώμενον τῇ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ὑπὸ  
 Πυθαγόρου καταδεδειγμένη· περὶ τούτων μὲν οὖν

<sup>1</sup> ὡς Ernesti: ἧ Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> ἐννοίαν περὶ Cocceji: γνώμην ὑπὲρ Bekker (si ἦν retinebitur).

<sup>3</sup> ἦν . . . ἀρχῆς] τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶχον Zonaras.

<sup>4</sup> συμπαράφέσθαι (sic) V: συμπαράφύεσθαι ed. pr.

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> On these men see above, § 3.

<sup>c</sup> According to Louis Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (New York, 1922), 132 note, the Pharisees' refusal to swear loyalty was motivated by their abhorrence of using the name of God in an oath.

who spied upon those who met together. And they say that even Herod himself did not neglect to play a part in this, but would often put on the dress of a private citizen and mingle with the crowds by night, and so get an idea of how they felt about his rule.<sup>a</sup> Those who obstinately refused to go along with his (new) practices he persecuted in all kinds of ways. As for the rest of the populace, he demanded that they submit to taking an oath of loyalty, and he compelled them to make a sworn declaration that they would maintain a friendly attitude to his rule. Now most of the people yielded to his demand out of complaisance or fear, but those who showed some spirit and objected to compulsion he got rid of by every possible means. He also tried to persuade Pollion the Pharisee and Samaias<sup>b</sup> and most of their disciples to take the oath, but they would not agree to this,<sup>c</sup> and yet they were not punished as were the others who refused, for they were shown consideration on Pollion's account. And those who are called by us Essenes were also excused from this necessity. This is a group which follows a way of life taught to the Greeks by Pythagoras.<sup>d</sup> Now about these men

<sup>a</sup> Josephus is probably thinking of certain ascetic and mystical aspects of Essenism that he (or his source) regarded as generally similar to Pythagorean traits. But this comparison probably does not involve much more than does his comparison of Pharisees with Stoics and of Sadducees with Epicureans. On the problem of possible direct influence of Pythagoreanism on Essenism see, *inter alia*, E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen* iii. 2 (4th ed.), 307-377; Isidore Lévy, *La Légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine* (Paris, 1927); F. Cumont, "Esséniens et Pythagoriciens d'après un passage de Josèphe," *C.-R. de l'Acad. d. Inscript. et Belles-Lettres*, 1930, 99-112; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Nouveaux Aperçus sur les manuscrits de la mer Morte* (Paris, 1953), 155-156.

372 ἐν ἄλλοις σαφέστερον<sup>1</sup> διέξιμι. τοὺς δὲ Ἑσσηνοὺς ἀφ' οἷας αἰτίας ἐτίμα, μείζον τι φρονῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν, εἰπεῖν ἄξιον· οὐ γὰρ ἀπρεπῆς ὁ λόγος φανεῖται τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας γένει, παραδηλῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπόληψιν.

373 (5) Ἦν τις τῶν Ἑσσηνῶν Μανάημος<sup>2</sup> ὄνομα καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου καλοκαγαθία μαρτυρούμενος καὶ πρόγνωσις ἐκ θεοῦ τῶν μελλόντων ἔχων. οὗτος ἔτι παῖδα τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς διδασκάλου φοιτῶντα κατιδὼν βασιλέα Ἰουδαίων  
374 προσηγόρευσεν. ὁ δ' ἀγνοεῖν ἢ κατειρωνεύεσθαι νομίζων αὐτὸν ἀνεμίμνησκεν ἰδιώτης ὢν. Μανάημος δὲ μειδιάσας ἠρέμα καὶ τύπτων τῇ χειρὶ κατὰ τῶν γλουτῶν, "ἀλλά τοι καὶ βασιλεύσεις," ἔφη, "καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐδαιμόνως ἐπάρξεις<sup>3</sup>. ἠξίωσαι

<sup>1</sup> ἀσφαλέστερον PAMW : certius Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Μανάιμος FME hic et infra.

<sup>3</sup> Richards et Shutt: ἀπάρξεις W: ἀπάξεις rell. E: κατάξεις aut διάξεις con. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "more carefully."

<sup>b</sup> In *Ant.* xviii. 18-22. But the fullest description of the Essenes in Josephus is in *B.J.* ii. 119-161.

<sup>c</sup> In spite of this statement about Herod's regard for the Essenes it has been suggested by C. T. Fritsch, "Herod the Great and the Qumran Community," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955), 173-181, that Herod was so hostile to the Essenes that they were forced to migrate to Damascus from their headquarters at Qumran in the Wilderness of Judaea near the N. end of the Dead Sea (where the Dead Sea Scrolls were found).

<sup>d</sup> Heb. *Menahem*. Louis Ginzberg, in a Hebrew essay on "The Place of Halakah in Jewish History" translated and included in a posthumously published volume, *On Jewish*

I shall speak more clearly <sup>a</sup> in another place.<sup>b</sup> It is, however, proper to explain what reason Herod had for holding the Essenes in honour and for having a higher opinion of them than was consistent with their merely human nature.<sup>c</sup> For such an explanation is not out of place in a work of history, since it will at the same time show what the (general) opinion of these men was.

(5) There was a certain Essene named Manaëmus,<sup>d</sup> whose virtue was attested in his whole conduct of life and especially in his having from God a fore-knowledge of the future.<sup>e</sup> This man had (once) observed Herod, then still a boy, going to his teacher,<sup>f</sup> and greeted him as "king of the Jews." Thereupon Herod, who thought that the man either did not know who he was, or was teasing him, reminded him that he was only a private citizen. Manaëmus, however, gently smiled and slapped him on the backside, saying, "Nevertheless, you will be king and you will rule <sup>g</sup> the realm happily, for you have been found

The predictions of the Essene Manaëmus (Menahem) about Herod.

*Law and Lore* (Philadelphia, 1955), suggests (p. 101) that Menahem was the leader of the conservative group of Pharisees and was removed from this office when he went over to the Essenes, as is stated in the Mishnah, *Menahot* ix. 2 [read: *Hagigah* ii. 2?], according to the interpretation of the Palestinian Talmud. For other rabbinic traditions about Menahem see Klausner, iv. 148, who believes that some of the derogatory statements in the Talmud about Menahem may be due to confusion of the Herodian Menahem with Menahem, son of Judas, a Galilaean, who led a detachment of rebels in the war against Rome almost a century later (*cf. B.J.* ii. 443-449).

<sup>e</sup> The gift of prophecy is ascribed to other Essenes by Josephus, *e.g.* to a certain Judas, contemporary with Aristobulus I, see *Ant.* xiii. 311.

<sup>f</sup> Presumably this was Herod's tutor in Greek studies.

<sup>g</sup> Text slightly emended.

γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ. καὶ μέμνησο τῶν Μαναήμου πληγῶν,  
 ὥστε σοι καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν  
 375 τύχην μεταπτώσεων. ἄριστος γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος  
 λογισμὸς, εἰ καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀγαπήσειας καὶ πρὸς  
 τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν, ἐπιείκειαν δὲ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοὺς  
 πολίτας· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἶδά<sup>2</sup> σε τοιοῦτον ἔσσεσθαι, τὸ  
 376 πᾶν ἐπιστάμενος. εὐτυχία<sup>3</sup> μὲν γὰρ ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος  
 διοίσεις, καὶ τεύξῃ δόξης αἰωνίου, λήθην δ' εὐσε-  
 βείας ἔξεις καὶ τοῦ δικαίου. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἂν λάθοι  
 τὸν θεόν,<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ καταστροφῇ τοῦ βίου τῆς ἀντ'  
 377 αὐτῶν ὀργῆς ἀπομνημονευομένης." τούτοις αὐτίκα  
 μὲν ἦκιστα τὸν νοῦν προσεῖχεν ἐλπίδι λειπόμενος  
 αὐτῶν Ἡρώδης, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἀρθεὶς ἕως καὶ  
 τοῦ βασιλεύειν καὶ εὐτυχεῖν, ἐν τῷ μεγέθει τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς μεταπέμπεται τὸν Μανάημον καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
 378 χρόνου πόσον ἄρξει διεπυθάνετο. Μανάημος δὲ  
 τὸ μὲν σύμπαν οὐκ εἶπεν· ὡς δὲ σιωπῶντος αὐτοῦ,  
 μόνον εἰ δέκα γενήσονται βασιλείας ἐνιαυτοὶ προσε-  
 πύθετο, καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τριάκοντα εἰπὼν ὄρον<sup>5</sup> οὐκ  
 ἐπέθηκε τῷ τέλει τῆς προθεσμίας, Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ  
 τούτοις ἀρκεσθεὶς τὸν τε Μανάημον ἀφῆκεν δεξιω-  
 σάμενος, καὶ πάντας ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοὺς Ἑσσηνοὺς  
 379 τιμῶν διετέλει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ παράδοξα  
 δηλῶσαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἠξιώσαμεν καὶ περὶ  
 τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐμφῆναι, διότι πολλοὶ τοιούτων<sup>6</sup> ὑπὸ  
 καλοκαγαθίας καὶ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐμπειρίας ἀξι-  
 οῦνται.

<sup>1</sup> τε V : om. E.

<sup>2</sup> V : εὐτυχίας rell. E.

<sup>3</sup> οἶμαί Cobet.

<sup>4</sup> τὸ θεῖον V.



worthy of this by God. And you shall remember the blows given by Manaëmus, so that they, too, may be for you a symbol of how one's fortune can change. For the best attitude for you to take would be to love justice and piety toward God and mildness toward your citizens. But I know that you will not be such a person, since I understand the whole situation. Now you will be singled out for such good fortune as no other man has had, and you will enjoy eternal glory, but you will forget piety and justice. This, however, cannot escape the notice of God, and at the close of your life His wrath will show that He is mindful of these things." At the moment Herod paid very little attention to his words, for he was quite lacking in such hopes, but after gradually being advanced to kingship and good fortune, when he was at the height of his power, he sent for Manaëmus and questioned him about the length of time he would reign. Manaëmus said nothing at all. In the face of his silence Herod asked further whether he had ten years more to reign, and the other replied that he had twenty or even thirty, but he did not set a limit to the appointed time. Herod, however, was satisfied even with this answer and dismissed Manaëmus with a friendly gesture. And from that time on he continued to hold all Essenes in honour. Now we have seen fit to report these things to our readers, however incredible they may seem, and to reveal what has taken place among us because many of these men<sup>a</sup> have indeed been vouchsafed a knowledge of divine things because of their virtue.

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> ὄρον VE : τὸν ὄρον rell.

<sup>c</sup> Cocceji : διὰ τοιούτων (τούτων P) codd.

380 (xi. 1) Τότε δ' οὖν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἡρώδου  
 βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ, μετὰ τὰς προειρη-  
 μένας πράξεις ἔργον οὐ τὸ τυχόν ἐπεβάλετο, τὸν  
 νεὼν τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσασθαι, μείζω  
 τε τὸν περίβολον καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἀξιοπρεπέστερον<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐγείρειν, ἡγούμενος ἀπάντων αὐτῷ τῶν πεπραγ-  
 μένων περισημότατον,<sup>3</sup> ὥσπερ ἦν, ἐκτελεσθήσεσθαι  
 381 τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς αἰώνιον μνήμην ἀρκέσειν. οὐχ  
 ἔτοιμον δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιστάμενος οὐδὲ ράδιον  
 ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἡξίου  
 λόγῳ προκαταστησάμενος ἐγχειρήσαι τῷ παντί,  
 382 καὶ συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τοιάδε· “ τὰ μὲν  
 ἄλλα μοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πεπραγμένων,  
 ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι, περισσὸν ὑπολαμβάνω λέγειν,  
 καίτοι τοῦτον<sup>4</sup> ἐγένετο τὸν τρόπον, ὡς ἐλάττω μὲν  
 ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κόσμον, πλείω δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν  
 383 ἀσφάλειαν φέρειν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς δυσχερεστάτοις  
 ἀμελήσας τῶν εἰς τὰς ὑμετέρας χρείας διαφερόντων  
 οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κατασκευάσμασιν ἐπιτηδεύσας ἐμαντῷ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον, οἶμαι  
 σὺν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσει πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ὅσον οὐ  
 384 πρότερον ἀγροχένοι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος. τὰ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> ιη' VL marg. : cf. B.J. i. 401.

<sup>2</sup> P Zonaras : ἀξιοπρεπέστατον rell. E.

<sup>3</sup> Naber : περισημότερον αὐτ ἐπισημότερον codd. E.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τοιοῦτον PF.

<sup>a</sup> In ch. xi there are no parallels to *B.J.* i except for the brief reference to the date of building the temple, see below, note c. There is, however, a partially parallel description of the Temple in *B.J.* v. 184-227.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* of Augustus' visit to Syria in 20 B.C., see above, § 354 note b.

<sup>c</sup> Reckoning from 37 B.C., this gives 20-19 B.C. According  
 440

(xi. 1)<sup>a</sup> It was at this time,<sup>b</sup> in the eighteenth<sup>c</sup> year of his reign, after the events mentioned above, that Herod undertook an extraordinary work, (namely) the reconstructing<sup>d</sup> of the temple of God at his own expense, enlarging its precincts and raising it to a more imposing height. For he believed that the accomplishment of this task would be the most notable of all the things achieved by him, as indeed it was, and would be great enough to assure his eternal remembrance. But since he knew that the populace was not prepared for or easy to enlist in so great an undertaking, he thought it best to pre-dispose them to set to work on the whole project by making a speech to them first, and so he called them together and spoke as follows. "So far as the other things achieved during my reign are concerned, my countrymen, I consider it unnecessary to speak of them, although they were of such a kind that the prestige which comes from them to me is less than the security which they have brought to you. For in the most difficult situations I have not been unmindful of the things that might benefit you in your need, nor have I in my building been more intent upon my own invulnerability than upon that of all of you, and I think I have, by the will of God, brought the Jewish nation to such a state of prosperity as it has never known before. Now as for the various

<sup>c</sup> Herod tells the people of his plan to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.

to *B.J.* i. 401, Herod began to restore the temple in the fifteenth year of his reign = 23-22 B.C. Possibly, as Schürer suggests, i. 369 note 12, the earlier date given in *B.J.* refers to the preliminary arrangements, but Otto, p. 84 note, objects that *Ant.* itself refers to the preliminaries, and he therefore considers the "fifteenth" in *B.J.* a simple error.

<sup>d</sup> That is, Herod did not demolish the temple built under Zerubbabel and replace it by an entirely different structure.

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οὖν κατὰ μέρος ἐξεργασθέντα περὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ πόλεις ὅσας ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐπικτήτοις ἐγείραντες κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> ἠϋξήσαμεν, περιεργά μοι δοκεῖ λέγειν εἰδόσιν. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἡς<sup>2</sup> νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιβάλλομαι,<sup>3</sup> παντὸς<sup>4</sup> εὐσεβέστατον καὶ κάλλιστον ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι  
 385 νῦν ἐκφανῶ· τὸν γὰρ ναὸν τοῦτον ὠκοδόμησαν μὲν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ πατέρες ἡμέτεροι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον,<sup>5</sup> ἐνδεῖ δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος εἰς ὕψος ἐξήκοντα<sup>6</sup> πήχεις· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὑπερέιχεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ὃν Σολομῶν ἀνωκοδό-  
 386 μησεν. καὶ μηδεὶς ἀμέλειαν εὐσεβείας τῶν πατέρων καταγνώτω· γέγονε γὰρ οὐ παρ' ἐκείνους ἐλάττων ὁ ναός, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα καὶ Κῦρος καὶ Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπου τὰ μέτρα τῆς δομήσεως ἔδοσαν, οἷς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις δουλεύσαντες καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἔσχον εὐκαιρίαν τὸ πρῶτον τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀρχέτυπον εἰς ταῦτον ἀναγαγεῖν  
 387 μέγεθος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἄρχω θεοῦ βουλήσει, περίεστι δὲ καὶ μῆκος εἰρήνης καὶ κτήσις χρημάτων καὶ μέγεθος προσόδων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον φίλοι καὶ δι' εὐνοίας οἱ πάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν κρατοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, πειράσομαι τὸ παρημελη-

<sup>1</sup> ὑμῶν V.

<sup>3</sup> βούλομαι V.

<sup>5</sup> ἀνάστασιν F<sup>1</sup>VE.

<sup>2</sup> V: ἡ PE: ἦν rell.

<sup>4</sup> πάντως aut πάντων Bekker.

<sup>6</sup> ζ' V: ἐπτά E.

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<sup>a</sup> One ms. and the Epitome read "seven." Josephus has already given the height of Zerubbabel's temple as sixty cubits (*Ant.* xi. 99, following Scripture) but earlier (*Ant.* viii. 64) had given the total height of Solomon's temple as one hundred and twenty cubits (see note *ad loc.* on the con-

buildings which we have erected in our country and in the cities of our land and in those of acquired territories, with which, as the most beautiful adornment, we have embellished our nation, it seems to me quite needless to speak of them to you, knowing them as you do. But that the enterprise which I now propose to undertake is the most pious and beautiful one of our time I will now make clear. For this was the temple which our fathers built to the Most Great God after their return from Babylon, but it lacks sixty <sup>a</sup> cubits in height, the amount by which the first temple, built by Solomon, exceeded it. And yet no one should condemn our fathers <sup>b</sup> for neglecting their pious duty, for it was not their fault that this temple is smaller. Rather it was Cyrus and Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who prescribed these dimensions for building, and since our fathers were subject to them and their descendants and after them to the Macedonians, they had no opportunity to restore this first archetype of piety to its former size. But since, by the will of God, I am now ruler and there continues to be a long period of peace <sup>c</sup> and an abundance of wealth and great revenues, and—what is of most importance—the Romans, who are, so to speak, the masters of the world, are (my) loyal friends, I will try to remedy the oversight

fusion between the temple and the porch measuring a hundred and twenty cubits, according to 2 Chron. iii. 4).

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "the fathers," but just above the possessive personal pronoun of the first plural is used with "fathers." Thus Herod is here presented as identifying himself with the Jewish people.

<sup>c</sup> Only five years earlier Herod had sent troops to aid the Romans in their war with the Arabs in southern Arabia, see above, § 317. Apparently five years was considered "a long period" of peace.

μένον ἀνάγκη καὶ δουλεία τοῦ πρότερον χρόνου διορθούμενος τελείαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀνθ' ὧν ἔτυχον τῆσδε τῆς βασιλείας εὐσέβειαν.”

388 (2) Ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἐξέπληξε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος παρὰ δόξαν ἐμπεισῶν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄπιστον οὐκ ἐπήγειρεν αὐτούς, ἠδημόνουν δὲ μὴ φθάσας καταλῦσαι τὸ πᾶν ἔργον οὐκ ἐξαρκέσῃ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὴν προαίρεσιν· ὃ τε κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς μείζων ἐφαίνετο, καὶ δυσεγ-  
389 χεῖρητον ἐδόκει τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. οὕτω δ' αὐτῶν διακειμένων παρεθάρρυνεν ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐ πρότερον καθαιρήσειν φάμενος τὸν ναὸν μὴ<sup>2</sup> πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν εἰς συντέλειαν παρεσκευασμένων. καὶ  
390 ταῦτα προειπὼν οὐκ ἐψεύσατο· χιλίας γὰρ εὐτρεπίσας ἀμάξας αἱ βαστάσουσι τοὺς λίθους, ἐργάτας δὲ μυρίους τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος, καὶ ἱερεῦσιν τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλίοις ἱερατικὰς<sup>3</sup> ὠνησάμενος στολάς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν διδάξας<sup>4</sup> οἰκοδόμους, ἑτέρους δὲ τέκτονας, ἤπτετο τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀπάντων αὐτῷ προθύμως προευτρεπισμένων.

391 (3) Ἀνελὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους θεμελίους καὶ καταβαλόμενος ἑτέρους ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸν ναὸν ἤγειρε, μήκει μὲν ἑκατὸν ὄντα πηχῶν<sup>5</sup> . . . τὸ δ' ὕψος εἴκοσι<sup>5</sup> περιπτοῖς, οὓς τῷ χρόνῳ συνηζήσαντων τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐξαρκέσοι con. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ ed. pr. : nisi Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐργατικὰς con. Reinach.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιτάξας Montacutius : διατάξας Cotelerius.

<sup>5</sup> post πηχῶν lacunam stat. Niese, post εἴκοσι Dindorf.

<sup>a</sup> Conjectured variant “workmen’s.”

<sup>b</sup> On the archaeology of Herod’s temple see Dalman, 284-307; F. J. Hollis, *The Archaeology of Herod’s Temple : with*

caused by the necessity and subjection of that earlier time, and by this act of piety make full return to God for the gift of this kingdom."

(2) These were Herod's words, and most of the people were astonished by his speech, for it fell upon their ears as something quite unexpected. And while the unlikelihood of his realizing his hope did not disturb them, they were dismayed by the thought that he might tear down the whole edifice and not have sufficient means to bring his project (of rebuilding it) to completion. And this danger appeared to them to be very great, and the vast size of the undertaking seemed to make it difficult to carry out. Since they felt this way, the king spoke encouragingly to them, saying that he would not pull down the temple before having ready all the materials needed for its completion. And these assurances he did not belie. For he prepared a thousand wagons to carry the stones, selected ten thousand of the most skilled workmen, purchased priestly <sup>a</sup> robes for a thousand priests, and trained some as masons, others as carpenters, and began the construction only after all these preparations had diligently been made by him.

(3) After removing the old foundations, he laid down others, and upon these he erected the temple,<sup>b</sup> which was a hundred cubits in length . . . <sup>c</sup> and twenty more in height, but in the course of time this

The porticoes and walls of Herod's Temple.

<sup>a</sup> *Commentary on the Tractate 'Middoth'* (London, 1934); J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1952), pp. 381-436; Père H. Vincent and Père A.-M. Stève, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 2-3 (Paris, 1956), pp. 432-470; and Appendix D, next volume.

<sup>c</sup> The measurement of breadth has apparently been omitted inadvertently; according to *B.J.* v. 207, the breadth, like the length, was a hundred cubits.

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θεμελίων ὑπέβη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Νέρωνος  
 392 καιροὺς ἐπεγείρειν ἐγνώκειμεν. ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ  
 ναὸς ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν τε καὶ κραταιῶν, τὸ μέγεθος  
 ἐκάστων περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις ἐπὶ μῆκος,  
 393 ὀκτῶ δὲ ὕψος, εὖρος δὲ περὶ δώδεκα. καὶ παντὸς  
 αὐτοῦ, καθότι καὶ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς, τὸ μὲν  
 ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ταπεινότατον, ὑψηλότατον δὲ τὸ  
 μεσαίτατον, ὡς περίοπτον ἐκ πολλῶν σταδίων εἶναι  
 τοῖς τὴν χώραν νεμομένοις, μᾶλλον δ' εἴ τινας κατ'  
 394 ἐναντίον οἰκοῦντες ἢ προσιόντες τύχοιεν. θύρας δὲ  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰσόδοις<sup>1</sup> σὺν τοῖς ὑπερθυρίοις ἴσον ἐχούσας  
 τῷ ναῷ ποικίλοις ἐμπετάσμασι κεκόσμητο, τὰ μὲν  
 395 ἄνθη ἀλουργέσι, κίονας δὲ ἐνυφασμένοις.<sup>2</sup> καθ-  
 ὑπερθε δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς θριγχώμασι<sup>3</sup> ἄμπελος  
 διετέτατο χρυσῆ, τοὺς βότρυας ἀπαιωρουμένους  
 ἔχουσα, θαῦμα καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς τέχνης  
 τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν, οἷον ἐν πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης τὸ κατα-  
 396 σκευασθὲν ἦν. περιελάμβανε δὲ καὶ στοᾶς  
 μεγίσταις τὸν ναόν, ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἀναλογίαν  
 ἐπιτηδεύων, καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τῶν πρὶν ὑπερβαλλό-  
 μενος, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τις ἐδόκει ἐπικεκοσμηκῆναι

<sup>1</sup> τῆς εἰσόδου P.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr. : ἐνυφασμένους codd. : aurcos flores ambientes columnas fecit Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Selden : τριχώμασι codd. : (super quorum) capita Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. *B.J.* v. 36 on Agrippa II's attempt to underpin the sanctuary, which was interrupted by the outbreak of the war with Rome. The height of the sanctuary itself was sixty cubits, according to *B.J.* v. 215 (cf. *Ant.* xv. 385 note),



dropped as the foundations subsided. And this part we decided to raise again in the time of Nero.<sup>a</sup> The temple was built of hard, white stones, each of which was about twenty-five cubits in length, eight in height and twelve in width.<sup>b</sup> And in the whole of it, as also in the royal portico, either side was the lowest, while the middle portion was the highest, so that this was visible at a distance of many stades to those who inhabited the country, especially those who lived opposite or happened to approach it. The entrance-doors, which with their lintels were equal (in height) to the temple itself, he adorned with multicoloured hangings, with purple colours and with inwoven designs of pillars. Above these, under the cornice, spread a golden vine with grape-clusters hanging from it,<sup>c</sup> a marvel of size and artistry to all who saw with what costliness of material it had been constructed. And he surrounded the temple with very large porticoes,<sup>d</sup> all of which he made in proportion (to the temple), and he surpassed his predecessors in spending money, so that it was thought that no one else had adorned the temple so splendidly.

but "the first building" (presumably the Porch) was ninety cubits high according to *B.J.* v. 209. It is difficult to get a clear picture of the structure from Josephus' various accounts.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus tells us in *B.J.* v. 224 that some of the stones in the building were forty-five cubits in length, five in height and six in breadth. The stones in the foundation, according to *B.J.* v. 189, measured forty cubits (no separate dimensions specified). All these figures appear to be exaggerated, judging from the size of the stones still preserved, *cf.* Dalman, p. 285.

<sup>c</sup> As Thackeray points out in his note to the parallel in *B.J.* v. 210, Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 5, alludes to the golden vine found in the temple.

<sup>d</sup> Simons, *op. cit.* (see above, p. 444 note b), p. 400, takes these to be the porticoes on the outer border of the temple area, double porticoes on three sides, and a triple one on the south.

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τὸν ναόν. ἄμφω δ' ἦσαν μετὰ μεγάλου<sup>1</sup> τείχους,<sup>2</sup>  
 αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἔργον μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις  
 397 ἀκουσθῆναι. λόφος ἦν πετρώδης ἀνάτης, ἡρέμα  
 πρὸς τοῖς ἐώοις μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως ὑπτιούμενος  
 398 ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἄκραν. τοῦτον ὁ<sup>3</sup> πρῶτος ἡμῶν  
 βασιλεὺς Σολομὼν κατ' ἐπιφροσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>4</sup>  
 μεγάλας ἐργασίας ἀπετείχιζε μὲν<sup>5</sup> τὰ περὶ τὴν  
 ἄκραν ἄνωθεν, ἀπετείχιζε δὲ κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ρίζης ἀρχόμενος, ἦν βαθεῖα περιθεῖ φάραγξ, ἡλι-  
 βάτοις<sup>6</sup> πέτραις μολίβδω δεδεμέναις πρὸς ἀλλήλας,  
 ἀπολαμβάνων αἰεὶ τι<sup>7</sup> τῆς ἔσω χώρας καὶ προ-  
 399 βαίνων εἰς βάθος, ὥστ' ἄπειρον εἶναι τό τε μέγεθος  
 τῆς δομήσεως καὶ τὸ ὕψος τετραγώνου γεγενη-  
 μένης, ὡς τὰ μὲν μεγέθη τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ μετώπου  
 κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ὀράσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς σιδήρῳ  
 διησφαλισμένα συνέχειν τὰς ἀρμογὰς ἀκινήτους τῷ  
 400 παντὶ χρόνῳ. τῆς δ' ἐργασίας οὕτω συναπτούσης  
 εἰς ἄκρον τὸν λόφον, ἀπεργασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 κορυφὴν, καὶ τὰ κοῖλα τῶν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐμπλή-  
 σας, ἰσόπεδον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν ἄνω  
 καὶ λεῖον ἐποίησεν.<sup>8</sup> τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὸ πᾶν περίβολος,  
 τεττάρων σταδίων τὸν κύκλον ἔχων, ἐκάστης  
 401 γωνίας στάδιον μῆκος ἀπολαμβανούσης. ἐνδοτέρῳ

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ μεγάλου coniecti : μετὰ τοῦ P : μεγάλου rell.

<sup>2</sup> ἄμφω . . . τείχους] porticus autem duae maximis parietibus fulciebantur Lat. : post ἦσαν verbum deesse vid.

<sup>3</sup> ὁ secl. Holwerda.

<sup>4</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ om. P.

<sup>5</sup> μὲν add. Bekker.

<sup>6</sup> κατὰ λίβα ταῖς PLW Lat.

<sup>7</sup> αἰεὶ τι Hudson : αἰεὶ τε PFLAMW : ἐπὶ V : τὰ περὶ τῆς A marg. : ἀπὸ ed. pr.

<sup>8</sup> ἐποίησεν suspic. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> The text is slightly uncertain.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps we should emend the text to read "Our king Solomon first, etc."

Both (porticoes) were (supported) by a great wall,<sup>a</sup> and the wall itself was the greatest ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent that sloped gently up toward the eastern part of the city to the topmost peak. This hill our first king, Solomon,<sup>b</sup> with God-given wisdom surrounded with great works above at the top. And below, beginning at the foot, where a deep ravine runs round it, he surrounded it with enormous stones bound together with lead. He cut off more and more of the area within as (the wall) became greater in depth, so that the size and height of the structure, which was square, were immense, and the great size of the stones was seen along the front surface, while iron clamps on the inside assured that the joints would remain permanently united. When this work reached the top of the hill, he levelled off the summit, and filled in the hollow spaces near the walls, and made the upper surface smooth and even throughout. Such was the whole enclosure, having a circumference of four stades, each side taking up the length of a stade.<sup>c</sup> Within this wall

<sup>c</sup> The stade was between 585 and 660 feet. According to the Mishnah tractate *Middot* ii. 1, each side of the temple area (called "the mount of the House") was 500 cubits; if the "royal cubit" is meant, as is probable, this would make *c.* 850 feet for each side. The dimensions of the present *Haram es-šerif*, which presumably covers the ancient temple area, are as follows, according to Hollis, *op. cit.* (see p. 444 note *b*), pp. 260-261: 929 feet on the south, 1041 feet on the north, 1556 feet on the east, and 1596 feet on the west; "and making allowance for the extension on the north side, for the inclined approaches on the south and the porticoes on the other sides, we obtain approximately 850 feet on the south, widening out to 870 feet on the north, and about 770 feet on both the east and the west sides." This figure agrees more closely with that of the Mishnah than with that of Josephus.

## JOSEPHUS

δὲ τούτου καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ἄλλο τεῖχος  
 ἄνω λίθινον περιθεῖ, κατὰ μὲν ἑῶαν ράχιν ἰσομήκη  
 τῷ τείχει στοὰν ἔχον διπλῆν, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ νεῶ  
 τετυχηκότος, ἀφορώσαν εἰς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ. ταύ-  
 402 τὴν πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς οἱ πρόσθεν κατεσκεύασαν. τοῦ  
 δ' ἱεροῦ παντὸς ἦν ἐν κύκλῳ πεπηγμένα σκῦλα  
 βαρβαρικά, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης  
 ἀνέθηκε προσθεῖς ὅσα καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔλαβεν.  
 403 (4) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν ἀκρόπολις  
 ἐγγώνιος εὐερκῆς ἐτετείχιστο διάφορος ἐχυρότητι.  
 ταύτην οἱ πρὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίων<sup>1</sup> γένους  
 βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑποκόδομησαν καὶ βᾶριν ἐκά-  
 λεσαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τὴν ἱερατικὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεῖσθαι  
 στολὴν, ἣν ὅταν δέῃ θύειν τότε μόνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
 404 ἀμφιέννυται. ταύτην Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφύλαξεν  
 ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ὑπὸ  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἦν μέχρι τῶν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος χρόνων.  
 405 ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Οὐιτέλλιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν  
 ἐπιδημήσας τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, δεξαμένου τοῦ πλή-  
 θους αὐτὸν λαμπρότατα πάνυ, θέλων αὐτοὺς τῆς  
 εὐπορίας ἀμείψασθαι, ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσαν τὴν ἱεράν  
 στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, ἔγραψε περὶ  
 τούτων Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι κακεῖνος ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Ἀσαμωναίου con. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* to the west, or towards the city of Jerusalem.

<sup>b</sup> In *Ant.* xx. 221 Josephus says that the eastern portico was the work of King Solomon. Cf. Simons, *op. cit.* (see § 391 note b), p. 421: "Indeed, even if we rule out almost *a priori* that any Solomonic structure of considerable size survived down to the period of Agrippa II, the proposal of the Jews that he should 'rebuild the eastern portico' warrants the conclusion that at any rate a part of the eastern enclosure of Herod's enlarged ἱερόν was not built by the

and on the very summit there ran another wall of stone, which had on the eastern ridge a double portico of the same length as the wall, and it faced the doors of the temple, for this lay within it.<sup>a</sup> This portico many of the earlier kings adorned.<sup>b</sup> Round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from the barbarians,<sup>c</sup> and all these King Herod dedicated, adding those which he took from the Arabs.

(4) At an angle on the north side <sup>d</sup> there had been built a citadel, well fortified and of unusual strength. It was the kings and high priests of the Asamonaean family before Herod who had built it and called it *baris*.<sup>e</sup> Here they had deposited the priestly robe which the high priest put on only when he had to offer sacrifice. This robe Herod kept safe in that place, and after his death it was in the custody of the Romans until the time of Tiberius Caesar. In his reign Vitellius, the governor of Syria, visited Jerusalem,<sup>f</sup> and because the populace gave him a very splendid reception, he wished to make some return for their kindness, and since they asked to have the sacred robe under their own authority, he wrote to Tiberius Caesar about the matter. Tiberius granted their request, and authority over the robe

The high priest's robe is kept in the citadel of the Temple.

king himself but, existing already, was incorporated in his plan of enlargement."

<sup>c</sup> "Barbarians" here is used in the sense of "gentiles."

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* at or near the N.W. corner of the total Temple area (the present *Haram es-Sherif*). This was approximately the site of the Herodian fortress of Antonia, described in *B.J.* v. 238-246. *Cf.* § 409; § 292 and note *c*; *Ant.* xii. 251 note *d*; xviii. 91 f.; Appendix D.

<sup>e</sup> Heb. *Bira* (fortress). It was built by Hyrcanus I *c.* 134 B.C. to serve also as a residence.

<sup>f</sup> A.D. 36. A more detailed account is given in *Ant.* xviii. 90-95; *cf.* Tacitus, *Annals* vi. 32.

## JOSEPHUS

παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς στολῆς<sup>1</sup> τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις  
 406 μέχρις ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. μετὰ  
 τοῦτον δὲ Κάσσιος Λογγῖνος ὁ τὴν Συρίαν τότε  
 διοικῶν καὶ Κούσπιος Φᾶδος ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπί-  
 τροπος κελεύουσι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν  
 407 καταθέσθαι τὴν στολὴν· Ῥωμαίους γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι  
 δεῖν κυρίους, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν. πέμπου-  
 σιν<sup>2</sup> οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι πρέσβεις πρὸς Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα  
 περὶ τούτων παρακαλέσοντας. ὦν ἀναβάντων ὁ  
 νεώτερος βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἐν Ῥώμῃ τυγχάνων,  
 αἰτησάμενος παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὴν ἐξουσίαν  
 ἔλαβεν ἐντειλαμένου Οὐιτελλίῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας  
 408 ἀντιστρατηγῷ.<sup>3</sup> πρότερον δ' ἦν ὑπὸ σφραγίδα τοῦ  
 ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν γαζοφυλάκων, καὶ πρὸ μιᾶς  
 ἡμέρας τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων φρουράρχον  
 ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ γαζοφύλακες καὶ καταμανθάνοντες  
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν σφραγίδα τὴν στολὴν ἐλάμβανον. εἴτ'  
 αὐθις τῆς ἑορτῆς παρελθούσης εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κομί-  
 σαντες τόπον καὶ τῷ φρουράρχῳ δείξαντες σύμ-  
 409 φωνον τὴν σφραγίδα κατετίθεντο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τῶν ἐπισυμβεβηκότων παρεδη-  
 λώθη.<sup>4</sup> τότε δ' οὖν ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς  
 Ἡρώδης καὶ ταύτην τὴν βᾶριν ὀχυρωτέραν κατα-  
 σκευάσας ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ,

<sup>1</sup> ἱερατικῆς στολῆς V.

<sup>2</sup> πέμπουσιν . . . κατετίθεντο (§ 408) om. P.

<sup>3</sup> W: ὄντι στρατηγῷ rell.: procuratori Lat.

<sup>4</sup> προῦδηλώθη con. Hudson.

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<sup>a</sup> Agrippa I, who died in the spring A.D. 44; cf. above, § 350 and notes; *Ant.* xix. 350 f.

remained with the Jews until the death of King Agrippa.<sup>a</sup> After that event Cassius Longinus, who then governed Syria,<sup>b</sup> and Cuspius Fadus, the procurator of Judaea,<sup>c</sup> ordered the Jews to deposit the robe in (the citadel of) Antonia, for, they said, the Romans ought to be masters of it, just as they had been before. Thereupon the Jews sent envoys to Claudius Caesar to petition him concerning this matter, and on their arrival the younger Agrippa,<sup>d</sup> who happened to be in Rome, requested and received this authority from the emperor, who so instructed Vitellius, the legate of Syria.<sup>e</sup> Formerly it was under the seal of the high priest and the treasurers (of the temple), and one day before a festival the treasurers would go to the commander of the Roman garrison and, after inspecting their own seal, would take the robe. Then, when the festival was over, they would bring it back to the same place, and after showing the commander of the garrison a seal corresponding (to the first one), would again deposit the robe. Now this digression has been occasioned by the sad experiences that happened later.<sup>f</sup> At the time mentioned, however, Herod, the king of the Jews, made this *baris* stronger for the safety and protection of the temple,

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 45-50.

<sup>c</sup> He was sent by Claudius in 44, and probably remained in office about two years.

<sup>d</sup> Agrippa II (A.D. 50-c. 100), son of Agrippa I; for his reign *cf.* especially *Ant.* xx; *B.J.* ii; *Vita.*

<sup>e</sup> The Greek term corresponds to the Latin *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, a title given to governors of both consular and praetorian provinces, and probably involving a more extensive authority than the governorship proper; *cf.* Schürer i, pp. 333 f.; (Magie, *Roman Rule* . . . i, p. 507).

<sup>f</sup> The whole story is given in more detail in *Ant.* xviii. 90-95; *cf.* *Ant.* xx. 12.

## JOSEPHUS

χαριζόμενος Ἀντωνίῳ φίλῳ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων  
δὲ ἄρχοντι προσηγόρευσεν Ἀντωνίαν.

- 410 (5) Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις μέρεσιν τοῦ περιβόλου  
πύλαι τέτταρες ἐφέστασαν, ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασιλεια  
τείνουσα, τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημ-  
μένης, αἱ δύο δὲ εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δ' εἰς  
τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, βαθμίσι<sup>1</sup> πολλαῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν  
φάραγγα διελημμένη καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν  
ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν· ἄντικρυς γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο  
τοῦ ἱεροῦ, θεατροειδῆς οὔσα, περιεχομένη βαθεῖα  
411 φάραγγι κατὰ πᾶν τὸ νότιον κλίμα. τὸ δὲ τέταρτον  
αὐτοῦ μέτωπον τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν εἶχε μὲν καὶ  
αὐτὸ πύλας κατὰ μέσον, ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν βασιλειον  
στοάν, τριπλὴν κατὰ μῆκος διουῦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐώας  
φάραγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκτεῖναι<sup>2</sup>  
412 προσωτέρῳ δυνατόν. ἔργον δ' ἦν ἀξιαφηγητότατον  
τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ· μεγάλου<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τῆς φάραγγος  
ἀναλήμματος καὶ οὐδ' ἀνεκτοῦ κατιδεῖν εἶ τις

<sup>1</sup> βαθμίσι . . . κλίμα om. P.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκβῆναι F corr. A marg. M marg.: tendi Lat.

<sup>3</sup> μεγάλου . . . βυθόν (2<sup>o</sup>) om. P.

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<sup>a</sup> Westward over the Tyropoeon ("Cheesemakers") valley, as Josephus calls it (*cf.* *B.J.* v. 140), which ran north and south and roughly divided the city into two parts. It is now mostly filled in. (*Cf.* Simons, pp. 37 ff.; 52 f.) The gate, anciently known as "Coponus," corresponds in location to the modern "Gate of the Chain," which goes back to the Crusaders. Several arches (5/6 cent.?) of the structure supporting the viaduct remain to-day and are known as "Wilson's Arch" after the discoverer, Sir Charles Wilson. On the gates *cf.* Hollis, p. 64; Simons, pp. 405 f.; Appendix D.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* Bezetha, W. and N.W., north of the first north wall and inclosed by the second north wall, which was restored



and to gratify Antony, who was his friend and at the same time ruler of the Romans, he called it Antonia.

(5) In the western part of the court (of the temple) there were four gates. The first led to the palace by a passage over the intervening ravine,<sup>a</sup> two others led to the suburb,<sup>b</sup> and the last led to the other part of the city,<sup>c</sup> from which it was separated by many steps going down to the ravine and from here up again to the hill. For the City<sup>d</sup> lay opposite the temple, being in the form of a theatre and being bordered by a deep ravine along its whole southern side. The fourth front of this (court), facing south, also had gates in the middle, and had over it the Royal Portico, which had three aisles, extending in length from the eastern to the western ravine.<sup>e</sup> It was not possible for it to extend farther. And it was a structure more noteworthy than any under the sun. For while the depth of the ravine was great, and no one who bent over to look into it from above could bear

The Temple gates and the Royal Portico.

by Herod (*cf.* Neh. iii). The exact location of the gates is unknown.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Upper City, to the W. and S.W. (*cf.* Simons, p. 424). Remains of the arch and lintel of the gate, variously known as the "Moor's Gate," "Gate of the Prophet" (*i.e.* Mohammed), or "Barclay's Gate" after the discoverer, are visible to-day, the main structure being buried.

<sup>b</sup> This probably would be comprised of the Upper City and the Lower City (to the S. and S.W.). The ravine is the "Valley of Hinnom" or "Gehenna."

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* from the Kedron Valley to the Tyropocon. At the eastern end was a high tower, identified in early tradition with the so-called "Pinnacle" (*cf.* Matt. iv. 5 = Luke iv. 9); at the western end a viaduct led over the Tyropocon. Some remains of the latter, chiefly of the exit, are extant, built into the lower part of the present west wall. This is known as "Robinson's Arch," after the discoverer, the famous nineteenth-century archaeologist, Edward Robinson.

ἄνωθεν εἰς τὸν βυθὸν εἰσκύπτου,<sup>1</sup> παμμέγεθες ὕψος  
 ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἀνέστηκεν, ὡς εἴ τις ἀπ'  
 ἄκρου τοῦ ταύτης<sup>2</sup> τέγουσ ἄμφω συντιθεῖς τὰ βάθη  
 διοπτέουσι σκοτοδιναῖαν, οὐκ ἐξικνουμένης τῆς ὄψεως  
 413 εἰς ἀμέτρητον τὸν βυθόν. κίονες δ' ἐφέστασαν κατ'  
 ἀντίστοιχον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ μῆκος τέτραχα (συνεδέ-  
 δετο γὰρ ὁ τέταρτος στοῖχος<sup>3</sup> λιθοδομήτῳ τείχει),  
 καὶ πάχος ἦν ἐκάστου κίονος ὡς<sup>4</sup> τρεῖς ἐπισυν-  
 απτόντων ἀλλήλοις τὰς ὀργυιάς περιλαβεῖν, μῆκος  
 δὲ ποδῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, διπλῆς σπείρας ὑπειλη-  
 414 μένης.<sup>5</sup> πλῆθος δὲ συμπάντων δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα  
 καὶ ἑκατόν, κιονοκράνων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν Κορίνθιον  
 τρόπον ἐπεξεργασμένων γλυφαῖς ἔκκληξιν ἐμ-  
 415 ποιούσαις διὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς μεγαλουργίαν. τετ-  
 τάρων δὲ στίχων ὄντων, τρεῖς ἀπολαμβάνουσι τὰς  
 διὰ μέσου χώρας ταῖς στοαῖς. τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν δύο  
 παράλληλοι τὸν αὐτὸν γεγόνασι τρόπον, εὖρος  
 ἑκατέρας πόδες τριάκοντα, μῆκος δὲ στάδιον,<sup>6</sup> ὕψος  
 δὲ πόδες ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα· τῆς δὲ μέσης εὖρος μὲν  
 ἡμιόλιον, ὕψος δὲ διπλάσιον· ἀνεῖχε γὰρ πλείστον  
 416 παρὰ τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν. αἱ δ' ὀροφαὶ βαθυξύλοις  
 ἐξήσκητο γλυφαῖς πολυτρόποις σχημάτων ἰδέαις,  
 καὶ τὸ τῆς μέσης βάθος ἐπὶ μείζον ἠγγείρετο, περι-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκκύπτου AM.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπ' . . . ταύτης] ἀπ' ἄκρας τοῦ τρίτου con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> L: τοῖχος rell.

<sup>4</sup> Hudson: εἰς codd.

<sup>5</sup> Niese: ὑπειλημμένης FL: ἐπ(ε)ιλημμένης rell.: supposita Lat.

<sup>6</sup> stadia tria Lat.

to look down to the bottom, the height of the portico standing over it was so very great that if anyone looked down from its rooftop, combining the two elevations, he would become dizzy and his vision would be unable to reach the end of so measureless a depth. Now the columns (of the portico) stood in four rows, one opposite the other all along—the fourth row was attached to a wall built of stone,—and the thickness of each column was such that it would take three men with outstretched arms touching one another to envelop it<sup>a</sup>; its height was twenty-seven feet, and there was a double moulding running round its base. The number of all the columns was a hundred and sixty-two, and their capitals were ornamented in the Corinthian style of carving, which caused amazement by the magnificence of its whole effect. Since there were four rows, they made three aisles among them, under the porticoes. Of these the two side ones corresponded and were made in the same way, each being thirty feet in width, a stade in length,<sup>b</sup> and over fifty feet in height. But the middle aisle was one and a half times as wide and twice as high, and thus it greatly towered over those on either side. The ceilings (of the porticoes) were ornamented with deeply cut wood-carvings representing all sorts of different figures. The ceiling of the middle aisle was raised

<sup>a</sup> Extant remains of the gates (see § 411) include a pillar of exactly this circumference. Cf. Clermont-Ganneau i, p. 254.

<sup>b</sup> c. 600 feet. But the archaeological evidence points to a greater length, estimated to be as much as 800 feet or more. On the dimensions see Hollis, pp. 105-117; 582-607. For a good harmony of the archaeology and Josephus see F. Spiess in *ZDPV* 15 (1892), 134-156.

## JOSEPHUS

τετμημένου<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις προμετωπιδίου τοί-  
 χου, κίονας ἔχοντας ἐνδεδομημένους καὶ ζεστοῦ  
 παντὸς ὄντος, ὡς ἄπιστα τοῖς οὐκ ἰδοῦσι<sup>2</sup> καὶ σὺν  
 417 ἐκπλήξει θεατὰ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εἶναι. τοιοῦτος  
 μὲν ὁ πρῶτος περίβολος ἦν. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπέχων  
 οὐ πολὺ δεύτερος, προσβατὸς βαθμίσιν ὀλίγαις, ὃν  
 περιείχεν ἐρκίον λιθίνου δρυφάκτου, γραφῆ κωλῦον  
 εἰσιέναι τὸν ἀλλοεθνή, θανατικῆς ἀπειλουμένης τῆς  
 418 ζημίας. εἶχε δ' ὁ μὲν ἐντὸς περίβολος κατὰ μὲν τὸ  
 νότιον καὶ βόρειον κλίμα τριστοίχους<sup>3</sup> πυλῶνας,  
 ἀλλήλων διεστῶτας, κατὰ δὲ ἡλίου βολὰς ἓνα τὸν  
 μέγαν, δι' οὗ παρήειμεν ἄγνοιι μετὰ γυναικῶν.  
 419 ἔσωτέρῳ δὲ κακείνῳ γυναιξίν ἄβατον ἦν τὸ ἱερόν.  
 ἐκείνου δ' ἐνδοτέρῳ τρίτον, ὅπου τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν

<sup>1</sup> περιδεδομημένου PLAMW.

<sup>2</sup> Cocceji: εἰδόσι codd.

<sup>3</sup> τρεῖς τοίχους P: τριστίχους V: τριπτύχους EA marg. M marg.

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<sup>a</sup> Or "the front of the wall." The meaning of this and the immediately following Greek is not very clear, and has resulted in diverse interpretations.

<sup>b</sup> The so-called "Court of Gentiles," a modern designation. The total area of the enclosure was about 35 acres, or 144,000 square metres (Schick); cf. Hollis, pp. 105-122.

<sup>c</sup> This court (Court of Israel) was open to all Jews, but an eastern enclosure, divided off by a wall running north and south, was known as the Court of Women (see below, § 419), probably because it was designated as a place for them to worship. Cf. Hollis, pp. 168 f.; 167-192.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xii. 145 for a similar notice under Antiochus III, c. 200 B.C. The present inscription was in Greek, and one complete and two fragmentary examples are known. The complete copy, discovered and published (*PEF*, p. 132) by Clermont-Ganneau in 1871, reads as follows: Μηθένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου. ὅς δ' ἂν ληφθῆ ἑαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν

to a greater height, and the front wall <sup>a</sup> was cut at either end into architraves with columns built into it, and all of it was polished, so that these structures seemed incredible to those who had not seen them, and were beheld with amazement by those who set eyes on them. Such, then, was the first court.<sup>b</sup> Within it and not far distant was a second one,<sup>c</sup> accessible by a few steps and surrounded by a stone balustrade with an inscription prohibiting the entrance of a foreigner under threat of the penalty of death.<sup>d</sup> On its southern and northern sides the inner court had three-chambered gateways, equally distant from one another, and on the side where the sun rises it had one great gateway,<sup>e</sup> through which those of us who were ritually clean used to pass with our wives. Within this court was the sacred (court) which women were forbidden to enter, and still farther within was a third court into which only

*θάνατον.* ("No foreigner is to enter within the balustrade and embankment around the sanctuary. Whoever is caught will have himself to blame for his death which follows.") For the Greek text and other data see *B.J.* v. 194 note *c*. It will also be found in Reinach, *ad loc.*, and has often been reproduced. For the text and a discussion of the large fragment discovered in 1935 see J. H. Iliffe in *QDAP* 6 (1936), 1-3. *Cf.* also Simons, p. 300; Hollis, pp. 157 ff.; Bickermann in *JQR* 37 (1946-1947), 387-405, with comments by Zeitlin, *ibid.* 38 (1947-1948), 111-116. Bickermann contains further bibliography and a review of ancient parallels. *Cf.* the account in Acts xxi. 26-30.

<sup>e</sup> Nicanor's Gate, the Corinthian Gate of brass. But this with less probability has been identified with the east gate leading into the Court of Women, which is not mentioned here by Josephus. The arguments pro and con are reviewed by Hollis (pp. 167-188); *cf.* Simons, pp. 405 f. The gate has been identified also with the Beautiful Gate of Acts iii. 2, 10; but this is uncertain.

- εἰσελθεῖν ἐξὸν ἦν μόνοις. ὁ ναὸς ἐν τούτῳ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βωμὸς ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς θυσίας ὠλοκαυτοῦμεν  
 420 τῷ θεῷ. τούτων εἰς οὐδένα τῶν τριῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς<sup>2</sup>  
 Ἡρώδης παρηήλθεν· ἐκεκώλυτο γὰρ οὐκ ὦν ἱερεὺς.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ περὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τοὺς  
 ἕξω περιβόλους ἐπραγματεύετο καὶ ταῦτ' ὠκοδό-  
 μησεν ἕτεσιν ὀκτώ.
- 421 (6) Τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων οἰκοδομηθέντος  
 ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ μηνὶν ἕξ,<sup>3</sup> ἅπας ὁ λαὸς ἐπληρώθη  
 χαρᾶς, καὶ τοῦ τάχους πρῶτον μὲν τῷ θεῷ τὰς  
 εὐχαριστίας<sup>4</sup> ἐποιοῦντο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς προθυμίας<sup>5</sup>  
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐορτάζοντες καὶ κατευφημοῦντες τὴν  
 422 ἀνάκτισιν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τριακοσίους ἔθυσσε τῷ  
 θεῷ βοῦς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷ<sup>6</sup> κατὰ δύναμιν, ὦν  
 οὐχ οἶόν τε τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν· ἐκφεύγει γὰρ τὸ  
 423 δύνασθαι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν· συνεπεπτώκει γὰρ  
 τῇ προθεσμίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔργου καὶ τὴν  
 ἡμέραν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν ἐξ ἔθους ἐώρτα-  
 ζον, ἐς ταῦτόν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ περισημοτάτην ἐξ ἀμφοῖν  
 τὴν ἐορτὴν γενέσθαι.
- 424 (7) Κατεσκευάσθη δὲ καὶ κρυπτὴ διώρυξ τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ, φέρουσα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας μέχρι τοῦ  
 ἕσωθεν ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολικὴν θύραν, ἐφ' ἧς

<sup>1</sup> ὁ ναὸς ἐν τούτῳ om. P. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς οὐδένα . . . βασιλεὺς] hunc locum susp. Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> πέντε P Lat. : γρ. ε A marg.

<sup>4</sup> εὐχαριστηρίους P : gratias Lat.

<sup>5</sup> τῇ προθυμίᾳ FLAMV.

<sup>6</sup> ἕκαστοι Ernesti.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the inner sanctuary (§ 419). Besides the rock altar it contained the altar of incense, the seven-branched lamp-stand, the table of shewbread, and the "Holy of Holies," the last being screened by a veil. Cf. *Ant.* xx. 219 ff. ;

priests were permitted to go. In this (priests' court) was the temple, and before it was an altar, on which we used to sacrifice whole burnt-offerings to God. Into none of these courts did King Herod enter since he was not a priest and was therefore prevented from so doing. But with the construction of the porticoes and the outer courts he did busy himself, and these he finished building in eight years.

(6) The temple itself <sup>a</sup> was built by the priests in a year and six <sup>b</sup> months, and all the people were filled with joy and offered thanks <sup>c</sup> to God, first of all for the speed (of the work) and next for the king's zeal,<sup>d</sup> and as they celebrated they acclaimed the restoration. Then the king sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, and others did similarly, each according to his means. The number of these (sacrifices) it would be impossible to give, for it would exceed our power to give a true estimate. And it so happened that the day on which the work of the temple was completed coincided with that of the king's accession, which they were accustomed to celebrate, and because of the double occasion the festival was a very glorious one indeed.

Herod and the Jews celebrate the completion of the reconstruction of the Temple.

(7) There was also made for the king a secret underground passage which led from the Antonia to the eastern gate of the inner sacred court, and above

The secret passage from the Antonia.

*B.J.* v. 216-219. On additions in the Slavonic version see *B.J.*, Appendix.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "five months" (P). On the chronology of the building operations see § 425 note and Appendix D.

<sup>c</sup> In Herod's eighteenth year according to § 380, *q.v.* on the discrepancy with *B.J.* i. 401 (fifteenth year). Apparently the work, or preparation for it, was begun in 23/2 B.C. and the celebration occurred in the summer of 18 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> The reading of most mss. is probably an assimilation to the preceding dative.

## JOSEPHUS

αὐτῷ καὶ πύργον κατεσκεύασεν, ἵν' ἔχη διὰ τῶν ὑπογέων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνιέναι, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου νεωτερισμὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι φυλαττόμενος.  
 425 λέγεται δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν οἰκοδομουμένου τοῦ ναοῦ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὕειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους, ὡς μὴ κωλυσιεργεῖν. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν, οὐδ' ἔστιν ἄπιστον, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀπίδοι τις ἐμφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐξωκοδομήθη τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

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<sup>a</sup> The statement in *Ant.* xx. 219 f. that the temple was not finished until the time of the Procurator Albinus (A.D. 62-64) must refer to the entire complex of buildings. Cf. *B.J.* v. 36-38 on the work under Agrippa II. Or, as Simons (p. 399) and others suggest, the subsequent work may have been mainly in the nature of ornamentation and repairs, the *B.J.* account being exaggerated. The same may perhaps be said



this he had a tower built for himself in order to be able to go up into it through the underground passage and so protect himself if there should be a revolt of the people against its kings. And it is said that during the time when the temple was being built no rain fell during the day, but only at night, so that there was no interruption of the work. And this story, which our fathers have handed down to us, is not at all incredible if, that is, one considers the other manifestations of power given by God. Such, then, was the way in which the temple was rebuilt.<sup>a</sup>

of John ii. 20, "The Temple has been in the building [or, "has been built in "] forty-six years," which has been interpreted to mean that it was completed *c.* A.D. 28-30 or was still incomplete. On this problem *cf.* Corbishley in *JTS* 36 (1935), 26 f.; Badcock in *Exp. T.* 47 (1935), 40 f.; and Cadoux in *JBL* 56 (1937), 180 note 6.

APPENDIX A  
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BIBLION IA

α'. Ὡς μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρας θάνατον ὁ νεώτερος<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς τῶν παίδων Ἀριστόβουλος ἐπολέμησεν πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ κρατήσας αὐτοῦ συνεδίωξεν εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βάρην, ἔπειθ' ὡς συμβάντες ἔκριναν βασιλεύειν μὲν Ἀριστόβουλον, Ὑρκανὸν δὲ ἰδιωτεύειν.

β'. Περὶ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης ἀφορμῆς εἰς λαμπρότητα καὶ δόξαν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν προήχθη καὶ μέγεθος δυνάμεως, καὶ ὅτι πείσαντος Ὑρκανὸν Ἀντιπάτρου φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων πρὸς Ἀρέταν

<sup>1</sup> νεώτατος AMW.

## APPENDIX A

### AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

#### BOOK XIV

SECTION  
HERE

(i) How, after the death of Alexandra, her younger <sup>a</sup> son Aristobulus fought with his brother Hyrcanus over the kingship and overcoming him, pursued him to the fortress in Jerusalem; and how later they came together and decided that Aristobulus should be king while Hyrcanus should be a private citizen .

1

(ii) Concerning Antipater and his line, and in what manner from a modest beginning and slight opportunity he advanced together with his sons to splendour and glory and greatness of power, and how, after Antipater had persuaded Hyrcanus to flee from Jeru-

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

τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα ἰκέτευσεν ἔλθων καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν γῆν τε πολλὴν δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ὑποσχόμενος.

γ'. Ὡς Ἀρέτας προσδεξάμενος τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ συμβαλῶν καὶ κρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ συνεδίωξεν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ περικαθίσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν.

δ'. Ὡς Σκαῦρον πέμψαντος ἀπὸ Ἀρμενίας εἰς Συρίαν Μάγνου Πομπηίου ἤκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τε Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου πρέσβεις περὶ συμμαχίας παρακαλοῦντες.

ε'. Ὅτι Σκαῦρος τετρακοσίοις διαφθαρεῖς ταλάντοις Ἀριστοβούλῳ προσέθετο.

ς'. Ὡς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ Πομπηίου δικαιολογοῦνται.<sup>1</sup>

ζ'. Ὡς Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἔλθόντος Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ Ὑρκανὸς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἤκον περὶ τῆς βασιλείας δικαιολογούμενοι.<sup>2</sup>

η'. Πομπηίου ὑπέρθεσις διαγνώσεσθαι φήσαντος περὶ ὧν ἀλλήλοισ<sup>3</sup> ἐνεκάλουν, ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων χώραν παραγένηται, καὶ ὅτι συνεῖς Ἀριστόβουλος τίνα ἔχει διάνοιαν Πομπήιος ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ὡς ἀγανακτήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατεύσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον Ἀρι-

<sup>1</sup> ὡς . . . δικαιολογοῦνται om. PFL Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς . . . δικαιολογούμενοι insiticia esse putat Niese.

<sup>3</sup> ἀλλήλοισ om. PFL : ἀλλήλων W.

<sup>a</sup> The variant omits this section.

<sup>b</sup> Niese brackets this section as a duplication of the preceding one.

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στόβουλος ἀνεχώρησε τὸ φρούριον ὄχυρόν ὄν καὶ δυσκαταμάχητον.

θ'. Ὡς Πομπήιος τοῦτο συνιδὼν στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον καταλιπόντα τὸ φρούριον καταβῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς βεβαιωσόμενον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, οἷς πεισθέντα καὶ πολλάκις δικαιολογησάμενον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἠνάγκασε τοῖς φρουράρχοις τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ γράψαι καὶ παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ φρούρια.

ι'. Ὡς Ἀριστόβουλος τοῦτο ποιήσας διὰ φόβον ἔπειτα δυσχεράνας ἐπὶ τῷ μηδενὸς ὦν προσεδόκα παρὰ Πομπηίου τυγχάνειν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

ια'. Ὡς Πομπηίου κατὰ πόδας μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς παρακολουθήσαντος<sup>1</sup> μετενόησεν Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ προελθὼν ἄχρι Ἱεριχοῦντος ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν δεηθεὶς περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ Πομπηίου πέμψαντος Γαβίνιον μετὰ ἐπιλέκτων στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τε τὴν τῆς πόλεως παράληψιν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Ἱεροσολυμίται τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ὀρώντες ἐν φυλακῇ καθεστῶτα τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.

ιβ'. Ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς Πομπήιος Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν ἔδησε, προσαγαγὼν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δέχονται μὲν αὐτὸν οἱ

<sup>1</sup> κατακολουθήσαντος PFLW.

<sup>a</sup> It was Aristobulus who resorted to a stratagem, according to Josephus. Perhaps we should read *χρησάμενος* for *χρησάμενον*.

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the fortress of Alexandreion, which was strong and difficult to assault . . . . . 46

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(xii) How in anger at this act Pompey put Aristobulus in chains, and brought up his force, besieged the city, and how the

τὰ Ὑρκανοῦ φρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἄνω, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἀριστοβούλου φεύγουσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.

ιγ'. Ὡς αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί.

ιδ'. Περὶ τῆς ἐπεικειίας αὐτοῦ καὶ θεοσεβείας, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἔψαυσε τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

ιε'. Ὅτι ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ποιήσας φόροις ὑποτελῆ καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἀποδείξας ἐθνάρχην, Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν δέσμιον μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε, Σκαῦρον δὲ τῆς Συρίας ἐπίτροπον κατέλιπεν.

ισ'. Ὅτι Σκαύρου στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ Πέτραν βασιλείον οὔσαν τῶν Ἀράβων καὶ πολιορκοῦντος, ἐν ἐνδείᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ γενομένων Ἀντίπατρος πείθει τὸν Ἀραβα δόντα Σκαύρῳ τάλαντα τριακόσια συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι.

ιζ'. Ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου παῖς φυγὼν Πομπήιον καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ πολλῆς γενομένης πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκε πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον.

ιη'. Ὡς ὑπὸ Γαβινίου κρατηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατακλεισθεὶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον τὸ φρούριον ἐπολιορκεῖτο.

ιθ'. Ὡς Γαβίνιος πεισάσης τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου παραδοῦναι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ φρούριον



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λαβὼν τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφήκεν, ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, οἳ ἦσαν μετὰ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ πατρὸς δεδεμένοι, λύσαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, δηλῶν αὐτῆς τὸ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πιστὸν καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἀξία ταύτης τῆς χάριτος τυγχάνειν.

κ'. Ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα φυγόντα ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἀριστόβουλον εἰς Ἰουδαίαν λαβὼν Γαβίνιος αἰχμάλωτον πάλιν ἀνέπεμψε<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ῥώμην.

κα'. Κράσσου κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀνάβασις καὶ σύλησις τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρημάτων.

κβ'. Φυγὴ Πομπηίου εἰς Ἡπειρον καὶ Σκιπίωνος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντος εἰς Συρίαν ἄφιξις ἐντολὴν ἔχοντος ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον.

κγ'. Ὅτι Καῖσαρ<sup>2</sup> λύσας Ἀριστόβουλον<sup>3</sup> οἷός τε ἦν πέμψαι μετὰ δύο ταγμάτων εἰς Ἰουδαίαν, ἔφθη δ' ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Πομπηίου φρονούντων διαφθαρεῖς Ἀριστόβουλος φαρμάκῳ.<sup>4</sup>

κδ'. Καῖσαρος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου στρατεία, καὶ ὡς συνεμάχησαν αὐτῷ Ὑρκανός τε καὶ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους αὐτῷ συμμάχους ἐποίησαν.

<sup>1</sup> ἀνέστρεψεν P : ἀντέστρεψεν V.

<sup>2</sup> + φυγόντος Πομπηίου μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου F

<sup>3</sup> + τῶν δεσμῶν P.

<sup>4</sup> + καὶ ὅτι Σκιπίων ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Πομπηίου τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου Ἀλέξανδρον πελέκει διεχρήσατο F.

• Variant "and returned to Rome."

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<sup>b</sup> One ms. adds, "when Pompey had fled together with the Senate."

<sup>c</sup> One ms. adds, "from chains."

<sup>d</sup> One ms. adds, "and how Scipio at Pompey's order executed Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, by beheading."

κε'. Ἀντιπάτρου προθύμως ἀγωνισαμένου κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀριστεία καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλία πρὸς Καίσαρα, καὶ ὡς Ὑρκανὸν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαίρων ἐτίμησε μεγάλως, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀναστήσαι τείχη.<sup>1</sup>

κς'. Ὡς Ἀντιπάρῳ τὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπὴν ἐνεχείρισεν.

κζ'. Καίσαρος ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ δόγματα συγκλήτου περὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλίας.

κη'. Ὅτι Ἀντίπατρος τοῖς παισὶν Ἡρώδῃ μὲν τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας<sup>2</sup> πρόνοιαν Φασαήλῳ<sup>3</sup> δ' ἐπέτρεψε τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων.

κθ'. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Σέξστος δωροδοκηθεὶς ὑφ' Ἡρώδου ἡγεμόνος ὄντος ἐν Συρίᾳ<sup>4</sup> μέγαν καὶ ἔνδοξον ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδην, καταστήσας ἄρχοντα τῆς κοίλης Συρίας.

λ'. Ὡς Κάσσιος Καίσαρος ἀποθανόντος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναβὰς τὴν τε χώραν ἐκάκωσε καὶ τάλαντα ὀκτακόσια παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσепράξατο,<sup>5</sup> πῶς τε Ἡρώδης ἐκ τῆς εἰσπράξεως τῶν χρημάτων σπουδαῖος ἔδοξε Κασσίῳ.

λα'. Μαλίχου τελευτῆ τοῦ πρὸς Ἡρώδην στασιάσαντος Κασσίου κελεύσαντος.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> κατεστραμμένα τείχη P.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰουδαίας AMW.

<sup>3</sup> Φιλίππῳ AMW.

<sup>4</sup> ἡγεμόνος . . . Συρία secl. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> + φορολογήσας P.

<sup>6</sup> τελευτήσαντος P: Μαλίχου . . . κελεύσαντος] ὡς Μάλιχος ἐπιβουλῶν Ἀντίπατρον ἀνείλε φαρμάκῳ διακονησαμένου χρήμασι τοῦ οἰνοχόου Ὑρκανοῦ ὡς Ἡρώδης ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ Κασσίου τὸν Μάλιχον ἐδολοφόνησεν FL.

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<sup>a</sup> One ms. "the ruined walls."

<sup>b</sup> Variant "Judaea."

<sup>c</sup> Variant "Philip."

<sup>d</sup> Variant (to whole section) "How Malichus treacherously killed Antipater by poisoning, assisted by Hyrcanus' butler who had been paid therefor; how Herod at Cassius' order killed Malichus by treachery."

λβ'. Θάνατος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πρεσβευτῶν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μακεδονία νίκην ἐν Συρία γενομένου καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡρώδου κατηγορήσαι. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραξεν χρήμασι πείσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου.<sup>1</sup>

λγ'. Στρατεία Πάρθων εἰς Συρίαν, καθ' ἣν τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγον.

λδ'. Ὡς Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδου αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον.<sup>2</sup>

λε'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης φεύγων ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν<sup>3</sup> παραγεγόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ δεηθεὶς Ἀντωνίου<sup>4</sup> χρήματα πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος, ἀπεδείχθη

<sup>1</sup> θάνατος . . . Ἡρώδου] ὅτι Κασσίου ἀναχωρήσαντος τῆς Συρίας καὶ Ἡρώδου πρὸς Φάβιον πορευθέντος Ἐλιξ κατὰ Φασαήλου στρατιὰν ἤθρουσεν, καὶ ὡς ἠττηθέντος Ἐλικος προσφυγόντος εἰς τινα τῶν πύργων Φασάηλος αὐτὸν ὑποσπόνδιον ἀφήκεν. ὡς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου βοηθούμενον παρὰ τοῦ Τυρίων τυράννου Μαρίωνος Ἡρώδης ἀπαντήσας τρέπεται καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκβάλλει. ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἠττηθῆναι Κάσσιον ἐν Μακεδονία παρὰ τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου Ἡρώδης ἐν Βιθυνία παραγεγονότα πολλοῖς χρήμασιν ἐθεράπευσεν Ἀντώνιον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ βουλευθέντας οὐ προσεδέξατο Ἀντώνιος. καὶ ὅτι Τυρίοις ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔγραψεν. ὅτι πάλιν εἰς Συρίαν ἐλθόντος Ἀντωνίου καὶ κατηγορούντων τινῶν Ἡρώδου καὶ Φασαήλου οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τετράρχας αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν. τῶν δὲ κατηγορῶν δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπέκτεινεν FL.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς . . . ἔλαβον om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> φεύγων . . . Ἰταλίαν om. Lat.

<sup>4</sup> δεηθεὶς Ἀντωνίου om. Lat.

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(xxxii) The execution by Antony, on reaching Syria after the victory in Macedonia, of the envoys from Judaea, which took place when Antony became indignant at their accusation of Herod, which act he committed when Herod had persuaded him thereto with money <sup>a</sup> .	{ 324 327
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(xxxiv) How the Parthians took captive Hyrcanus and Herod's brother Phasaël <sup>b</sup>	342
(xxxv) How Herod fled from there (Judaea) to Italy, <sup>c</sup> and coming to Rome and appealing to Antony, <sup>d</sup> promised him large sums of money and was appointed	

<sup>a</sup> Variant (to whole section) "How, when Cassius had retired from Syria and Herod had proceeded to Fabius, Helix collected an army against Phasaël, and how Helix, being defeated, took refuge in a tower and Phasaël let him go under a truce. How Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, being aided by Marion, the prince of Tyre, encountered Herod and was routed and driven from Judaea. How, after the defeat of Cassius in Macedonia at the hands of the young Caesar and Antony, Herod with large sums of money courted the favour of Antony, who had come to Bithynia, and how on that account Antony did not receive those who came with the intention of accusing Herod; and how he wrote to the Tyrians on behalf of the Jews. How, when Antony again came to Syria, and certain men accused Herod and Phasaël, not only did he not listen to them, but he also appointed Herod and Phasaël tetrarchs, and killed some of their accusers, ten in number" (*cf.* § 294).

<sup>b</sup> The Lat. omits this section.

<sup>c</sup> Lat. omits "fled from there to Italy."

<sup>d</sup> Lat. omits "appealing to Antony."

ὑπό τε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ Καίσαρος βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας.<sup>1</sup>

λς'. Ἐκπλους Ἡρώδου μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ μάχη πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐπομένης καὶ ἡγεμόνος Σίλωνος.

λζ'. Ὡς Σίλωνος Ἱεροσόλυμα πολιορκήσαντος, ὑπὸ Σοσσίου καὶ Ἡρώδου Ἀντίγονος διεφθάρη.<sup>2</sup>

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ'.

<sup>1</sup> ὡς Ὑρκανὸν (λδ') . . . Ἰουδαίας] ὡς Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Φασάηλος πεπρεσβευκότες πρὸς Πάρθους κατεσχέθησαν παρ' αὐτῶν δεθέντες Ἡρώδου μαθόντος τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτῶν καὶ διαφυγόντος. ὡς μετὰ τὴν Ἡρώδ(ου) φυγὴν Πάρθοι διήρπασαν τὴν τε πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον παραδόντες Ἀντιγόνῳ δεδεμένους Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον ἔτι τε ὡς Ὑρκανὸς μὲν τὰ ὤτα διελωβήθη παρ' Ἀντιγόνου ὡς μὴ πάλιν κατάσχοι τὴν ἱερωσύνην, Φασάηλος δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναιρεῖσθαι προανείλεν αὐτὸν ὡς ἂν μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔργον γένοιτο. ὡς Ἡρώδης διαφυγὼν Πάρθους ἦλθεν πρὸς Μάλχον τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα κἀκείνου μὴ προσδεξαμένου τοῦτον διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πορευθεὶς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διασώζεται. ὡς Ἡρώδης Ἀντωνίου συναγωνισαμένου βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀναγορεύεται Καίσαρος καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου Ῥωμαίων τοῦτο κυρωσάσης L.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς . . . διεφθάρη] ὡς Σίλωνος καὶ Σοσσίου μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατευμάτων πολιορκησάντων τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴ μὲν ἑάλω Ἀντίγονος δὲ διεφθάρη, ὃ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐγκρατῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐγεγόνει L.



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(xxxvii) How, after Jerusalem was besieged by Silo, Antigonus was put to death by Sossius and Herod <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	468

This book covers a period of thirty-two years.

<sup>a</sup> One ms. has, in place of this whole section, "How Hyrcanus and Phasaël, who had gone as envoys to the Parthians, were seized by them and put in chains, and how Herod learned of their capture and escaped. How after Herod's flight the Parthians plundered the city of Jerusalem and the palace, and handed over Hyrcanus and Phasaël in chains to Antigonus. Further, how Hyrcanus had his ears mutilated by Antigonus in order that he might not again hold the priesthood, and how Phasaël preferred to slay himself in order that his foe might not accomplish this deed. How Herod after escaping from the Parthians came to Malchus the Arab king, and when the latter refused to receive him, proceeded through Egypt and safely reached the Romans. How Herod with the active help of Antony was named King of Judaea, this being sanctioned by Caesar and the Roman Senate."

<sup>b</sup> One ms. has, in place of this whole section, "How, when Silo and Sossius besieged the city with the Roman armies, it was captured; and how Antigonus was put to death while Herod came into possession of the throne."

BIBLION IE

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου  
ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας.

α'.<sup>1</sup> Ὡς ληφθείσης τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως  
ὑπὸ Σοοσίου καὶ Ἡρώδου Ἀντώνιος μὲν Ἀντί-  
γονον ἐπελέκισεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, Ἡρώδης δὲ  
τεσσαρακονταπέντε τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων πρώτους  
Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐπανείλετο<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡργυρο-  
λόγησεν.

β'. Ὁν τρόπον Ὑρκανὸς ὁ πρῶτος βασιλεὺς  
Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀφεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν  
Πάρθων βασιλέως Ἀρσάκου πρὸς Ἡρώδην ὑπέ-  
στρεψεν.

γ'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς

<sup>1</sup> numeros capitibus addunt α-ιη W, I-XIII Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπανείλατο PL: ἐπανεθῶν ἀνείλετο AMW: reuersus ex-  
tinxerit Lat.

## BOOK XV

These are the contents of the fifteenth book of  
Josephus' account of the Jewish antiquities

	SECTION HERE
(i) How, after the city of Jerusalem was taken by Sossios and Herod, Antony beheaded Antigonus in Antioch, and Herod <sup>a</sup> put to death forty-five of the leading Jerusalemites who were friends of Antigonus, and levied money on the city . . . . .	1
(ii) In what manner Hyrcanus, the first king and high priest of the Jews, returned to Herod after being released by Arsaces, <sup>b</sup> king of the Parthians . . . . .	2
(iii) How Herod, after he had established Aristobulus, the brother of his	

<sup>a</sup> Variant " Herod upon his succession."

<sup>b</sup> There is a confusion here of Hyrcanus (II) with his grandfather, John Hyrcanus, and of the earlier king Arsaces with Phraates of our present text.

Μαριάμμης ἀδελφὸν ἀρχιερέα καταστήσας μετ' οὐ πολὺ διαφθαρῆναι παρεσκεύασεν.<sup>1</sup>

δ'. Ὡς Κλεοπάτρα τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἀράβων ἐπιβουλεύουσα βασιλεία μέρη λαβεῖν αὐτῶν ἴσχυσε παρ' Ἀντωνίου.

ε'. Κλεοπάτρας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρουσία.<sup>2</sup>

ς'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης ἐπολέμησεν Ἀρέτα<sup>3</sup> καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Ἀντώνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀκτιον νικᾶται μάχῃ.

ζ'. Περὶ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> addit L: δ'. ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀριστοβούλου κλεοπάτρα ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλεξάνδρας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ γραμμμάτων παρακληθεῖσα ἔπεισε τὸν ἀντώνιον μετακαλεσάμενον ἠρώδην ἀνακρίναι τοῦτον περὶ τοῦ φόνου· ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος διελύσατο τὰ ἐγκλήματα. ε'. ὡς ἠρώδης καταλιπὼν ἀντώνιον καὶ εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα ἐλθὼν, ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς ἀναπεισθεὶς τὴν γυναῖκα μαριάμμην ἀνελεῖν ἠβουλήθη· καὶ τέως μὲν τῇ ἐκείνης κρατούμενος φιλοστοργία τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπέσχετο φόνου ἰώσηπον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα σαλώμης αὐτῇ μαριάμμη συνδιαβληθέντα παραχρήμα ἀπέκτεινεν.

<sup>2</sup> Κλεοπάτρας . . . παρουσία] et ad iudaeum peruenit Lat. caput praecedens continuans: καὶ ὡς κλεοπάτρα εἰς τὴν ἰουδαίαν παρεγένετο ἦντινα παρολίγον ἠρώδης ἀνῆρει εἰ μὴ παρὰ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ κατεσχέθη L: καὶ ὡς κλεοπάτρας (sic) . . . παρουσία F: cap. proximum continuantes FL.

<sup>3</sup> LW: + τὸν ἄραβα F.

<sup>4</sup> νοσημάτων M.

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wife Mariamme, as high priest, contrived not long afterwards to destroy him. <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	3
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(v) The visit of Cleopatra to Judaea <sup>b</sup>	4
(vi) How Herod made war upon Aretas <sup>c</sup> at the time when Antony was being defeated by Caesar in the battle of Actium . . . . .	5
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appeal by letter of Alexandra his mother persuaded Antony to summon Herod in order to question him about the (alleged) murder. But he made the visit and refuted the charges. (v) How Herod after he had left Antony and returned to Jerusalem was convinced by false slanders and wished to put to death his wife Mariamme. And so long as he was restrained by the love which he felt towards her, he refrained from murder, but he immediately put to death Joseph, Salome's husband, who had been accused along with Mariamme."

<sup>b</sup> One ms. reads "And how Cleopatra came to Judaea and Herod during her brief visit would have put her to death, but was restrained by his friends."

<sup>c</sup> One ms. "Aretas the Arab."

<sup>d</sup> One ms. "and the diseases."

η'. Λόγος<sup>1</sup> Ἡρώδου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀθυμοῦντας πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ τὴν ἦτταν τὴν γενομένην.<sup>2</sup>

θ'. Ὡς ἀνάγκην ἔχων Ἡρώδης ἀπιέναι<sup>3</sup> πρὸς Καίσαρα νενικηκότα διέφθειρεν Ὑρκανόν.

ι'. Ὡς ἔσχε καὶ παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ παρέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.<sup>4</sup>

ια'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐτιμήθη.<sup>5</sup>

ιβ'. Ὡς ἐπανελθὼν<sup>6</sup> ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς παρωξύνθη τὴν γυναῖκα Μαριάμμην ἀποκτεῖναι.<sup>7</sup>

ιγ'. Περὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ<sup>8</sup> τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Συρίαν<sup>9</sup> γεγονότος καὶ ὡς διέσωσε τὰ πλήθη καὶ τὰς πόλεις Ἡρώδης.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ διάλογος FL antecedens caput continuantes.

<sup>2</sup> add. L θ'. ὡς μετὰ τὴν διαλαλίαν (cod. διὰλαλίαν) Ἡρώδης συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἄραισιν ἐνίκησε.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf : ἀπιέναι codd.

<sup>4</sup> Αἶγυπτον LAMW : + πολλὰ τιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ FL.

<sup>5</sup> πολλὰ φιλοφρονηθεὶς ἐτιμήθη P : om. ὡς . . . ἐτιμήθη L.

<sup>6</sup> ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπ' αἰγύπτου P.

<sup>7</sup> + ιγ'. ὡς μετὰ τὸν μαριάμμης θάνατον λοιμώδης νόσος ἐνσκήψασα καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα κατέσχευεν. ιδ'. ὡς τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως σαλώμης κοστόβαρον τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς διαβαλλούσης πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἡρώδης καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς διέφθειρεν L.

<sup>8</sup> ἀνεκταίου λιμοῦ P.

<sup>9</sup> καὶ Συρίαν] πᾶσαν ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν συρίαν P.

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(xii) How upon his return home <sup>e</sup> he was driven by false slanders to put to death his wife Mariamme <sup>f</sup> . . . . .	7
(xiii) Concerning the famine <sup>g</sup> which occurred in Judaea <sup>h</sup> and Syria, and how Herod saved the people and the cities . . . . .	9

<sup>a</sup> Variant "And the conversation."

<sup>b</sup> One ms. adds here: "(ix) How Herod after the speech joined battle with the Arabs and defeated them."

<sup>c</sup> The variant adds "and was greatly honoured by him."

<sup>d</sup> The Lat. omits this section; one ms. reads "was very affectionately received and honoured."

<sup>e</sup> One ms. adds "from Egypt."

	SECTION
<sup>f</sup> One ms. adds here: "(xiii) How after the death of Mariamme a pestilential disease struck, and infected the king himself. (xiv) How Salome the king's sister made slanderous charges before the king against her husband Costobarus, and Herod put both him and certain others to death."	7
	7

<sup>g</sup> One ms. "the abominable famine."

<sup>h</sup> One ms. "all Judaea and also even Syria."

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ιδ'. Κτίσεις<sup>1</sup> πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων ἄς Ἡρώδης<sup>2</sup> ἐποιήσατο.<sup>3</sup>

ιε'. Ὡς<sup>4</sup> καθελὼν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις<sup>5</sup> τὸν ἀρχαῖον ναὸν<sup>6</sup> ἄλλον<sup>7</sup> ἀνέστησεν μετὰ ἔτη ἑξακόσια<sup>8</sup> διπλοῦν τοῖς μέτροις.<sup>9</sup>

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ιη'.

<sup>1</sup> κτίσις FAMW Lat. (aedificatio) : περι κτίσεως P.

<sup>2</sup> + ὁ βασιλεὺς περιβλέπτους P.

<sup>3</sup> + ιζ'. ὡς καῖσαρ προσέθετο τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἡρώδου τὸν λυσανίου οἶκον ὃν τινα ζηνόδωρος τις μεμίσθωτο· διόπερ Ἡρώδης χαριζόμενος καῖσαρι ναὸν αὐτῷ φιλοτιμώτατα κοσμήσας ἀφιέρου. καὶ ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦτο. ὡς παρὰ τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑφ' Ἡρώδου L.

<sup>4</sup> + Ἡρώδης P.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις] εἰσάπαν P : om. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> τῶν Ἰουδαίων ναὸν P.

<sup>7</sup> + ἀντ' ἐκείνου P.

<sup>8</sup> ἔτη ἑξακόσια] παρολκῆν ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων P.

<sup>9</sup> + ὑπάρχοντα P.

SECTION

<sup>a</sup> One ms. "notable Greek cities."

<sup>b</sup> One ms. adds here : "(xvii) How Caesar added to Herod's kingdom the domain of

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	SECTION
(xiv) The founding of Greek cities <sup>a</sup> which Herod accomplished <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	8
	9
(xv) How <sup>c</sup> after <sup>d</sup> six hundred years he rased the ancient Temple <sup>e</sup> in Jerusalem and erected another <sup>f</sup> twice the size . . . . .	11

This book covers a period of eighteen years.

	SECTION
Lysanias which a certain Zenodorus had leased. Wherefore Herod out of gratitude to Caesar consecrated a very lavishly ornamented temple to him. And how the Jews were vexed over this. How in violation of Jewish law many men were put to death by Herod."	

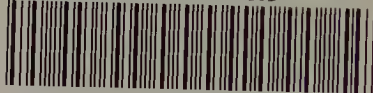
<sup>c</sup> One MS. " How Herod."  
<sup>d</sup> One MS. " after a span of."  
<sup>e</sup> One MS. " temple of the Jews."  
<sup>f</sup> One MS. " another in its stead."











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