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JOSEPHUS

VIII

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**JOSEPHUS**  
**JEWISH ANTIQUITIES**

**BOOKS XV—XVII**

**WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY**  
**RALPH MARCUS**

**COMPLETED AND EDITED BY**  
**ALLEN WIKGREN**



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## PREFACE

THE untimely and lamented death of Professor Ralph Marcus in December of 1956 left unfinished his work on Volume VIII of the Loeb edition of Josephus. Fortunately the translation, text and critical notes were completed, together with the English notes to most of Book XV. Publication, therefore, of the present volume has involved the supplying of English notes to Books XVI and XVII and to the description of the Temple at the end of XV (§§ 401-425), and—with editorial co-operation—the seeing of the volume through the press.

The authorities upon which the text of *Ant.* xi-xx is based are listed and briefly described in Vol. VI. For more detailed description, evaluation, notation of lacunae, etc. one may consult the Niese edition. Those extant for the text of this volume are codices AMPW throughout, FLV in Book XV only, the Epitome (E), and the Latin version. Individual manuscripts of the Epitome are occasionally cited; likewise Zonaras' *Chronicon*, chiefly a witness to the E text, and the *Excerpta Peiresciana et Ursiniana* (Exc.), made by order of Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus, in the tenth century. γρ. = γράφεται.

While the Greek text is basically that of Niese, it has been modified at many points in accordance with the manuscript tradition and the suggestions of a



## PREFACE

number of other scholars. Most of the latter are cited by Niese; Cobet's occasional emendations may be found in Naber's edition. In addition, such data have been introduced from the critical observations of Wilhelm J. Schmidt, and of G. C. Richards and R. J. H. Shutt (see Appendix C). "Ed. pr." refers to the *editio princeps* of A. Arlenius (Basel, 1544).

In Books XVI and XVII we have not included a citation of linguistic parallels to other Greek authors since these are available elsewhere. In Book XVII, particularly, the reflections of Thucydides become very extensive. For discussion and exemplification of such parallels one may consult Thackeray's Introduction to Vol. II (*The Jewish War*) and Vol. IV (*The Antiquities*), Lecture Five of his *Josephus the Man and the Historian*, and the works of Drüner, Schmidt, von Destinon, and others noted in the Bibliography.

Volume VIII covers the period from the accession of Herod the Great in 37 B.C. to the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6. A parallel account is given in *B.J.* i. 358-ii. 116. The narrative of the last days of Herod in *Ant.* xvii appears to be a verbose paraphrase of the *B.J.* text, although occasionally the latter is more detailed. In *B.J.* Nicolas of Damascus is generally regarded as Josephus' main source. The significant building programme of Herod merits more attention than could be given to it in the notes. A selected bibliography is therefore supplied on this subject (Appendix D), for the compilation of which we are indebted to Mr. James Hodges. Josephus' important description of Herod's reconstruction of the Temple is beset with several difficulties of interpretation. In this connection we have reproduced and Englished the plan of Vincent and Stève pub-

## PREFACE

lished in *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. iii (Paris, 1956); and we gratefully acknowledge the permission of authors and publisher, J. Gabalda & Co. of Paris, to make use of it here.

The Herodian Genealogy is reproduced from Vol. II of the Loeb edition of Josephus, with slight modifications. The maps of Palestine are taken from the same source and adjusted to the period of the present volume chiefly by the addition of certain place names and the alteration of boundary lines.

I wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Ralph Marcus for generously permitting the temporary use of Professor Marcus' library and such notes as he had made in his work on the Josephus text. Apart from minor alterations, the main work stands as a monument to the eminent and wide-ranging scholarship of the late Professor Marcus.

ALLEN WIKGREN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1 May 1961

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

## ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

### BIBLION IE

(i. 1) Σόσσιος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἡρώδης ὡς κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβον Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἰχμάλωτον Ἀντίγονον, ἢ πρὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσε 2 βίβλος· τὰ δ' ἐκείνους<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 φρονούντες ἐν προαγωγῇ τούτους ἐποιεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐλομένους οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τιμωρούμενος καὶ 3 κολάζων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ἐτιμῶντο δὲ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτῷ Πολλίων ὁ Φαρισαῖος καὶ Σαμαίας<sup>4</sup> ὁ τούτου μαθητής· πολιορκουμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὗτοι συνεβούλευον τοῖς πολίταις δέξασθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην, ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ τὰς 4 ἀμοιβὰς ἀπελάμβανον. ὁ δὲ Πολλίων<sup>5</sup> οὗτος καὶ κρινομένου ποτὲ Ἡρώδου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προεῖπεν ὀνειδίζων Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς δικάζουσιν ὡς περισωθεῖς Ἡρώδης ἀπαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπέξελεύ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνης PVF : ἐκείνη Niese.

<sup>2</sup> E : ἰδιωτεύοντες codd.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐτι LAMW.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

### 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-

<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.

<sup>4</sup> Σαμαῖος PF : Σαμέας MVA<sup>2</sup> : Sameas Lat.

<sup>5</sup> Σαμαίας E : Sameas Lat.

σεται· 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 χρυσοῦ παντὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐδωρεῖτο καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν φίλους.

6 ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τεσσαρακονταπέντε τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ τῆς αἰρέσεως Ἀντιγόνου, φύλακας περιστήσας ταῖς πύλαις τῶν τειχῶν, ἵνα μή τι<sup>2</sup> συνεκκομισθῇ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι. καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἠρεύνων, καὶ πᾶν τὸ εὐρισκόμενον ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσοῖον ἢ τι κειμήλιον, ἀνεφέρετο τῷ βασιλεῖ, πέρασ τε κακῶν οὐδὲν ἦν.

7 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἢ πλεονεξία τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐν χρεῖα γεγεννημένου διεφέρει, τὴν δὲ χώραν μένειν ἀγεώργητον τὸ ἑβδοματικὸν ἠνάγκαζεν ἔτος· ἐνειστήκει 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 εὖνον 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

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 Antigonos' 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 Antigonos 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 Antigonos out of hatred for

Mark  
Antony  
executes  
Antigonos.

*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.

9 μένων,<sup>1</sup> ἔγνω τούτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πελεκίσαι· σχε-  
δὸν γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως<sup>2</sup> ἠρεμεῖν ἠδύναντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι.  
μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Στράβων ὁ Καππαδόξ  
λέγων οὕτως· “ Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἀντίγονον τὸν  
Ἰουδαῖον ἀχθέντα εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πελεκίζει. καὶ  
ἔδοξε μὲν οὗτος πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα πελε-  
κίσαι, 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· οὐ-  
τως 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 Ἰρκανὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ἦν δὲ παρὰ  
Πάρθοις αἰχμάλωτος, ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Ἡρώδην,  
12 τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολυθεὶς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· Βαρ-  
ζαφράνης<sup>6</sup> καὶ Πάκορος οἱ τῶν Πάρθων στρατηγοὶ  
λαβόντες αἰχμαλώτους Ἰρκανὸν 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.

<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 <sup>Hyrcanus is released from captivity by the Parthians.</sup> 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

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>a</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 Hasmonaean 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.

- ιερέα γενόμενον, εἶτα βασιλέα, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 13 Ἡρώδου Φασάηλον εἰς Πάρθους ἀνήγον. καὶ  
 Φασάηλος μὲν οὐ φέρων τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς  
 αἰσχύνην, πάσης δὲ ζωῆς κρείττονα τὸν μετὰ δόξης  
 ἠγούμενος θάνατον, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται φονεὺς,  
 καθὼς προεῖπον.
- 14 (2) Ὑρκανῶ δ' ἀναχθέντι Φραάτης ὁ τῶν Πάρθων  
 βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιεικέστερον προσηνέχθη, τὸ  
 τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ διάσημον προπετυσμένος. διὰ  
 τοῦτο δεσμῶν μὲν ἀφήκεν, 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 Ἡρώδην 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  
 ἐρρύσατο. λόγους οὖν προσέφερε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις,  
 17 ἵνα παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσπουδακῶς.<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ περιείχοντο  
 καὶ μένειν ἠξίουσαν, τὰς ὑπουργίας ἅμα καὶ τὰς  
 τιμὰς λέγοντες, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐνδεὲς αὐτῷ τῆς εἰς τοὺς  
 ἀρχιερεῖς ἢ βασιλεῖς τιμῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶη, καὶ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> κρινόμενον ὅτι PF.<sup>2</sup> ἐσπουδακῶς 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 Phasael, and proceeded to take them off to Parthia. Phasael, 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

<sup>c</sup> Not far from Seleucia 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 ἦν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου πάθοι, τὰς τε χάριτας οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀποδίδουσαι παρά τῶν βασιλέων, ἃς ἔλαβον ἰδιωτεύοντες, ἐξαλλαττοῦσης 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 κοινῇ ζῆζοντι τὴν βασιλείαν· ἄρτι γὰρ εἶναι καιρὸν αὐτῷ μὲν ἐκτίσαι τὰς χάριτας ὧν εὖ πάθοι καὶ τραφεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ περισωθεῖς,  
19 ἐκείνῳ δὲ κομιζέσθαι. ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> γράφων Ὑρκανῷ πέμπει καὶ παρά τὸν Φραάτην πρεσβευτὴν Σαμαλλάν καὶ δῶρα πλείω, μὴ διακωλύσαι τὰς εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ χάριτας ὁμοίως φιλανθρω-  
20 πευόμενον.<sup>3</sup> ἦν δ' οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἢ σπουδῇ, διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ἐδεδοίκει τὰς ἐξ εὐλόγων<sup>4</sup> μεταβολάς, καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ὑποχείριον ἔχειν ἔσπευδεν ἢ καὶ παντάπασι ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔπραξεν ἐν ὑστέρω.

21 (4) Τότε μέντοι γε ἐπειδὴ παρῆν συμπεπεισμένος<sup>5</sup> ἐφέντος τε τοῦ Πάρθου καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χρήματα παρασχομένων, ἀπάση τιμῇ δεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς συλλόγοις τὸν πρῶτον ἔνεμε τόπον

<sup>1</sup> ὀλίγως LA<sup>2</sup>M: οὐκ ὀλίγως om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τοιαῦτα PFLVW.

<sup>3</sup> φιλανθρωπευόμενος LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλόγων coh. Niese. <sup>5</sup> πεπεισμένος 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 <sup>Herod invites Hyrcanus to return to Judaea.</sup> 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>

(4) At the moment, however, when he came (to <sup>Hyrcanus goes to Judaea. Herod appoints Ananel high priest.</sup> 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,

<sup>d</sup> A very wealthy friend of Hyrcanus and the Herodians, cf. *Ant.* xiv. 345 and *B.J.* i. 259.

<sup>e</sup> Reinach cites Destignon'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.

καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐστιάσεις προκατακλίνων ἐξήπατα, πατέρα καλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶς<sup>1</sup> τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς  
22 ἀνύποπτον πραγματευόμενος. ὑποκαθίστατο<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ τὰλλα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐστασιάσθη· φυλαττόμενος γὰρ τινα<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀποδεικνύειν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ θεοῦ,<sup>4</sup> μεταπεμφάμενος ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἱερέα τῶν ἀσημοτέρων Ἀνάνηλον ὀνόματι τούτῳ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δίδωσιν.

23 (5) Εὐθύς οὖν οὐκ ἦνεγκεν Ἀλεξάνδρα τὴν ἐπήρειαν, θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἵρκανοῦ, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου βασιλέως, ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδῶν ἔχουσα, τὸν μὲν ὧρα κάλλιστον Ἀριστόβουλον καλούμενον,<sup>5</sup> τὴν δὲ Ἑρώδη συνοικοῦσαν Μαριάμμη  
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 συμπραγματευομένου τὰ περὶ τὴν κομιδὴν τῶν γραμμάτων, αἰτέισθαι 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 τινα LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> λαοῦ LAMWE.

<sup>5</sup> λεγόμενον LAMW.

<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.

(6) Antony paid rather scant attention to this

<sup>e</sup> Heb. *Hananel*. Klausner, *HBŠ* iv. 12, identifies him with the high priest called "Hanamel 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.

Alexandra  
appeals to  
Cleopatra.

Antony's  
friend  
Dellius



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 συνοικοῦ-  
 σαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ δῆλος ἦν καλλιπαῖδά τινα τὴν  
 26 Ἀλεξάνδραν διειληφώς. ἐκείνης δὲ εἰς λόγους  
 ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ, πείθει γραψαμένην ἀμφοτέρων  
 εἰκόνας Ἀντωνίῳ διαπέμψασθαι· θεασαμένου γάρ,  
 27 οὐδενὸς ἀπευκτήσειν<sup>3</sup> ὦν ἀξιοῖ. τούτοις ἐπαρθείσα  
 τοῖς λόγοις Ἀλεξάνδρα πέμπει τὰς εἰκόνας Ἀν-  
 τωνίῳ· καὶ Δέλλιος ἑτερατεύετο 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  
 Ἡρώδῃ, 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 Ἡρώδην, 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> ἀπευκτήσειν FV: ἀνυχῆσει Ernesti.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ FLAMVW.

<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.

(ἐκκαίδεκαέτης γὰρ ὦν ἐτύγχανε) καὶ γένοι προύχοντα πέμπειν παρὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἰσχύοντα μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων, ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ὑποθεῖναι καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐκ τοῦ δύνασθαι περιζόμενον.

30 ἀντέγραψεν οὖν ὡς, εἰ μόνον ἐξέλθοι τῆς χώρας τὸ μειράκιον, ἅπαντα πολέμου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀναπλησθήσεται,<sup>2</sup> Ἰουδαίων ἐλπισάντων μεταβολῆν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐπ' ἄλλῃ βασιλεῖ.

31 (7) Τοῦτοις δὲ παραιτησάμενος τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἔγνω μὴ μέχρι παντός 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 μὴδ' ἀποδημησάτω δυνατὸν ἢ τετιμημένῳ, σύλλογον οὖν<sup>4</sup> ποιήσας τῶν φίλων ἠτιάτο πολλὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν,

32 κρύφα τε ἐπιβουλευσάτω λέγων τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας πράττειν ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφαιρεθῆ τὴν ἀρχὴν, 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 συναποστεροῖ 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 reil.

<sup>4</sup> οὖν om. PFV.

<sup>5</sup> βεβουλευσάτω 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 ἀποστήσεται τοῦ δίκαιος εἶναι περὶ  
 αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔφη διδόναι τῷ παιδί τὴν  
 ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ πάσαι προκαταστήσασθαι 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 ἅμα καὶ χαρῆ τῶν οὐ προσδοκηθέντων  
 καὶ δέει τῆς ὑποψίας Ἀλεξάνδρα μετὰ δακρύων  
 36 ἀπελογοῖτο, περὶ μὲν τῆς ἱερωσύνης φημένη πᾶν  
 ὄτιον ὑπ' ἀδοξίας σπουδάσαι, βασιλείᾳ δὲ μήτε  
 ἐπιτίθεσθαι μήτ' ἂν, 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 περιούσαν. νῦν τε νενικημένη ταῖς εὐερ-  
 γείαις 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 ἄλ-  
 λήλοις ὀμιλήσαντες καὶ σπουδαιότερον ἢ θάπτου  
 ἐν δεξιαῖς<sup>1</sup> διελύοντο, πάσης ὑποψίας, ὡς ἐδόκουν,  
 ἐξηρημένως.
- 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 θάπτου 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.

αρεΐται τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀνάηλον, ὄντα μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν, οὐκ ἐπιχώριον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἀπωκισμένων Ἰουδαίων· οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγαι μυριάδες τοῦδε τοῦ λαοῦ περὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπωκίσθησαν, ἔνθεν ἦν Ἀνάηλος ἀρχιερατικοῦ γένους καὶ πάλαι κατὰ συνήθειαν Ἡρώδη σπουδαζόμενος. τοῦτου αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτίμησεν, ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατέλυσε ἐπὶ τῷ παῦσαι τὰς οἰκείας ταραχάς, παράνομα ποιῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος<sup>1</sup> γέ τις ἀφηρέθη τὴν τιμὴν ἀπαξ<sup>2</sup> παραλαβῶν. ἀλλὰ πρῶτος μὲν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἐπιφανῆς ἔλυσε τὸν νόμον, ἀφελόμενος μὲν Ἰησοῦν, καταστήσας δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ὀνίαν, δεῦτερος δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος Ἰρκανὸν ἀφείλετο τὸν ἀδελφόν, Ἡρώδης δὲ τρίτος ἀντιπαρέδωκεν τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀριστοβούλῳ τῷ παιδί.

42 (2) Καὶ τότε μὲν ἐδόκει τεθεραπευκῆναι 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, ἤξιωκῶς δεδοικῆναι.<sup>3</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 αὐτῆν

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλος ex corr. L. et (ex con.) Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> δεδηλωκῆναι 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 de-scended) 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.

(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

<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."



ἐξηγρίου καὶ μῖσος ἐπεφύετο<sup>1</sup>. φρονήματος γὰρ  
 ἔμπλεως οὐσα γυναικείω τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὑποψίας ἐπι-  
 μελείας ἀνηξιοπάθει, παντὸς οὕτωσοῦν ἀξιοῦσα  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς παρρησίας στερομένη τιμῆς εὐπρεπείᾳ  
 45 μετὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, ἐν οἷς εἴη συνεχὲς ὄδυρομένη  
 καὶ παρακαλοῦσα προσβοηθεῖν αὐτῇ κατὰ δύναμιν.  
 ἢ δὲ λαβοῦσαν ἐκέλευσεν<sup>2</sup> ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου σὺν τῷ  
 46 παιδί πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποδιδράσκειν. ἐδόκει τε ταῦτα,  
 καὶ τεχνάζεται τοιαύδε· δύο λάρνακας ὡς εἰς ἐκκο-  
 μιδὴν νεκρῶν παρασκευασαμένη, ταύταις αὐτὴν καὶ  
 τὸν υἱὸν ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπιτάξασα τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς  
 συνειδόσιν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐκφέρειν. ἦν δὲ τούντεῦθεν  
 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 εἰδότε  
 φράσαι. πυθόμενος δὲ Σαββίων (καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐχθρὸς  
 Ἡρώδου πρότερον,<sup>4</sup> ὅτι τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Ἀν-  
 τιπάτρω κατὰ τὴν φαρμακείαν εἰς ἐνομιζέτο) τὸ  
 μῖσος ὑπαλλάξεσθαι τῇ περὶ τὴν μήνυσιν εὐνοία  
 προσεδόκησε, καὶ καταλέγει τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν τῆς  
 48 Ἀλεξάνδρας ἐπιβουλήν. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἕως τῆς  
 ἐγχειρήσεως ἕασας προελθεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τοῦ  
 δρασμοῦ συνέλαβε, παρήκε δὲ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, χαλε-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεφύετο LAMWE.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκέλευεν LAMWE.

<sup>3</sup> ἔμελλε FV: ἔμελλεν P.

<sup>4</sup> πρὸς αὐτὸν PFV: om. Lat.

<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.

πόν 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> ἐπιεικειᾶς  
 49 αὐτοῖς συνεγνωκέναι. προῦκειτό μέντοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὸ μειράκιον ἐκποδῶν ποιῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ μηδ' ἅμα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἔδοκει πιθανώτερον εἰς τὸ λανθάνειν.  
 50 (3) Καὶ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἐνστάσης<sup>3</sup> (ἑορτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν αὕτη παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τηρουμένη) ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ὑπερεβάλλετο, καὶ πρὸς εὐφροσύνας<sup>4</sup> αὐτὸς τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἦν. ἐκίνησε δ' αὐτὸν ὁμως κακὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισπεῦσαι τὰ περὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐμφανῶς παροξύνων ὁ φθόνος.  
 51 τὸ γὰρ μειράκιον Ἀριστόβουλος ἑβδομον ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα γεγονῶς 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 crowning.

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.

γε μὴν περὶ τὸ γένος ἀξιώματος πλείστον ἐν τῇ  
 52 μορφῇ διαφαίνων, ὁρμή 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 εὐφύμους  
 εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφιέντες εὐχαῖς μεμιγμένας, ὡς ἐμφανῆ  
 γενέσθαι τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν ὄχλων, καὶ προπετεστέραν  
 ἐν<sup>1</sup> βασιλείᾳ δοκεῖν τὴν ᾧ ἐπεπόνθησαν<sup>2</sup> ὁμολογίαν.  
 53 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν Ἡρώδης ἔγνω τὴν προαίρεσιν<sup>3</sup>  
 ἣν εἶχεν εἰς τὸ μειράκιον ἐξεργάσασθαι. καὶ τῆς  
 ἑορτῆς παρελθούσης εἰσιτιάτο μὲν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι,  
 δεχομένης αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας, φιλοφρονού-  
 μενος δὲ τὸ μειράκιον καὶ προέλκων εἰς ἀδεῆ  
 πότον<sup>4</sup> ἔτοιμος ἦν συμπαιίζειν καὶ νεανιεύεσθαι  
 54 κεχαρισμένως ἐκείνῳ. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν τόπον ιδιώ-  
 ματος θερινωτέρου τυγχάνοντος, συνειλεγμένοι  
 τάχιον ἐξῆλθον ἀλύοντες, καὶ ταῖς κολυμβήθραις  
 ἐπιστάντες, αἱ μεγάλαι περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐτύγχανον,  
 55 ἀνέψυχον τὸ θερμότατον τῆς μεσημβρίας. καὶ  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἑώρων τοὺς νέοντας τῶν οἰκετῶν<sup>5</sup> καὶ  
 φίλων, ἔπειτα προαχθέντος καὶ τοῦ μειρακίου τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἐν Cocceji.

πεπόνθησαν P: εὐ πεπόνθησαν LAMW Lat.

<sup>2</sup> διάθεισιν V.

<sup>4</sup> πότον P Lat.: τόπον rell. E.

<sup>5</sup> οἰκείων Naber.

<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>c</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-Kenia 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 Ἡρώδην παροξύναι, τῶν φίλων οἷς ταῦτα ἐπιτέτακτο, σκοτούς ἐπέχοντος,<sup>1</sup> βαροῦντες αἰεὶ καὶ βαπτίζοντες ὡς ἐν παιδιᾷ νηχόμενον οὐκ ἀνήκαν  
56 ἕως καὶ παντάσιν ἀποπνίξαι. καὶ διεφθάρη μὲν οὕτως Ἀριστόβουλος, ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν τὰ πάντα<sup>2</sup> βιοῦς ἔτη, τὴν δ' ἀρχιερωσύνην<sup>3</sup> κατασχὼν ἐνιαυτόν, ἦν Ἀνάγηλος ἐκομίσαστο πάλιν.

57 (4) Ἐξαγγελθέντος δὲ τοῦ πάθους ταῖς γυναῖξιν εὐθύς μὲν ἐκ μεταβολῆς θρήνος ἦν ἐπὶ προκειμένῳ τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ πένθος ἄσχετον, ἧ τε πόλις τοῦ λόγου διαδοθέντος ὑπερήλγει, πάσης ἐστίας οικειουμένης 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 ἤλθεν<sup>4</sup> αὐτοχειρίᾳ περιγράψασθαι<sup>5</sup> τὸν βίον, ἐπέστη δ' ὁμως, εἰ δύναιτο ζῶσα προσ- ἀρκέσαι τῷ κατ' ἐπιβουλάς ἀνόμως διεφθαρμένῳ, τό τε πλεον ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῇ παρεκρότει<sup>6</sup> τὸν βίον, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ὑποψίαν ἐνδοῦναι τοῦ κατὰ πρό- νοιαν ἀπολέσθαι τὸν υἱὸν ἱκανὸν εἰς εὐκαιρίαν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιόντος Ernesti.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ πάντα PFE: ἀπαντα V: om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἱεροσύνην PFVE.

<sup>4</sup> ἤθελεν Herwerden.

<sup>5</sup> Wesseling: παραγράφασθαι 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 dissimulation.

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"; *προσσερκεῖν* is a Sophoclean word.



60 ἀμύνης ἐνομιζέτο.<sup>1</sup> κἀκείνη μὲν ἐγκρατῶς ἔφερε<sup>2</sup> τὴν ὑπόψιαν. 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 ᾧσει τῆς τε ὥρας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐνομιζέτο, δῆλον δ' ὡς ἀπολογία αὐτὰ

61 πραγματευόμενος. τά γε μὴν εἰς τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεδείξατο,<sup>3</sup> πολλὴν μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν περὶ τὰς θήκας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θυμιαμάτων ποιησάμενος, πολὺν δὲ συγκαταθάπτων κόσμον, ὡς ἐκπλήξαι τὸ λυπηρὸν τῆς ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀλγηδόνας καὶ παραμυθίσασθαι 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 Ἡρώδην, 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 λυπηρὸν 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 ἔλθόντα τῶν εἰς  
 Ἀριστόβουλον ἀποδύσασθαι<sup>1</sup>. πεπράχθαι γὰρ οὐκ  
 65 ὀρθῶς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, εἰ δι' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. ὁ δὲ  
 τὴν τε αἰτίαν δεδοικῶς καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτρας δυσ-  
 μένειαν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνήκεν 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 ἐκείνης  
 67 κατ' εὐμορφίαν ἄλλῳ τινὶ σπουδάζοιτο. τὸ δὲ  
 σύμπαν ἐνέφαιεν ὄρμην Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὴν ἀνθρω-  
 πον, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι παρακηκῶς<sup>5</sup> ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐμορ-  
 φίας ἐτύγγανεν. 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 ἀριθλοτέρων ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀλώσεως  
 πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ δεδηλώκαμεν V, in quo sequentia usque ad § 88  
 desunt.

<sup>5</sup> προακηκῶς Naber: γὰρ ἀκηκῶς 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 περὶ τε πραγματείας καὶ τιμῆς ἕνεκεν, ἣν ἔδει βασιλευούσῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, καθίει εἰς<sup>1</sup> συνεχεῖς ὀμιλίας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτὴν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας. ἐξειρωνεομένων 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 οὐτὲ<sup>2</sup> χωρὶς ἐκείνης ζῆν δύναται, κἂν εἰ πάσχοι τι δεινὸν οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος 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 μὴδ' 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 βασιλεῖον, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας. Ἀλεξάνδρα δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀναπείθει τῶν βασιλείων ἐξελθόντα σὺν αὐταῖς προσφυγεῖν τοῖς σημεῖοις τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ τάγματος, ὅ

<sup>1</sup> E: καθίει M et ex corr. A: καθίεις rel. : 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.

73 τότε περι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς βασιλείας ἑστρατοπέδευεν ἠγουμένον Ἰουλίον<sup>1</sup>. διὰ γὰρ τούτου<sup>2</sup> πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ καὶ τις ἀπαντήσῃε ταραχὴν περι τὴν αὐλήν, ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρω διάξειν αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐμενεῖς ἔχοντες· ἔπειτα καὶ τεύξεσθαι παντὸς ἠλπικέναι, 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 περι τῶν ὅλων ἀφίκετο, τῆς φήμης ἐναντία καὶ τῶν προλαληθέν-  
75 των.<sup>3</sup> ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγένετο παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, ταχὺ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀνεκτῆσατο τοῖς δώροις ἃ φέρων ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ταχὺ δὲ ταῖς ὀμιλίαις παρεστήσατο μὴ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν<sup>4</sup> εἰς αὐτόν, οἳ τε τῆς Κλεοπάτρας λόγοι πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου θεραπείαν  
76 ἦττον ἠδυνήθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν Ἀντωνίος βασιλεῖα περι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγενημένων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς εἴη· δόντας δὲ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας καταξιώσαντας εἶαν αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ μὴ πολυπραγμανεῖσθαι τὰ περι 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, πολυπραγμανεῖν means "to take part in public affairs."



## JOSEPHUS

77 ἀρχὰς ἔλεγε συμφέρειν. ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔγραφεν  
 Ἡρώδης καὶ τὰς ἄλλας διεξῆει τιμὰς, ὡς ἔχει παρ'  
 Ἀντωνίῳ, συνθακῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐν ταῖς διαγνώσεσι καὶ  
 συνεσιτώμενος ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἡμέρας, καὶ τούτων  
 ὅπως<sup>2</sup> τυγχάνοι χαλεπῆς εἰς τὰς διαβολὰς αὐτῷ τῆς  
 Κλεοπάτρας οὐσης; ἢ 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 πλεοξετίας; δόντας Ἀντωνίου ἀνθ'  
 ὧν ἤξιον τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ διὰ τούτου παρη-  
 γορήσαντος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποσκευασαμένου τὰς ἐντεύ-  
 ξεις ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐποιεῖτο.

80 (9) Τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ἀπενεχθέντων ἐπαύ-  
 σαντο μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς ὁρμῆς, ἣν ὡς ἀπολωλότος  
 εἶχον καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· οὐ μὴν ἔλα-  
 θεν αὐτῶν ἢ 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.

<sup>a</sup> Probably Chalcis in the Lebanon region, as plausibly argued by Schürer, *GV* 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.

ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν ἔσχον οἱ περὶ τὴν  
 81 Ἀλεξάνδραν ἀπεσήμηναν, ἣ δὲ Σαλώμη καὶ κατὰ  
 τάνδρος Ἰωσήπου λόγον εἶπεν,<sup>1</sup> ἐν διαβολῇ ποι-  
 οὔσα 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 ἐξωνειδίξε δυσγένειαν.  
 82 Ἡρώδης δὲ θερμῶς αἰεὶ καὶ λίαν ἐρωτικῶς πρὸς  
 τὴν Μαριάμμην ἔχων, εὐθύς μὲν ἐξετετάρακτο καὶ  
 τὴν ζηλοτυπίαν οὐκ ἔφευγε, ἐπικρατούμενος δ' αἰεὶ<sup>3</sup>  
 τοῦ μὴ προπετές τι ποιῆσαι διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα, συντόνω  
 τῷ πάθει καὶ τῷ ζήλῳ παρωξυμμένος ἰδίᾳ τὴν  
 Μαριάμμην ἀνέκρινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήπου.  
 83 ἀπομνημένης δ' ἐκείνης καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῇ μηδὲν  
 ἀμαρτούση προσῆν εἰς ἀπολογία καταλογιζομένης,  
 ἀνεπίθετο κατὰ μικρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετέβαινε  
 ἐκ τῆς ὄργης, ἠττώμενος τῆς περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα  
 φιλοστοργίας, ὡς ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔδοξεν  
 ἀκούσας πεπιστευκένας, καὶ περὶ τῆς κοσμιότητος  
 84 αὐτῇ πολλὴν ὠμολόγει χάριν, αὐτὸς τε ὅπως ἔχει  
 στοργῆς καὶ εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνωμολόγει· καὶ  
 τέλος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς φιλεῖ, πρὸς αὐτὴν 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: τῆ codd.

ately revealed to him what the intentions of Alex-  
 andra 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 be-  
 lieve what he had heard. He freely admitted his  
 gratitude for her modest behaviour and he acknow-  
 ledged 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."

<sup>3</sup> δ' αἰεὶ] δέει LW.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ . . . ἔλκοντος] τὴν αὐτοῦ διάθεσιν PFV.

86 σθαι τὴν οὐδενὸς αἰτίαν." τούτου προσπεσόντος<sup>1</sup>  
 τοῦ λόγου περιπαθήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκ  
 τῶν χειρῶν αὐτὴν ἀφήκεν, ἐβόα δὲ καὶ τῶν αὐτὸς  
 ἑαυτοῦ τριχῶν ἐδράττετο, περιφανὲς φῶριον ἔχειν  
 87 τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πρὸς αὐτὴν κοινωνίας λέγων· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἂν ἐξειπεῖν 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 μὲντοι Ἰώσηπον οὐδ' εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντα διαχρή-  
 σασθαι προσέταξε, καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν ὡς ἀπάν-  
 των παραίτιαν δῆσας ἐφύλαττεν.

88 (iv. 1) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Συρίαν  
 ταραχὰς εἶχεν, οὐκ ἀνείσης τῆς Κλεοπάτρας τὸν  
 Ἀντώνιον μὴ πᾶσιν ἐπιχειρεῖν· ἔπειθε γὰρ ἀφαιρού-  
 μενον ἐκάστων τὰς δυναστείας αὐτῇ διδόναι, καὶ  
 89 πλείστον ἴσχυεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπι-  
 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 . . . ὀρμῆν PFLWE.

<sup>3</sup> ἔλιπε V: ἔλειπε(ν) PF Exc.

<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

Antony gives Cleopatra some parts of Syria.

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.

<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 πλεονεξίᾳ. τὸ δ' ὅλον οὐδὲν αὐταρκες ἦν γυναικὶ καὶ πολυτελεῖ καὶ δουλευούσῃ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, μὴ καὶ τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἐνδεῖν ὦν ἐσπουδάκει. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἤπειγεν αἰεὶ τὰ<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρούμενον αὐτῇ χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ διαβάσασα σὺν ἐκείνῳ τὴν Συρίαν

92 ἐπενοεῖ κτήμα ποιήσασθαι. Λυσανίαν μὲν οὖν τὸν Πτολεμαίου Πάρθουσι αἰτιασαμένη τοῖς πράγμασι ἐπάγειν ἀποκτείνουσα, ἣτι δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τὴν τε Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων, ἀξιούσα τοὺς

93 βασιλεύοντας αὐτῶν ἀφελῆσθαι. τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἠτῶσθαι 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 Antigonos, 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 τοσοῦτου<sup>1</sup>  
 94 κατήκοον γενόμενον ἐπὶ μεγίστοις ἀμαρτάνειν. Ἰν'  
 οὖν μὴτ' ἀρνηθῆ παντάπασι μὴτ' ὅσα προσέταττεν  
 ἐκείνη διαπραξάμενος ἐκ φανεροῦ δόξῃ κακός, μέρη  
 τῆς χώρας ἑκατέρου παρελόμενος τούτοις αὐτὴν  
 95 ἔδωρήσατο. δίδωσι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς Ἐλευθέρου  
 ποταμοῦ πόλεις ἄχρις Αἰγύπτου χωρὶς Τύρου καὶ  
 Σιδῶνος, ἐκ προγόνων εἰδὼς ἔλευθέρως, πολλὰ  
 λιπαρούσης αὐτῆς αὐτῆ<sup>2</sup> δοθῆναι.

96 (2) Τούτων ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τυχοῦσα καὶ παρα-  
 πέμφασα μέχρις Εὐφράτου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ' Ἀρ-  
 μενίαν στρατευόμενον ἀνέστρεφε καὶ γίνεται μὲν  
 ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ καὶ Δαμασκῶ, παρήλθε 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 βάλαμον,<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 Ἡρώδην γινομένης διεπιείραζεν 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> ὀποβάλαμον (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>a</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>b</sup> This country bears balsam, which is the most precious thing there and grows there alone,<sup>c</sup> and also palm trees, which are both numerous and excellent.<sup>d</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>a</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>b</sup> The payment was two hundred talents annually, according to *B.J.* i. 362 and *Ant.* xv. 132.

<sup>c</sup> In *Ant.* ix. 7 Josephus says that balsam also grows at Engedi, on the W. shore of the Dead Sea.

<sup>d</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 διέφαιεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν οὐκ εὖνους  
 ἦν τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, χαλεπὴν εἰς ἅπαντας ἐπιστά-  
 μενος, τότε δὲ καὶ μισεῖν ἀξίων 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  
 Ἀντωνίῳ λυσιτελήσει οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ πιστῆς ἐσο-  
 μένης, εἴ τις αὐτὸν καιρὸς ἢ χρεῖα κατάσχοι  
 100 τοιούτων δεησόμενον. ταῦτα βουλευόμενοι<sup>3</sup> ἐκώ-  
 λυον οἱ φίλοι, πρῶτον μὲν διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐκ  
 ἀξιον μείζω πράττοντα κινδύνων τὸν φανερώτατον  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἐγκείμενοι δὲ καὶ δεόμενοι μηδὲν ἐκ  
 101 προπετείας ἐπιτηδεύειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν<sup>4</sup> ἀνασχέσθαι τὸν  
 Ἀντωνίον, οὐδ' εἰ σφόδρα τις αὐτῷ τὸ συμφέρον  
 στήσειε πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων· τὸν τε γὰρ ἔρωτα  
 μᾶλλον ὑπεκκαύσει 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> ἠτῆσθαι 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 Chamondard render *διεκρούσατο* as "rejected" or the like, but this meaning seems not to be attested.

- γυναῖκα γεγεννημένου μέγιστον ἀξίωμα τῶν κατ'  
 ἐκείνον ἐσχηκυῖαν τὸν χρόνον, τῆς δ' ὠφελείας, εἰ  
 καὶ ταύτην τις οἴηθείη, σὺν αὐθαδείᾳ καὶ κατα-  
 102 γνώσει τῆς ἐκείνου διαθέσεως φανουμένης. ἔξ ὧν  
 οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς μεγάλων καὶ ἀπαύστων<sup>1</sup> κακῶν  
 ἀναπλησθήσεται τὰ περι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶ καὶ τὸ  
 γένος, ἔξ ὧν 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 δωραῖς θεραπεύσας ἐπ' Αἰγύ-  
 πτου προὔπεμψεν.  
 104 (3) Ἀντώνιος δὲ<sup>2</sup> τὴν Ἀρμενίαν λαβών,<sup>3</sup> Ἀρτα-  
 βάζην τὸν Τιγράνου σὺν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ<sup>4</sup> σατράπαις  
 δέσμιον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποπέμπει, δωρούμενος τού-  
 τοις τὴν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ τῆς  
 105 βασιλείας ὃν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔλαβεν. Ἀρμενίας δ'  
 ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρταξίας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἐκείνου  
 παίδων, διαδράς ἐν τῷ τότε. καὶ τοῦτον Ἀρχέλαος  
 καὶ Νέρων Καῖσαρ ἐκβαλόντες Τιγράνην τὸν νεώ-  
 τερον ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγον. ταῦτα  
 μὲν οὖν ἐν ὑστέρω.  
 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 (*Artavazd*), 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.

(4) As for the tribute which he had to pay Cleo- Herod pays Artavasdes had earlier fought as an ally of Antony, whom he later deserted.

<sup>d</sup> Or Artaxes (II).

<sup>e</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.

Ἄντωνίου δοθείσης χώρας, ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης δίκαιος ἦν, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγούμενος δίδοναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ  
 107 μίσους αἰτίαν. ὁ δ' Ἄραψ Ἡρώδου τὴν φορὰν ἐπιδειξαμένου<sup>1</sup> χρόνον μὲν τινα παρείχεν ἐκείνῳ τὰ διακόσια τάλαντα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ κακοήθης ἦν καὶ βραδὺς εἰς τὰς ἀποδόσεις, καὶ μόλις εἰ καὶ μέρη τινὰ διαλύσειεν οὐδὲ ταῦτα δίδοναι δοκῶν ἀζημίως.

108 (v. 1) Ἡρώδης δέ, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀγνωμο-  
 νοῦντος 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 ἑβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδος γενέσθαι συνέβη, Καῖσαρ μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐμελλεν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι πραγμάτων, Ἡρώδης 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. Ἀντωνίου δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐκείνου συμμαχίας οὐδὲν ἔφη δεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἄραβα (καὶ γὰρ ἠκηκόει παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας τὴν ἀπιστίαν) ἐπεξελε-  
 θεῖν προσέταπτεν. ἡξίου γὰρ ἡ 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> ἠξήμενων 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>

(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-

tribute to Cleopatra.

At Antony's order Herod attacks the Arabs, and is defeated.

<sup>a</sup> More literally "without causing loss" (cf. *Ant.* xv. 120). Thackeray (*Lewicon*) 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.



## JOSEPHUS

111 λυσιτελεῖν αὐτῇ τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ θατέρου κακῶς  
 πάσχειν ἡγουμένη. τούτων αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀντωνίου  
 λεχθέντων, ὑποστρέψας Ἡρώδης συνείχε τὸ στρα-  
 τιωτικὸν ὡς εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλῶν· καὶ  
 παρασκευασθέντος ἰππικοῦ καὶ πεζῆς δυνάμεως εἰς  
 Διόσπολιν ἀφικνεῖται, τῶν Ἀράβων ἐκεῖ συναν-  
 τῶντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐλελήθει τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον  
 αὐτοῦ· καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἐκράτησαν  
 112 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλή στρατιὰ τῶν  
 Ἀράβων εἰς Κανάτα<sup>2</sup> συνήει· χωρία δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα  
 τῆς κοίλης Συρίας· Ἡρώδης δὲ προπεπυσμένος ἤκεν  
 ἄγων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς 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 διατάπτοντος, ἔβόα τὸ  
 πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρελόμενον τῆς τριβῆς  
 ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας· ὠρμητο 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 εἶρηται δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πολέμου καὶ τῆς νίκης Ἡρώδου ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἡμῶν πραγματείᾳ σαφέστερον in cod. V, in quo desunt reliqua usque ad § 161.

<sup>2</sup> Kanā LAMW Lat.: Κανάθα B.J. i. 366.

<sup>3</sup> Kanā LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιτρέψοντες Naber.

<sup>5</sup> πολεμίους LAMW.

<sup>a</sup> That Josephus' source meant the city of Dion (Δίων πόλιν)

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>d</sup> and to put  
 up a palisade as a vantage-point from which to make  
 his attack. But as he was arranging this, the multi-  
 tude 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-Qana-  
 wat 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 σπουδήν, ἔγνω τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποχρήσασθαι, καὶ προειπὼν ὡς οὐ λείβεται τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς, πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις ἠγγήσατο, πάντων κατ' οἰκεία τέλη συνακολουθη-  
 115 σάντων. ἔκπληξις δ' εὐθὺς ἐμπίπτει τοῖς Ἀραβῶν ἀντιστάντες γὰρ εἰς ὀλίγον, ὡς ἑώρων ἀμάχους ὄντας καὶ μεστούς φρονήματος, ἔφευγον<sup>1</sup> οἱ πλείους ἐγκλίναντες<sup>2</sup>. κὰν διεφθάρησαν, Ἀθηνίωνος μὴ  
 116 κακώσαντος Ἡρώδη καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. οὗτος γὰρ ὢν στρατηγὸς μὲν Κλεοπάτρας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ, διάφορος δὲ Ἡρώδη, τὸ μέλλον οὐκ ἀπαράσκευος<sup>3</sup> ἐσκόπει, δρασάντων μὲν τι λαμπρὸν τῶν Ἀράβων ἐγνωκῶς ἠσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἠττωμένων δέ, ὁ καὶ συνέβη, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας συνεληλυθόσι τῶν οἰκείων παρεσκευασμένος ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Ἰου-  
 117 δαίοις. καὶ τότε κεκμηκόσι τε καὶ νικᾶν ἰομένους ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐπιπεσὼν πολλὴν ἐποίησε φόνον· τὰς τε γὰρ προθυμίας εἰς τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως<sup>4</sup> ἐχθροὺς ἐκδαπανήσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ τῶν νικᾶν ἐπ' ἀδείας χρώμενοι, ταχὺ τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων ἠτῶντο, καὶ πολλὰς ἐλάβανον πληγὰς ἐν χωρίοις ἀφίπποις καὶ πετρώδεσιν, ὧν πλείω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν  
 118 εἶχον οἱ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιησάμενοι. κακῶς δὲ πασχόντων οἱ τε Ἀραβες αὐτοὺς ἀνειλήφεσαν καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέψαντες ἔκτεινον ἤδη τετραμμένους, ἐγένοντό τε παντοδαπαὶ κτηννυμένων 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: ἀπαρασκευῶς codd.

<sup>4</sup> Naber: ὁμολογουμένους codd.

<sup>5</sup> συνέφευγον 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 ἔσπουδακῶς ἐπαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
μὲν στρατόπεδον ἦλω τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ δ' Ἀραβες  
οὐδὲ μετρίως εὐτυχήκεσαν, ἐκ παραλόγου νίκην τε  
ἧς πλείστον ἀπεδέησαν ἀνειληφότες<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολλὴν  
120 τῶν ἐναντίων ἀφηρημένοι δύναμιν. τούντεθεν ὁ  
μὲν Ἡρώδης ληστείας ἐχρήτο καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κατα-  
τρέχων 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 ἔλθειν,  
οὐκ ἀζήμιος δὲ γινόμενος τῇ συνεχείᾳ καὶ τῷ  
φιλοπόνῳ<sup>4</sup> τῶν<sup>5</sup> οἰκείων ἐπεμελεῖτο, παντὶ τρόπῳ  
τὸ πταῖσμα διορθοῦμενος.
- 121 (2) Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης συν-  
εσταμένης Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐβδόμου δ'  
ἔτους Ἡρώδη τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους, σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ  
τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοτε ἐδόκει, τῶν ἐν τῇ  
122 χώρα κτηρῶν πολλὴν φθόρον<sup>6</sup> ἐποίησεν. ἐφθάρησαν  
δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ ταῖς πεπτωκυῖαις οἰκί-  
αις περὶ τρισμυρίους<sup>7</sup>. τὸ μόντοι στρατιωτικὸν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ἀνειληφότες 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> φθόρον 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 earth-  
quake 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.

ὑπαίθρῳ διαιτώμενον οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους κατ-  
 123 εβλάβη. ταῦτα πυνθανομένοις τοῖς Ἰσραηλῖταις, καὶ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐξαγγελλόντων αὐτοῖς ὅσοι  
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων λόγους τῷ μίσει τῶν  
 ἀκουσομένων ἐχαρίζοντο, μείζον ἐπήει φρονεῖν, ὡς  
 τῆς τε χώρας ἀνατετραμμένης τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ  
 διεφθορότων τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν ἔτι μηδ' εἰς  
 124 αὐτοὺς ἀντίπαλον καταλελείφθαι δοκεῖν. καὶ τῶν  
 τε Ἰουδαίων τοὺς πρέσβεις (ἦκον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 γεγενημένοις εἰρήνην ποιησόμενοι) 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, πλείστον ἀπογνώ-  
 σεως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πεπονθότες· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὔτε  
 ἰσοτιμίας ἐλπίς προητημένοις 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-  
 σθαι διὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας. παρεκάλει δὲ τοιοῦτους  
 ποιούμενος εἰς τὸν ὄχλον τοὺς λόγους·  
 127 (3) "Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν,<sup>3</sup> ὦ<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> ὦ om. PF.

<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 φθόρον ἐποίησεν in § 121, ἀθύμως . . . προῖεντο in § 125, οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον in § 134 (cf. Thuc. i. 32) and τὸ εὐψυχον 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 τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν γεγένηται πρὸς τὰς πράξεις  
 ἡμῶν ἐναντιώματα, καὶ θαρρεῖν εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τοι-  
 οὔτοις οὐδὲ τοὺς πλείστον ἀνδραγαθία διενηνοχότας.  
 128 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ κατεπίγει τὸ<sup>1</sup> πολεμεῖν, καὶ τῶν  
 γεγονότων οὐδὲν ἔστιν τοιοῦτον ὃ μὴ δι' ἐνὸς ἔργου  
 καλῶς πραχθέντος ἐπανορθώσεται,<sup>2</sup> παρακαλεσαι  
 προειλόμην ὑμᾶς ἅμα καὶ διδάξαι δι' ὧν ἂν ἐμμεί-  
 129 ναιτε<sup>4</sup> τοῖς οἰκείοις φρονήμασιν. βούλομαι δὲ πρῶ-  
 τον μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν ὡς δικαίως αὐτὸ  
 ποιούμεν ἐπιδείξαι, διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τῶν ἐναντίων  
 ἠναγκασμένοι· μέγιστον γάρ, εἰ μάθοιτε τοῦτο,  
 προθυμίας αἴτιον ὑμῖν ἔσται· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δεῖξαι  
 διότι καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν δεινόν<sup>5</sup> οὐδὲν ἔστιν 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 ἔχειν τὸ βάρβαρον  
 καὶ ἀνευνόητον θεοῦ· πλείστα μὲντοι προσέκρουσαν  
 ἡμῖν πλεονεξία καὶ φθόνω, καὶ ταῖς ταραχαῖς  
 131 ἐφ' ἑδρεύοντες ἐξ ὑπογύου. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τί δεῖ  
 λέγειν; ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύοντας αὐτοὺς τῆς οἰκείας  
 ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ δουλεύειν Κλεοπάτρα τίνας  
 ἄλλοι τοῦ δέους ἀπήλλαξαν; ἢ γὰρ ἐμὴ πρὸς  
 Ἀντώνιον φιλία κάκεινον πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάθεσις αἰτία  
 γεγένηται μὴδὲ τούτους μὴδὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν ὃ δύναται  
 132 ἂν ὑποπτον ἡμῖν γενέσθαι. βουλευθέντος δὲ ὁμως  
 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 ἰδίᾳ 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> προσοδομένη 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> ὡς  
 ἢ γε πίστις ἔχουσα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους  
 τόπον τοῖς γε φίλοις ἀναγκαιοτάτη τηρηῆσθαι,  
 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 τιμωρῆσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλο-  
 μένου καὶ παραγγέλλοντος αἰεὶ 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>3</sup> μετὰ πολλῆς om. P.

<sup>4</sup> εἰ δ' . . . φίλους] quod etsi praeibendum 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 reeditibus priuauerint Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ἀδικον P.

<sup>6</sup> ἐπιζήμιον] 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.

ιερούς 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 ἀποκτείνει τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 δικαίου διαλεγόμενους; πῶς δ' ἂν ἔτι δύναιντο ἢ  
 περὶ τὸν βίον εὐσταθεῖν ἢ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον  
 εὐτυχεῖν τοιούτων αὐτοῖς πεπραγμένων; ἐμοὶ μὲν  
 138 οὐδαμῶς δοκοῦσιν. ἴσως τοῖνυν ἐρεῖ τις,<sup>2</sup> τὸ μὲν  
 ὄσιον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἀνδρειότεροι δὲ  
 ἢ πλείους ἐκείνοι τετυχήκασι. 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, ἐνίκησαμεν 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' ἐστὶν 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 ἐνί-  
 κησεν, δευτέρον 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

sacred 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 presence to men and reconcile  
 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 acts have been committed by them?  
 To me it seems impossible. Perhaps, however, some-  
 one will say that while godliness and justice are on  
 our side, these others happen to be more courageous  
 or more numerous. But you have no right to say  
 this in the first place, for those who have justice with  
 them, have God with them, and where God is, there  
 too are both numbers and courage. Then let us also  
 examine our own situation. We were victorious in  
 the first battle, and in the second encounter too they  
 failed to make a stand and immediately fled, unable  
 to withstand our attack and our spirit. But in spite  
 of our victory Athenion attacked us and started an un-  
 declared war. Was this manly courage on their part  
 or a second instance of lawlessness and treachery?  
 Why, then, do we show less spirit in face 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* (=ἀγγελοι)," that Hecataeus of Abdera (*ap.* Dio-  
 dorus xl. 3) speaks of the high priest as ἀγγελον τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ  
*προσταγμάτων*, and that in the lxx of Malachi ii. 7 the high  
 priest, as interpreter of the Torah, is called ἀγγελον 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 Messen-  
 ger of God in Hecataeus of Abdera," *Harvard Theological*  
*Review* 48 (1955), 255-257. <sup>b</sup> Of "herald."

ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας; πῶς δ' ἂν καταπλαγείημεν  
 τοὺς, ὅταν μὲν ἐξ ἀληθείας ἀγωνίζωνται, πάντοτε  
 νικωμένους, ὅταν δὲ κρατεῖν νομισθῶσι ἐξ ἀδικίας  
 141 αὐτὸ ποιοῦντας; πῶς δ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ γενναίους  
 ἡγείται 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 σεισμὸν συμβεβηκότα,  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοηθήτω διότι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς  
 "Αραβας ἐξαπατῶ, μείζω τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἀληθείας  
 ὑπειληφότας, ἔπειτα ὡς οὐ καλὸν ἐκείνοις τε τόλμης  
 143 καὶ ἡμῶν 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' αὐτοὺς  
 παραιρησόμεθα μὲν ἐκείνων τὸ μείζον φρονεῖν, ἀνα-  
 ληψόμεθα δ' αὐτοὶ τὸ μηκέτι θαρροῦσι μάχεσθαι.  
 144 καὶ γὰρ οὔτε κεκακώμεθα τοσοῦτον οὔθ', ὅπερ  
 οἴονται τινες, ὀργὴν θεοῦ παρέχει τὸ γεγονός, ἀλλὰ  
 ταῦτα συμπτώματα γίνεται καὶ πάθη τινά. καὶ εἰ  
 κατὰ θεοῦ γνώμην πέπρακται, δῆλον ὡς καὶ πέ-  
 πανται κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ἀρκουμένου τοῖς  
 γεγονόσι· 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.: καταπλήττειται LAMW: καταπλήζεται PF: καταπληξε 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 ποιούντος τοῦ θεοῦ διότι κἂν εἰ πανδημεὶ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐστρατεύεσθε,<sup>1</sup> περιῆν ἂν ὑμῖν μηδὲν ἀνῆκεστον 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, αἰεὶ 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 ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἤγεεν 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 πεπορισμένον τὸ στρατόπεδον. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων προνοούντων, ἄμιλλα γίνεται περὶ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἦσαν,<sup>5</sup> εἰτ' ἤδη καὶ πλείους εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχόμενοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐπιπτον,<sup>6</sup> ἕως ἡττηθέντες οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀπεχώρουν.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐστράτευσε Naber.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγένοντο PF.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν om. PF.

<sup>4</sup> κἂν LAMW.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἦσαν E: ἀκροβολισμοῖς PF: ἀκροβολισμός LAMW.

<sup>6</sup> ἐπιπτον 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).

<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' ὄτιοῦν ἐσχηκότες.

151 ὁμῶς δ' οὖν εἰς χεῖρας ἦεσαν, πλείους τε ὄντες καὶ διὰ τὸ κατεπεῖγειν ἐπὶ τὸ τολμηρὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀν-  
ἀγκης στρατηγούμενοι, καὶ μάχη γίνεται καρτερά,  
πιπτόντων ἐκατέρωθεν οὐκ ὀλίγων· τέλος δὲ τρα-  
152 πέντες οἱ Ἀραβες ἔφευγον. ἦν δὲ τοσοῦτος<sup>5</sup> φό-  
νος ἐγκλινάντων,<sup>6</sup> ὥς 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 πλήθος ἔφθη μὲν εἰς τὸ χαράκωμα συμ-  
φυγεῖν, εἶχε δ' οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτη-  
ρίας ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ μᾶλλον ὕδατος.

154 οἱ τε<sup>7</sup> Ἰουδαῖοι διώκοντες συνεισπесеῖν μὲν οὐ κατ-  
ίσχυσαν, περικαθεζόμενοι δὲ τὸν χάρακα<sup>8</sup> καὶ παρα-

<sup>1</sup> εἰς . . . ἐγεγόνει] ἐλπίδας τε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐ μικρὰς ἐνή-  
γειρε ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt: post ἐγεγόνει lacunam  
stat. Didorf. <sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ PF.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson: ἐννοούμενον PFLAM: ἔτοιμον W: Ἐλθεμον ex  
B.J. con. Niese. <sup>4</sup> Ernesti: βουλούμενος 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 τολμηρὸν 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 δίψος ἤπειγε) πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ὑφιστά-  
156 μνοι καὶ τυχεῖν εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἀδείας ἠξιώκοτες. ὁ  
δὲ οὔτε πρέσβεις οὔτε λύτρα τῶν ἠλωκότων οὔτ'  
ἄλλο τι μέτριον προσίετο, φιλόνηκος ἂν ἐκδικῆσαι  
τὰς παρανομίας τὰς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγενη-  
μένας. καταναγκαζόμενοι τε τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ  
τῷ δίψει, 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> πολέμου 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 πίπτουσι 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,  
τεθναμακότες δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις συμφοραῖς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> + ὄν PFAMWE.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ om. PFLE.

<sup>5</sup> Naber: χωρήσαντες codd.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ εἰ PFE.

<sup>8</sup> conieci: προτέρᾳ aut προτεραιᾳ codd.: priori Lat.

<sup>2</sup> δὴ LE: om. Lat.

<sup>4</sup> E: ἐξιέναι codd.

<sup>7</sup> + σὺν τοῖς Herwerden.

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.

<sup>9</sup> ἑξακισχιλίουσ E.

- 180 Ἡρώδου στρατηγίαν εἰς τε τὸ λοιπὸν εἶξαν καὶ προστάτην ἀπεφώνησαν τοῦ ἔθνους. ὁ δὲ πλείστον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐημερήμασιν ἠξιώκως φρονεῖν, ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, μέγα προσειληφώς ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν.
- 181 (vi. 1)<sup>1</sup> Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ, δυσεπιχειρήτω κατὰ πάντα γεγενημένῳ, κίνδυνος δ' ἐμπίπτει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων κρίσιν ἐπάγων,<sup>2</sup> Ἀντώνιον Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἄκτιον μάχῃ
- 182 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.
- 183 ἦν οὖν τοῖς μὲν φίλοις ἀπόγνωσις τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐλπίδων, ὅσοι δ' ἐχθρωδῶς<sup>4</sup> εἶχον ἐδόκουν μὲν ἐξ ἐμφανοῦς συνάχθεσθαι, πάθος δὲ ληληθὸς ἐφηδομένων εἶχον ὡς ἀμείνονος τευξόμενοι τῆς μεταβολῆς. αὐτὸς τε Ἡρώδης τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ὄρων μόνον ἐπ' ἀξιώματος βασιλικοῦ, συμφέρειν ᾤετο μηκέτ' ἐμποδῶν ἔαν, 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.

<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,

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 ἐφορμεῖν 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 Ἵρκανὸς ἐπιεικεία τρόπον καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον οὐκ ἡξίου πολυπραγμανεῖν 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 ἀνα-  
μεῖναι τὴν Ἡρώδου παρανομίαν εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> οἶκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ<sup>4</sup> προλαβεῖν ἀσφαλεία τὰς ἀνα-  
167 ἐλπίδας, καὶ γράφειν ἡξίου περὶ τούτων Μάλχῳ τῷ τὴν ἀραβαρχίαν<sup>5</sup> ἔχοντι δέξασθαι τε αὐτοῦ<sup>6</sup> καὶ δι' ἀσφαλείας ἄγειν<sup>7</sup>. ὑπεξεληθόντων γὰρ εἰ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη οὕτως χωρήσειεν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν ἔχθρᾳ Καίσαρος, αὐτοῦς ἔσεσθαι τοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντας μόνους καὶ διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ διὰ  
168 τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν ὄχλων. ταῦτα πειθούσης ὁ μὲν Ἵρκανὸς διωθεῖτο τοὺς λόγους, φιλόνεικον δέ τι

<sup>1</sup> E: ἀξιολογώτερον codd.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν A<sup>1</sup>VW: αὐτοῦ ed. pr.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ om. PV.

<sup>4</sup> εἰσαῦθις Herwerden.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀραβίαν VE Lat.

<sup>6</sup> αὐτὸν PFV.

<sup>7</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. i. 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  
 τινὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων, ἐν ᾗ συντάκτο  
 πέμπει<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄραβα τοὺς ἀναληφσομένους  
 καὶ παραπέμφοντας ἰππέας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτων  
 λίμνην· αὕτη δ' ἀπέχει τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὄρων  
 169 σταδίου τριακοσίου.<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 ἐκεῖνος ἀνῆρῆκει,  
 συγγενῆς ἦν καὶ τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ φονευθέντων ὑπ'  
 170 Ἀντωνίου πρότερον<sup>4</sup> ἀδελφός. οὐ μὴν ἐνήγαγε<sup>5</sup>  
 ταῦτα τὸν Δοσίθεον Ὑρκανῶ 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 κατασημνηάμενον 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 Ἄραβ ἀντεπέστελλεν αὐτόν

<sup>1</sup> πέμφειν PFLVE.

<sup>2</sup> ducentis Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Δοσιθέω 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: ἐνήγαγε 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 δέξασθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας  
καὶ<sup>2</sup> Ἰουδαίων ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦσιν, δυνάμιν  
τε πέμψειν τὴν μετ' ἀσφαλείας αὐτοὺς κομιοῦσαν  
173 καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδεήσῃσιν ὦν ἡξίου.<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 δοκοῦσιν, 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 ὁμολογήσαι προσ-  
176 αγορευτικὰ γράμματα κομίσασθαι, τὸν δ', εἰ καὶ  
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> ἡξίου AMW.<sup>4</sup> εὐθύς τε om. PFV: τε om. E.<sup>5</sup> διεχειρίσατο 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 alterna-  
tive 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.



αναφέροντα δωροδοκίας καὶ προδοσίας, ἀπάγγχειν<sup>1</sup>  
 177 προστάξαι τὸν ἄνδρα. τέκμηρια δὲ τοῦ μηδὲν  
 ἀμαρτόντα τοιοῦτω τέλει περιπεσεῖν καταλογίζονται  
 τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τὸ μήτ<sup>2</sup> ἐν νεότητι  
 θράσους ἢ προπετείας ἐπίδειξιν πεποιήσθαι μήθ<sup>3</sup>  
 ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ κὰν ταύτη τὰ  
 πλείοστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν Ἀντιπάτρω παρα-  
 178 κευωρηκέναι. τότε δὲ ἐνός<sup>4</sup> πλείω μὲν ἢ ὀγδοή-  
 κοντα γεγονῶς ἐτύγχανεν ἔτη, κρατοῦντα δὲ μετὰ  
 πάσης ἀσφαλείας τὸν Ἡρώδη ἠπίστατο, διαβε-  
 βήκει δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην τοὺς ἐν τῷ πέραν τι-  
 μῶντας αὐτὸν καταλιπών, ὡς<sup>5</sup> ὅλως ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ  
 γενησόμενος ἐγχειρεῖν οὐδ<sup>6</sup> τι καὶ καινοτέρων  
 ἀπτεσθαι πάντων ἀπιθανώτατον καὶ οὐ πρὸς τῆς  
 ἐκείνου φύσεως, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα σκῆψιν Ἡρώδου  
 γενέσθαι.

179 (4) Τοῦτο μὲν 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 ἐννέα τὴν τιμὴν κατέ-  
 180 σχεν. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποθανούσης

<sup>1</sup> ἀπάγγειν 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> οὐδ' om. PFLVW Lat.

<sup>7</sup> μὴν Dindorf.

<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

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 <sup>The character of Hyrcanus.</sup> 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

(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).

## JOSEPHUS

τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ ταύτην κατασχὼν τρεῖς  
 μῆνας ἐκπίπτει μὲν ὑπ' Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ,  
 κατάρχεται δ' αὖθις ὑπὸ Πομπηίου καὶ πάσας τὰς  
 τιμὰς ἀπολαβὼν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα διετέλεσεν ἐν  
 181 αὐταῖς.<sup>1</sup> ἀφαιρεθεῖς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου  
 καὶ λωβηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα, παρὰ Πάρθοις αἰχμάλωτος  
 ἐγένετο. κάκειθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν<sup>2</sup> ἐπανήει χρόνω  
 διὰ τὰς ἐξ Ἡρώδου προτεινομένας<sup>3</sup> ἐλπίδας, ὧν  
 οὐδὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ἀπήντα, πολυπαθεία  
 βίου χρησαμένω, τὸ δυσχερέστατον δέ, ὡς προειρη-  
 182 καμεν, ἐν γῆρα τέλους οὐκ ἀξίου<sup>4</sup> τυχεῖν<sup>5</sup>. δοκεῖ  
 γὰρ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ μέτριος ἐν πᾶσι 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 εὔρατο  
 τοιοῦτου τέλους.<sup>6</sup>

183 (5) Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐκποδῶν  
 ἐποίησατο, σπεύδων πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ μηδὲν ἐλ-  
 πίσαι περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων δυνάμενος χρησ-  
 τὸν ἐκ τῆς γενομένης αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον φιλίας,  
 ὑποπτον μὲν εἶχε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν, μὴ τῷ καιρῷ  
 συνεπιθεμένη τὸ τε πλῆθος ἀποστήσῃ καὶ στασιάσῃ  
 184 τὰ περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν πράγματα. παρετίθετο δὲ  
 πάντα Φερώρα τὰδελεφῶ, καὶ τὴν μητέρα Κύπρον

<sup>1</sup> ἐν αὐταῖς scripsi: ἐνιαυτοῖς PF: ἐν αὐτοῖς rell.

<sup>2</sup> οἰκίαν LAMVW. <sup>3</sup> προσγενομένας PFV.

<sup>4</sup> τέλους οὐκ ἀξίου] + τοιοῦτου LAMW: τοιοῦτου τέλους

Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> ἐτυχεν 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>6</sup> But he was deprived of them a second time by Antigonos, 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>6</sup> Actually the interval between Pompey's restoration of Hyrcanus to power in 63 B.C. and Antigonos' usurpation in 40 B.C. is only 23 years.

<sup>6</sup> τοιοῦτου 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 πραγμάτων. Μαριάμμην δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα (δυνατὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐν διαφορᾷ τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνου δίαιταν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν) ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ τῇ μητρὶ κατεστήσατο, Ἰώσηπον τὸν ταμίαν<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὸν Ἰτουραῖον Σόαιμον<sup>5</sup> ἐπ' αὐτῶ<sup>6</sup> καταλιπὼν, πιστοτάτους μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένους αὐτῶ, τότε δὲ προφάσει τιμῆς 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) Ταῦτας δοὺς τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτὸς εἰς Ῥόδον<sup>a</sup> ἠπέιγετο Καίσαρι συντυχεῖν. κάπειδῃ κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀφήρητο μὲν τὸ διάδημα, τοῦ δ' ἄλλον περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξιώματος οὐδὲν ὑφεικῶς, ὅτε δὲ καὶ κοινωνῆσαι λόγου κατὰ τὴν συντυχίαν ἤξιώθη, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐνέφηγε τὸ μεγαλεῖον τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> Μεσάδοις FAW: Μεσάδοις M.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr.: αὐτὸν codd. E.

<sup>3</sup> ἀκούσει ed. pr.: ἀκούσειε Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> ταμίαν P: ταμίαν F: ταμίαν 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>a</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, with English summary]; and Avi-Yonah (see Appendix C).

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 Soëmus 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.

188 φρονήματος, οὐτ' εἰς ἰκεσίαν,<sup>1</sup> ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοιού-  
 τοις, τραπόμενος οὐτε δέησιν τινα προτείνων ὡς  
 ἐφ' ἡμαρτημένοις, ἀποδοὺς δὲ τὸν λογισμόν τῶν  
 189 πεπραγμένων ἀνυποτιμήτως.<sup>2</sup> ἔλεγε γὰρ τῷ  
 Καίσαρι καὶ φιλίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι μεγίστην πρὸς  
 Ἀντώνιον καὶ<sup>3</sup> πάντα πρᾶξαι κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 δύναμιν ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενήσεται τὰ πράγματα,  
 στρατείας μὲν οὐ κοινωνήσας 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 συγκωδυνεύειν  
 δέον. ὦν<sup>4</sup> αὐτὸς ἔλαττον ἢ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀνα-  
 στραφεῖς ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ γε συνειδέναί καλῶς ἑαυτῷ  
 πεποιθηκότι τὸ μῆθ' ἠττηθέντα τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ μά-  
 191 χην καταλιπεῖν, μῆθ'<sup>5</sup> συμμεταβῆναι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν  
 φανερώς 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 "πρᾶσινημένης γὰρ ἐκείνης αὐτῷ τε τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων ἀρχεῖν ὑπέιναι καὶ τὰς πρὸς σὲ συμβάσεις

<sup>1</sup> ἰκεσίας LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνεπιτιμήτως Cocceij: ἀνυποστόλως Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> + τὰλλα ὅσα προεῖπομεν V.

<sup>4</sup> ὦν spiritum esse suspicatur Niese.

<sup>5</sup> μῆθ' . . . μῆθε Dindorf: μῆθ' . . . μηδὲ codd.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ τῆς PFV.

<sup>7</sup> ἀξιώτατον LAMW: fidissimus Lat.

<sup>8</sup> καὶ 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."



ῥᾶον εὐρίσκεσθαι τῆς ἔχθρας. ὧν οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνος ἐννοηθεὶς ἀλυσιτελῶς μὲν αὐτῷ, συμφερόντως δὲ σοὶ προετίμησε τὴν ἀβουλίαν. νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν τῆ 193 πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὀργῆ κρίνεις καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν προθυμίαν, οὐκ ἂν εἴη μοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀρνησις, οὐδ' ἀπαξιόσω τὴν ἔμαυτοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίαν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λέγειν· εἰ δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνελῶν, τίς εἰμι πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ ποῖος φίλος ἐξ-ετάξοις, ἐνέσται<sup>1</sup> σοι πείρα τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι· τοῦ γὰρ ὀνόματος ὑπαλλαγέντος, οὐδὲν 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 ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίας πραγματεύεσθαι. καὶ τὸ τε διάδημα πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν αὐτῷ, καὶ προτρεψάμενος μηδὲν ἐλάττω περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ πρότερον ἦν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον φαίνεσθαι, διὰ πάσης ἤγε τιμῆς, προσθεὶς ὅτι Κύντας Δίδιος<sup>2</sup> γράψειεν, ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῷ συλλαβέσθαι 196 τὸν Ἡρώδη. τοσαύτης ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιωμένους καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἔσται LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> Κύντος Δίδιος ex Dione Cass. li. 7 con. Hudson: κανταίδιος P: καὶ τὰ ἰδίους F: καὶ ταίδιος 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.



παρ' ἐλπίδας ὄρων αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς βεβαιο-  
 τέραν τὴν βασιλείαν δώσει Καίσαρος καὶ δόγματι  
 Ῥωμαίων, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ βέβαιον  
 ἐπραγματεύσατο, παρέπεμψεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου Καί-  
 σαρα, δωρησάμενος ὑπὲρ δύναμιν αὐτὸν τε καὶ  
 τοὺς φίλους καὶ πᾶσαν ἐμφαίνων μεγαλοψυχίαν.  
 197 ἤτέϊτο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀντωνίων συνήθων Ἀλέξαν<sup>α</sup> ὡς  
 μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν οὐκ  
 198 ἔτυχεν, ὄρκῳ προκατειλημμένου Καίσαρος· ἐπανήει  
 δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν πλείονι τε τιμῇ καὶ  
 παρρησίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία προσδοκήσασιν ἔκ-  
 πληξίν παρέσχεν, ὡς αἰεὶ τὸ λαμπρότερον ἐκ τῶν  
 κινδύνων κατ' εὐμένειαν τοῦ θεοῦ προσεπικτώ-  
 μενος. εὐθὺς οὖν<sup>β</sup> περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἐγεγονέει  
 Καίσαρος ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν<sup>γ</sup> μέλ-  
 199 λοντος. κάπειδῃ παρήν, δέχεται μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν  
 Πτολεμαῖδι πάσῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ,<sup>δ</sup> παρέσχε  
 δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ξένια καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων  
 ἀφθονίαν. κἂν τοῖς εὐνουστάτοις ἐξητάζετο τὰς  
 τε δυνάμεις ἐκτάπτοντος συνιππαζόμενος καὶ δε-  
 χόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ φίλους ἀνδρῶσιν<sup>ε</sup> ἑκατὸν καὶ  
 πενήκοντα πᾶσιν εἰς πολυτέλειαν καὶ πλοῦτον  
 200 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 τῇ βασιλικῇ PFVE Exc.

<sup>5</sup> ex Lat. (domibus) con. Hudson: ἀνδράσιν codd. Exc.

<sup>α</sup> Josephus here anticipates the account of Octavian's visit to Egypt given below in § 199.

<sup>β</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>b</sup> Nothing is said in B.J. of the consternation caused by Herod's good fortune.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "honour."

<sup>f</sup> Text slightly emended. This detail is missing in B.J.

υδροῦ διερχομένοις τὴν τῶν ἐπειγόντων χορηγίαν, ὡς μήτε οἴνου μήτε ὕδατος, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἦν ἐν χρεῖα τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὑστερηθῆναι. αὐτὸν γὰρ μὴν Καίσαρα ταλάντοις ὀκτακοσίοις ἐδωρήσατο καὶ παρέστησεν ἅπασιν ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν ὅτι τῆς βασιλείας ἧς εἶχε πολὺ μείζω καὶ λαμπρότερα κατὰ τὰς 201 ὑπουργίας ἐπεδείκνυτο. τοῦτ' αὐτὸν καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς πίστιν εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας ἐπισυνίστη, καὶ πλείστον ἠνέγκατο τῇ χρεῖα τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἀρμόσας. ὃ δέ, καὶ πάλιν ἐπανιόντων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, τῶν πρώτων οὐδὲν εἰς<sup>2</sup> τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἡττων ἐφάνη.

202 (vii. 1) Τότε μέντοι γενόμενος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τεταραγμένην αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν καταλαμβάνει καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐχούσας τὴν τε γυναῖκα Μαριάμμην καὶ 203 τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνης Ἀλεξάνδραν. οἰθηθεῖσαι γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν ὑπόπτον, 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 Ἰωσήφω δοθείσας ἐντολὰς ἀνεμνημόνευσεν.

<sup>1</sup> τὰ κατὰ FV Exc.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν εἰς] οὐδενὸς P: οὐδενὸς P corr. FV.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν φρουρᾷ] φρουρὰν P: εἰς φρουρὰν FV: φρουρᾶ 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 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>d</sup> Of Masada, see above, § 184.

<sup>e</sup> See above, § 65.

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  
 ὄν Ἡρώδης ἐνετέταλτο<sup>2</sup> παριεῖς, 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 ὑποστρέφειν<sup>3</sup>  
 206 ἐξουσίας· ἐν ᾧ<sup>4</sup> καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκφυγῶν τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 κίνδυνον οὐ μικρὰ χαριεῖσθαι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὑπελαμ-  
 βανεν, ἃς<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 βασιλευόντος ἀγχοῦ γε-  
 207 νησομένας.<sup>8</sup> ἐπήλπιζε δ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ἦττον, εἰ καὶ  
 πάντα κατὰ νοῦν πράξας ὑποστρέφειν Ἡρώδης,  
 τὸ μηδὲν<sup>9</sup> τῇ γυναικὶ δυνήσεσθαι βουλομένη γε  
 ἀντεπεῖν· ἠπίστατο γὰρ τὸν πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμμη  
 ἔρωτα μείζονα λόγου τῷ βασιλεῖ. ταῦτ' ἦν τὰ<sup>10</sup>  
 208 προσεκλύσαντα<sup>11</sup> τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐξαγγεῖλαι. Μαρι-  
 άμμη δὲ χαλεπῶς μὲν<sup>12</sup> ἤκουσεν, εἰ μηδὲν πέρασ  
 αὐτῇ τῶν ἐξ Ἡρώδου κινδύνων ἔσται, χαλεπῶς δὲ  
 διέκευτο, 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> ἐνετελατο FLAMW.

<sup>3</sup> ὑποστρέφειν LAMW: ἐπιστρέφειν 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: ἐξείναι

Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> Niese: βασιλευσούσας AMW: βασιλευούσης PFV: βασι-  
 λεύσας L.

<sup>8</sup> γενησομένης FV.

<sup>9</sup> τὸ μηδὲν Dindorf: μηδὲν *est* *codd.*

court the favour of her guards, especially Soëmus, whom she knew to be in full charge. Now at first Soëmus 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 Soëmus 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 μηδὲν 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> δὲ, μὲν *om.* PFV.

βίον κρίνουσα. καὶ τοῦτο διέδειξεν<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὑστέρω,  
 μηδὲν ἐπικρυψαμένη τοῦ καθ' αὐτήν<sup>2</sup> πάθους.  
 209 (2) Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις οἷς παρ' ἐλπίδας  
 εὐτυχήκει καταπεπλευκῶς πρώτη μὲν, ὡς εἰκός,  
 τῇ γυναικὶ περὶ τούτων εὐηγγελίζετο, μόνην δὲ ἐκ  
 πάντων διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ συν-  
 210 ἤθειαν προτιμῶν ἠσπάζετο. τῇ δ' οὔτε τὰς εὐ-  
 ημερίας διηγούμενον χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἢ χαλεπῶς  
 φέρειν συνέβαιεν, οὐτ' ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὸ πάθος  
 δυνατὸν ἦν. ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀδοξίας<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῆς περιού-  
 σης εὐγενείας πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς ἀνέστενε,  
 τοῖς δὲ διηγήμασιν ἄχθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συγκαί-  
 ρειν ἐπέφαιεν, ὥστ'<sup>4</sup> οὐχ ὑποπτα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 211 καταφανῆ γινόμενα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐπιταράττει. ἠδη-  
 μόνει μὲν γὰρ ὄρων τὸ παράλογον τῆς γυναικὸς  
 εἰς αὐτὸν μῖσος οὐκ ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ἠχθετο δὲ  
 τῷ πράγματι καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα φέρειν ἀδυνατῶν ταῖς  
 τε ὄργαις καὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς οὐκ ἐνέμενε, αἰεὶ δὲ  
 ἀπὸ θατέρου μεταβαίνων εἰς θάτερον ἐφ' ἑκατέρω  
 212 πολλὴν εἶχεν ἀπορίαν. οὕτως οὖν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ  
 στρυγεῖν<sup>5</sup> καὶ στέργειν ἀποληφθεῖς καὶ πολλάκις  
 ἔτοιμος ὦν ἀμύνασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτήν, διὰ  
 τὸ προκατελιθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθενέστερος εἰς τὸ  
 μεταστῆσασθαι τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἐγίνετο. τὸ δὲ συμ-  
 παν ἡδέως 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  
 Μαριάμην ἢ τε ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, κάλλιστον  
 ᾤθησαν τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πρὸς ἐκείνην μίσους εἰλη-  
 φέσαι, καὶ διαλάλουσιν οὐ μικραῖς<sup>1</sup> παροξύνουσαι τὸν  
 Ἡρώδη διαβολαῖς, μίσος ὁμοῦ καὶ ζήλοτυπῖαν  
 214 ἐμποιοῦν 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 αἰεὶ, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀντεξεκαίετο, τῆς  
 μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρυπτομένης τὴν διάθεσιν, τοῦ δὲ τὸν  
 215 ἔρωτα πρὸς ὄργην αἰεὶ μεταλαμβάνοντος.<sup>3</sup> καὶ εὐ-  
 θὺς ἐπράχθη τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων· νῦν δὲ Καίσαρος  
 ἀγγελθέντος κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τεθνηκότων  
 Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ἔχειν Αἴγυπτον, ἐπει-  
 γόμενος εἰς τὸ Καίσαρι ἀπαντᾶν, κατέλιπεν ὡς  
 216 εἶχε τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν. ἐξίοντι δὲ Μαριάμην  
 παρασημασμένη<sup>4</sup> τὸν Σόαιμον πολλήν τε χάριν τῆς  
 ἐπιμελείας ὡμολόγει, καὶ μεριδαρχίαν αὐτῷ παρὰ  
 217 τοῦ βασιλέως ἤτήσατο. κάκεινος μὲν τυγχάνει τῆς  
 τιμῆς. Ἡρώδης 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> παρασημασμένη PF: commendans Lat.

<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

Herod's sister and mother intensify his doubts about Mariamme. Herod meets Octavian in Egypt.

old friend," which implies that he had become acquainted with him earlier.

<sup>a</sup> A μεριδαρχία was a subdivision of the kingdom such as, e.g., Samaria, see *Ant.* xii. 261.

<sup>b</sup> § 217 has a parallel in *B.J.* i. 396-397.



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 παρέπεμψε ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπανελλθὼν 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> Μαριάμμης. ἡ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σώφρων καὶ πιστὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν, εἶχε δὲ 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 ὕβριστικῶς αὐτῷ προσηρέχθη, 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 μίσος ἄσπον-  
221 δον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε<sup>6</sup> καὶ διαβολὰς μείζονας. 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> ἱκανῶς LWA marg.

<sup>5</sup> αἰεὶ μὲν A marg. LW: αἰεὶ M. <sup>6</sup> + καιρῷ LAMW.

<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.

ὑποψία τρεφομένη παρέτεινεν ἔνιαυτοῦ μήκος ἕξ  
οὐδὲν παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἡρώδης ὑπεστρόφει. τέλειον  
μέντοι τὸ<sup>1</sup> προοικονομούμενον ἐκ πλείονος ἕξερράγη,  
222 τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς ἐγγενομένης· κατακλινόμενος ὁ  
βασιλεὺς ὡς ἀναπαύσασθαι μεσημβρίας οὐσης,  
ἐκάλει τὴν Μαριάμμην ὑπὸ φιλοστοργίας ἧς αἰεὶ  
περὶ αὐτὴν εἶχεν. ἡ δὲ εἰσηλθε μέν, οὐ μὴν καὶ  
κατεκλίθη σπουδάζοντος,<sup>2</sup> ἐκφαλίσασα καὶ προσ-  
λοιδωρηθεῖσα, τὸν τε πατέρα<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
223 αὐτῆς ὡς ἀπεκτόνοι. χαλεπῶς δ' ἐκείνου τὴν  
ὑβριν ἐννηοχότος καὶ γεγονότος εἰς προπέτειαν  
ἐτοίμου, τῆς παραχῆς αἰσθημένη μείζονος ἢ τοῦ  
βασιλέως ἀδελφῆ Σαλώμη παρεσκευασμένον ἐκ  
πλείστου τὸν οἰνοχόον εἰσπέμπει, κελεύουσα λέγειν  
ὡς πείθω Μαριάμμη φίλτρον αὐτῇ συγκατασκευά-  
224σαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. κὰν παραχθῆ καὶ πυνθάνηται τί  
ποτε τοῦτ' ἦν, λέγειν ὅτι<sup>4</sup> . . . φάρμακον ἐκείνης  
μὲν χεούσης<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῦ δὲ διακονῆσαι παρακαλουμένον,  
μὴ κινηθέντος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ φίλτρῳ τὸν λόγον ἀργὸν  
εἶαν· οὐδένα<sup>6</sup> γὰρ αὐτῷ κίνδυνον φέρειν. τοιαῦτα  
225προδιδάξασα κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰσπέμπει δια-  
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.: οὐδὲ 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."

εἰσῆι, δῶρα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν Μαρριάμμη παρεσχῆ-  
σθαι λέγων, ἀναπειθεῖν δὲ φίλτρον αὐτῷ δίδοναι.  
πρὸς τοῦτο διακινηθέντος καὶ τί τὸ φίλτρον εἶη  
ἔρωτήσαντος, φάρμακον εἶπεν ὑπ'<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνης δεδο-  
μένον,<sup>2</sup> οὐ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰδέναι, 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 Μαρριάμμη  
πιστότατος, ἐβασάνιζεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φαρμάκου, γινώ-  
σκων ὡς οὐ χωρὶς ἐκείνου τι δυνατόν ἦν οὔτε μείζον  
227 οὔτε ἔλαττον τι πεπραχθαι. γενόμενος δ' ἐν ταῖς  
ἀνάγκαις ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲν μὲν ὧν 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 ἐληλύθει τῆς πρὸς τὴν Μαρριάμμη κοινωνίας. καὶ  
τὸν μὲν Σόαιμον εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκτεῖναι συλλα-  
βόντας· τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ κρίσιν ἀπεδίδου, συναγαγὼν  
τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν ἔσπου-  
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> οἰνοχόου 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>a</sup> to have prepared. Since he

<sup>a</sup> Reinach endorses Destignon's suggestion that Nicolas of Damascus was among these counsellors.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly we should render "slandorously alleged."

λόγω καὶ κρίσεως ὀργιλωτέρος, καὶ τέλος οὕτως ἔχοντα γινώσκοντες αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες θάνατον αὐτῆς κατεψηφίσαντο. διενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ὑπεγίνετο μὲν τι καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ τε καὶ τισιν τῶν παρόντων μὴ προπετῶς οὕτως ἀναιρεῖν, καταθέσθαι 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 συμβουλευούσαι. Μαριάμμη μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἤγετο τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

232 (5) Συνθεωρήσασα δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρα καὶ διότι μικρὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχει μὴ καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐξ Ἡρώδου τυχεῖν, ἐναντίως πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον 233 τὸν θράσος καὶ λίαν ἀπρεπῶς μετεβάλλετο· βουλομένη γὰρ ἐμφῆραι τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὧν<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνη τὰς αἰτίας εἶχεν, ἐκπηδήσασα καὶ λοιδορουμένη τῇ θυγατρὶ πάντων ἀκουόντων ἐβόα κακὴν καὶ ἀχάριστον πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι καὶ δίκαια πάσχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις 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 κατὰ γνώσιν ἦν τῆς ἀπρεποῦς προσποιήσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐνεφάνη παρ' αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς LAMW.

<sup>2</sup> εὐθὺς ἐκποδῶν con. Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> ὧν ἕνεκα 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.



- 235 τῆς ἀπολλυμένης· οὔτε γὰρ λόγον δοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν  
οὔτε παραχθείσα 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 ἐφῆνεν. αὐτὴ γε μὴν ἀτρεμαίω τῷ καταστήματι  
καὶ τῇ χρῶσά 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 ἀριστα γεγενη-  
μένη, τὸ δ' ἐπιεικὲς ἔλειπεν αὐτῇ καὶ πλείον ἦν ἐν  
τῇ φύσει τὸ φιλόκεικον· κάλλει δὲ σώματος καὶ τῷ  
περὶ τὰς ἐντεῦξεις ἀξιώματι μειζόνως ἢ φράσαι τὰς  
238 κατ' αὐτὴν ὑπερῆρεν,<sup>3</sup> ἢ τε πλείων ἀφορμῇ 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  
ἐκείνον 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-  
ἤφθη τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔχοντας  
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 : ὑπερῆγεν codd. E : antelbat 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 The character of Mariamme. 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.

(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>

<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' ὀλος 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 νέμεσιν τινα τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μαριάμμην ἀπωλείας ἐπιθέσθαι, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀνακλήσεις ἦσαν αὐτῆς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ θρήνος ἀσχήμων, ἐπενόει δὲ πᾶν εἴ τι δυνατὸν εἰς ψυχαγωγίαν, πότους καὶ συνουσίας αὐτῷ πραγματοποιέμενος, καὶ  
 242 τούτων οὐδὲν ἤρκει. τὰς οὖν διοικήσεις τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν παρητείτο, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἤττητο τοῦ πάθους ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἦδη 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 παρέσχεον ἅπασιν ἐξυπονοῆσαι κατὰ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 244 τοῦτο<sup>3</sup> συνενεχθῆναι διὰ<sup>4</sup> τὴν γεγεννημένην παρανομίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Μαριάμμῃ. χεῖρον οὖν διετίθει καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν<sup>5</sup> τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τέλος εἰς τὰς ἐρημίας αὐτὸν διδοὺς καὶ προφάσει κυνηγεσίῳ ταύταις ἐναδημονῶν οὐκ ἔφθη πλείους διενεγκεῖν ἡμέρας  
 245 καὶ περιπίπτει νόσῳ δυσχερεστάτῃ· φλόγῳσις γὰρ ἦν καὶ πείσις<sup>6</sup> τοῦ ἰνίου καὶ τῆς διανοίας παραλλαγή· τῶν τε θεραπευμάτων οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἐξήνυεν, ἀλλ' ἐναντιούμενα τέλος<sup>7</sup> εἰς ἀπό-  
 246 γνωσιν ἤγεν. 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 LE: τοῦτο P: τοῦτου θεοῦ F (sic): τοῦτο θεοῦ AV: τοῦ θεοῦ MW.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν κατὰ P.

<sup>6</sup> πῖσις con. Cobet et al.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτὸ P; om. E.

<sup>7</sup> τῆς 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 ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ τῇ κληθείῃ 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 ἀνευ τούτων οἶόν τε γενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταύτας συντελεῖν οὐδενὶ Ἰουδαίων δυνατόν,<sup>3</sup> τοῦ ζῆν ἑτοιμότερον ἂν παραχωρησάντων ἢ τῆς θρησκείας ἦν εἰς τὸν θεὸν
- 249 εἰώθασιν συντελεῖν. τοῖς οὖν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν φυλακτηρίων Ἀλεξάνδρα προσήνεγκε τοὺς λόγους, ὡς δεόν αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἡρώδου παιδίοις παραδοῦναι, μὴ καὶ φθῆ τις ἐκεῖνου μεταλλάξαντος<sup>4</sup> ἕτερος ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων· ῥωσθέντι μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀσφαλέστερον τῶν οἰκειοτάτων διατηρήσει.
- 250 τούτους τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ πιστοὶ<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον ὄντες ἐπι

<sup>1</sup> Naber: ἐπενεχθείη codd.

<sup>2</sup> πυνθομένη M: cum audisset Lat.

<sup>3</sup> θεμιτόν M. <sup>4</sup> + τὸν βίον AM.

<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ' ἄπιστοι 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 Jeru- Herod  
salem, learned of his condition, she made an effort to executes  
seize control of the fortified places in the city. There Alexandra.  
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>a</sup> before this, they now

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>a</sup> Most mss. read "unfaithful."

μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ τότε διέμειναν, μίσει τε τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας καὶ τῷ μηδ' ὅσιον ὑπολαμβάνειν ζῶντα τὸν Ἡρώδη ἀπεγνωσμένοι· φίλοι γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἦσαν, εἰς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀχιάβος ἦν.<sup>1</sup> εὐθὺς οὖν ἐξήγγειλαν πέμπαντες ἐκείνῳ τὴν γνώμην τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενος<sup>2</sup> ἀποκτείνει προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μόλις καὶ σὺν κακοπαθείᾳ διαφυγῶν τὴν νόσον χαλεπὸς ἦν, ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι κεκακωμένος ὁμοῦ πρὸς τὸ δυσάρεστον, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐτοιμοτέρως εἰς τιμωρίαν τῶν ὑποπεσόντων ἐχρῆτο. φονεῦει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους, Κοστόβαρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ τὸν Γαδιά<sup>3</sup> καλούμενον Ἀντίπατρον, ἔτι δὲ Δοσίθεον, ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης.

253 (9) Κοστόβαρος ἦν γένει μὲν Ἰδουμαῖος, ἀξιώματος 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> Γαδιάν 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 *gadiah* might mean either "kid" or "lucky."

<sup>e</sup> Possibly the same person who betrayed Hyrcanus, see above, §§ 168 ff. Niese in the *Index nomenum* 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 *Kosqabaras*, 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 Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Γάζης ἀποδείκνυσιν τὸν Κοστό-  
 βαρον, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σαλώμην,  
 Ἰώσηπον ἀνελὼν τὸν εἰληφότα πρότερον αὐτὴν, ὡς  
 255 ἔδηλώσαμεν. Κοστόβαρος δὲ τούτων τυχὼν ἀσ-  
 μένως καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἤρθη μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς  
 εὐτυχίας καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξέβαινεν, οὐθ' αὐτῷ  
 καλὸν ἡγούμενος ἄρχοντος Ἡρώδου τὸ προστατό-  
 μενον ποιεῖν οὔτε τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις τὰ Ἰουδαίων  
 256 ἔθνη<sup>1</sup> μεταλαβοῦσιν<sup>2</sup> ὑπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι. διαπέμ-  
 πεται οὖν<sup>3</sup> πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν 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 οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρεσκό-  
 μενος, εἰ δὲ παραιρεθείη τῶν πλειόνων Ἡρώδης,  
 εὐεπιχειρήτου ἤδη νομίζων καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἄρξειν<sup>4</sup>  
 τοῦ τῶν Ἰδουμαίων 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, κάκεινος ἔτοιμος ὦν<sup>5</sup> ἀποκτείνει  
 τὸν Κοστόβαρον, ὅμως τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ δεηθεί-

<sup>1</sup> ἔθνη om. PE.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς Ἰδουμαίοις . . . μεταλαβοῦσιν] τοῖς Ἰουδαίω ἐθεο  
 τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους 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 Idumaeans 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 *μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπενόει* recalls *Thuc.* ii. 8. 1, *ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν.*

<sup>4</sup> Niese: *ἄρξει* (sic) W: *ἄρξει* rell.

<sup>5</sup> ἦν LAMWE.



JOSEPHUS

σης καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀφήσει καὶ συγγνώμης ἤξιωσεν, 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' ἡμῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, γυναικὶ δὲ οὐδὲ διαχωρισθεῖσα καθ' αὐτὴν γαμηθῆναι, μὴ τοῦ πρό-  
260 τερον ἀνδρὸς ἐφίεντος.<sup>1</sup> οὐ μὴν ἢ Σαλώμη τὸν ἐγγενῆ<sup>2</sup> νόμον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπ'<sup>3</sup> ἔξουσίας ἐλομένη, τὴν τε συμβίωσιν προαπηγόρευσεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρώδην ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰς ἐκείνον εὐνοίας ἀποστῆναι τὰνδρὸς· ἐγνωκέαι γὰρ αὐτὸν μετ' Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Λυσιμάχου καὶ Δοσιθέου νεωτέρων ἐφίεμενον. καὶ πίστιν παρεῖχε τοῦ λόγου τοὺς Βάβα<sup>4</sup> παῖδας, ὅτι διασώζονται παρ' αὐτῶ

<sup>1</sup> ἀφίεντος 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'ritut*, A.V. "bill of divorcement," which the Rabbis called a *get*.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. xxiv. 1 states that the bill of divorcement must be issued by the husband. According to the Mishnah, *Gittin ix.* 1-3, 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 Dositheus 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. 123, 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>a</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>b</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 μάλλον 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 ἐξεληλύθεσαν. ἡ δὲ ἔχθρα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ μῖσος ἀπὸ τοιούτων ἦν· Ἀντιγόνου τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχοντος 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 ἐπικαλοῦμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀπονεύοντες 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. ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν, ἅμα καὶ συμφέρειν αὐτὰ νομίζοντες, ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἐπολιτεύοντο. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀλικομένης καὶ κρατοῦντος τῶν πραγμάτων Ἡρώδου Κοστοβάρος ἀποδειχθεὶς τὰς διεκβολὰς ἀναφράττει<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 αὐτοῦς codd.

<sup>4</sup> Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν PLAMW Lat.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ κακῶν LAMWE: εἰς κακόν V: vel malis Lat.

<sup>6</sup> διεκβολὰς 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 γὰρ ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπόψια)  
 πιστωσάμενος ὄρκοις ἢ μὴν οὐδὲν εἶδέναι τῶν κατ'  
 ἐκείνους, ἀφέιτο τῆς ὑπονοίας. αὐθις δὲ κερύγ-  
 ματα 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> ἑξαγγελθέντων αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς πέμψας εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς διατρίβειν  
 ἐμνηύθησαν, ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς συγκαταϊτα-  
 θέντας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὥστ' εἶναι μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἵρκανοῦ συγγενείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῷ, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐπ' ἀξιώματος  
 ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι τοῖς παρανομήτοις.  
 267 (viii. 1) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέβαινε τῶν πα-  
 τριῶν ἔθων καὶ ξενικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑποδιέφθει-  
 ρεν τὴν πάλαι κατάστασιν ἀπαρעχειρήτον οὖσαν.  
 ἐξ ὧν οὐ μικρὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐθις χρόνον ἠδικήθη-  
 μεν, ἀμεληθέντων ὅσα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν

<sup>1</sup> διελύθη Cobet.<sup>2</sup> οὐκ om. PFVW.<sup>3</sup> αὐθις . . . 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 ἤγε τοὺς ὄχλους· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀγῶνα πενταετη-  
 ρικὸν ἀθλημάτων κατεστήσατο Καίσαρι, καὶ θέα-  
 τρον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑποδόμησεν, ἀθίς τ' ἐν τῷ  
 πεδίῳ μέγιστον ἀμφιθέατρον, περίοπτα μὲν ἀμφὶ  
 τῇ πολυτέλει, 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 κορυφαϊότατοι  
 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  
 προὔτθει μέγιστα νικητήρια· καὶ διεσποῦδαστο  
 πάντας τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμίλλαν.  
 271 προὔθηκε δὲ καὶ τεθρίπποις καὶ συνωρίσι καὶ  
 κέλῃσιν οὐ μικρὰς δωρεάς, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ  
 πολυτέλειαν ἢ σεμνοπρέπειαν παρ' ἐκάστοις ἐσπού-  
 δαστο, 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> εὐδοξίαν P: εὐξίαν FV.

<sup>4</sup> τούτοις aut τοιούτοις Ernesti.

<sup>5</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 Jeru-  
 salem, 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 *thymelikoî*.<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, *SSIV*, 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 *thymelikoî* and other entertainers cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* 36, *συνὴν μῦμους γυναιξὶ καὶ κιθαρῳδῆσιν καὶ θυμηλικοῖς ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις*.

272 ἐπίδειξιν ἐξεμμήσατο. τό γε μὴν θέατρον ἐπι-  
 γραφαὶ κύκλω περιεῖχον Καίσαρος, καὶ τρόπαια  
 τῶν ἐθνῶν ἃ πολέμησας ἐκείνος ἐκτήσατο, χρυσοῦ  
 τε ἀπέφθην καὶ ἀργύρου πάντων αὐτῷ πεποιη-  
 273 μένων. τὰ δ' εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν οὐδὲν οὕτως ἦν οὐτ'  
 ἐσθῆτος τίμιόν 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 σπανιῶ-  
 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 θεῶν κιν-  
 δύνων, τοῖς δ' ἐπιχωρίοις φανερὰ κατὰ λυσις τῶν  
 275 τιμωμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν· ἀσεβὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐκ  
 προδήλου<sup>2</sup> κατεφαίνετο θηρίοις ἀνθρώπους ὑπορ-  
 ρίπτειν ἐπὶ τέρψει τῆς ἀνθρώπων θεᾶς, 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  
 μετριῶς ἔδυσχέραινον.

<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. 'štōtām = σημεῖα) and venerating their weapons.



- 277 (2) Ἐλάνθανον δ' οὐδὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκταραττό-  
 μνοι· καὶ βίαν μὲν ἐπάγειν ἄκαιρον ᾤετο, καθ-  
 ωμίλει δ' ἐνίοις καὶ παρηγόρει, τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας  
 ἀφαιρούμενος. οὐ μὴν ἐπειθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυσχερείας  
 ὧν ἐδόκουν ἐκείνον πλημμελεῖν ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐξε-  
 βῶων, εἰ καὶ πάντα δοκοῖεν οἰστά, μὴ φέρειν εἰκόνας  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ τρόπαια λέγοντες· οὐ  
 278 γὰρ εἶναι πάτριον αὐτοῖς. Ἡρώδης δὲ τεταραγ-  
 μένους ὄρων 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 ἐπι-  
 279 θετο. τῶν δὲ ἐκβοησάντων, "ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνας,"<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐπιτάξας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὸν περιθέσιμον κόσμον, ἐπι-  
 δείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς γυμνά τὰ ξύλα. τὰ δ' εὐθύς ἦν  
 ἀποσυληθέντα γέλως, καὶ πλείστον εἰς διάχυσιν<sup>4</sup>  
 ἐδυνήθη τὸ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ τίθε-  
 σθαι τὰς κατασκευὰς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων.  
 280 (3) Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ παρακρουσα-  
 μένου τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὀρμὴν ἦν 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> ὄρων ἐν E.<sup>2</sup> ποτ' ἔστιν ὃ] ποτε LAMW: ποτ' ἔστιν εἰ E.<sup>3</sup> εἰκόνας FVE. <sup>4</sup> διάχυσιν PLE: διάθυσιν 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>

(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

<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.

Herod removes the pagan ornaments to pacify the Jews.

A conspiracy is formed to assassinate Herod.



ἡγούμενοι ἀρχὴν κακῶν, ὅσιον ᾤήθησαν 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 ἔθνους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνομοσάμενοι πάντα κίνδυνον ὑποδύεσθαι<sup>1</sup> δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄνδρες, καὶ 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 ἐνεργῆσαι τι καὶ δρᾶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιχειρήσιν ἰκανός, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐτοιμίῳ κατατιθεὶς αὐτὸν παθεῖν εἴ τι κακείνοις συμβαίνοι δυσχερές, ὥστε μὴ μετρίαν τὴν ὁρμὴν 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 πλήθος καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἀγαγεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν προκαταστάντες<sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ τοιαύτης ἦσαν προθυμίας<sup>6</sup>. εἰς δὲ τῶν ὑφ' Ἡρώδου πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ διαγγέλλειν τὰ τοιαῦτα τεταγμένων ἐξευρηκῶς ὅλην τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσιέναι μέλλοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατεμήνυσεν. ὁ δ' (οὐ γὰρ ἀνοίκειον ᾤήθη 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: συνομωμοσμένος codd.

<sup>5</sup> προκαταστάντες om. LWE.

<sup>6</sup> προθυμίας 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 βασιλεῖον  
 287 ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐκάλει. προσπιπτόντων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν αὐτόφωροι λαμβανόμενοι τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἂν διαφύγοιεν ἤδεσαν, ἐπεκόσμησαν δὲ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν καταστροφὴν τοῦ  
 288 τέλους τῷ μηδὲν ὑφιέναι τοῦ φρονήματος· οὐ γὰρ ἐντραπέντες οὐδ' ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν πράξιν 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 ἔθῶν, ἃ καὶ πᾶσιν ἢ φυλάττειν ἢ θνήσκεν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἄξιον.  
 289 τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐκεῖνοι τῇ προαιρέσει τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐμπαρρησιασάμενοι, περιστάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἤγοντο, καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν ὑπομείναντες διεφθάρησαν. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν ταῦτα μνηύσαντα κατὰ μίσος ἀρπασάμενοί τινες οὐκ ἀπέκτειναν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μελιστὶ διελόντες προὔ-  
 290 θεσαν κυσίαν. ἑωρᾶτο δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ<sup>2</sup> γινόμενα καὶ κατεμήνυσεν οὐδεὶς,<sup>3</sup> ἕως Ἡρώδου πικροτέραν καὶ φιλόνηκον ποιουμένου τὴν ἔρευναν ἐκβασανισθεῖσαι γυναικῆς τινεσ ὠμολόγησαν ἃ πραχθέντα εἶδον. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐνεργησάντων ἐγένετο τιμωρία, πανοικὶ τὴν προπέτεια αὐτῶν ἐπ-  
 291 ἐξιόντος, ἢ δ' ἐπιμονῇ<sup>4</sup> τοῦ πλήθους<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὸ τῆς

<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."

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιδρομῇ LAMW: concursus Lat.

<sup>5</sup> πάθους P.

JOSEPHUS

ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων πίστεως ἀκατάπληκτον οὐ βῆδιον<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 ἣ διητᾶτο, τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆ περι  
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 μίᾱς 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 προσαγορευθὲν.  
294 ἐν τε τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἰππέων τῶν<sup>9</sup>  
περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκληρώσας χωρίον συνέκτισεν ἐπὶ<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> οὐ βῆδιον] ὀρωδεῖν Ernesti: non remissiore Lat., unde  
οὐ βῆδιον 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> ὑπὸ 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. 138

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 Hasmonaean 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>b</sup> See above, § 246.

<sup>c</sup> Apparently meaning the fortresses in Judaea itself.

<sup>d</sup> See below, §§ 331 ff.

<sup>e</sup> The Plain of Esdraelion, between Samaria and Galilee, cf. *Ant.* v. 83, viii. 36, *B.J.* ii. 188 et al.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. of land on military tenure as cleruchs; see below, p. 141 note e.

τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ Γάβα καλούμενον, καὶ τῇ Περαίᾳ τὴν  
 295 Ἐσσεβωνίτιν.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος  
 αἰεὶ τι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐπέξευρίσκων καὶ διαλαμ-  
 βάνων φυλακαῖς τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος, ὡς ἦκιστα μὲν  
 ἀπ'<sup>2</sup> ἕξουσίας εἰς τὰς ταραχὰς προπίπτειν,<sup>3</sup> αἷς καὶ  
 μικροῦ κινήματος ἐγγενομένου συνεχῆς ἐχρῶντο,  
 λαυθάνειν δὲ μηδ' εἴ τι<sup>4</sup> παρακινῶειν, ἐφεστηκότων  
 αἰεὶ τινων πλησίον οἱ καὶ γινώσκειν καὶ κωλύειν  
 296 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 ἐπετήδευσεν, 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 ὑπέηλλαττε, Σεβαστὴν καλῶν,<sup>8</sup> καὶ τῆς  
 χώρας ἀρίστην οὔσαν τὴν πλησίον κατεμέριζε τοῖς  
 οἰκήτορσιν, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ συνιόντας  
 297 οἰκεῖν. καὶ τείχει καρτερῶ τὴν πόλιν περιέβαλε τὸ

<sup>1</sup> Ἐσσεβωνίτιν MV.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπ' LAMW.

<sup>3</sup> προπίπτειν LAMW.

<sup>4</sup> τι add. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> πλείους con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: νέον αὐτ νέων 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 Haroseth 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.

τε τοῦ χωρίου πρόσαντες εἰς ἐρυμνότητα κατασκευαζόμενος, καὶ μέγεθος οὐχ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλ' ὥστε μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν τῶν ἔλλογιμωτάτων πόλεων  
 298 περιλαμβάνων· στάδιοι γὰρ ἦσαν εἴκοσι. ἐντὸς δὲ καὶ κατὰ μέσσην τριῶν ἡμισταδίων<sup>1</sup> τέμενος ἀνῆκεν παντοίως κεκοσμημένον, καὶ ναὸν ἐν αὐτῷ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει τῶν ἔλλογιμωτάτων ἡγειρεν· ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ μέρος διὰ πάντων ἐκόσμη<sup>2</sup> τὴν πόλιν, τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ὄρων καὶ τῆ τῶν περιβόλων ἐρυμνότητι φρούριον αὐτὴν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ μεῖζονι, τὸ δ' εὐπρεπὲς ὡς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν καὶ μνημεῖα φιλανθρωπίας ἀπολιπεῖν ἐν ὑστέρω.

299 (ix. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τρισκαυδέκατον ὄντα τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας πάθη μέγιστα τὴν χώραν ἐπέλαβεν, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἡμῶν σταδίων FLAMW: unius et semis stadii Lat.  
<sup>2</sup> ἐκράτει κοσμῶν V: ἐκαρτέρει κοσμῶν Ernesti.

<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>d</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 Anonymus," 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.



μηρίσαντος ἢ καὶ κατὰ περιόδους οὕτως ἀπαντή-  
 300 σαντος τοῦ κακοῦ· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐχοὶ διη-  
 νεκεῖς ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄκαρπος ἢ γῆ  
 μηδ' ὅσα καθ' αὐτὴν εἴωθεν ἀναβλαστάνειν φέ-  
 ρουσα<sup>1</sup>. ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς διαίτης κατὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν  
 τῶν σιτίων ἐξαλλαττομένης νόσοι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ  
 301 μένων αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν. τό τε γὰρ ἠπορηθῆσαι  
 θεραπείας καὶ τροφῆς ἐπέτεινεν εἰς πλεόν ἀρξαμένην  
 ἰσχυρῶς τὴν λοιμώδη νόσον, ἣ τε φθορὰ τῶν οὕτως  
 ἀπολλυμένων ἀφηρείτο 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 οὐδέ  
 κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι  
 μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπόλοιπον, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ καὶ<sup>3</sup> τῶν περι-  
 όντων τὰ σπέρματα μηδὲ τὸ δεύτερον<sup>4</sup> ἀνείσης<sup>5</sup> τῆς  
 303 γῆς. ἢ τε ἀνάγκη πολλὰ διὰ τὰς χρείας ἐκαινούργει.  
 καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας οὐκ ἐλάττους εἶναι συνέβαιναν  
 αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν τε φόρων οὐς ἐλάμβανεν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀφηρημένῳ,<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 ἀξίον ἐδόκει,  
 προκατειληφότες τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ μῖσος εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> καθ' αὐτὴν . . . φέρουσα] καθ' αὐτὴν ἀναβλαστάνειν PFV :  
 antea aliquiā excedisse putat Niese. <sup>3</sup> οὐκ om. P.

<sup>2</sup> κάκ LAMW. <sup>4</sup> μηδὲ τὸ δεύτερον] μηδέτερον PFVE.

<sup>5</sup> ἀνείσης 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 drouths,<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 διενεῖτο βοηθεῖν τῷ καιρῷ·  
 χαλεπὸν δ' ἦν, οὕτε τῶν πλησίον ἐχόντων ἀπο-  
 δόσθαι σντία 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 μὴ<sup>2</sup> ἀμελεῖν,<sup>3</sup> τὸν ὄντα  
 κόσμον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτοῦ συνέκοψεν ἀργυρίου  
 καὶ χρυσοῦ, μήτε τῆς ἐν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐπι-  
 μελείας μήτ' εἰ τι τέχνη τίμιον ἦν, τούτου φει-  
 307 σάμενος. ἔπεμπε δ' ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ χρήματα,  
 Πετραωνίου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ<sup>5</sup> Καίσαρος εἰλη-  
 φότος. οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καταπεφευ-  
 γότων διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς χρείας, ἰδίᾳ τε φίλος ὧν  
 Ἡρώδῃ καὶ διασώσασθαι θέλων τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ,  
 πρώτοις μὲν ἔδωκεν ἐξάγειν τὸν σῖτον, εἰς ἅπαντα  
 δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν 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 οἷόν τε καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰ  
 περὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκπονεῖν ἔνευε τοῦ σίτου, τὴν

<sup>1</sup> πάντας PFV: ἐκ παντὸς E: παντὸς Niese.

<sup>2</sup> μή om. PFV.

<sup>4</sup> ἀρχὴν PFVE.

<sup>6</sup> + τὸν Ἡρώδῃ(ν) LAMW.

<sup>3</sup> ἀμελεῖν PFV.

<sup>5</sup> παρὰ con. Cobet.

<sup>7</sup> προτιθείς 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 Herod generously relieves the distress of the starving population, 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

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."

ἑκταξίν<sup>1</sup> ἀκριβεστάτην ποιούμενος, ἔπειτα πολλῶν  
 ὄντων οἱ κατὰ γῆρας ἢ τινα προσοῦσαν ἄλλην  
 ἀσθένειαν οὐχ ἱκανῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζειν  
 τὰ σιτία, προϋνόει καταστήσας ἀρτοποιούς καὶ  
 310 παρέχων ἐτοιμὰς τὰς τροφάς. ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦ μὴ διαχειμάσαι μετὰ κινδύνων αὐτοὺς ἐποιή-  
 σατο, συγκατελιηφύϊας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας  
 ἀπορίας, ἐφθαρμένων καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξαναλω-  
 311 θέντων τῶν βοσκημάτων, ὡς οὔτε ἐρίων εἶναι χρῆ-  
 σιν οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων σκεπασμάτων. ἐκπορισθέντων  
 δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τούτων, ταῖς πλησίον ἤδη πόλεσιν  
 ἐπεβάλλετο τὰς ὠφελείας παρέχειν, σπέρματα τοῖς  
 ἐν Συρία διδοῦς.<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῦτ' ὤνησεν οὐχ ἦττον  
 αὐτόν, εὐστοχηθείσης<sup>3</sup> εἰς εὐφορίαν τῆς χάριτος,  
 312 ὡς ἅπασιν ἱκανὰ 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 αὐτῷ τὴν  
 βασιλείαν ὑπὸ πάσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἀνα-  
 λαβῶν, οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ τοὺς περίξ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς  
 313 κακοπαθείαις ὄντας ἐπεκούφισεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ'  
 ὅστις ὑπὸ χρείας ἐντυχῶν ἀπελείφθη μὴ βοήθειαν  
 εὔρασθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆμοι καὶ  
 πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὅσοις ἀπορία διὰ τὸ πλεό-  
 νων προΐστασθαι συνετύγχανεν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατα-  
 314 φεύγοντες ἔσχον ὡν ἐδεήθησαν, ὥστε γενέσθαι  
 λογιζομένῳ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τῆς ἀρχῆς δοθέντας σί-

<sup>1</sup> ἑκτασίαν FV : ἑκτασίαν καὶ ἐξέτασίαν A marg.

<sup>2</sup> διαδοῦς P.

<sup>3</sup> εὐθύς τε χυθείσης PFV : ἀστοχηθείσης E.

<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 περιεποίησεν om. V Lat.

του κόρους μυρίους (ὁ δὲ κόρος δύναται μεδίμνος Ἑπτικοὺς δέκα), τοὺς δ' εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλείαν  
 316 περὶ ὀκτάκις μυρίους. ταύτην δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπι-  
 μέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς χάριτος εὐκαιρίαν οὕτως ἐν  
 αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἰσχύσαι συνέβη καὶ δια-  
 βοηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τὰ μὲν πάλαι  
 μίση κινήθENTA διὰ τὸ παραχαράττειν ἔνια τῶν  
 ἔθνων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξαيرهθῆναι τοῦ<sup>1</sup> παντὸς  
 ἔθνους, ἀντικατάλλαγμα δὲ φαίνεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῇ  
 318 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 ἥκιστα 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 γεγενη-  
 μένων, ἀλλ' οἶον ἢ μετὰ τῆς χρείας ἐπιμέλεια  
 παρεστήσατο.  
 317 (3) Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ συμμαχικὸν  
 ἔπεμψε Καίσαρι πεντακοσίους ἐπιλέκτους τῶν σω-  
 ματοφυλάκων, οὓς Γάλλος Αἴλιος ἐπὶ<sup>3</sup> τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν  
 θάλασσαν ἤγεν, 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.

<sup>a</sup> As usual, Josephus is inconsistent in equating Hebrew with Greek measures. In *Ant.* iii. 321 he says that 70 *kor*s 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>a</sup> §§ 317-341 have partial parallels in *B.J.* i. 402-415.<sup>b</sup> 25-24 B.C.

<sup>c</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 εὐθνηομένων, βασιλείον ἐξωκοδόμει περί  
 τὴν ἄνω πόλιν, ὑπερμεγέθεις οἴκους ἐγεῖρων καὶ  
 κόσμῳ κατασκευάζων πολυτελεστάτῳ χρυσοῦ καὶ  
 λίθων καὶ περιλειμμάτων,<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν  
 κλισίας μὲν ἔχειν παμπόλλους ἄνδρας ὑποδέχασθαι,  
 319 Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππα κέκλητο. προσελάμβανε  
 δὲ καὶ γάμον αὐτῷ, κινήσεις ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς ἐπιθυμίας,  
 μὴδένα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἡδονὴν ζῆν ὑπολογισ-  
 μὸν ποιούμενος. ἀρχὴ δ' αὐτῷ τῶν γάμων ἐγένετο  
 320 τοιαύδε· Σίμων ἦν Ἱεροσολυμίτης υἱὸς Βοηθοῦ τινοῦ  
 Ἀλεξανδρέως, ἱερεὺς ἐν τοῖς γνωρίμοις, εἶχε δὲ  
 321 θυγατέρα καλλίστην τῶν τότε νομιζομένην.<sup>2</sup> ὄντος  
 οὖν λόγου παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις περὶ 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>3</sup> ἀπεδοκίμαζεν, ὑποπτεύων,  
 ὅπερ ἦν, εἰς βίαν καὶ τυραννίδα διαβληθῆσσεσθαι,  
 322 βέλτιον δ' ᾤετο γάμῳ τὴν κόρην λαβεῖν. καὶ τοῦ  
 Σίμωνος ὄντος ἀδοξότερον μὲν ἢ πρὸς οἰκειότητα,  
 μείζονος δὲ ἢ καταφρονεῖσθαι, τὸν ἐπιεικέστερον

<sup>1</sup> κατακλιμάτων Hudson: ποικιλιμάτων Ernesti: post περι-  
 λειμμάτων quaedam excidisse putat Niese, et similiter post  
 ὑποδέχασθαι. <sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὰ W: κατὰ αὐτ 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 Hasmonaean Palace, and is to be dis-  
 tinguished 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 Alexan-  
 drian, 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 Jeru-  
 salem, 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 dis-  
 missed 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.



τρόπον μετῆι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, αὐξων αὐτοὺς καὶ τιμωτέροισ ἀποφαίνων· αὐτίκα γοὺν Ἰησοῦν μὲν τὸν τοῦ Φάβητος<sup>1</sup> ἀφαιρεῖται 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 σταδίους, φύσει δὲ ἐχυρὸν καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν ἐπιτηδεύτατον. ἔστι γὰρ<sup>2</sup> ἐγγὺς ἐπιεικῶς<sup>3</sup> κολωνός, εἰς ὕψος ἀνίων χειροποίητον, ὡς εἶναι μαστοειδῆ τὴν περιφορὰν, διείληπται δὲ κυκλωτέροις πύργοις ὀρθίαν ἔχων ἀνοδὸν ξεσταῖς βαθμίσις ἐξωκοδομημένην εἰς διακοσίας. ἐντὸς δ' αὐτοῦ καταγωγαὶ βασιλικοὶ πολυτελεῖς, εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ὁμοῦ καὶ κό-  
325 σμον πεποιημέναι· 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 περιωκοδομῆται 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> οὗτος AMW: αὐτὸς con. Niese.

<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 Antigonos 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 (Herodeion).

<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.

326  $\lambda\upsilon\sigma^2$  οὐδεμιᾶς ἐλάσσω,<sup>2</sup> τὸν λόφον ἀκρόπολιν ἔχουσα<sup>3</sup>  
 τῆς ἄλλης οἰκίσεως.  
 (5) Πάντων δ' αὐτῷ προκεχωρηκότων εἰς δέον  
 ὧν ἠλπίζει, τὰς μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ταραχὰς  
 οὐδ' ὅπως οὖν δι' ὑποψίας εἶχεν, ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπη-  
 κόους παραστησάμενος, φόβῳ μὲν ὧν<sup>4</sup> ἀπαραίτητος  
 εἰς τὰς τιμωρίας, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν δέ<sup>5</sup> μεγαλόψυ-  
 327 χος ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις εὕρισκετο. περιβάλλετο  
 δὲ τὴν ἕξωθεν ἀσφάλειαν, ὥσπερ ἐπιτείχισμα αὐ-  
 τοῦ<sup>6</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τοῦτο<sup>7</sup> ποιούμενος· πόλεις  
 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 αὐξέσθαι πρὸς  
 328 τὸ πλεῖον αἰεὶ προχωροῦντων.<sup>10</sup> ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς  
 τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς θεραπείας, ἣν ἐθεράπευε  
 Καίσαρα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλείστον δυναμένους,  
 ἐκβαίνειν τῶν ἐθῶν ἠναγκάζετο καὶ πολλὰ τῶν  
 νομίμων παραχαράττειν, πόλεις τε κτίζων ὑπὸ  
 329 φιλοτιμίας καὶ ναοὺς ἐγειρων (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' ἕξω χώραν καὶ τὰ πέριξ οὕτως κατεσκευά-

<sup>1</sup> πόλεως F (vid.) LAMVWE.  
<sup>2</sup> ἐλάσσω FLAMVE. <sup>3</sup> ἔχοντα con. Hudson.

<sup>4</sup> ὧν 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 P.E.

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: προχωροῦντων rell.

JOSEPHUS

330 ζετο), Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἀπολογούμενος μὴ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐντολῆς καὶ προσταγμάτων αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, Καίσαρι δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἔθῶν ὅσον τῆς ἐκείνων τιμῆς ἐστοχάσθαι χαριζόμενος,<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς μέντοι τὸ σύμπαν αὐτοῦ στοχαζόμενος ἢ καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος μείζω τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἀθῆναι 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. κείται 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, *Eres Yisra'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, *Caesarea 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 παράπλου, Ἰόππης μεταξὺ καὶ Δώρων. πολισμάτια ταῦτ' ἐστὶ παραλία, δύσσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λίβα προσβολάς, αἱ αἰεὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου θίνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἡύνα σύρουσαι καταγωγὴν οὐ μειλίχιον<sup>2</sup> διδόασιν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖον ἀποσαλεύειν τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐπ' 334 ἀγκύρας. τοῦτο τὸ δύσθετον τῆς χώρας διορθούμενος καὶ περιγράψας τὸν κύκλον τοῦ λιμένος ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν αὐταρκες πρὸς τῇ χέρσῳ μεγάλοις στόλοις ἐνορμείσθαι, λίθους ὑπερμεγέθεισ καθιέ<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 δεκαοκτώ, 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 περικλύμενον ἐκεῖ τὸν κλύδωνα· προ- 336 κυμία<sup>8</sup> γοῦν ἐκαλεῖτο· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν περιείχε λίθινον τεῖχος πύργοις διειλημμένον, ὧν ὁ μέγιστος Δρούσος<sup>9</sup> ὀνομάζεται, πάνυ καλὸν τι χρῆμα, τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰληφὼς ἀπὸ Δρούσου τοῦ Καίσαρος 337 προγόνου, τελευτήσαντος νέου. ψαλίδες δὲ ἐνεπεποιήντο συνεχεῖς καταγωγαὶ τοῖς ναυτίλοις, τὸ

<sup>1</sup> αἰεὶ om. FLAMVW.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson: καθεῖς P: καθιέεις rell.

<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸ P.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπ' ex B.J. con. Niese.

<sup>7</sup> Cocceji: κυματώσας 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. 159 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 by 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>c</sup> B.J. i. 411 "ten in breadth."

<sup>d</sup> Called a "mole" (τείχος) in B.J. i. 412.

<sup>e</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."



δὲ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀπόβασις πλατεία κύκλῳ περιεστε-  
 φάνωκε τὸν πάντα λιμένα, περίπατος τοῖς ἐθέλου-  
 σιν<sup>1</sup> ἡδιστος. ὁ δ' εἰσπλους καὶ τὸ στόμα πεποιήται  
 338 πρὸς βορρᾶν, ὡς ἀνέμων αἰθριώτατος. βᾶσις δὲ  
 τοῦ περιβόλου παντὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν εἰσπλεύοντων  
 πύργος νευασμένος<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ πολὺ στερρῶς ἀντέχειν,  
 κατὰ δεξιὰν δὲ δύο λίθοι μεγάλοι καὶ τοῦ κατὰ  
 θάτερα πύργου μείζους, ὀρθοὶ δὲ καὶ συνέζευγμέ-  
 339 νοι. περίκεινται δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα λειο-  
 τάτου λίθου κατασκευῆ συνεχεῖς οἰκῆσεις κἂν τῷ  
 μέσῳ κολωνός τις, ἔφ' οὗ νεὼς Καίσαρος ἄποπτος  
 τοῖς εἰσπλεύουσιν, ἔχων ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Ῥώμης,  
 τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἢ τε πόλις αὐτῆ 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-  
 φκοδομημένων 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 συνεκδίδουσαι, τὴν τε θάλατταν,

<sup>1</sup> θέλουσιν FLAMVW: εἰληθεροῦσιν con. Naber: corrup-  
 tela latere vid.

<sup>2</sup> περιηγμένους 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 en-  
 circled 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 Caesar. 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 ex-  
 cavation 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.



341 ὅταν ἔξωθεν ἐπειγῆται,<sup>1</sup> διαρρεῖν καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν ὑποκλύζειν πόλιν. κατεσκεύασε δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ θέατρον ἐκ πέτρας<sup>2</sup> καὶ πρὸς τῷ νοτίῳ τοῦ λιμένος ὀπισθεν ἀμφιθέατρον, πολὺν ὄχλον ἀνθρώπων δέχεσθαι δυνάμενον καὶ κείμενον ἐπιτηδεῖως ἀποπτεύειν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις οὕτως ἐξετελέσθη δωδεκαετῆ χρόνῳ, καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις οὐκ ἐγκαμόντος καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἐπαρκέσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως.

342 (x. 1) Ἐπὶ τοιούτοις δὲ ὦν καὶ τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἤδη πεπολισμένης ἔγνω τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, συντεν-  
343 ξομένους<sup>3</sup> Καίσαρι. τούτοις ἀνελθοῦσιν καταγωγῇ μὲν ἦν Πολλίωνος<sup>4</sup> οἶκος ἀνδρὸς τῶν μάλιστα σπουδασάντων περὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου φιλίαν, ἐφείτο δὲ κὰν τοῖς Καίσαρος κατὰγεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐξεδέξατο<sup>5</sup> μετὰ πάσης φιλανθρωπίας τοὺς παῖδας· καὶ δίδωσιν Ἡρώδῃ τὴν τε βασιλείαν ὅτω 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.: Παλιώνος 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>a</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 Αὐρανίτιν ἔδωκε,<sup>1</sup> διὰ  
 344 τοιαύτην αἰτίαν παραλαβών<sup>2</sup>. Ζηνόδωρος τις ἐμε-  
 μίσθωτο τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Λυσανίου. τούτῳ τὰ μὲν  
 κατὰ τὰς προσόδους οὐκ ἤρκει, τὰ ληστήρια δὲ  
 ἔχων ἐν τῷ Τράχωνι πλείω τὴν πρόσσοδον ἔφερον.  
 οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀπονοίας ζῶντες τοὺς τόπους,  
 οἱ τὰ Δαμασκηῶν ἐλήζοντο, καὶ Ζηνόδωρος οὐτ'<sup>3</sup>  
 345 εἶργεν αὐτὸς τε<sup>3</sup> τῶν ὠφελειῶν ἐκοινῶναι. κακῶς  
 δὲ πάσχοντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι Οὐάρρωνος κατεβῶν  
 τοῦ τότε ἡγεμονεύοντος, καὶ γράφειν ἤξιον Καί-  
 σαρι τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου τὴν ἀδικίαν. Καίσαρ δὲ ἀνε-  
 εχθέντων τούτων ἀντέγραφεν ἐξελεῖν τὰ ληστήρια  
 τὴν τε<sup>4</sup> χώραν Ἡρώδη προσνέμειν,<sup>5</sup> ὡς διὰ τῆς  
 ἐπιμελείας τῆς ἐκείνου μηκέτ'<sup>6</sup> ὀχληρῶν τῶν περὶ  
 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 σπηλαία καὶ κοινῇ  
 μετὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων διαίτα. 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> προσνέμειν PE.

<sup>6</sup> Schmidt: μηκέτ' ἂν codd. <sup>7</sup> πόλις . . . κτήσις 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>d</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 δύνανται πλείστον ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ἀντέχειν. αἱ γὰρ  
μὴν εἰσοδοὶ 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 δύσοδος, εἰ μὴ τρίβῳ χρωτό τις  
ἐξ ὁδηγίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐταὶ κατ' ὄρθον ἀλλὰ πολ-  
348 λὰς ἔλικας ἐξελίττονται. τούτοις, ἐπειδὴ τῶν εἰς  
τοὺς πλησίον κακουργημάτων ἐκωλύοντο, καὶ κατ'  
ἀλλήλων ἦν ὁ τῆς ληστείας τρόπος, ὡς μηδὲν  
ἀνομίας ἐν τούτῳ λελείθαι. λαβὼν δὲ τὴν χάριν  
Ἡρώδης παρὰ Καίσαρος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν  
χωρὰν ὁδηγῶν ἐμπειρία τοὺς τε πονηρευομένους  
αὐτῶν κατέπαυσε καὶ τοῖς περίξ ἀδεῆ τὴν εἰρήνην  
παρέσχευεν.

349 (2) Ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδωρος ἀχθόμενος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ  
τῇ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἀφαιρέσει, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ φθόνῳ  
τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἡρώδου μετεληφότος, ἀνῆλθεν εἰς  
Ῥώμην κατηγορήσων αὐτοῦ. κάκεινος μὲν ἄ-  
350 πρακτος ἀναστρέφει. πέμπεται δὲ Ἀγρίππας τῶν  
πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι· καὶ τούτῳ περὶ  
Μιτυλήνῃν χειμάζοντι συντυχῶν Ἡρώδης (ἦν γὰρ  
εἰς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος καὶ συνήθης), πάλιν εἰς τὴν  
351 Ἰουδαίαν ἀναστρέφει.<sup>3</sup> Γαδαρέων δὲ 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 *a*.

<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

<sup>d</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.

The Arabs invade part of Herod's newly acquired territory.

Ἀγρίππαν ἦλθον κατηγοροῦντες Ἡρώδου,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τούτους ἐκείνος οὐδὲ λόγον αὐτοῖς δοῦς ἀναπέμπει τῷ βασιλεῖ δεσμίους. οἱ τε Ἀραβες καὶ πάσαι δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἡρώδου διεκεκίνηντο καὶ στασιάζειν ἐπεχείρουν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα τότε καὶ μετὰ αἰτίας, ὡς ἐδόκουν, 352 εὐλογωτέρας· ὁ γὰρ Ζηνόδωρος ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη τῶν καθ' αὐτόν, ἔφη τῆς ἐπαρχίας μέρος τι τὴν Αὐρανίτιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδόσθαι ταλάντων πενήκοντα. ταύτης ἐμπεριεχομένης τῇ δωρεᾷ Καίσαρος, ὡς μὴ δικαίως ἀφαιρούμενοι διημφισβήτουν, πολλάκις μὲν ταῖς καταδρομαῖς καὶ τῷ βιάζεσθαι θέλειν, 353 ἄλλοτε 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 πράττοντες τῷ βίῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ μακροῦ πραττόμενα γινώσκων Ἡρώδης ὁμως οὐκ εἰς τὸ δυσμενές, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ παρηγόρει, ταῖς ταραχαῖς οὐκ ἀξιών ἀφορμὰς ἐνδιδοῦναι.

354 (3) Ἡδὴ δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἑπτακαίδεκάτου παρελθόντος<sup>3</sup> ἔτους Καίσαρ εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο. καὶ τότε τῶν Γάδαρα κατοικούντων οἱ πλείστοι κατεβῶων Ἡρώδου, βαρὴν 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: ἐπελπίζοντες P: ἐλπίζοντες rell.

<sup>3</sup> VE: προσελθόντος W: προελθόντος rell.

<sup>4</sup> διαβάλλοντος αὐτὸν] διακωῦντος αὐτοῦς 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 seventeenth 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.



καταλείπει μὴ πάντα τρόπον ἀφελέσθαι μὲν τῆς  
 Ἡρώδου βασιλείας, προσθήσει<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῇ διοικήσει  
 356 τῇ Καίσαρος. τούτοις ἀναπεισθέντες οἱ Γαδαρεῖς  
 οὐ μικρὰν καταβολὴν ἐποίησαντο θράσει τοῦ μηδὲ  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππα παραδοθέντας ἐν τιμωρίᾳ γε-  
 νέσθαι διέντος<sup>2</sup> Ἡρώδου καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν εἰρ-  
 γασμένον· καὶ γὰρ, 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 Ἡρώδης ἀταρακτῆσας<sup>4</sup> ἔτοιμος ἦν  
 εἰς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἐδεξιοῦτο δὲ Καίσαρ 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 ἢ 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 ἐμπύπτοντες ἕκοντι  
 359 διεφθείροντο. ταῦτα δὲ ἐδόκει κατάγνωσις εἶναι  
 τῆς προπετείας καὶ<sup>5</sup> ἀμαρτίας, ὅθεν οὐδὲν<sup>6</sup> μελλή-  
 σας ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπέλυε τῶν αἰτιῶν Ἡρώδην. ἐπι-  
 συμπύπτει δὲ οὐ μέτριον εὐτύχημα τοῖς ἤδη  
 γεγονόσιν· ὁ γὰρ Ζηνόδωρος ῥαγέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ  
 σπλάγχχνου, καὶ πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὑποχω-

<sup>1</sup> προσθήσει *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*: ἐθεν *codd.*

<sup>7</sup> *Naber*: οὐδὲ *codd.*



360 ρούντος αἵματος, ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἐκλείπει  
 τὸν βίον. Καίσαρ δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτου μοῖραν οὐκ  
 ὀλίγην οὖσαν Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν, ἣ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τρά-  
 χωνος ἦν καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, Οὐλάθαν καὶ Πανει-  
 ἀδα<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. τὸ  
 τε σύνολον εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθεν εὐτυχίας ὥστε δύο  
 τούτων τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διεπόντων τοσούδε τὸ  
 μέγεθος οὖσαν, Καίσαρος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> Ἀγρίππα,  
 κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὖνοιαν, Καίσαρ μὲν οὐδένα  
 μετὰ Ἀγρίππαν Ἡρώδου προετίμησεν, Ἀγρίππας  
 δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα πρῶτον ἀπεδίδου φιλίας τόπον  
 362 Ἡρώδῃ. τοσαύτης δὲ ἐχόμενος παρρησίας τῷ  
 μὲν ἀδελφῷ Φερώρᾳ παρὰ Καίσαρος ἠτήσατο  
 τετραρχίαν, αὐτὸς ἀπονείμας ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας  
 πρόσδοτον ἑκατὸν ταλάντων, ὡς εἰ καὶ τι πάσχοι,  
 τὰ κατ' ἐκείνον ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τοὺς υἱοὺς  
 363 αὐτῆς<sup>4</sup> κρατεῖν. Καίσαρα δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν προ-  
 πέμφας, ὡς ἐπανῆκεν, ἐν τῇ Ζηνοδώρου περικαλ-  
 λέστατον αὐτῷ ναὸν ἐγείρει πέτρας λευκῆς, πλησίον  
 364 τοῦ Πανείου<sup>5</sup> καλουμένου. σπηλαιον 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.

<sup>a</sup> The region N. of the Lake of Merom, Talmudic *Hol'ethah*, 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" (*Κοιλής Συρίας*) for "all Syria" (*ὅλης Συρίας*), see Otto, p. 74 note.

<sup>d</sup> In Transjordan, *i.e.* Peræa, 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.

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 ναῷ 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 ἐθνῶν 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 ἐπήγγεν, 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 φανερώς καὶ λεληθότως εἰς τὸ φρούριον ἀναγόμενοι, τὴν Ἰρκανίαν, ἐκεῖ διεφθειρόντο, κὰν τῇ πόλει κὰν ταῖς ὀδοποιρίαις ἦσαν οἱ τοὺς συνιόντας εἰς ταῦτον ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> ἄβατον FLAMVE: inaccessibilis Lat.: ἀμέτρητον B.J.

<sup>2</sup> διὰ con. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Bekker: ἐφειμένη PFVW: ἀφιεμένη L: ἀφειμένη AM: ἐφέετο 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 Mirā*, c. 8 miles S.E. of Jerusalem, see on *Ant.* xiii. 417.

367 σκοποῦντες. ἤδη δέ φασιν οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀμελεῖν  
 τούτου τοῦ μέρους, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἰδιώτου σχῆμα  
 λαμβάνοντα καταμίγνυσθαι 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 ἐξαυθαδιζο-  
 μένους πρὸς τὸ μὴ συμπεριφέρεσθαι<sup>4</sup> τοῖς ἐπιτη-  
 δεύμασι πάντας ἐπέξῃει τοὺς τρόπους, τὸ δ' ἄλλο  
 πλῆθος ὄρκους ἡξίου πρὸς τὴν πίστιν ὑπάγεισθαι  
 καὶ συνηνάγκαζεν ἐνώμοτον αὐτῷ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣ  
 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 ὀμνύειν·  
 οἱ δ' οὔτε συνεχώρησαν οὔθ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀρη-  
 σαμένοις ἐκολάσθησαν, ἐντροπῆς διὰ τὸν Πολλίωνα  
 371 τυχόντες. ἀφείθησαν δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ  
 οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑσσαῖοι καλούμενοι· γένος δὲ τοῦτ'  
 ἔστιν διαίτη χρώμενον τῇ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ὑπὸ  
 Πυθαγόρου καταδεδειγμένη· περὶ τούτων μὲν οὖν

<sup>1</sup> ὡς Ernesti: ἢ Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> εὐνοίαν περὶ Cocceji: γνώμην ὑπὲρ Bekker (si ἦν retinebitur).

<sup>3</sup> ἦν . . . ἀρχῆς] τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶχον Zonaras.

<sup>4</sup> συμπαράφεσθαι (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 Josephé," *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> διέξειμι. τοὺς δὲ Ἑσσηνοὺς ἀφ' οὐσίας αἰτίας ἐτίμα, μείζον τι φρονῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν, εἰπεῖν ἄξιον· οὐ γὰρ ἀπρεπὴς ὁ λόγος φανέται τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας γένει, παραδηλῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπόληψιν.

373 (5) Ἦν τις τῶν Ἑσσηνῶν Μανάμημος<sup>2</sup> ὄνομα καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ βίου καλοκαγαθία μαρτυρούμενος καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἐκ θεοῦ τῶν μελλόντων ἔχων. οὗτος ἔτι παῖδα τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰς διδασκάλου φοιτῶντα κατιδὼν βασιλέα Ἰουδαίων  
374 προσηγόρευσε. ὁ δ' ἀγνοεῖν ἢ κατειρωνεύεσθαι νομίζων αὐτὸν ἀνεμίμησεν ἰδιώτης ὢν. Μανάμημος δὲ μειδιάσας ἠρέμα καὶ τύπτων τῇ χειρὶ κατὰ τῶν γλουτῶν, "ἀλλά τοι καὶ βασιλεύσεις," ἔφη, "καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐδαιμόνως ἐπάρξεις<sup>3</sup>. ἤξιωσα

<sup>1</sup> ἀσφαλέστερον PAMW; certius Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Μανάμημος FME hic et infra.

<sup>3</sup> Richards et Shutt: ἀπάξεις W; ἀπάξεις rell. E; καράξεις 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

*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  
 λογισμός, 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 ἔσεσθαι, 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 αὐτ'  
 377 αὐτῶν ὀργῆς ἀπομνημονευομένης." τούτοις αὐτίκα  
 μὲν ἤκιστα τὸν νοῦν προσείχεν ἐλπίδι λειπόμενος  
 αὐτῶν Ἑρώδης, 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 ὅρον<sup>5</sup> οὐκ  
 ἐπέθηκε τῷ τέλει τῆς προθεσμίας, Ἑρώδης δὲ καὶ  
 τούτοις ἀρκεσθεὶς τὸν τε Μανάημον ἀφῆκεν δεξι-  
 σάμενος, καὶ πάντας ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοὺς Ἑσσηνοὺς  
 379 τιμῶν διετέλει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ παράδοξα  
 δηλώσαι 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> οἶμαι 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 know-  
 ledge of divine things because of their virtue.

<sup>a</sup> Text slightly uncertain.<sup>b</sup> ὅρον VE: τὸν ὅρον rell.<sup>c</sup> Cocceji: διὰ τοιούτων (τούτων P) codd



380 (xi. 1) Τότε δ' οὖν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἡρώδου  
 βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐναυτοῦ, μετὰ τὰς προειρη-  
 μένας πράξεις ἔργον οὐ τὸ τυχόν ἐπεβάλετο, τὸν  
 νεῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσασθαι, μείζω  
 τε τὸν περίβολον καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἀξιοπρεπέστερον<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐγείρειν, ἡγουμένους 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 ῥάδιον  
 ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἡξίου  
 λόγῳ προκαταστησάμενος ἔγχειρήσῃσι τῷ παντί,  
 382 καὶ συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τοιαύδε· "τὰ μὲν  
 ἄλλα μοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν πεπραγμένων,  
 ἄνδρες ὀμόφυλοι, 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 ἐμαυτῷ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον, οἶμαι  
 σὺν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσει πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ὅσον οὐ  
 384 πρότερον ἀγγοχένοι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος. τὰ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> *ση'* VL marg.: cf. B.J. i. 401.

<sup>2</sup> P Zonaras: ἀξιοπρεπέστατον rell. E.

<sup>3</sup> Naber: περισημότερον αὐτ ἐπισημότερον codd. E.  
 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

(xi. 1)<sup>a</sup> It was at this time,<sup>b</sup> in the eighteenth<sup>c</sup> Herod tells the people of his plan to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.  
 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

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.

οὖν κατὰ μέρος ἐξεργασθέντα περι τὴν χώραν καὶ πόλεις ὅσας ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐπικτήτοις ἐγείραντες κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἠυξήσαμεν, περιέργᾳ μοι δοκεῖ λέγειν εἰδόσιν. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἧς<sup>α</sup> νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιβάλλομαι,<sup>β</sup> παντὸς<sup>γ</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>δ</sup> ἐνδεῖ δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος εἰς ὕψος ἐξήκοντα<sup>ε</sup> πήχεις· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὑπερείχεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ὃν Σολομὼν ἀνωκοδό-  
 386 μησεν. καὶ μηδεὶς ἀμέλειαν εὐσεβείας τῶν πατέρων καταγνώτω· γέγονε γὰρ οὐ παρ' ἐκείνους ἐλάττων ὁ ναός, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα καὶ Κῦρος καὶ Δαρείος ὁ Ὑστάσπου τὰ μέτρα τῆς δομήσεως ἔδοσαν, οἷς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνους δουλεύσαντες καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἔσχον εὐκαιρίαν τὸ πρῶτον τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀρχέτυπον εἰς ταῦτόν 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> ὁμῶν V.<sup>β</sup> βούλομαι V.<sup>γ</sup> ἀνάστασιν FIVE.<sup>δ</sup> V: ἢ PE: ἦν rell.<sup>ε</sup> πάντως αὐτ' πάντων Bekker.<sup>ζ</sup> V: ἐπτά E.

<sup>α</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 αὐτοῦς, ἠδημόνουν δὲ μὴ φθάσας καταλύσαι τὸ πᾶν ἔργον οὐκ ἐξαρκέσῃ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὴν προαίρεσιν· ὃ τε κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς μελλῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ δυσεγ-  
389 χείρητον ἐδόκει τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. οὕτω δ' αὐτῶν διακειμένων παρεθάρρυνεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐ πρότερον καθαιρήσειν φάμενος τὸν ναὸν μὴ<sup>2</sup> πάντων αὐτῶ τῶν εἰς συντέλειαν παρεσκευασμένων. καὶ  
390 ταῦτα προειπῶν οὐκ ἐψεύσατο· χιλίας γὰρ εὐτρεπίσας ἀμάξας αἱ βαστάσουσι τοὺς λίθους, ἐργάτας δὲ μυρίους τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος, καὶ ἱερεῦσιν τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλίοις ἱερατικάς<sup>3</sup> ὠνησάμενος στολὰς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν διδάξας<sup>4</sup> οἰκοδόμους, ἑτέρους δὲ τέκτονας, ἤπτετο τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀπάντων αὐτῶ προθύμως προεுτρεπισμένων.

391 (3) Ἀνελῶν 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 συνιζήσαντων τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐξαρκέσοι con. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ ed. pr. : nisi Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐργατικάς con. Reinach.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιστάξας 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 'Midloth'* (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 ; Watzinger, *Denkmäler* ii. 33-46 ; and Appendix D.

<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.

θεμελίων ὑπέβη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Νέρωνος  
 392 καιροὺς ἐπεγείρειν ἐγνώκειμεν. ὠκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ  
 ναὸς ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν τε καὶ κραταιῶν, τὸ μέγεθος  
 ἐκάστων περὶ πέντε καὶ ἕξκοσι 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 θριγγώμασι<sup>3</sup> ἄμπελος  
 διετέτατο χρυσῆ, τοὺς βότρυας ἀπαιρωμένους  
 ἔχουσα, θαῦμα καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς τέχνης  
 τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν, ὅσον ἐν πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης τὸ κατα-  
 396 σκευασθὲν ἦν. περιελάμβανε δὲ καὶ στοαῖς  
 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.: aureos flores ambientes columnas fecit Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Selden: τριγγώμασι codd.: (super quorum) capita Lat.

<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. 188 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.



τὸν ναόν. ἄμφω δ' ἦσαν μετὰ μεγάλου<sup>1</sup> τείχους,<sup>2</sup>  
 αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ τείχος ἔργον μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις  
 397 ἀκουσθῆναι. λόφος ἦν πετρώδης ἀνάντης, ἡρέμα  
 πρὸς τοῖς ἑώοις μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως ὑπτιούμενος  
 398 ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἄκραν. τοῦτον δ' ἄνωτος ἡμῶν  
 βασιλεὺς Σολομών κατ' ἐπιφροσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>3</sup>  
 μεγάλας ἐργασίας ἀπετείχιζε μὲν<sup>4</sup> τὰ περὶ τὴν  
 ἄκραν ἄνωθεν, ἀπετείχιζε δὲ κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ρίζης ἀρχόμενος, ἦν βαθεῖα περιθεῖ φάραγξ, ἡλι-  
 βάτοις<sup>5</sup> πέτραις μολίβδω δεδεμέναις πρὸς ἀλλήλας,  
 ἀπολαμβάνων αἰεὶ τι<sup>6</sup> τῆς ἔσω χώρας καὶ προ-  
 399 βαίνων εἰς βάθος, ὥστ' ἀπειρον εἶναι τὸ τε μέγεθος  
 τῆς δομήσεως καὶ τὸ ὕψος τετραγώνου γεγεννη-  
 μένης, ὡς τὰ μὲν μεγέθη τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ μετώπου  
 κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ὄρασθαι, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς σιδήρω  
 διασφαλισμένα συνέχων τὰς ἄρμογὰς ἀκινήτους τῷ  
 400 παντὶ χρόνῳ. τῆς δ' ἐργασίας οὕτω συναπτούσης  
 εἰς ἄκρον τὸν λόφον, ἀπεργασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 κορυφὴν, καὶ τὰ κοῖλα τῶν περὶ τὸ τείχος ἐμπλή-  
 σασ, ἰσόπεδον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν ἄνω  
 καὶ λείον ἐποίησεν.<sup>8</sup> τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὸ πᾶν περίβολος,  
 τεττάρων σταδίων τὸν κύκλον ἔχων, ἐκάστης  
 401 γωνίας στάδιον μῆκος ἀπολαμβανούσης. ἐνδοτέρω

<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 λίθα 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-serif*, which presumably covers the ancient temple area, are as follows, according to Hollis, *op. cit.* (see p. 188 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.



δὲ τούτου καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ἄλλο τεῖχος  
 ἄνω λίθινον περιθεῖ, κατὰ μὲν ἑῶαν ράχιν ἰσομήκη  
 τῷ τείχει στοᾶν ἔχον διπλὴν, 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 σκύλα  
 βαρβαρικά, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα βασιλεὺς Ἑρώδης  
 ἀνέθηκε προσθεῖς ὅσα καὶ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔλαβεν.  
 403 (4) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν ἀκρόπολις  
 ἐγγώνιος εὐερκῆς ἐτετείχιστο διάφορος ἐχυρότητι.  
 ταύτην οἱ πρὸ Ἑρώδου τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίων<sup>1</sup> γένους  
 βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς ὠκοδόμησαν καὶ βάρην ἐκά-  
 λεσαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τὴν ἱερατικὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεῖσθαι  
 στολὴν, ἣν ὅταν δέη θύειν τότε μόνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
 404 ἀμφιέννυται. ταύτην Ἑρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφύλαξεν  
 ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν 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  
 εὐποιίας ἀμείψασθαι, ἐπεὶ παρεκάλεσαν τὴν ἱεράν  
 στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, ἔγραψε περὶ  
 τούτων Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι κακείνος 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 Asamonean 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>a</sup> "Barbarians" here is used in the sense of "gentiles."

<sup>d</sup> i.e. at or near the N.W. corner of the total Temple area (the present *Haram es-Serif*). 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.

παρέμεινεν ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς στολῆς<sup>1</sup> τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις  
 406 μέχρις ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. μετὰ  
 τούτου δὲ Κάσσιος Λογγίνος ὁ τὴν Συρίαν τότε  
 διοικῶν καὶ Κούσιος Φᾶδος ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπι-  
 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 Οὐτελλίῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας  
 408 ἀντιστρατήγῳ.<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 γαζοφυλάκες καὶ καταμανθάνοντες  
 τὴν ἑαυτῶν σφραγίδα τὴν στολὴν ἐλάμβανον. εἰπ'  
 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 βάρην 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> προδηλώθη con. Hudson.

<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 praetorean 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.

χαριζόμενος Ἀντωνίῳ φίλῳ μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων  
δὲ ἄρχοντι προσηγόρευσεν Ἀντωνίαν.

- 410 (5) Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσιν τοῦ περιβόλου  
πύλαι τέτταρες ἐφέστασαν, ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασιλεία  
τείνουσα, τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημ-  
μένης, αἱ δύο δὲ εἰς τὸ πρόστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δ' εἰς  
τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, βαθμίσι<sup>1</sup> πολλαῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν  
φάραγγα διειλημμένη καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν  
ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν· ἀντικρυς γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο  
τοῦ ἱεροῦ, θεατροειδῆς οὔσα, περιεχομένη βαθείᾳ.  
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 βασιλείαν  
στοάν, τριπλῆν κατὰ μῆκος διουῦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐώας  
φάραγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκτείνειν<sup>2</sup>  
412 προσωτέρας δυνατόν. ἔργον δ' ἦν ἀξιαφηγητότατον  
τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ· μέγαλον<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ τῆς φάραγγ-  
ος ἀναλήμματος καὶ οὐδ' ἀνεκτοῦ κατιδεῖν εἴ 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.

<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 "Caponius," 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 198

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 Tyropoeon. 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 Tyropoeon. 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 εἰσκύπτει,<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  
 διοπτεύει σκοτοδιναῖν, οὐκ ἐξικνουμένης τῆς ὄψεως  
 413 εἰς ἀμέτρητον τὸν βυθόν. κίονες δ' ἐφέστασαν κατ'  
 ἀντίστοιχον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ μῆκος τέτραχα (συνεδέ-  
 δετο γὰρ ὁ τέταρτος στοίχος<sup>3</sup> λιθοδομήτῳ τείχει),  
 καὶ πάχος ἦν ἐκάστου κίονος ὡς<sup>4</sup> τρεῖς ἐπισυν-  
 απτόντων ἀλλήλοις τὰς ὀργυῖας περιλαβεῖν, μῆκος  
 δὲ ποδῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, διπλῆς σπειρας ὑπειλη-  
 414 μένης.<sup>5</sup> πλήθος δὲ συμπάντων δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα  
 καὶ ἑκατόν, κιοκοκράνων αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν Κορίνθιον  
 τρόπον ἐπεξεργασμένων γλυφαῖς ἔκπληξιν ἐμ-  
 415 ποιούσαις διὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς μεγαλοουργίαν. τετ-  
 τάρων δὲ στίχων ὄντων, τρεῖς ἀπολαμβάνουσι τὰς  
 διὰ μέσου χώρας ταῖς στοαῖς. τῶν δὲ αἰ μὲν δύο  
 παράλληλοι τὸν αὐτὸν γεγόνασι τρόπον, εὖρος  
 ἐκατέρας 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 ἐκατέρωθεν. αἰ δ' ὀροφαὶ βαθυξύλοις  
 ἐξήσκητο γλυφαῖς πολυτρόποις σχημάτων ἰδέαις,  
 καὶ τὸ τῆς μέσης βάθος ἐπὶ μείζον ἠγείρετο, περι-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκκύπτει 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)λημμένης 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 magnifi-  
 cence of its whole effect. Since there were four rows,  
 they made three aisles among them, under the porti-  
 coes. 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 *ZDP V* 15 (1892), 134-156.



τετμημένου<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἐπιστυλοῖς προμετωπίδιου τοῦ  
 χου, κίονας ἔχοντας ἐνδεδομημένους καὶ ξεστοῦ  
 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 βαθμίσιμ ὀλίγαις, ὃν  
 περιείχεν ἐρκίον λιθίνου δρυφάκτου, γραφῆ κωλῶν  
 εἰσιέναι τὸν ἄλλοεθνή, 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 ἄγνοι μετὰ γυναικῶν.  
 419 ἑσωτέρῳ δὲ κάκεινου γυναιξίν ἄβατον ἦν τὸ ἱερόν.  
 ἐκείνου δ' ἐνδοτέρῳ τρίτον, ὅπου τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν

<sup>1</sup> περιδεδομημένου PLAMW.

<sup>2</sup> Coccoji: εἰδοῖσι codd.

<sup>3</sup> τρεῖς τοίχους P: τριστόχους V: τριπτύχους EA marg. M marg.

<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. ὃς δ' ἂν ληφθῆ εαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν  
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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 ὠλοκαντοῦμεν  
 420 τῷ θεῷ. τούτων εἰς οὐδένα τῶν τριῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς<sup>2</sup> Ἡρώδης παρήλθεν· ἐκεκώλυτο γὰρ οὐκ ὦν ἱερεὺς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὰ περὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐξω περιβόλους ἐπραγματεύετο καὶ ταῦτ' ὑποκόδομησεν ἕτεσιν ὀκτώ.

421 (6) Τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων οἰκοδομηθέντος ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ μηνσὶν ἕξ,<sup>3</sup> ἅπας ὁ λαὸς ἐπληρώθη χαρᾶς, καὶ τοῦ τάχους πρῶτον μὲν τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχαριστίας<sup>4</sup> ἐποιούντο, μετὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς προθυμίας<sup>5</sup> τοῦ βασιλέως ἐορτάζοντες καὶ κατευφημοῦντες τὴν  
 422 ἀνάγκισιν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τριακοσίους ἔθυσσε τῷ θεῷ βοῦς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷ<sup>6</sup> κατὰ δύναμιν, ὧν οὐχ οἷόν 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 ἐώρταζον, 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 ἔσωθεν 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 lampstand, 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.

(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

*B.J.* v. 216-219. On additions in the Slavonic version see *B.J.*, vol. iii, Appendix, p. 657.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "five months" (P). On the chronology of the building operations see § 425 note.

<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.

Herod and the Jews celebrate the completion of the reconstruction of the Temple.

The secret passage from the Antonia.

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 ἕειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξί  
 γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους, ὡς μὴ κωλυσιεργεῖν. καὶ  
 τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν παρέδωκαν, οὐδ'  
 ἔστιν ἄπιστον, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀπίδοι τις  
 ἐμφανείας τοῦ θεοῦ. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ναὸν  
 ἐξωκοδομήθη τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον.

<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.

- 1 (i. 1) Ἐν δὲ τῇ διοικήσει τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων ἐσπουδακῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἀδικίας ἀναστεῖλαι τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀμαρτανομένων, τίθησι νόμον οὐδὲν εἰκότα τοῖς πρώτοις, ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβεβαίον, τοὺς τοιχωρύχους ἀποδιδόμενον<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ τῆς βασιλείας, ὅπερ ἦν οὐκ εἰς τιμωρίαν μόνον τῶν πασχόντων φορτικόν, ἀλλὰ
- 2 καὶ κατάλυσιν περιεῖχε τῶν πατριῶν ἐθῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἄλλοφύλοις καὶ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν δίαίταν ἔχουσι τοῦ ζῆν δουλεύειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι πάνθ' ὅσα προσέταττον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκεῖνοι ποιεῖν, ἀμαρτία πρὸς τὴν θρησκείαν ἦν, οὐ κόλασις τῶν ἀλισκομένων, πεφυλαγμένης ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς τοιαύτης τιμωρίας.
- 3 ἐκέλευον γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τετραπλᾶ καταβάλλειν τὸν κλέπτην, οὐκ ἔχοντα δὲ πιπράσκεσθαι μὲν, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε τοῖς ἄλλοφύλοις οὐδ' ὥστε διηνεκῆ τὴν δουλείαν ὑπομένειν· ἔδει γὰρ ἀφείσθαι μετὰ ἕξα-
- 4 ετίαν. τὸ δ', ὡσπερ<sup>2</sup> ὠρίσθη τότε, χαλεπὴν καὶ παράνομον γενέσθαι τὴν κόλασιν ὑπερηφανίας ἐδόκει μέρος, οὐ<sup>3</sup> βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ τυραννικῶς αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> E: ἀποδιδόμενος codd.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ δ' ὡσπερ] τότε ὅπερ con. Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς οὐ con. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> On the sale of thieves to foreigners cf. *Sifre Deut.* 118

(i. 1) In his administration of the state the king in an earnest effort to put a stop to the successive acts of Herod's injustice committed both in the city and in the country made a law in no way resembling earlier ones, and he enforced it himself. It provided that house-breakers should be sold (into slavery) and be deported from the kingdom—a punishment that not only weighed heavily upon those who suffered it but also involved a violation of the laws of the country.<sup>a</sup> For to be enslaved to foreigners and to those who did not have the same manner of life (as the Jews) and to be compelled to do whatever such men might command was an offence against religion rather than a punishment of those who were caught, especially as the following kind of penalty was anciently observed. The laws ordered that a thief was to pay a fourfold fine,<sup>b</sup> and, if he were unable to do so, he was to be sold, but in any case not to foreigners nor was he to suffer lifelong slavery, for he was to be released after six years. But for the punishment to be made severe and unlawful, as was then determined, seemed the part of arrogance, and his decision to impose this

(limits sale to Jewish masters); cf. Belkin, *Philo and the Oral Law*, p. 208.

<sup>b</sup> Or "to make fourfold restoration, . . ." Philo (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 2) speaks of repaying double the value of the theft.

καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων ὀλιγώρως θείναι  
 5 τὴν τιμωρίαν νενοηκότες.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καθ'  
 ὁμοιότητα τοῦ λοιποῦ τρόπου γινόμενα μέρος ἦν  
 τῶν διαβολῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ δυσνοίας.  
 6 (2) Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν πλοῦν ἐποίησατο, Καίσαρί τε συντυχεῖν  
 ὄρμηθεις καὶ θεάσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
 διατρίβοντας. Καίσαρ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα φιλοφρόνως  
 αὐτὸν ἐξεδέξατο, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ὡς ἤδη τελειω-  
 θέντας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἀπέδωκεν ἄγειν εἰς τὴν  
 7 οἰκίαν. ὡς δ' ἤκον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, σπουδῆ περὶ  
 τὰ μειράκια τῶν ὄχλων ἦν, καὶ περίοπτοι πᾶσιν  
 ἐγεγόνεισαν, τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς τύχης<sup>2</sup>  
 κοσμοῦμενοι καὶ βασιλικοῦ κατὰ τὰς μορφὰς ἀξιώ-  
 8 ματος οὐκ ἀποδέοντες. ἐπίφθονοί τε εὐθὺς ἐδόκουν  
 Σαλώμῃ τε τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῇ καὶ τοῖς  
 Μαριάμμην ταῖς διαβολαῖς κατηγονησμένοις· οὗτοι<sup>3</sup>  
 γὰρ ᾤοντο δυναστεύοντων αὐτῶν δίκην δώσειν τῶν  
 9 εἰς τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἐκείνων παρανομηθέντων. τὴν  
 αὐτὴν οὖν ταύτην ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ δέους εἰς τὴν κατ'  
 ἐκείνων διαβολὴν μετέφερον, λογοποιούντες οὐ καθ'  
 ἡδονὰς συνείναι τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς θάνα-  
 τον, ὡς μηδὲ ὅσιον εἶναι δοκεῖν ἐπὶ ταῦτόν συνείναι  
 10 τῷ τῆς τεκούσης φονεῖ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλη-  
 θείας ἐπὶ τὸ πιθανὸν τῆς αἰτίας<sup>4</sup> φέροντες κακοῦν

<sup>1</sup> νενομηκότες Naber: (αὐτὸν . . .) νενομηκότεων Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: οὐτω(ς) codd.

<sup>3</sup> ταύτας . . . τὰς αἰτίας con. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 130-133. The three sons (of Mariamme) had gone

penalty was not the act of a king but of a tyrant and of one who held the public interests of his subjects in contempt. Accordingly, this action, which was similar to the rest of his behaviour, was partly responsible for the charges made against him and the dislike felt for him.

(2) It was also at this time that Herod made a Mariamme's sons return from Rome. Salome's enmity to them. voyage to Italy, his motive being to meet Caesar and to see his own sons, who were residing in Rome. Caesar gave him a friendly reception, and among other things handed over the boys, who were considered to have completed their studies, and permitted him to take them home.<sup>a</sup> When they returned from Italy, the masses showed great interest in the youths, who attracted general attention, for they were adorned with the greatness of their fortune, and in their persons were not unworthy of royal rank. But they soon incurred the envy of Salome, the king's sister, and of those who had brought about the downfall of Mariamme by their calumnies, for these persons believed that if the youths came to power they themselves would suffer punishment for the crimes that they had committed against the boys' mother. This same reason for fear caused them to aim their calumnies against the youths in their turn, and they spread the report that they were far from pleased to be with their father because of the death of their mother, which made it seem an unholy thing for them to associate with the slayer of the woman who had given them birth. By making such charges, which started with the truth but went on to (mere) plausibility, they were able to harm the youths and to

to Rome in 22 B.C. The youngest died there. Herod brought back the other two in 17 B.C.



- ἔδύναντο,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἧς εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀφαιρεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντικρυς ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐσκόρπιζον τοὺς τοιοῦτους λόγους, ἐξ οὗ<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀναφερομένων ὑποκατεσκευάζετο μῖσος, οὐδ' αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει χρόνῳ  
 11 νικώμενον.<sup>3</sup> ἐν μέντοι τῷ τότε πάσης ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς μέλζονι χρώμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ τοῦ γεγενηκέναι φιλοστοργία, καὶ τιμῆς ἧς ἔδει μετεδίδου καὶ γυναικας ἐν ἡλικία γεγονόσιν ἐξεύγνυνεν, Ἀριστοβούλῳ μὲν τὴν Σαλώμης θυγατέρα Βερενίκην, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὴν Ἀρχελαίου τοῦ Καππαδόκων βασιλέως Γλαφύραν.  
 12 (ii. 1) Ταῦτα διοικήσας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν ἐπέθετο καταπεπλευκέναι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπειχθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤξιωσεν εἰς τε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ παρελθεῖν καὶ τυχεῖν  
 13 ὧν ἔδει παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ξένου καὶ φίλου. κάκεινος μὲν εἴξας λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένου ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν· Ἡρώδης δὲ οὐδὲν ἀρεσκείας ἀπέλιπεν, ἐν τε ταῖς νεοκτίστοις πόλεσιν ὑποδεχόμενος αὐτόν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ τὰς κατασκευὰς ἐπιδεικνύναι πᾶσαν ἀπόλαυσιν διαίτης καὶ πολυτελείας ἐξαλλάττων αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, ἐν τε τῇ Σεβαστῇ καὶ Καισαρείᾳ περὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένον κἂν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἃ πολλαῖς δαπάναις ἐξωκοδόμησεν, τό τε Ἀλεξάνδρειον καὶ Ἡρώδειον καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν.  
 14 ἦγε δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν, ὑπαντώντός τε τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐν ἑορτῶδει στολῇ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> διενουόντο con. Naber.<sup>2</sup> ὧν ed. pr.<sup>3</sup> οὐδ' . . . νικώμενον om. E Lat.<sup>a</sup> c. 17 B.C. Cf. B.J. i. 446. Berenice was the daughter of Salome by Costobarus, a first cousin of Herod.

destroy the affection which Herod felt for them. These men did not, indeed, speak to him of this directly but let such remarks trickle out to the rest of the people that when they were reported to Herod, they gradually aroused his hatred, and in the course of time this became too strong for nature itself to overcome. But for the moment the king, whose affection for those whom he had begotten was stronger than all suspicion and calumny, gave them as much honour as was proper, and when they came of age, he provided them with wives; to Aristobulus he married Salome's daughter Berenice, and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia.<sup>a</sup>

(ii. 1) After arranging this he learned that Marcus Agrippa had again sailed from Italy to Asia, and so he hastened to meet him and asked him to come to his kingdom and receive the welcome that might be expected from a host and friend. Agrippa yielded to his earnest insistence, and came to Judaea.<sup>b</sup> And Herod, omitting nothing that might please him, received him in his newly founded cities and, while showing him his buildings, diverted him and his friends with enjoyable food and luxury; this he did both in Sebaste and in Caesarea, at the harbour which had been constructed by him, and in the fortresses which he had built at great expense, Alexandreion, Herodeion and Hyrcania.<sup>c</sup> He also brought him to the city of Jerusalem, where all the people met Agrippa in festival attire and welcomed him with

<sup>b</sup> In 14 B.C. He died two years later.<sup>c</sup> On Herod's building operations in Palestine see A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea*, pp. 63-110; S. Perowne, *The Life and Times of Herod the Great*, chaps. xviii-xxi; Appendix D.

- δεχομένου τὸν ἄνδρα σὺν εὐφημίαις. Ἀγρίππας δὲ τῷ θεῷ μὲν ἑκατόμβην κατέθυσεν, εἰστία δὲ τὸν δῆμον, οὐδενὸς τῶν μεγίστων πλήθει λειπόμενον.<sup>1</sup>
- 15 αὐτὸς δέ, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ καθ' ἡδονὴν κἂν ἔτι πλείους ἐπιμείνας ἡμέρας, διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἠπειέγετο· τὸν γὰρ πλοῦν, ἐπιβαίνοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν ἀσφαλῆ κομιζομένῳ πάλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίαν.
- 16 (2) Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἀπέπλει, πολλαῖς αὐτὸν δωρεαῖς τετιμηκότες Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς χειμάσας ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ἔαρος ἠπειέγετο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, τὴν εἰς Βόσπορον εἰδῶς στρατείαν<sup>2</sup> προηγούμενον.<sup>3</sup> καὶ πλεύσας διὰ Ῥόδου καὶ Κῶ προσέσχεν<sup>4</sup> περὶ Λέσβου, οἰόμενος ἐκεῖ καταλήψεσθαι<sup>5</sup> τὸν Ἀγρίππαν. ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτὸν ἀπολαμβάνει πνεῦμα βόρειον
- 17 εἶργον τὴν ἀναγωγὴν τῶν νεῶν. ὁ δ' ἐπιδιέτριβεν ἡμέρας πλείους ἐν τῇ Χίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν προσιόντων αὐτῷ δεξιούμενος ἀνελάμβανε βασιλικαῖς δωρεαῖς,<sup>6</sup> αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἰδὼν πεπτωκυῖαν στοάν, ἣν ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ καθαιρεθεῖσαν οὐχ ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα διὰ μέγεθος καὶ
- 18 κάλλος ἀναστήσαι ῥάδιον ἦν, χρήματα δούς ὅσα μὴ μόνον ἐπαρκεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ περιττεύειν ἐδύνατο πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος, ἐνετέλλετο

<sup>1</sup> λειπομένων P: λιπόμενος W: λειπόμενος EA marg.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: στρατείαν codd.

<sup>3</sup> προηρημένου AMW: producturum Lat., unde προηρησόμενον con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> post προσέσχεν aliqua verba excidisse putat Niese.

<sup>5</sup> ἐκεῖ καταλήψεσθαι W: ἐπικαταλήψεσθαι rell.

<sup>6</sup> δωρεαῖς . . . ἅσαι (§ 31) om. A, uno folio exciso.

acclamations. Then Agrippa sacrificed a hecatomb to God and feasted the populace, which was not less in number than any of those in the greatest (cities).<sup>a</sup> But although for his own part, so far as pleasure was concerned, he would have remained several days more, he was pressed for time at that season, for with the coming on of winter he did not think it safe to make the return voyage to Ionia which he was again obliged to undertake.

(2) He therefore sailed after Herod had honoured Herod and Agrippa in Asia Minor. him and the most distinguished persons in his party with many gifts. As for the king, he spent the winter at home and in the spring hastened to meet Agrippa,<sup>b</sup> knowing that he was leading an expedition to the Bosphorus.<sup>c</sup> Sailing between Rhodes and Cos, he made for shore near Lesbos, thinking that there he would catch up with Agrippa. But a north wind caught him there and prevented his ships from putting out to sea. He therefore waited over in Chios several days, and there gave a friendly reception to the many who visited him and he won them over with royal gifts. And when he saw that the portico of the city itself had fallen—it had been overthrown in the Mithridatic war and, unlike other structures, was not easy to set up again because of its great size and beauty—, he gave a sum of money which was not only sufficient but was more than enough to cover the cost of completing the structure, and gave instructions not to

<sup>a</sup> Whiston reads λιπόμενος (cf. critical note), and translates, “. . . without omitting any of the greatest dainties that could be gotten.”

<sup>b</sup> The spring of 14 B.C. Cf. Reinhold, *Agrippa*, p. 114.

<sup>c</sup> To replace a usurper to the throne, one Scribonius, by the king of Pontic Cappadocia, Polemon I. Cf. Reinhold, *op. cit.* pp. 114-116.

μη περιοραν, ἀλλὰ θάπτον ἐγείρειν ἀποκαθιστάντας  
 20 τῇ πόλει τὸν ἴδιον κόσμον. αὐτὸς δὲ λήξαντος τοῦ  
 πνεύματος εἰς Μιτυλήνην κάκειθεν εἰς Βυζάντιον  
 παρακομισθεῖς, ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐντὸς Κυανέων ἤδη  
 πεπλευκέναι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, μετέσπευδεν ὡς ἐνήν.  
 21 καὶ περὶ Σινώπην τὴν ἐν Πόντῳ καταλαβὼν ἀπρο-  
 δόκητος μὲν ᾤφθη ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπλέων, ἄσμενος  
 δὲ ἐφάνη, πολλαὶ τε φιλοφρονήσεις ἦσαν, ἅτε καὶ  
 μεγίστην πίστιν εἰληφέναι δοκοῦντος εὐνοίας καὶ  
 φιλοστοργίας τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν Ἀγρίππα, τοσοῦτον μὲν  
 πλοῦν ἀνύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐκ ἀπολειφθέντος  
 δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου χρείας, ἦν μετὰ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν  
 ἀρχὴν καὶ διοίκησιν οἰκείων πραγμάτων προὔρ-  
 22 γαιτέραν ἔθετο. πᾶν γοῦν ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν  
 στρατείαν Ἡρώδης, ἐν τε τοῖς πραγματικοῖς συν-  
 αγωνιστῆς καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος σύμβουλος, ἡδὺς δὲ  
 καὶ ταῖς ἀνάεσι, καὶ μόνος ἀπάντων κοινωνός,  
 ὀχληρῶν μὲν διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἡδέων δὲ διὰ τὴν  
 23 τιμὴν. ὡς δ' αὐτοῖς κατείργαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν  
 Πόντον, ὧν ἕνεκεν Ἀγρίππας ἐστάλη, τὴν ἀνα-  
 κομιδὴν οὐκέτ' ἐδόκει ποιεῖσθαι πλέουσιν, ἀλλὰ  
 διαμειψάμενοι τὴν τε Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδο-  
 κίαν κάκειθεν ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας ὁδεύσαντες  
 εἰς Ἐφεσον ἀφίκοντο, πάλιν δὲ ἐξ Ἐφέσου διέπλευ-  
 24 σαν εἰς Σάμον. πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ κατὰ πόλιν  
 ἐκάστην εὐεργεσίαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὰς χρείας  
 τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ἐγένοντο· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὅσα  
 διὰ χρημάτων ἦν ἢ ἐπιξενώσεως<sup>1</sup> οὐ παρέλειπεν, ἐξ

<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἐπιξενώσεως conieci: ἢ δεξιώσεως W: δεξιώσεως M Exc.:  
 ἠπίξεως P: ἐπέξεως con. Niese: ἐπικουφίζων con. Richards  
 et Shutt.

neglect this but to erect it quickly and so restore to  
 the city its proper appearance. But when the wind  
 died down, he himself sailed to Mitylene and from  
 there to Byzantium, and on hearing that Agrippa had  
 already sailed beyond the Cyanean Rocks,<sup>a</sup> he hastened  
 after him with all possible speed. At Sinope in Pontus<sup>b</sup>  
 he caught up with him, and when he was unexpectedly  
 sighted approaching their ships, his appearance was  
 welcomed, and there was an exchange of warm greet-  
 ings, especially as Agrippa thought that he had re-  
 ceived the strongest evidence of the king's goodwill  
 and affection for him in his having completed so long  
 a voyage and not having neglected to perform any  
 service for him, considering this of more importance  
 than his own affairs, including the administration of  
 his kingdom. For Herod was indeed everything to  
 him in the campaign, a fellow worker in affairs of  
 state and an adviser on various occasions; he was  
 pleasant in moments of relaxation, and the only one  
 to share all his experiences because of his loyalty in  
 times of trouble and his deferential behaviour on  
 pleasurable occasions. Now when they had com-  
 pleted the mission in Pontus on which Agrippa had  
 been sent, they decided not to return by sea; instead,  
 they went successively through Paphlagonia and  
 Cappadocia, and from there travelled overland to  
 Great Phrygia and reached Ephesus, and again sailed  
 from Ephesus to Samos. And many indeed in every  
 city were the benefactions bestowed by the king on  
 applicants in accordance with their needs. He, for  
 his part, did not fail to do everything that could be  
 done with money or through hospitality, paying all

<sup>a</sup> The entrance to the Euxine or Black Sea.

<sup>b</sup> A good harbour on the north shore of present Turkey.

αὐτοῦ τὰς δαπάνας ποιούμενος· καὶ τῶν παρὰ  
 Ἀγρίππα τισὶν ἐπιζητουμένων μεσίτης ἦν καὶ διε-  
 25 πράττετο μηδενὸς ἀπυχῆσαι τοὺς δεομένους. ὄντος  
 δὲ κάκεινου χρηστοῦ καὶ μεγαλοψύχου πρὸς τὸ  
 παρέχειν ὅσα τοῖς ἕξιωκόσιν ὠφέλιμα ὄντα μηδένα  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐλύπει, πλείστον ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐποίει  
 ῥοπή, προτρέπουσα πρὸς τὰς εὐεργεσίας οὐ βραδύ-  
 26 νοντα τὸν Ἀγρίππαν. Ἰλιεῦσι μὲν γε αὐτὸν διήλ-  
 λαξεν ὀργιζόμενον,<sup>1</sup> διέλυσε δὲ Χίους τὰ πρὸς τοὺς  
 Καίσαρος ἐπιτρόπους χρήματα καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν  
 ἀπήλλαξε, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις καθὸ δεηθεῖεν ἕκαστοι  
 παρίστατο.  
 27 (3) Τότε δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν αὐτῶν γενομένων  
 πολὺ πλῆθος Ἰουδαίων, ὃ τὰς πόλεις ὄκει, προσήει  
 καιροῦ καὶ παρρησίας ἐπειλημμένοι, καὶ τὰς ἐπη-  
 ρείας ἔλεγον ὡς ἐπηρεάζοντο, μήτε νόμοις οἰκείοις  
 ἐώμενοι χρῆσθαι, δίκας τε ἀναγκαζόμενοι διδόναι  
 κατ' ἐπῆρειαν τῶν εὐθυνόντων ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις,  
 28 καὶ ὡς<sup>2</sup> τῶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα χρημάτων ἀνατι-  
 θεμένων ἀφαιροῦντο, στρατειῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν<sup>3</sup>  
 ἀναγκαζόμενοι κοινωρεῖν καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα δαπανᾶν  
 τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, ὧν ἀφείθησαν, αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίων  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρεψάντων κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους ζῆν νόμους.  
 29 τοιαῦτα καταβοώντων παρεστήσατο<sup>4</sup> μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 ἀκοῦσαι τὸν Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῶν δικαιολογούμενων,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ὀργιζόμενον om. P. <sup>2</sup> ὡς add. Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ λειτουργιῶν om. P.

<sup>4</sup> παρητήσατο ME: praesentavit Lat.

<sup>5</sup> διαλεγόμενων W.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xii. 125-128; xiv. 185-267; xv. 350 notes b and 218

expenses out of his own pocket. He also interceded for some of those who sought favours from Agrippa, and he saw to it that the petitioners did not fail in any suit. And though Agrippa was kind and generous in granting to those who asked for them whatever favours might be of profit to them without causing loss to others, the prompting of the king was of the greatest weight in leading Agrippa on to the performance of good deeds, although he was not slow to do them of his own accord. For example, he reconciled him with the people of Ilium when he was angry with them, and for the Chians he paid the money which they owed to Caesar's procurators, and relieved them of their tribute, and he came to the assistance of others as they severally requested him.

(3) It was also at this time, when they were in Ionia, that a great multitude of Jews, who lived in its cities, took advantage of their opportunity to speak out freely, and came to them and told them of the mistreatment which they had suffered in not being allowed to observe their own laws and in being forced to appear in court on their holy days because of the inconsiderateness of the examining judges.<sup>a</sup> And they told how they had been deprived of the monies sent as offerings to Jerusalem and of being forced to participate in military service and civic duties and to spend their sacred monies for these things, although they had been exempted from these duties because the Romans had always permitted them to live in accordance with their own laws. While they were protesting in this fashion, the king induced Agrippa to listen to them as they pleaded their cause, and he

The Jews of Ionia appeal to Agrippa.

e; xvi. 167-173; *B.J.* vii. 44. On Agrippa and the Jews see also Willrich, pp. 93 f., 178.



Νικόλαον δέ τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἔδωκεν εἰπεῖν  
 30 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὰ δίκαια. τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππα Ῥωμαίων  
 τε τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν τοὺς  
 παρόντας αὐτῷ συνέδρου ποιησαμένου, καταστάς  
 ὁ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλεξεν.  
 31 (4) "Ἀπασί μὲν, ὦ μέγιστε Ἀγρίππα, τοῖς ἐν  
 χρεία γεγενημένοις ἀνάγκη καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 ἀφελέσθαι τὰς ἐπιηρείας αὐτῶν δυνησομένους, τοῖς  
 32 δὲ νῦν ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ παρρησία· τυχόντες γὰρ  
 πρότερον ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> οἴους ἠῆξαντο πολλάκις, τὸ μὴ τὰς  
 χάριτας ἀφαιρείσθαι δι' ὑμῶν αἰτοῦνται τῶν δεδω-  
 κῶτων, καὶ ταῦτα εἰληφότες μὲν αὐτὰς παρὰ τούτων  
 οἷς μόνοις δίδοναι δύναμις, ἀφαιρούμενοι δ' ὑπ'  
 οὐδενὸς κρείττονος, ἀλλ' οὓς ἴσον ἔχειν αὐτοῖς ἀρχο-  
 33 μένους<sup>2</sup> ὁμοίως ὑφ' ὑμῶν<sup>3</sup> ἴσασιν. καίτοι γε εἴτε  
 μεγάλων ἠξιώθησαν, ἔπαινός ἐστιν τῶν τετυχη-  
 κῶτων ὅτι τοσοῦτων παρέσχον αὐτοὺς ἀξίους, εἴτε  
 μικρῶν, αἰσχρὸν μὴ καὶ ταῦτα βεβαιούν τοὺς δεδω-  
 34 κῶτας. οἱ γε μὴν ἐμποδῶν ὄντες καὶ πρὸς ἐπήρειαν  
 χρώμενοι Ἰουδαίους εὐδηλον ὡς ἄμφω ἀδικούσιν,  
 τοὺς εἰληφότας, εἰ μὴ νομίζοιεν ἀγαθοὺς οἷς οἱ  
 κρατοῦντες ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐν τῷ καὶ τοιαῦτα δεδω-  
 κέναι, καὶ τοὺς δεδωκῶτας, εἰ τὰς χάριτας αὐτῶν  
 35 ἀβεβαίους ἀξιούσιν γενέσθαι. εἰ δέ τις αὐτοὺς  
 ἔροιτο δύο τούτων θάτερον<sup>4</sup> ἐθέλοιν ἂν ἀφαιρεθῆναι,

<sup>1</sup> ὑμῶν om. AMW.

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. Cocceji: ἀρχομένοις codd.

<sup>3</sup> ὑφ' ὑμῶν Niese: ὑμῶν aut ὑμῶν codd.

<sup>4</sup> πότερον Dindorf: utrum Lat.

<sup>a</sup> On Nicolas of Damascus see *Ant.* i. 94 note b. Josephus mentions him in some thirty-three contexts, counting parallels in *Ant.* and *B.J.*, and indicates that he was the daily companion of Herod (*Ant.* xvii. 99), who honoured him above  
 220

assigned Nicolas, one of his friends, to speak in behalf of their rights.<sup>a</sup> And when Agrippa had taken as councillors<sup>b</sup> the Roman officials and those kings and princes who were present, Nicolas arose and spoke in behalf of the Jews.<sup>c</sup>

(4) "All those who are in distress, most mighty Agrippa, find it necessary to seek the protection of men who may be able to end the mistreatment which they suffer. The present petitioners also freely do so, having formerly often found you as receptive as they hoped, and now they ask not to be deprived of such favours by you who have granted them, especially since they have received them from those who alone had the power to grant them, while they are now being deprived of them not by any superiors but by men to whom they know themselves to be equal, for they are subject to you just as they themselves are. Furthermore, if they have been granted great favours, it is praiseworthy of the recipients to have shown themselves deserving of them; and if they have been granted only small ones, it is shameful for the granters not to confirm them. As for those who oppose the Jews and are mistreating them, it is clear that they wrong both parties—the recipients, by not considering worthy the people to whose worth their rulers have testified by granting them such favours, and, on the other hand, the granters of the favours, by seeking to make these ineffective. And if someone should ask them which of these two things they would rather  
 all his friends (*B.J.* ii. 21). Cf. Jacoby, *FGH* IIa, pp. 325-430 for the texts.  
<sup>b</sup> Or "assessors."

<sup>c</sup> On the apologetic tenor of the following speech and its bearing on Josephus' use of his sources see Laqueur, pp. 221-230. Cf. F. J. Foakes Jackson, *Josephus and the Jews*, *passim*.

Nicolas of  
 Damascus  
 addresses  
 Agrippa on  
 behalf of the  
 Jews of the  
 Ionia.



τὸ ζῆν ἢ<sup>1</sup> τὰ πάτρια ἔθνη τὰς πομπὰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς  
 ἑορτὰς ἄς τοῖς νομιζομένοις προσάγουσι θεοῖς, εἶ  
 οἶδ' ὅτι πάντα μᾶλλον αἰρήσονται παθεῖν ἢ καταλύ-  
 36 σαί τι τῶν πατριῶν· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πολέμους οἱ πολλοὶ  
 διὰ ταῦτ' ἀναιροῦνται,<sup>2</sup> φυλατιζόμενοι μὴ παραβαίνειν  
 αὐτά, καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἣν νῦν τὸ σύμπαν τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων γένος δι' ὑμᾶς ἔχει, τούτῳ μετροῦμεν, τῷ  
 ἐξεῖναι κατὰ χώραν ἐκάστοις τὰ οἰκεία τιμῶσιν  
 37 αὐξέειν<sup>3</sup> καὶ διαζῆν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ  
 παθεῖν ἐλόμενοι<sup>4</sup> βιάζονται δρᾶν κατ' ἄλλων, ὥσπερ  
 οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀσεβοῦντες εἶτε τῶν οἰκείων εἰς θεοὺς  
 ὀσίων ἀμελοῖεν εἶτε τὰ οἰκεία τισὶν ἀνοσίως κατα-  
 38 λύοιεν. τόδ' ἕτερον δ' ἤδη σκοπήσωμεν· ἔστι τις  
 δῆμος ἢ πόλις ἢ κοινὸν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, οἷς οὐ  
 μέγιστον ἀγαθῶν πέφυκεν<sup>5</sup> ἢ προστασία τῆς ὑμετέ-  
 ρας ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν κράτος; ἐθέλοι δ' ἂν  
 39 τις ἀκύρους τὰς ἐντεῦθεν εἶναι χάριτας; οὐδεὶς  
 οὐδὲ μαινόμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσὶν οἱ μὴ μετέχοντες  
 αὐτῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ. καὶ μὴν οἱ τινὰς<sup>6</sup> ὧν ὑμεῖς  
 ἔδοτε παραιρούμενοι, βέβαιοι οὐδ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ὧν  
 40 δι' ὑμᾶς ἔχουσιν ὑπολείπονται. καίτοι τὰς μὲν  
 τούτων χάριτας οὐδὲ μετρήσαι δυνατόν ἐστίν· εἰ  
 γὰρ ἐκλογίσαιντο τὴν πάλαι βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν νῦν  
 ἀρχήν, πολλῶν ὄντων ὅσα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτοῖς  
 ἐπέδωκεν, ἐν τι<sup>7</sup> κατὰ πάντων ἀρκεῖ τὸ μηκέτι δοῦ-

<sup>1</sup> τὸ ζῆν ἢ om. P Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ταῦτ' ἀναιροῦνται Niese: ταῦτα αἰροῦνται codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἀγειν AMW.

<sup>4</sup> ἐθέλοισιν δ' A marg.

<sup>5</sup> πέφυκεν AMW Lat.

<sup>6</sup> τινὰ AM: τινες W.

have taken from them, life or their country's customs, including the processions, sacrifices and festivals which they observe in honour of the gods in whom they believe, I know very well that they would rather suffer all manner of things than violate any of their country's customs. Indeed, it is for the sake of these that most men undertake war, so careful are they not to transgress them. And the happiness that the whole human race now enjoys, thanks to you, we measure by the fact that it is possible for people in every country to live and prosper while respecting their own (traditions). And what our opponents would not choose to suffer themselves, this they forcibly try to do to others, as if they were not acting just as impiously in violating the sacred traditions of others as they would in neglecting their own sacred duties to their own gods. And now let us consider another point. Is there any people or city or national community for which the protection of your empire and the power of the Romans have not come to be the greatest of blessings? Or would anyone want to revoke the favours coming from you? No one, not even a madman. For there are none who have not shared in these both privately and publicly. Certainly, then, those who deprive others of the privileges that you have given them leave themselves no security either, in respect of those privileges which they owe to you. And yet it is impossible to measure the favours which have been granted them, for if they were to evaluate the present government in comparison with the early kingdom, of all the things which it has done to make them still happier there is one above all which is enough in itself to achieve this, namely

<sup>7</sup> ἐν τι Herwerden: ἐτι codd.

41 λους ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρους φαίνεσθαι. τὰ δ' ἡμέτερα καὶ  
λαμπρῶς πραττόντων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίφθονα· δι' ὑμᾶς  
γὰρ καὶ μετὰ πάντων εὐτυχοῦμεν καὶ τούτου μόνου  
μετέχειν ἠξιώσαμεν, ἀκωλύτως τὴν πάτριον εὐσε-  
βειαν διαφυλάττειν, ὃ κἂν<sup>1</sup> καθ' αὐτὸ δόξειεν οὐκ  
42 ἐπίφθονον καὶ πρὸς τῶν συγχωρούντων εἶναι· τὸ  
γὰρ θεῖον, εἰ χαίρει τιμώμενον, χαίρει τοῖς ἐπιτρέ-  
πουσι τιμᾶν, ἐθῶν τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπάνθρωπον  
μὲν οὐδέν ἐστιν, εὐσεβῆ δὲ πάντα καὶ τῇ σωζούσῃ<sup>2</sup>  
43 δικαιοσύνῃ συγκαθωιωμένα. καὶ οὔτε ἀποκρυ-  
πτόμεθα τὰ παραγγέλματα οἷς χρώμεθα πρὸς τὸν  
βίον ὑπομνήμασιν τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν ἀνθρω-  
πίνων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τὴν τε ἐβδόμην τῶν ἡμερῶν  
ἀνίεμεν τῇ μαθήσει τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐθῶν καὶ νόμου,<sup>3</sup>  
μελέτην<sup>4</sup> ὡσπερ ἄλλου τινὸς καὶ τούτων ἀξιούντες  
44 εἶναι δι'<sup>5</sup> ὧν οὐχ ἀμαρτησόμεθα. καλὰ μὲν οὖν, ἐὰν  
ἐξετάζη τις, καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔθνη, παλαιὰ δ' ἡμῖν,  
κἂν μὴ τισιν δοκῇ· ὡστ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρόνου  
τιμητὸν δυσασποδίδακτον εἶναι τοῖς ὁσίως παρεληφό-  
45 σιν καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν. τούτων ἡμᾶς ἀφαιροῦνται  
κατ' ἐπήρειαν, χρήματα μὲν ἂ τῷ θεῷ συμφέρομεν  
ἐπώνυμα διαρπάζοντες<sup>6</sup> καὶ φανερώς ἱεροσυλοῦντες,  
τέλη δ' ἐπιτιθέντες κἂν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἄγοντες ἐπὶ  
δικαστήρια καὶ πραγματείας ἄλλας, οὐ κατὰ χρεῖαν  
τῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπήρειαν τῆς θρη-  
σκευίας, ἣν συνίσασιν ἡμῖν, μῖσος οὐ δίκαιον οὐδ'  
46 αὐτεξούσιον αὐτοῖς πεπονθότες. ἣ γὰρ ὑμετέρα

<sup>1</sup> Niese: καὶ codd.<sup>2</sup> νόμων W.<sup>3</sup> δι' om. AMW.<sup>4</sup> συνήθει (-η) P.<sup>5</sup> ed. pr.: μελέτη codd.<sup>6</sup> διαφθειρόντες P.<sup>a</sup> Or "with common justice." Cf. critical note.

that they no longer are found to be slaves but free men. And although we have done splendidly, our circumstances should not arouse envy, for it is through you that we, in common with all men, prosper. The only thing which we have asked to share with others is the right to preserve our ancestral religion without interference. This in itself would not seem to be a cause for resentment, and is even to the advantage of those who grant this right. For if the Deity delights in being honoured, it also delights in those who permit it to be honoured. There is nothing hostile to mankind in our customs, but they are all pious and consecrated with saving righteousness.<sup>a</sup> Nor do we make a secret of the precepts that we use as guides in religion and in human relations; we give every seventh day over to the study of our customs and law, for we think it necessary to occupy ourselves, as with any other study, so with these through which we can avoid committing sins. Now our customs are excellent in themselves, if one examines them carefully, and they are also ancient, even though some may not believe this, so that for those who have received them as sacred traditions and preserve them it is not easy to unlearn what has been hallowed by time. It is these customs which they would outrageously deprive us of by laying hands on the money which we contribute in the name of God and by openly stealing it from our temple, by imposing taxes upon us, and by taking us to court and other public places of business even on holy days, not because this is called for by legal agreements but in order to outrage our religion, toward which they feel a hatred which—and they know it as well as we do—is undeserved and unauthorized as well. For your single

Violation  
of Jewish  
rights in  
Ionia.

κατὰ πάντων ἀρχῆ γενομένη μία τὴν μὲν εὖνοιαν  
 ἐνεργὸν τὴν δὲ δύσνοιαν ἀνεργόν<sup>1</sup> ποιεῖ τοῖς τὸ  
 47 τοιοῦτον ἀντ' ἐκείνου προαιρουμένοις. ταῦτ' οὖν  
 ἀξιούμεν, ὧ μέγιστε Ἀγρίππα, μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν  
 μηδ' ἐπηρεάζεσθαι μηδὲ κωλύεσθαι τοῖς ἔθεσι χρῆ-  
 σθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροις μηδ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ὄντων  
 μηδ' ἂ μὴ βιαζόμεθα τούτους ὑπὸ τούτων βιάζε-  
 σθαι· καὶ γὰρ οὐ δίκαια μόνον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑφ'  
 48 ὑμῶν δεδομένα πρότερον. ἔτι καὶ δυναίμεθ' ἂν  
 πολλὰ δόγματα τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ  
 Καπετωλίῳ κειμένας δέλτους ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀναγινώ-  
 σκειν, ἃ δῆλον μὲν ὡς μετὰ πείραν τῆς ἡμετέρας εἰς  
 ὑμᾶς πίστει εἰδόθη, κύρια δὲ καὶ εἰ μηδενὸς ὑπάρ-  
 49 ξαντος<sup>2</sup> ἐχαρίσασθε. σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐ μόνους ἡμῖν  
 ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὰ μὲν ὄντα φυλάξαντες,  
 μείζω δὲ τῶν ἐλπισθέντων προσθέντες, εὐεργετεῖτε  
 τῷ κρατεῖν, καὶ δύναται ἂν τις ἐπεξῶν τὰς ἐκάστων  
 εὐτυχίας, ἃς δι' ὑμῶν ἔχουσιν, ἀπερίληπτον ποιῆσαι  
 50 τὸν λόγον. ἵνα μέντοι καὶ δικαίως ἀπάντων αὐτῶν  
 τυγχάνοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδειξώμεν, ἀρκεῖ πρὸς παρ-  
 ρησίαν ἡμῖν, τὰ πρότερον σιωπήσασι, τὸν βασιλευ-  
 51 οντα νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ παρακαθεζόμενον εἰπεῖν. ὧ  
 ποία μὲν εὖνοια πρὸς τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον παραλέλει-  
 πται; ποία δὲ πίστις ἐνδεῆς ἐστίν; τίς δὲ οὐ νενόη-  
 ται τιμῆ; ποία δὲ χρεία<sup>3</sup> μὴ εἰς προὔπτον<sup>4</sup> ὄρα; τί

<sup>1</sup> ἀεργόν AMW : ἀργόν ed. pr. fort. recte.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπάρχοντος AM : ὑπαρξέν P : (si nullatenus fideles) vobis apparuisse Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ποία δὲ χρεία Hudson : ποία δὲ χρεία codd.

<sup>4</sup> πρώτων PA<sup>1</sup>W.

rule over all peoples makes goodwill effective and ill-will futile for those who prefer the second course to the first. We therefore ask, great Agrippa, that we may not suffer this mistreatment, that we be not outraged, that we be not prevented from observing our own customs and that we be not deprived of our present rights nor have forced upon us by these opponents what we do not force upon them. For these requests<sup>a</sup> are not only just but were in fact earlier granted us by you. Moreover, we could read to you many decrees of the Senate and tablets deposited in the Capitol to the same effect, which were obviously published after you had received proof of our loyalty to you and would be valid even if you had granted them in the absence of any such condition.<sup>b</sup> For it is not only to us but to almost all men that you have been benefactors in your rule by preserving existing rights and adding more than were hoped for, and one might make an endless speech if one were to enumerate each of the benefits which they have received from you. However, in order that we may show that we have obtained them all rightfully, it will suffice for us to speak freely, although we have passed over these earlier instances in silence, and mention him who is now our king and sits beside you. What act of goodwill toward your house has been left undone by him? What mark of good faith has he failed to give? What form of honour has he not thought of? In what emergency has he not shown foresight?<sup>c</sup> What, then,

<sup>a</sup> For the change of subject cf. Laqueur, pp. 224-226, who attributes it to Josephus' editing of his source in this section.  
<sup>b</sup> i.e. of evident loyalty. Cf. Whiston, "though no such fidelity had been"; Reinach (rather freely) "si nous n'avions rien fait pour les mériter."

<sup>c</sup> Variant "has he not regarded as of first importance."

δὴ κωλύει καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας<sup>1</sup> χάριτας τῶν τοσούτων<sup>2</sup>  
 52 εὐεργεσιῶν ἰσάριθμον<sup>3</sup> εἶναι; καλὸν δ' ἴσως μηδὲ  
 τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου παραλιπεῖν ἀνδραγα-  
 θίαν ἀμνημόνευτον, ὃς εἰς Αἴγυπτον εἰσβεβληκότος  
 Καίσαρος δισχιλίους ὀπλίταις βοηθήσας οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς  
 53 ζετο. καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν ὅσην ἐκεῖνοι παρέσχον  
 ῥοπήν τῷ τότε καιρῷ καὶ πόσων καὶ τίνων δωρεῶν  
 ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἠξιώθησαν καθ' ἓνα, δέον ἀναμνησαί  
 τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἃς ἔγραψε τότε Καῖσαρ τῇ συγ-  
 κλήτῳ, καὶ ὡς δημοσίᾳ τιμᾶς καὶ πολιτείας ἔλαβεν  
 54 Ἀντίπατρος; ἀρκέσει γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ τεκμήρια τοῦ  
 καὶ τὰς χάριτας ἡμᾶς κατ' ἀξίαν ἔχειν καὶ παρὰ σοῦ  
 τὸ βέβαιον αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν, παρ' οὗ καὶ μὴ πρότερον  
 δοθείσας ἦν ἐλπίσαι, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 διάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀρώσιν.  
 55 ἀπαγγέλλεται δ' ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίων ὡς  
 μὲν ἐπέβης τῆς χώρας εὐμενῆς, ὡς δὲ ἀπέδωκας τῷ  
 θεῷ τέλεια θύματα, τιμῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τελείαις εὐχαῖς,  
 ὡς δὲ τὸν δῆμον εἰστίσασας καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκεῖνον  
 56 ξένια προσήκω. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα καὶ ἔθνει καὶ  
 πόλει πρὸς ἄνδρα τοσούτων ἐπιστατοῦντα πραγ-  
 μάτων δεξιώματα καὶ σύμβολα φιλίας χρηρῆ δοκεῖν,  
 ἦν ἀπέδωκας τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει, τῆς Ἡρώδου προ-  
 57 ξενούσης αὐτὴν ἐστίας. τούτων ὑπομνησκοντές  
 σε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ συγκαθεζομένου

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: ἡμετέρας codd.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν τοσούτων A marg.: τῶν εἰς τοσούτων PA<sup>1</sup>M: τῶν εἰς τοσοῦτον W: τῶν εἰς τοῦτον Niese.

<sup>3</sup> ἰσάριθμον conieci: εἰς ἀριθμὸν A marg.: ἀριθμὸν PA<sup>1</sup>MW.

prevents your favours from being equal in number to so many benefactions? <sup>a</sup> Perhaps, however, it is well not to leave unmentioned the valour of his father Antipater, who with two thousand heavy-armed soldiers came to the help of Caesar when he had invaded Egypt, and proved second to none either in the fighting on land or when ships were needed. And what need is there to tell how decisive a turn those soldiers gave to affairs at that moment or with how many and what kinds of gifts they were individually rewarded by Caesar, although one ought to mention the letter which Caesar then wrote to the Senate and how Antipater received public honours and (Roman) citizenship. <sup>b</sup> For these proofs will suffice to show that we are entitled to receive these favours and to ask that they be confirmed by you, from whom they might be expected even if they had not been given earlier, since we see how friendly is the king's attitude toward you and yours toward him. And it is reported to us by the Jews there <sup>c</sup> how friendly you were when you entered their country, how you offered the ritually proper sacrifices to God and honoured Him with ritually proper prayers, and how you feasted the populace and received their hospitable gifts in return. Now all these things done for both the city and the nation by a man in charge of such great public affairs must be considered pledges and tokens of the friendship which you offered the Jewish nation after Herod's household had commended it to them. In reminding you of these things and of (the services of) our king, who is now present and sitting beside you, we ask for

<sup>a</sup> The text appears to be corrupt in the latter half of the sentence. For the "benefactions" cf. § 27 note a.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 127-137. <sup>c</sup> *i.e.*, Palestine; cf. §§ 12-15.



βασιλέως ἡξιώκαμεν περιττὸν οὐδέν, ἃ δ' αὐτοὶ  
 δεδώκατε ταῦθ' ὑπ' ἄλλων μὴ περιδεῖν ἀφαιρου-  
 μένους."

- 58 (5) Τοιαῦτα δὲ τοῦ Νικολάου διελθόντος ἐγένετο  
 μὲν οὐδεμία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀντικατάστασις· οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ ὡς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων διε-  
 59 λάμβανον, ἀλλ' ἦν ἔντευξις ὧν ἐβιάζοντο. κακέι-  
 νων ἀπολογία μὲν οὐδεμία τοῦ μὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν,  
 πρόφασις δέ, ὡς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν νεμόμενοι πάντα  
 νῦν<sup>1</sup> ἀδικοῦεν. οἱ δὲ ἐγγενεῖς<sup>2</sup> τε αὐτοὺς ἐδείκνυσαν  
 κὰν τῷ τὰ οἰκεία τιμᾶν μηδὲν λυποῦντες οἰκεῖν.<sup>3</sup>  
 60 συνιδῶν οὖν Ἀγρίππας βιαζομένους ἀπεκρίνατο  
 ταῦτα, διὰ μὲν τὴν Ἡρώδου πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν τε  
 καὶ φιλίαν ἔτοιμος εἶναι πᾶν ὅτιοῦν χαρίζεσθαι  
 Ἰουδαίοις, ἃ δὲ ἀξιοῦσι καὶ καθ' αὐτὰ δίκαια  
 δοκεῖν ὥστ', εἰ μὲν ἐδέοντο καὶ πλειόνων, οὐκ ἂν  
 ὀκνήσαι τά γε μὴ λυποῦντα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν  
 παρασχεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἃ καὶ πρότερον εἰλήφασιν  
 ἄκυρα μὴ γενέσθαι, βεβαιοῦν αὐτοῖς ἀνεπηρεάστοις  
 61 ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις διατελεῖν ἔθεσιν. τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν  
 διέλυε τὸν σύλλογον, Ἡρώδης δὲ προσεστὼς<sup>4</sup> κατ-  
 ησπάζετο καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν διαθέσεως ὠμολόγει  
 χάριν. ὁ δὲ καὶ εἰς ταῦτα φιλοφρονούμενος ἴσον  
 αὐτὸν παρέιχεν, ἀντεμπλεκόμενος καὶ κατασπαζό-

<sup>1</sup> πάντα νῦν] τοῦτο γοῦν con. Naber. <sup>2</sup> ἐγγενεῖς PW.

<sup>3</sup> ἡξιῶν οἰκεῖν con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> προσεστὼς PA<sup>1</sup>W.

nothing special but only that you do not allow us to be deprived by others of the rights that you yourselves have given us."

- (5) To these remarks of Nicolas there was no counterstatement from the Greeks, for the Jews were not arguing about specific points as if in a court of law but only petitioning for relief from violence. And their opponents did not defend themselves by denying that they had done these things but gave the excuse that by merely spreading over their country the Jews were now doing them all kinds of harm. But the Jews proved that they were natives<sup>a</sup> and that even by honouring their own customs they caused no distress to others in living there. Thereupon Agrippa, who perceived that they had been subjected to violence, replied that because of Herod's goodwill and friendship for him he was ready to grant the Jews all they might ask for, and, he said, their requests seemed just in themselves, so that even if they were to ask for still more, he would not hesitate to give them this, provided, of course, that it did not cause the Roman government any trouble. And since they asked that the rights which they had formerly received should not be annulled, he would confirm their right to continue to observe their own customs without suffering mistreatment.<sup>b</sup> Having spoken in this way, he dismissed the gathering, whereupon Herod went up to him and embraced him in grateful acknowledgment of his friendly attitude toward himself. To this too Agrippa responded in friendly fashion and behaved like an equal, putting his arms around Herod and

Agrippa confirms the rights of the Ionian Jews.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "noble" or "generous."

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xii. 125 f. and note *h* for a somewhat different explanation.



## JOSEPHUS

62 *μενος. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Λέσβου,<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ  
δὲ Σάμου<sup>3</sup> πλεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' οἴκου διεγνώ, καὶ  
τὸν Ἀγρίππαν παραιτησάμενος ἀνήχθη, κατὰγεται  
δ' εἰς Καισάρειαν οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις,  
πνευμάτων ἐπιτηδείων τυχών. κάκειθεν ἔλθων εἰς  
Ἱεροσόλυμα συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν πάνδημον· ἦν δὲ  
63 πολὺς καὶ τῆς χώρας ὄχλος. ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν ἀπο-  
λογισμὸν τε τῆς ὅλης ἐκδημίας ἐποίησατο, καὶ τὰ  
περὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦσαν, ὡς  
δι' αὐτὸν ἀνεπηρέαστως εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσιν διηγῆ-  
64 σατο. τό τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις καὶ τῇ  
διοικήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς οὐδενὸς παραλείποιτο τῶν  
ἐκείνοις συμφερόντων, ἀγαλλόμενος τὸ τέταρτον τῶν  
φόρων ἀφίησιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ παρεληλυθότος ἔτους.  
65 οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ χάριτι δεδημαγωγημένοι  
μετὰ πλείστης ἀπήεσαν χαρᾶς, πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ συν-  
ευχόμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ.  
66 (iii. 1) Προὔβαινε δ' αἰὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στάσιν τῆς  
οἰκίας καὶ χαλεπωτέραν ἐλάμβανε τὴν ἐπίδοσιν,  
ἀντιμεταλαβούσης μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ κληρονομίας τὸ  
κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων μῖσος τῆς Σαλώμης, καὶ πᾶν  
ὅσον εὐδοκίμῃκει κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπό-  
νοιαν καὶ θράσος λαμβανούσης, μηδένα τῶν ἐξ  
ἐκείνης καταλιπεῖν, ὃς δυνησεται τιμωρῆσαι τῷ  
67 θανάτῳ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν<sup>4</sup> ἀνηρημένης, ἐχόντων δέ τι  
καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων θρασὺ καὶ δύσνον εἰς τὸν γεγεν-  
νηκότα μνήμη τε τῆς μητρὸς οἷα πάθοι παρὰ τὴν  
68 ἀξίαν καὶ τῇ τοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ. πάλιν τε τὸ*

<sup>1</sup> ἀνεχώρησεν ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ Λέσβου Francken; ἀπὸ Λέσβου AMW; om. P.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ δε Σάμου om. WE Lat.

<sup>4</sup> δι' αὐτὴν om. AMW.

embracing him in turn. Then he departed for Lesbos,<sup>a</sup> while the king decided to sail for home from Samos; and so, after taking leave of Agrippa, he put out to sea and, meeting with favourable winds, landed at Caesarea not many days afterwards. From there he went to Jerusalem and called an assembly of all the people of the city, and there was a large crowd from the country as well. Appearing before them, he gave an account of his whole journey and told them about the Jews of Asia, saying that thanks to him they would be unmolested in future. After giving a general picture of his good fortune and his government of the kingdom, in which, he said, he had not neglected anything that might be to their advantage, in a cheerful mood he remitted to them a fourth of their taxes for the past year.<sup>b</sup> Won over by this persuasive speech and his kindness, they went away with the greatest joy, wishing the king all sorts of good things.

(iii. 1)<sup>c</sup> But the dissension in Herod's household kept growing and became increasingly more terrible, for Salome had taken over hatred for the youths as if it were a legacy, and was trying everything that had succeeded against their mother in a desperate and reckless way so as not to leave alive any of her offspring who would be able to avenge the death of the woman who had been destroyed by her. The youths too, on their part, were rather reckless and were hostile to their father both because of their remembrance of their mother's undeserved fate and also because of their desire to rule. Thus the

Dissension  
in Herod's  
household.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. critical notes and Reinhold, *Agrippa*, p. 122, note 89.

<sup>b</sup> On the remission of taxes cf. *Ant.* xv. 365.

<sup>c</sup> §§ 66-72: cf. *B. J.* i. 445-447.

κακὸν ὅμοιον ἐγεγόνει τοῖς πρώτοις, βλασφημίαι μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνων εἰς τε τὴν Σαλώμην καὶ τὸν Φερῶραν, κακοήθειαι δὲ τούτων εἰς τὰ μεираκια καὶ μετὰ 69 πραγματείας ἐπιβουλή· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μῖσος ἴσον ἦν ἐξ ἀλλήλων, ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ μισεῖν οὐχ ὅμοιος· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λοιδορηθῆναι καὶ προσονεδίσαι προπετεῖς, εὐγενὲς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπειρίας οἰόμενοι τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνυπόστολον, οἱ δ' οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ πραγματικῶς καὶ κακοήτως ἐχρῶντο ταῖς διαβολαῖς, προέλκοντες αἰεὶ τὰ μεираκια, καὶ τὸ θρασὺ καταλογιζόμενοι βίαιον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὸν 70 γεγεννηκότα. τὸ γὰρ οὐκ αἰδεῖσθαι ταῖς τῆς μητρὸς ἀμαρτίαις οὐδ' οἴεσθαι δίκαια παθεῖν ἐκείνην ἀσχετον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὸν αἴτιον δοκοῦντα τιμωρῆσθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ δι' αὐτοχειρίας. τέλος οὖν ἀνεπλήσθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, καὶ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγωνίσμασιν ἠλεεῖτο μὲν ἡ τῶν μεираκίων ἀπειρία, κατίσχυε δὲ ἡ τῆς Σαλώμης ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τὰς ἀφορμὰς τοῦ μὴ ψευδῆ 72 λέγειν ἐλάμβανεν. οἱ γὰρ οὕτως ἀχθόμενοι τῷ θανάτῳ τῆς μητρὸς, ἐπειδὴ κάκεινην καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἔλεγεν,<sup>2</sup> ἐφιλονεῖκουν ἐλεεινῆν μὲν, ὡσπερ ἦν, ἀποφαίνειν τὴν καταστροφὴν τῆς μητρὸς, ἐλεεινοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς, οἱ τοῖς ἐκείνης φονεύσιν ἀναγκάζονται συζῆν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν.

73 (2) Ταῦτα προῆει μειζόνως, καιρὸν ἔχουσης τῆς στάσεως ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως. ὡς δ' ἐπανήλθεν Ἡρώδης καὶ τῷ πλήθει διελέξατο, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, προσέπιπτον εὐθὺς οἱ λόγοι παρὰ τε

<sup>1</sup> τιμωρῆσθαι A.W.<sup>2</sup> ἔλεγον W.<sup>a</sup> Or "to participate in their affairs."<sup>b</sup> §§ 73-77: cf. B.J. i. 447.<sup>c</sup> § 63.

situation had become as bad as at first, for the youths directed abusive language at Salome and Pheroras, while these two showed malice toward the youths and formed elaborate plots against them. Thus there was an equal amount of hatred on both sides but the form of their hatred was not the same, for the youths were open in their abuse and rash in their reproaches, believing, in their inexperience, that it was noble to let their anger be unrestrained, while the other two did not act in the same way but made use of slander in a calculatedly malicious way, and continually led the youths on in the expectation that their recklessness would lead to violence against their father. For the fact that they felt no shame at their mother's sins and believed that she had suffered unjustly indicated that they could not be restrained from taking vengeance, and with their own hands, on the one whom they thought guilty. Finally the whole city was filled with talk about these things, and, as is the case in such contests, the inexperience of the youths aroused pity, but the carefully made schemes of Salome prevailed and in their own actions she found an opportunity to avoid having to speak falsely about them. For they were so grieved by the death of their mother that when Salome spoke ill of her as well as of them themselves, they made every effort to show how pitiable was the violent end of their mother, as indeed it was, and how pitiable were they themselves, who were forced to live with her murderers and to experience the same fate.<sup>a</sup>

(2)<sup>b</sup> This situation grew worse, since the king's absence was the occasion for (further) dissension. For when Herod returned and addressed the people, as we said before,<sup>c</sup> he was immediately met by Pheroras and Salome increase Herod's distrust of his sons.

τοῦ Φερώρα καὶ τῆς Σαλώμης μέγαν αὐτῷ τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι τὸν παρὰ τῶν νεανίσκων ἀναφανδὸν διαπειλουμένων ὡς οὐκ ἀνέξονται μὴ τισάμενοι τῆς μητρὸς τὸν φόνον. προσετίθεσαν δ' ἔτι καὶ ὡς ταῖς παρ' Ἀρχελαίου τοῦ Καππάδοκος ἐλπίσιν ἐπαυέχοιεν ὡς δι' ἐκείνου πρὸς τε Καίσαρα ἀφιζόμενοι καὶ κατηγορήσοντες τοῦ πατρός. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐτετάρακτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀκούσας τοιούτων, ἐξεπέπληκτο δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς ἀπήγγελλον, ἀνέκαμπε δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ τὰ τε πρῶτα, καταλογιζόμενος ὡς οὔτε τῶν φιλάτων οὔτε τῆς στεργομένης αὐτῷ γυναικὸς ὤνατο διὰ τὰς ἐγγενομένας ταραχὰς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, τό τε μέλλον<sup>1</sup> τοῦ προσπεπτωκότος ἤδη βαρύτερον καὶ μείζον ἔσσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> ὑπολαμβάνων, ἐν συγχύσει τῆς ψυχῆς ἦν. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι πλείστα μὲν τῶν ἕξωθεν καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας εἰς εὐτυχίαν αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον προσετίθει, μέγιστα δὲ τῶν οἴκοι καὶ μηδὲ προσδοκώμενα δυστυχεῖν αὐτῷ συνέβαιεν, ἐκατέρου προϊόντος<sup>3</sup> ὡς οὐκ ἂν τις ᾤηθη, καὶ παρέχοντος ἀμφήριστον τὴν ὑπερβολήν, εἰ δέον τὴν τοσαύτην εὐτυχίαν τῶν ἕξωθεν πραγμάτων ἀλλάξασθαι<sup>4</sup> τῶν οἴκοι κακῶν, ἢ τοιοῦτο μέγεθος τῶν περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους συμφορῶν διαφυγεῖν ἐν τῷ μηδὲ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας θαυμαζόμενα κεκτῆσθαι.

78 (3) Ταρᾶσόμενος δὲ<sup>5</sup> καὶ διακείμενος τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν μεираκίων ἕτερον αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον PA.

<sup>2</sup> βαρύτερον . . . ἔσσεσθαι vir doctus ap. Hudson: βαρὺ καὶ μείζον ἐκείνων codd. graviora et peiora Lat.

<sup>3</sup> cod. Voss.: προϊόντος rell. fort. recte.

and Salome with the news that he was in great danger from the youths, who were openly threatening that they would not leave the murder of their mother unavenged. And they added too that the youths rested their hopes on Archelaus,<sup>a</sup> the king of Cappadocia, by whose help they might reach Caesar and bring charges against their father. On hearing these things Herod was immediately disturbed and was the more dismayed that certain others also reported them, and from this misfortune he went back in thought to his former ones, reflecting that he had not found any comfort in those dearest to him or in his well-loved wife because of the troubles that had come upon his household. And believing that the impending misfortune would be heavier and greater than that which had already befallen him, he was in a confused state of mind. In truth, a divine power had given him a great many instances of good fortune, even more than he had hoped for, in external affairs, but in his own home it was his fate to meet with the greatest misfortunes and such as he had never expected. Each of these experiences continued in a way that exceeded credibility until a climax was reached that raised the question whether it was right to purchase such great good fortune in public affairs at the cost of domestic woes, or to escape such great tragedies at home by forgoing his miraculous success as king.

(3)<sup>b</sup> Being disturbed and in this unhappy state of mind, and in order to keep down the youths, he sent

Antipater acquires influence with Herod.

<sup>a</sup> On Archelaus cf. *Ant.* xv. 105 note *e* and especially xvi. 206, 261-270 (= *B.J.* i. 449-512), 325-334.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 78-80: cf. *B.J.* i. 448.

<sup>4</sup> ἀνταλλάξασθαι Niese.

<sup>5</sup> δὴ Hudson.

γενόμενον ιδιωτεύοντι παῖδα προσήγετο καὶ τοῦτον  
 ἐδόκει τιμᾶν (ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἀντίπατρος), οὐχ ὥσπερ  
 ἐν ὑστέρω<sup>1</sup> καὶ τελέως ἡττηθεὶς αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντ'  
 79 εἰς ἐκείνον ἀναφέρων, οἰόμενος δὲ παραιρήσεσθαι  
 τοῦ θράσους τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμμης καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς  
 νουθεσίαν τὴν ἐκείνων οἰκονομῶν αὐτό.<sup>2</sup> τὸ γὰρ  
 αἰθάδες οὐκ ἂν εἶναι<sup>3</sup> παρ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ τοῦτο πει-  
 σθεῖεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνοις μηδ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἢ διαδοχῇ  
 80 τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλεται. διὸ καὶ καθάπερ ἔφεδρόν  
 τινα τὸν Ἀντίπατρον εἰσήγαγεν, οἰόμενος ὀρθῶς  
 προνοεῖν καὶ κατασταλέντων τῶν μειρακίων ἐξείναι  
 81 εὐκαίρως χρῆσθαι βελτίοισιν. τὸ δ' οὐχ ὥσπερ  
 ἐνόησεν ἀπέβη· τοῖς τε γὰρ παισὶν οὐ μετρίως  
 ἐδόκει κεκρῆσθαι τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπηρείᾳ, καὶ  
 δευρὸς ὢν τὸν τρόπον Ἀντίπατρος, ἐπειδὴ παρ-  
 ρησίας τινὸς ἐκ<sup>4</sup> τῆς οὐ πρότερον οὔσης ἐλπίδος  
 ἀντεποιήσατο, μίαν ἔσχευ ὑπόθεσιν, κακοῦν<sup>5</sup> τοὺς  
 ἀδελφοὺς καὶ<sup>6</sup> μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῶν πρωτείων, ἀλλ'  
 ἔχεσθαι<sup>7</sup> τοῦ πατρὸς, ἣδη μὲν ἡλλοτριωμένον ταῖς  
 διαβολαῖς, εὐμεταχειρίστου δ' ὄντος εἰς ὅπερ ἐ-  
 σπουδάκει, πολὺ χαλεπώτερον αἰεὶ γενέσθαι τοῖς  
 82 διαβεβλημένοις. ἦσαν οὖν παρ' αὐτοῦ μόνου οἱ  
 λόγοι, φυλαττομένου δι' αὐτοῦ δόξαι τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 καταμηνύειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐχρήτη συνεργοῖς τοῖς  
 ἀνυπόπτοις καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὑστέρω] ὁλοσχερῶς Naber.    <sup>2</sup> αὐτόν AMW fort. recte.

<sup>3</sup> Naber: εἶη AMW: om. PE.    <sup>4</sup> ἐκ ins. Ernesti.

<sup>5</sup> κακοῦ PW.    <sup>6</sup> καὶ om. PWE.

<sup>7</sup> Ε: ἐνέχεσθαι PW: ἀνέχεσθαι AM.

<sup>a</sup> Or "of him." See critical note.

<sup>b</sup> Or "competitor." The well-attested sense of a "third competitor" would seem to fit the situation. But cf. *B.J.* i. 448, "as a bulwark" (ἐπιτείχισμα).

for another of his sons, who had been born while Herod was a commoner, and he decided to honour him—his name was Antipater—not that he was completely victimized by him as he was later, when he referred everything to him, but merely because he believed that he would curb the recklessness of Mariamme's sons and warn them more effectively by making use of this instrument.<sup>a</sup> For, he thought, their recklessness would cease if they were persuaded that the succession to the throne was not solely and necessarily their rightful due. It was for this reason that he brought in Antipater as a sort of standby,<sup>b</sup> thinking that he was taking the right precautions; once the youths had calmed down, it would be possible at the right time to find them in a better frame of mind to deal with.<sup>c</sup> But it did not turn out as he had planned, both because the youths thought that he had treated them unfairly and harshly, and also because Antipater, who was a formidable character and had assumed a certain boldness where earlier he had not had any hope, now had only one aim, which was to injure his brothers and not to yield first place to them but to keep after his father, who had already been alienated from them by calumny and was easily led in whatever direction Antipater was intent on having him go, and continually make him harsher to the youths, who had already been the victims of slander.<sup>d</sup> It was not only from Antipater that these reports came, for he took care not to appear himself as a talebearer, but instead used as collaborators such men as were not suspect and would be believed to

<sup>c</sup> Or, more literally, "at the right time to deal with them when they were in a better frame of mind."

<sup>d</sup> § 81: cf. *B.J.* i. 449-450.



- 83 βασιλέα πιστευθησομένοις αὐτὸ ποιεῖν. ἤδη δὲ πλείους ἐγεγόνεισαν οἱ κάκεινον ἐφ' οἷς ἠλπικε θεραπεύοντες καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐκ τοῦ δοκεῖν κατ' εὐνοίαν τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν ὑπαγόμενοι. καὶ τούτων πολυπροσώπως καὶ πιστῶς ἀλλήλοις συναγωνιζομένων, ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αἱ παρὰ τῶν μειρακίων
- 84 ἀφορμαὶ προσεγίνοντο· καὶ γὰρ καὶ δάκρυα πολλάκις ἦν κατ' ἐπήρειαν ὧν ἠτιμάζοντο καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνάκλησις, καὶ τὸν πατέρα φανερώς ἤδη πρὸς τοὺς φίλους οὐ δίκαιον<sup>1</sup> ἐλέγχειν ἐπετήδενον. ἅπερ ἅπαντα κακοήθως ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καιροφυλακούμενα καὶ μειζόνως πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐξαγγελλούμενα προὔβαιεν οὐ μικρὰν ἀπεργαζόμενα
- 85 τὴν τῆς οἰκίας στάσιμ. ἀχθόμενος γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῖς διαβολαῖς καὶ ταπεινώσαι βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας, μείζονα αἰεὶ πως<sup>2</sup> τιμὴν Ἀντιπάρῳ παρέιχε, καὶ τέλος ἠττηθεὶς ἐπεισήγαγε τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα· Καίσαρι δὲ πολλάκις γράφων ὑπὲρ
- 86 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδίᾳ συνίστη σπουδαιότερον. Ἀγρίππα γε μὴν ἀνιόντος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας δεκαετῆ γεγενημένην, πλεύσας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ συντυγχάνων μόνον τε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπηγάγετο καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάγειν μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων, Καίσαρι φίλον ἐσόμενον, ὥστε ἤδη πάντα δοκεῖν ἐπ'<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνῳ καὶ παρεῶσθαι παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὰ μειράκια.
- 87 (iv. 1) Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τιμὴν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι δοκεῖν Ἀντιπάρῳ προὔχῳρει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀποδη-

<sup>1</sup> <ὡς> οὐ δίκαιον <ὄν> [sic] con. Richards et Shutt: cf. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Naber: πρὸς codd.: προτίμησιν con. Post.

<sup>3</sup> εἶναι con. Richards et Shutt, cf. § 22.

be doing this because of their loyalty to the king. By now there were a good many persons who courted Antipater for his expectations and who led Herod on by appearing to make such reports out of loyalty to him. And while these actors played their many parts with loyal teamwork, the youths furnished them with still more numerous opportunities. For example, they often shed tears over the ill treatment and dishonour from which they suffered, and invoked the name of their mother, and now openly before their friends sought to convict their father of injustice. These things, being maliciously noted for their own purposes by Antipater and his friends, and being reported to Herod in exaggerated form, came in time to increase the dissension in the household until it was no small matter. For the king was irritated by these calumnies; and wishing to humiliate the sons of Mariamme, continually, it would seem, bestowed greater honour upon Antipater. At last he was so greatly dominated by him that he brought his mother into the household as well.<sup>a</sup> He also frequently wrote to Caesar about him and in private recommended him very strongly. Indeed, when Agrippa was returning to Rome after governing Asia for ten years, and Herod sailed from Judaea to meet him, he took only Antipater along and entrusted him to Agrippa to take to Rome with many gifts in order that he might become the friend of Caesar. Thus all authority now seemed to be in his hands, and the youths were completely excluded from power.

(iv. 1) Antipater also advanced in honour and bettered his position of pre-eminence while he was

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *B.J.* i. 451. Herod's first wife, Doris, a Jewess. She is named in *B.J.* i. 241.

Antipater in Rome intrigues against Mariamme's sons.

μίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πᾶσιν ἐπεσταλκότης  
 88 Ἡρώδου τοῖς φίλοις, διάσημος ἦν· ἤχθετο δὲ τῷ  
 μὴ παρεῖναι μηδὲ ἔχειν ἐξ εὐκαιροῦ διαβάλλειν αἰ  
 τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκει μεταβολὴν τοῦ  
 πατρός, εἴ τι καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀξιώσειεν ἐπιεικέστε-  
 89 ρον εἰς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας φρονεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ  
 δι' ἐννοίας ἔχων οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαι-  
 ρέσεως, ἀλλὰ κἀκείθεν, ὅτε ἀνιάσειεν τι καὶ παροξυ-  
 νεῖν ἤλπιζε τὸν πατέρα κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, συνεχῶς  
 ἐπέστελλεν, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ὑπεραγωνιῶν αὐτοῦ,  
 τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἀφ' ἧς εἶχεν φύσει<sup>1</sup> κακοηθείας τὴν  
 ἐλπίδα μεγάλην καθ'<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτὴν οὖσαν ἐμπορευόμενος,  
 90 ἕως εἰς τοῦτο προήγαγε τὸν Ἡρώδην ὀργῆς καὶ  
 δυσθυμίας,<sup>3</sup> ὡς ἤδη μὲν ἔχειν δυσμενῶς τοῖς μειρα-  
 κίοις, ἔτι<sup>4</sup> δὲ κατοκνεῖν εἰς τοιοῦτον ἐμβῆναι πάθος.  
 ὡς δὲ<sup>5</sup> μήτ' ἀμελῶν μήτ' ἐκ<sup>6</sup> προπετείας ἀμαρτάνοι,  
 κρεῖττον ἠγήσατο πλεύσας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκεῖ τῶν  
 παίδων κατηγορεῖν παρὰ Καίσαρι, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ  
 τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέπειν, ὃ καὶ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς ἀσεβείας  
 91 ὑποπτον ἦν. ὡς δὲ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐγέν-  
 νετο μὲν μέχρι τῆς Ἀκυληίας πόλεως Καίσαρι συν-  
 τυχεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς λόγους καὶ καιρὸν  
 αἰτησάμενος ἐπὶ μεγάλοις οἷς ἐδόκει δυστυχεῖν,<sup>7</sup>  
 παρεστήσατο μὲν τοὺς παῖδας, ἠτιᾶτο δὲ τῆς ἀπο-  
 92 νοίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὡς ἐχθρῶς ἔχουσιν  
 ἅπαντα τρόπον ἐσπουδακότες μισεῖν τὸν ἑαυτῶν

<sup>1</sup> φύσει edd.: ἐν φύσει codd. <sup>2</sup> καὶ καθ' AM.

<sup>3</sup> Cocceji: δυσφημίας codd.: furoris Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Naber: ἐν αὐτ ἐν codd. <sup>5</sup> δὲ om. PW.

<sup>6</sup> μήτ' ἐκ ed. pr.: μήτε καὶ PW: μήτε AM.

<sup>7</sup> συνδυστυχεῖν PW: συντυχεῖν E.

away, for he was very well known in Rome, where Herod had written about him to all his friends. But he was irked by not being at home with constant opportunities to slander his brothers, and he was especially afraid that his father might change his attitude and, being left to himself, might find some reason to think more kindly of Mariamme's sons. With such things in mind he did not give up his purpose but even from where he was he kept writing constantly whenever he thought he could grieve his father and rouse his anger against his brothers. He pretended, indeed, that he was greatly concerned for his father's welfare, but in reality because of his natural malice he was trading on his hope, which was great enough to start with. And he led Herod on to such a pitch of anger and resentment that he now became hostile to the youths, although he still hesitated to yield completely to so strong a feeling. And in order not to make a mistake through carelessness or rashness, he thought it better to sail to Rome and there accuse his sons before Caesar than to permit himself an action that might be looked upon askance because it greatly violated family loyalty. Now after he had gone up to Rome, he pressed on as far as the city of Aquileia,<sup>a</sup> being in haste to meet Caesar. When he got the chance to speak with him, he asked for the opportunity to be heard on the subject of his great misfortunes, as they seemed to him,<sup>b</sup> and after producing his sons, accused them of a desperate conspiracy. He explained how hostile they were and how hard they had tried in every way to show their hatred of their own father to the point (of planning)

Herod sails to Rome to consult Augustus.

<sup>a</sup> In § 106 and *B.J.* i. 452 the incident is related as having occurred in Rome. <sup>b</sup> The text of this line is uncertain.

πατέρα ὥστε διαχειρίσασθαι αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὠμοτάτῳ τρόπῳ παραλαβεῖν· ὁ δ' οὐδὲ θνήσκων ἐξ ἀνάγκης μᾶλλον ἢ κρίσει παραδοῦναι τῷ διαμείναντι πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐσεβεστέρῳ παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν ἔχοι. τοῖς δ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ πλεόν,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ταύτης στεροῦντο καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐλάττων λόγος, εἰ μόνον ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν πατέρα δυνηθεῖεν· οὕτως ἄγριόν τι καὶ μιαρὸν ἐντετηκέναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν μίσος. καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀτυχίαν αὐτὸς ἐκ μακροῦ φέρων ἀναγκασθῆναι νῦν ἐξηγεῖσθαι Καίσαρι, καὶ μαινεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀκοὰς τοιούτοις λόγοις. καίτοι τί μὲν εἶψαν παθόντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ δυσχερές; ἐπὶ τίνι δὲ μέμφονται βαρὺν ὄντα; πῶς δ' οἶόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκτίσασατο πολλοῖς πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἀρχὴν, ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι κύριον εἶναι, κρατεῖν τε καὶ δίδοναι τῷ κατ' ἀξίαν; ὡς τοῦτό γε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀθλον εὐσεβείας ἐκτίθεται τῷ μέλλοντι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα<sup>3</sup> γενήσασθαι τοιούτῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ἀμοιβῆς τοσσηδε οὔσης ἐπιτυγχάνειν.<sup>4</sup> ὅτι δὲ μηδὲ εὐσεβὲς αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτου πολυπραγμανεῖν, εὐδῆλον· ὁ γὰρ αἰεὶ τι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐνθυμούμενος συγκαταλογίζεται τὸν θάνατον τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, μεθ' ὃν ἄλλως οὐκ ἔστιν τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. αὐτὸς δ' ὅσα βασιλευμένους καὶ βασιλέως παισὶν πρέπει<sup>5</sup> οὐχ ὑστερήσαι<sup>6</sup> μέχρι νῦν ἀποδιδούς, οὐ

<sup>1</sup> ὥστε . . . αὐτὸν] E: μεταχειρίσασθαι codd.

<sup>2</sup> post πλεόν excidisse ἢ σπουδῆ vel sim. con. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Richards et Shutt: πρὸς τὸν ποτέ PW: ποτέ AM: πρὸς αὐτὸν con. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> ἅτε . . . ἐπιτυγχάνειν corrupta esse putat Niese.

to put him to death and seize the throne for themselves in the most barbarous manner, although he had received from Caesar the authority to bestow the throne at his death, not by compulsion but by choice, on the son who had throughout been most dutiful to him.<sup>a</sup> His sons, however, were not primarily concerned about the throne but thought it of small account to be deprived of this and of life as well if only they might kill their father, so savage and unholy was the hatred that raged in their breasts. This unhappy state, which he himself had borne so long, he was now, he said, compelled to reveal to Caesar and to pollute his ears with such a recital. And yet what harsh treatment had they suffered from him? Or in what respect did they blame him for being severe? And how was it possible and right not to allow him to be master of a realm that he had acquired with great pains and danger, whether to possess it himself or to give it to one who was worthy of it? For it was chiefly this, among other things, that he held out as a prize for filial dutifulness to the son who would show such concern for his father<sup>b</sup> as to deserve so great a recompense as this.<sup>b</sup> But that it was far from dutiful for them to take the matter into their own hands was very plain to see, for he who continually thinks about becoming king is at the same time counting on the death of his father, since it is not possible to succeed to his throne in any other way. As for himself, he had not failed, up to the present, to give them such gifts as were suitable for those who were subjects and sons

<sup>a</sup> On Herod's right to name his successors *cf.* *Ant.* xv. 343.

<sup>b</sup> Text slightly emended; *cf.* critical note.

<sup>5</sup> πρέπει add. Richards et Shutt: δίδοται vel sim. deesse putat Niese.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: ὑστερήσεν codd.

κόσμον, οὐχ ὑπηρεσίαν, οὐ τρυφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γά-  
 μους τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους παρεσχῆσθαι, τῷ μὲν<sup>1</sup> ἐκ  
 τῆς ἀδελφῆς, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὴν Ἀρχελάου τοῦ  
 98 βασιλέως<sup>2</sup> θυγατέρα συνοικίσας. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον,  
 οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἦν εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν ταύτη κατ'  
 αὐτῶν χρησάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν εὐεργέτην  
 Καίσαρα, καὶ παρελόμενος<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῦ πᾶν ὅσον ἢ πατὴρ  
 ἀσεβούμενος ἢ βασιλεὺς ἐπιβουλεύμενος δύναται,  
 99 κρίσεως ἰσοτιμίᾳ παρεστακέναι. δεήσει<sup>4</sup> μέντοι  
 μὴ παντάπασιν αὐτὸν ἀτιμώρητον γενέσθαι μηδ' ἐν  
 τοῖς μεγίστοις φόβοις καταλῆναι, οὐδ' ἐκείνοις λυσι-  
 τελῶντος ἐφ' οἷς ἐνεθυμήθησαν ὄραν τὸν ἥλιον, εἰ  
 νῦν διαφύγοιεν, ἔργω<sup>5</sup> μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπείων καὶ  
 δράσαντας καὶ πεισομένους.

100 (2) Ταῦτα μὲν Ἡρώδης ἐμπαθῶς ἠτιάσατο παρὰ  
 Καίσαρι τὸς αὐτοῦ παῖδας. τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων ἤδη  
 μὲν καὶ λέγοντος δάκρυα καὶ σύγχυσις ἦν· μᾶλλον  
 δ' ἐπεὶ κατέπαυσεν Ἡρώδης τὸν λόγον, τῷ<sup>6</sup> μὲν  
 ἔξω τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον  
 101 πιστὸν εἶχον ἐν τῷ συνειδίῳ, τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς  
 ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὰς διαβολὰς δυσαπολόγητον, ὥσπερ  
 ἦν, ἤδρασαν, οὐκ εὐσχημονοῦντος οὐδὲ τοῦ κατὰ παρ-  
 ρησίαν λόγου πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἐκ βίας  
 102 αἰεὶ καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐλέγχειν πεπλανημένον.<sup>7</sup> ἦν  
 οὖν ἀπορία τοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν καὶ δάκρυα καὶ

Aristobulo Lat. <sup>2</sup> regis Cappadocum Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Bekker: παρελόμενον codd.

<sup>4</sup> Hudson: δεήσει codd.

<sup>5</sup> ἔργων MA corr.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: τοῦ con. Post: τὸ codd.

<sup>7</sup> πεπλασμένον P.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. Aristobulus, read here by the Latin. Cf. § 11 and note; B.J. i. 446.

of a king, whether ornaments or servants or luxury ; moreover, he had arranged the most brilliant marriages for them—he had given to one son<sup>a</sup> the daughter of his own sister,<sup>b</sup> and to Alexander the daughter of King Archelaus.<sup>c</sup> And what was most important, not even in such circumstances had he used his authority against them but had brought them before Caesar, their common benefactor, and had given up all his own rights as a father undutifully treated and as a king plotted against, and had presented himself for judgment on an equal footing with them. He would, however, request that he be not left altogether unavenged nor made to live out his life in the greatest fear, for not even to his sons would it be profitable, in view of what they had planned, to see the light of the sun if they should now escape punishment, since they had indeed committed the greatest crimes known to mankind and would suffer the consequences.

(2)<sup>d</sup> These were the charges which with deep emotion Herod brought against his sons before Caesar, and even while he was speaking, the youths were in tears and in confusion. But they were even more disturbed when Herod had finished his speech, for though they were convinced by their consciences that they were innocent of such filial impiety, still they knew that it would be hard for them, as indeed it was, to defend themselves against the accusations brought by their father, since it was not at the moment seemly for them to speak with frankness if they were thereby to convict him of error in his habitual and hasty use of force. And so, being unable to decide what to say,

Herod's sons are disturbed by his accusations.

<sup>b</sup> Berenice, the daughter of Salome; see note a.

<sup>c</sup> The Latin reads "of the king of Cappadocia"; see note a.

<sup>d</sup> § 100: cf. B.J. i. 452.



- τέλος οἰμωγῇ συμπαθεστέρα, δεδοικότεων μὲν ὡς, εἰ σιγῶεν,<sup>1</sup> δόξουσιν ἐκ τοῦ συνειδέσθαι ἠπορησθαι, ῥαδίαν δ' οὐχ εὐρισκομένων τὴν ἀπολογίαν
- 103 ὑπὸ τε νεότητος καὶ ταραχῆς ἦν ἐπεπόνθεισαν. οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Καῖσαρ ἐπιβλέπων αὐτοὺς ὡς εἶχον ἀσύνετον ἐποιεῖτο τὸ μὴ κατὰ συνείδησιν ἀποπτέρων,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀπειρίας καὶ μετριότητος ὀκνεῖν, ἔλεενοι τ' ἐγεγόνεισαν τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ἰδίᾳ<sup>3</sup> τὸν πατέρα διεκίνησαν ἀληθινῶ τῷ πάθει συνεχόμενον.
- 104 (3) Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνείδον εὐμένειάν τινα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἕκαστον τοὺς μὲν συνδακρύνοντας, ἅπαντας δὲ συναλοῦντας, ἄτερος αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπικαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπεχειρεῖ διαλύειν τὰς αἰτίας καί,
- 105 "πάτερ," εἶπεν, "ἡ μὲν σὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὖνοια δῆλη καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κρίσιν· οὐκ ἂν γάρ, εἴ τι δυσχερές ἐνενόεις ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τὸν πάντας<sup>4</sup> σώζοντα
- 106 προήγαγες· καὶ γὰρ ἐξῆν,<sup>5</sup> παρουσίας μὲν ἐξουσίας ὡς βασιλεῖ, παρουσίας δὲ ὡς πατρί, τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἐπεξείεναι· τὸ δ'<sup>6</sup> εἰς Ῥώμην ἄγειν καὶ τοῦτον ποιεῖσθαι μάρτυρα σώζοντος ἦν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναι τινα προαιρούμενος εἰς ἱερά καὶ ναοὺς ἄγει.
- 107 τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον ἤδη χεῖρον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείναιμεν ἔτι ζῆν εἰ τοιοῦτον ἡδικηκέναι πατέρα πεπιστευμέθα. καὶ μήποτε τοῦτ' ἐκείνου χεῖρον ἀντὶ τοῦ τεθνᾶναι μηδὲν ἀδικούντας τὸ ζῆν ἀδικεῖν ὑποπτέου-

<sup>1</sup> ὡς εἰ σιγῶεν Zonaras : εἰ codd.

<sup>2</sup> Niese : ἀποπτέρων W : ἀποπτέραν rell.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἰδίᾳ Niese : ἰδίᾳ καὶ codd.

<sup>4</sup> πάντα PW. <sup>5</sup> ἐξῆν om. P. <sup>6</sup> δ' om. PW.

<sup>a</sup> Or "the saviour of all" (cf. critical note). The title

they were in tears and at last groaned very pitifully, for they were afraid that if they remained silent they would seem to be at a loss because of a bad conscience, while, on the other hand, they could not think up a defence because of their youth and the agitation from which they suffered. But Caesar, seeing their state of confusion, did not fail to understand that their hesitation was due not to any consciousness of having committed monstrous crimes but to their inexperience and diffidence. And they were an object of pity to the bystanders but they particularly moved their father, who was seized by a genuine emotion.

(3) When the youths became aware of a certain degree of kindness both in him and in Caesar, and saw that everyone else was either weeping with them or showing anguish, as all did, one of them, Alexander, appealed to his father and sought to break down the accusations. "Father," he said, "your goodwill toward us is evident even in this trial. For if you had intended to take severe action against us, you would not have brought us before the saviour of all mankind." For having both the authority of a king and the authority of a father, you might have punished the guilty, but your bringing us to Rome and making Caesar a witness was the act of one who meant to save us, since no one who intends to kill another brings him to a sanctuary or a temple. But our situation is still worse, for we could not bear to live any longer if we were believed to have done wrong to such a father. Perhaps what is worse than to be put to death in one's innocence is to live under "saviour" was assumed by several of the Diadochi: cf. *Ant.* xii. 3-11, 223; xiii. 222. Cf. Wendland, *ZNTW* 5 (1904), 335-354; *PW* IIIA, 1211-1221; M. and M. *Vocabulary*, p. 621.

Alexander's  
reply to  
Herod.

108 μένους. εἰ μὲν οὖν εὖροι λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας ἢ παρρησία, μακάριον καὶ σὲ πείσαι καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγεῖν· εἰ δ' οὕτως ἢ διαβολὴ κρατεῖ, περιττὸς ἡμῖν ὁ νῦν ἥλιος, ὃν τί δεῖ βλέπειν μετὰ τῆς ὑποψίας; τὸ μὲν οὖν φάναι βασιλείας ἐπιθυμεῖν, εὐκαιρὸς εἰς νέους αἰτία, καὶ τὸ προστιθέναι τὴν τῆς ἀθλίας μητρὸς<sup>1</sup> ἱκανὸν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης τὴν νῦν ἀτυχίαν ἐξεργάζεσθαι. βλέπον δὲ εἰ μὴ κοινὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> πᾶσιν ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι δυνησόμενα· κωλύσει γὰρ οὐδὲν τῷ βασιλεύοντι, παῖδες εἰ εἰσὶν νέοι καὶ μήτηρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανούσα, πάντας ὑπόπτους εἶναι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιβούλους δοκεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐ

111 τὸ ὑπόπτον πρὸς τοιαύτην ἀσέβειαν ἀρκετὸν. εἰπάτω δὴ<sup>3</sup> τις, ἡμῖν εἰ τετόλμηται τοιοῦτον ᾧ καὶ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ πίστιν εἴωθεν ὑπ' ἐναργείας<sup>4</sup> λαμβάνειν. φαρμάκου παρασκευὴν ἐλέγχειν δύναται τις ἢ συνωμοσίαν ἡλικιωτῶν ἢ διαφθορὰν οἰκετῶν

112 ἢ γράμματα κατὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένα; καίτοι τούτων ἕκαστον ἔσθ' ὅπη καὶ μὴ γενόμενον ἐκ διαβολῆς ἐπλάσθη· χαλεπὸν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμοιοῦν οἶκος ἐν βασιλείᾳ· καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἣν σὺ φῆς ἔπαθλον εὐσεβείας, συμβαίνει πολλάκις αἰτίαν γενέσθαι τοῖς πονηροτάτοις ἐλπίδων, δι' ἃς οὐδεμίαν ὑποστολὴν ποιοῦνται

113 κακοηθείας. ἀδίκημα μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ καθ' ἡμῶν· τὰς δὲ διαβολὰς πῶς ἂν λύσειεν ὁ ἀκούσαι μὴ θέλων; ἐλαλήσαμεν τι μετὰ παρρησίας; οὐχ

<sup>1</sup> post μητρὸς excidisse μνήμην vel sim. con. Niese (sed verbum αἰτίαν subintelligendum esse vid.).

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ ins. Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> δέ AM.

<sup>4</sup> Bekker: ἐνεργείας codd.

suspicion of being guilty. Now if our frankness of speech should be received as the truth, we should be happy both to have persuaded you and to have escaped danger. But if calumny so prevails, the light of to-day's sun is more than we need, for what point is there in our looking upon it longer if we are under suspicion? Now to say that they desire to reign is a charge that may plausibly be brought against young men, but when one adds the charge about our unhappy mother,<sup>a</sup> that is enough to make our present misfortune a prolongation of our earlier one. But consider whether these are not common charges and such as might be made against all young men alike. For if a king has young sons whose mother has been put to death, nothing will keep him from suspecting them of plotting against their father. But suspicion is not enough to prove so great an impiety. Let someone speak up then if we have done a thing so rash as plainly<sup>b</sup> to make credible what is ordinarily incredible. Can anyone convict us of having prepared poison or conspired with our comrades or bribed servants or written a letter against you? And yet each of these things, even though it has not been done, has somehow been invented by calumny. For it is a terrible thing for the kingdom when the (royal) household is not of one mind. And the throne, which you say is to be the reward of filial piety, often proves to fill very wicked men with hopes which make them show no restraint at all in their vicious acts. Now no one will prove any wrongdoing on our part. As for the calumnies, how can he dispose of them who is unwilling to give us a hearing? Have we spoken with some degree of frankness? (If so) it was not

<sup>b</sup> mss. "effectively."

εἰς σέ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἄδικον· ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς οὐδ' εἶ  
 114 τι μὴ λελάλητο<sup>1</sup> σιωπῶντας. τὴν μητέρα τις ἡμῶν  
 ἔκλαυσεν; οὐχ ὅτι τέθνηκεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ νεκρὰ  
 κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὑπὸ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων. ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυ-  
 μοῦμεν ἧς ἴσμεν ἔχοντα τὸν πατέρα. τί καὶ θέ-  
 λοντες; εἰ μὲν εἰσὶν ἡμῖν τιμαὶ βασιλέων, ὥσπερ  
 εἰσὶν, οὐ κενοσπουδοῦμεν; εἰ δ' οὐκ εἰσὶν, οὐκ  
 115 ἐλπίζομεν; ἢ σὲ διαχειρισάμενοι κρατήσῃ τὴν  
 βασιλείαν προσεδοκήσαμεν, οἷς οὔτε γῆ βάσιμος  
 οὔτε πλωτὴ θάλαττα μετὰ τοιοῦτον ἔργον; ἢ δὲ  
 τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐσέβεια καὶ θρησκεία τοῦ παντὸς  
 ἔθνους ἠνέσχετο ἂν πατροκτόνους ἐπὶ τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀγιώτατον ὑπὸ σοῦ κατα-  
 116 σκευασθέντα ναὸν εἰσιέναι; τί δ' εἰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 κατεφρονήσαμεν, ἐδύνατό τις φονεύσας<sup>2</sup> ἀτιμώρητος  
 μένειν ζῶντος Καίσαρος; οὔτ' ἀσεβεῖς οὕτως  
 ἐγέννησας οὔτ' ἀλογίστους, ἀτυχεστέρους δ' ἴσως ἢ  
 117 σοὶ καλῶς εἶχεν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' αἰτίας ἔχεις μήτ' ἐπι-  
 βουλὰς εὐρίσκεις, τί σοι πρὸς πίστιν αὐτάρκες  
 τοιαύτης δυσσεβείας; ἢ μήτηρ τέθνηκεν· ἀλλὰ τοι  
 τὰ κατ' ἐκείνην οὐδὲ παροξύνειν ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ νου-  
 118 θετεῖν ἠδύνατο. πλείω μὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι δυνά-  
 μεθα,<sup>3</sup> λόγον<sup>4</sup> δ' οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται τὰ μὴ γενόμενα.  
 διόπερ ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων δεσπότῃ Καίσαρι μεσιτεύοντι  
 τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν συντιθέμεθα ταύτην τὴν συν-  
 119 θήκην· εἰ μὲν ἀνύποπτον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν

<sup>1</sup> εἰ τι μὴ λελάλητο Niese : ὅτι λελάλητο μὴ codd.

<sup>2</sup> σὲ ins. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> βουλόμεθα AMW : volebamus Lat.

<sup>4</sup> prolixiorum sermonem Lat.

against you, which would have been wrong, but  
 against those who did not keep silent even though  
 nothing had been said. Did one of us lament our  
 mother? (If so) it was not because she was put to  
 death but because even in death she was slandered by  
 unworthy men. Do we desire the throne which we  
 know our father to possess? What reason indeed do  
 we have for doing so? If we have royal honours, as  
 we indeed have, are we not showing quite unnecessary  
 zeal (in desiring them)? And if, on the other hand,  
 we do not have them, do we not have hope of them?  
 Or could we have expected to obtain the throne by  
 putting you out of the way, if after such a deed the  
 earth could not be walked or the sea sailed by us?  
 Would the piety of your subjects and the religious  
 feeling of the whole nation have suffered parricides to  
 become the heads of state and to enter the most holy  
 temple built by you? And even supposing that we  
 had made light of other dangers, could any murderer  
 long escape punishment while Caesar is alive? The  
 sons you have begotten are neither so undutiful nor  
 so foolish, though perhaps they are more unfortunate  
 than is well for you. But if you have no cause for  
 complaint and can discover no plot against you, what  
 is it that has the power in itself to lead you to believe  
 in so great an impiety? Our mother was put to  
 death, but surely her fate would have been a lesson  
 to us rather than an occasion for anger. Although  
 we can say more<sup>a</sup> in our defence, acts which have not  
 been committed do not admit of any defence. There-  
 fore in the presence of Caesar, the lord of all men  
 and our mediator at the present moment, we propose  
 this agreement. If you, Father, will return to an

Or "we wish to say more"; cf. critical notes.

πρὸς ἡμᾶς διάθεσιν ἀπολαμβάνεις, ὦ πάτερ, ζήσομεν, οὐδ' οὕτως μὲν εὐτυχῶς· δεινὸν γὰρ τῶν<sup>1</sup> μεγάλων κακῶν καὶ ψευδῆς αἰτία. παρουσίας δέ τινος ὀρρωδίας σὺ μὲν ἐν τῇ κατὰ σαυτὸν εὐσεβείᾳ<sup>2</sup> μένε, δώσομεν δὲ λόγον ἡμεῖς ἑαυτοῖς. οὐχ οὕτως ὁ βίος ἡμῖν τίμιος, ὡς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀδικία τοῦ δεδωκότος."

121 (4) Τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντος ὁ τε Καῖσαρ, οὐδὲ πρότερον πιστεύων τῷ μεγέθει τῆς διαβολῆς, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξηλλάττετο, καὶ συνεχῆς εἰς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπέβλεπεν, ὁρῶν κάκεινον ὑποσυγχυρόμενον, ἀγωνία τε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐνεπεπτώκει, καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁ λόγος διαδοθεὶς ἐπίφθονον ἐποίει τὸν βασιλέα. τὸ γὰρ ἄπιστον τῆς διαβολῆς καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ κάλλει σωματῶν ἐλευνὸν ἐπεσπᾶτο βοήθειαν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ δεξιῶς καὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως ἀπήντησεν Ἀλέξανδρος. ἦν δ' οὐδ'<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνους ἔτι ταυτὸν σχῆμα, κλαίουσι μὲν ὅμως καὶ σὺν κατηφείᾳ πρὸς τὴν γῆν 123 νενευκόσιν, ἣ δ' ἐλπίς ἀμείνων ὑπεφαίνετο, καὶ δόξας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸν ἔπειθεν εὐλόγα<sup>4</sup> κατηγορηκέναι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν αὐτῶν<sup>5</sup> ἐξελέγχειν<sup>6</sup> 124 ἀπολογίας τινός ἐδεῖτο. Καῖσαρ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους, εἰ καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς διαβολῆς δοκοῦσιν, αὐτό γε τοῦτο ἀμαρτεῖν ἔφη, τὸ μὴ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς παρασχεῖν τῷ πατρὶ ὡς μηδὲ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν con. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> εὐλαβεία Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> δ' οὐδ' ed. pr.: οὐδ' codd.: δ' E.

<sup>4</sup> οὐκ εὐλόγα E. <sup>5</sup> Bekker: αὐτὸν E ed. pr.: om. codd.

<sup>6</sup> ἐξελέγχειν om. PW.

attitude free of suspicion toward us in very truth, we shall (be willing to) live, although even then not happily, for an accusation of grave crimes is a terrible thing even when it is false. But if any fears linger with you, then continue on your part in blamelessness; we will settle accounts with ourselves, for life is not so precious to us that we wish to have it at the cost of wronging him who gave it to us."

(4)<sup>a</sup> While Alexander was speaking in this manner, Caesar, who even before had disbelieved the grave charge, was still further won over to the side of the youths, and kept looking steadily at Herod, whom he saw similarly somewhat disturbed. The bystanders too were seized with anxiety, while the rumours that spread around the court made the king an object of hatred. For the incredibility of the charge and the pity inspired by the fact that the youths were in the flower of manhood and had handsome bodies brought them sympathy from all sides, the more so because Alexander had answered (his father's) speech with skilfulness and prudence. Nor did the two youths present the same appearance as before although they were still weeping and looking down at the ground dejectedly. But the situation appeared to be more hopeful, and although the king had thought his accusations plausible because of what he had persuaded himself to be true, he found himself in need of some defence, since he was unable to prove any charge against them. After a brief pause Caesar said that though the youths seemed to be wholly cleared of the charge brought against them, they were at fault in one respect at least, namely in not having behaved toward their father in such a way as to pre-

Augustus reconciles Herod with his sons.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 454.



- 125 γενέσθαι τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λόγον. Ἡρώδην δὲ παρεκάλει πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκβαλόντα<sup>1</sup> διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς παισίν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον οὐδὲ πιστεύειν τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀμφοτέροις οὐ μόνον ἰάσασθαι τὰ συμβεβηκότα, παροξύναι δὲ τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ προπετές ἐκάτεροι τῆς ὑποψίας ἀπολογούμενοι σπουδῇ πλείονι περὶ ἀλλήλους ἀξιώσουσι κεχρῆσθαι. τοιαῦτα νοουθετῶν ἔνευσε τοῖς νεανίσκοις. ἐκείνων δὲ βουλομένων ὑποπεσεῖν ἐπὶ δεήσει προαναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ δακρύνοντας ἠσπάζετο<sup>2</sup> παρ' ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει περιπτύσσων, ὡς μηδένα τῶν παρατυγχανόντων ἐλεύθερον ἢ δοῦλον ἀπαθῆ γενέσθαι.
- 127 (5) Τότε μὲν οὖν εὐχαριστήσαντες Καίσαρι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀπήεσαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀντίπατρος ὑποκρινόμενος ἐφήδεσθαι ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑστέραις ἡμέραις Ἡρώδης μὲν ἔδωρεῖτο Καίσαρα τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις, θεῶς τε καὶ διανομὰς ποιούμενον<sup>3</sup> τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ, Καίσαρ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μετάλλου τοῦ Κυπρίων χαλκοῦ τὴν ἡμίσειαν πρόσδοον καὶ τῆς ἡμισείας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔδωκεν, καὶ
- 128 τᾶλλα ξενίαις καὶ καταγωγαῖς ἐτίμησε, καὶ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐφήκεν ὃν ἂν αἰρήται τῶν παίδων διάδοχον καθιστάνειν, ἢ καὶ διανέμειν μέρος ἐκάστῳ τῆς τιμῆς εἰς πάντας δι-

<sup>1</sup> ἀφελόντα AMWE: abiciens Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἔνευσε . . . ἠσπάζετο] iuuenibus innuit ad uestigia patris sese proicere, qua supplicatione pater eos lacrimanter et flebiliter est amplexus Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ποιούμενος A corr. ME.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J., i. 455.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "providing" (referring to Herod); see critical note.

vent this report from being made about them. He also urged Herod to put away all suspicion and be reconciled to his sons, for it was not right, he said, even to believe such things against his own offspring. And, he continued, such a change of heart could not only heal the harm that had been done to both sides but could also stimulate their goodwill to each other, and through this they would both apologize for their too hasty suspicions and resolve to show greater concern for each other. After admonishing them in this way he made a sign to the youths, but as they were about to fall at the feet of their father in tearful supplication, he took them in his arms and embraced each in turn, so that no one who was present, whether free man or slave, was left unaffected.

(5)<sup>a</sup> And so they then expressed gratitude to Caesar and went away together, and with them went Antipater, who pretended to be pleased with their reconciliation. In the following days Herod made a present of three hundred talents to Caesar, who was providing<sup>b</sup> spectacles and doles for the people of Rome, while Caesar gave him half the revenue from the copper mines of Cyprus,<sup>c</sup> and entrusted him with the management of the other half. In addition he honoured him with hospitality and lodging. And he allowed him to have authority to dispose of his kingdom and to appoint as his successor whichever of his sons he chose or even to apportion it among them so that a share of

Augustus and Herod exchange gifts.

<sup>c</sup> The earliest evidence that under Augustus the mines were state property. Cf. S. I. Oost, "Cato Uticensis and the Annexation of Cyprus," *Class. Philol.* 50 (1955), 103, 111 n. 41; George Hill, *History of Cyprus*, Cambridge, 1949, i. 226; Broughton, *Economic Survey*, iv. 534; for further bibliography, M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, iii. 1187 n. 102.

ελευσομένης. ἐκείνου δὲ ἤδη θέλοντος<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψεν ἔφη ζῶντι μὴ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῶν παίδων κρατεῖν.

- 130 (6) Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπανήει πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. ἀποδημοῦντος δὲ οὐ μικρὸν μέρος ἀπέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ περὶ τὸν Τράχωνα, καὶ τούτους οἱ καταλειφθέντες στρατηγοὶ χειρωσάμενοι πάλιν ὑπ-
- 131 ἀκούειν ἠνάγκασαν. Ἡρώδης δὲ πλέων σὺν τοῖς παισὶν ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ Κιλικίαν ἐν Ἐλαιούσῃ,<sup>2</sup> τῇ μετωνομασμένῃ νῦν Σεβαστῇ, καταλαμβάνει τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Καππαδοκίας Ἀρχέλαον, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐκδέχεται φιλοφρόνως, ἠδόμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων διαλλαγαῖς καὶ τῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃς εἶχεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα, τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολελῦσθαι, δωρεάς τε ἀντέδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ὡς εἰκὸς βασιλεῖς.
- 132 ἐντεῦθεν Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας ἐλθὼν καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν διελέγετο, τὴν Καίσαρος εἰς αὐτὸν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ τὰλλα διεξιῶν ὅσα κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πραχθέντα συμφέρεν ἠγεῖτο καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους<sup>3</sup> εἰδέ-
- 133 ναι. τέλος ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ τῶν παίδων κατέστρεψε τὸν λόγον, τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐλήν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος εἰς ὁμόνοιαν παρακαλῶν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύων βασιλέας γενέσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν Ἀντίπατρον, εἶτα καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμμης Ἀλέξ-
- 134 ἀνδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε πάντας

<sup>1</sup> ἤδη θέλοντος] δεηθέντος AM.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: Ἐλεούσ(σ)η codd. E.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: ὄλους aut ἄλλους codd.

<sup>a</sup> § 129; cf. B.J. i. 454. §§ 130-133; cf. B.J. i. 455-466.

<sup>b</sup> In Coele-Syria. For a detailed account of this revolt cf. §§ 271-276; Ant. xv. 343-348.

the honour would go to each. But although Herod wished to do this at once, Caesar refused to permit him to give up control of either his kingdom or his sons during his lifetime.<sup>a</sup>

(6) With these arrangements Herod returned to Judaea again. Now while he had been abroad, the people of Trachon,<sup>b</sup> a not inconsiderable part of his realm, had revolted, but the generals whom he had left behind subdued them and compelled them to submit once more. And so Herod sailed with his sons and came to Cilicia at Elaeusa,<sup>c</sup> which by a change of name is now called Sebaste, and there he found Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, who received him with friendliness, for he was delighted that he had been reconciled with his sons and that Alexander, who had married Archelaus' daughter,<sup>d</sup> had been cleared of the charges against him. And they exchanged such gifts as it is usual for kings to give one another. From there Herod set out for Judaea, and when he came to the temple, he made a speech about the things that he had done during his stay abroad. He gave an account of Caesar's kindness to him and of such of the various things he had done as he thought it was to his interest for the masses<sup>e</sup> to know. At the end of it he directed his words to the admonishing of his sons, and exhorted the courtiers and the rest of the people to concord, and designated the sons who were to reign after him, first Antipater and next his sons by Mariamme, Alexander and Aristobulus. But

Herod visits Archelaus.

Herod names his successors.

<sup>a</sup> An offshore island.

<sup>b</sup> Glaphyra; cf. § 11.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "the others." Cf. critical note and Richards and Shutt: "τοὺς ἄλλους cannot be right. PW have τοὺς ὄλους. Agrippa also (*Life*, 366) uses the vulgarism ὄλοι for πάντες" (p. 174).

ἀποβλέπειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν, καὶ βασιλέα καὶ δε-  
σπότην ἀπάντων δοκεῖν μῆτε γῆρα παραποδιζό-  
μενον, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ χρόνου τὸ πρὸς ἀρχὴν ἐμπειρότατον  
ἔχειν, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐλαττούμενον,  
ἃ δύνανται καὶ βασιλείας κρατεῖν καὶ παιδῶν ἀρχεῖν·  
τούς τε ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικόν, εἰ πρὸς ἓνα  
βλέποιεν αὐτόν, ἀπάραχον ἔφη τὸν βίον ἔξειν, καὶ  
πᾶσαν ἀφορμὴν εὐδαιμονίας ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἔσσεσθαι.  
135 ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀφίγησιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῖς πλείστοις  
μὲν ἀρεστά<sup>1</sup> διειλεγμένους, ἐνίοις δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως· ἦδη  
γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ὡς ἐδεδώκει<sup>2</sup>  
τοῖς παισὶ<sup>3</sup> μεμετεώριστο<sup>4</sup> πολλὰ καὶ νεωτέρων  
ἐφιέμενοι . . .  
136 (v. 1) Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον συντέλειαν  
ἔλαβεν ἡ Καισάρεια Σεβαστή, ἣν ᾠκοδόμει, δεκάτῳ  
μὲν ἔτει πρὸς τέλος ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ τῆς ὅλης κατα-  
σκευῆς, ἐκπεσούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας εἰς ὄγδοον  
καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος δευ-  
137 τέρας καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν. ἦν οὖν  
εὐθύς ἐν καθιερώσει μεῖζων εὐρτή<sup>5</sup> καὶ παρασκευαί  
πολυτελέσταται· κατηγγέλκει μὲν γὰρ ἀγῶνα μου-  
σικῆς καὶ γυμνικῶν ἀθλημάτων, παρεσκευάκει δὲ  
πολὺ πλῆθος μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων, ἵππων τε  
δρόμων καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστερα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ  
138 καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. ἀντίθει δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἀρεστά ed. pr. : ἄριστα codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνεδεδώκει AM. <sup>3</sup> πᾶσιν P.  
<sup>4</sup> Niese: νεωτερίστο aut ἐνετερίστο codd.  
<sup>5</sup> ἐφιέμενα AMWE: lacunam statuit Niese.  
<sup>6</sup> μελλόνες εὐρταί PW.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 461 f., where Herod's speech is given.

<sup>b</sup> § 135: cf. B.J. i. 466. On the supposed lacuna see

for the present he expected that all would look to him and regard him as the king and master of them all, for he was not, he said, hampered by old age, which was the very time in which one was most experienced in ruling, nor was he at a disadvantage in respect of the other skills that enable one to govern a kingdom and to rule one's sons. To his officers and soldiers he said that if they looked to him alone, they would lead an untroubled life, and every opportunity for happiness would come to them and him from one another. With these words he dismissed the gathering, having said what was acceptable to most but not to some.<sup>a</sup> For because of their rivalry and the hopes which he had given his sons there was already considerable unrest, and those who hoped for a change . . .<sup>b</sup>

(v. 1) At about this time Caesarea Sebaste,<sup>c</sup> which Herod had been building, was completed. The entire work of construction was finished in the tenth year, the stated period having been prolonged<sup>d</sup> to the twenty-eighth year of his reign, which fell in the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad.<sup>e</sup> And so there was to begin with a very great festival of dedication and most lavish arrangements. For he had announced a contest in music and athletic exercises, and had prepared a great number of gladiators and wild beasts and also horse races and the very lavish shows that are to be seen at Rome and in various other

Herod celebrates the completion of work in Caesarea.

critical notes. The reading ἐφιέμενα is probably a scribal attempt to make sense of the present text, which then may be translated, "there was already considerable unrest and hope for a change."

<sup>c</sup> §§ 136-138: cf. B.J. i. 415.

<sup>d</sup> Literally, "expired" or "failed"; a *constructio praegnans*.

<sup>e</sup> On the date see *Ant.* xv. 341 note d.

- καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα Καίσαρι, κατὰ πενταετηρίδα  
 παρεσκευασμένος ἄγειν αὐτόν· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρασκευὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων διε-  
 139 πέμπτο, τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπικοσμῶν. ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡ  
 γυνὴ Καίσαρος Ἰουλίᾳ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ πολυτελε-  
 στάτων ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς μηδὲν ὑστερεῖν τὰ πάντα  
 140 συντιμώμενα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. συνελθόντος  
 δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὄχλου πλείονος κατὰ θεωρίαν καὶ  
 πρεσβείας, ὡς<sup>1</sup> ἔπεμπον οἱ δῆμοι δι' ἃς ἐπεπόνθει-  
 σαν εὐεργεσίας, ἅπαντας ἐξεδέξατο καταγωγαῖς καὶ  
 τραπέζαις καὶ διηλεκέσις ἑορταῖς, τῆς πανηγύρεως  
 ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐχούσης τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν θεαμάτων  
 ψυχαγωγίας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυκτὶ τὰς εὐφροσύνας καὶ τὴν  
 εἰς τοῦτο πολυτέλειαν,<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἐπίσημον γενέσθαι τὴν  
 141 μεγαλοψυχίαν αὐτοῦ· εἰς πάντα γὰρ ἅπερ<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτη-  
 δεύσειεν ἐφιλονείκει τὴν τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων ἐπι-  
 δεῖξιν ὑπερβαλέσθαι. καὶ φασιν αὐτόν τε Καίσαρα  
 καὶ Ἀγρίππαν πολλάκις εἶπεῖν ὡς ἀποδέοι τὰ τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς Ἡρώδη τῆς οὔσης ἐν αὐτῷ μεγαλοψυχίας·  
 ἄξιον γὰρ εἶναι καὶ Συρίας ἀπάσης καὶ Αἰγύπτου  
 τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν.  
 142 (2) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πανηγυρίαν ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς  
 πόλιν ἄλλην ἀνήγειρεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ  
 Καφαρσαβᾶ, τόπον ἔνυδρον<sup>4</sup> καὶ χώραν ἀρίστην  
 φυτοῖς ἐκλέξας, ποταμοῦ τε περιρρέοντος τὴν πόλιν  
 αὐτὴν καὶ καλλίστου κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν φυτῶν

<sup>1</sup> πρεσβείων οὗς E.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ διηλεκέσις . . . πολυτέλειαν] et per dies quindecim  
 spectacula vel delicias ministravit Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἅπερ Niese; ἅπερ ἄν codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἐνυδρον AM.

<sup>a</sup> i. e., at intervals of four years. These were the "Actium

places. And this contest too he dedicated to Caesar, having arranged to celebrate it every fifth year.<sup>a</sup> And Caesar, adding lustre to his love of glory,<sup>b</sup> from his own revenues sent all the equipment needed for such games. On her own account Caesar's wife Julia<sup>c</sup> sent many of her greatest treasures from Rome, so that the entire sum was reckoned as no less than five hundred talents. When to see the sights there came to the city a great multitude as well as the envoys sent by communities because of the benefits that they had received, Herod welcomed them all and entertained them with lodging and meals and continuous feasts. During the day the festivals offered the diversion of spectacles, while at night they provided amusements costing great sums of money, and so they made his generosity famous, for in all the things that he undertook he was ambitious to surpass what had been done before. And they say that Caesar himself and Agrippa often remarked that the extent of Herod's realm was not equal to his magnanimity, for he deserved to be king of all Syria and of Egypt.

(2)<sup>d</sup> After these celebrations and festivals Herod<sup>e</sup> erected another city in the plain of Capharsaba,<sup>e</sup> as it is called, where he selected a site that was well watered and a region excellent for plants. There was also a river flowing round the city itself, and the grove that surrounded it was most beautiful because of the Games," commemorating the Battle of Actium and first held 2 September 28 B.C. (However, some scholars give the date as 27, others as 29.)

<sup>b</sup> Or "munificence."

<sup>c</sup> Julia Livia; cf. Gertrude Grether, "Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult," *AJP* 67 (1946), 222-252.

<sup>d</sup> §§ 142-145. Cf. *B.J.* i. 417-418.

<sup>e</sup> The Plain of Sharon; the name also of a town. See p. 264 note a and Appendix D. Cf. Abel, *GP* i. 416.



- 143 περιεληφότος ἄλσους. ταύτην ἀπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀντιπατρίδα προσηγόρευσεν. ἐπώνυμον δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ χωρίον ὑπὲρ Ἱεριχοῦντα οἰκοδομήσας, ἀσφαλεία τε διάφορον καὶ καταγωγ-
- 144 γαίς ἡδιστον, ἐκάλεσε Κύπρον. Φασαήλω τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ μνημεῖα διὰ τὴν γεγεννημένην πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλοστοργίαν ἀνετίθει τὰ κάλλιστα, πύργον ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἀναστήσας οὐδὲν ἐλάττω τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Φάρον,<sup>1</sup> ὃν προσηγόρευσε Φασάηλον, ἀσφαλείας τε τῇ πόλει μέρος ὄντα καὶ μνήμης τῷ
- 145 τετελευτηκότι διὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν. ὁμώνυμον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πόλιν περὶ τὸν αὐλῶνα τῆς Ἱεριχοῦντος ἔκτισεν, ἀπίντων<sup>2</sup> κατὰ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, δι' ἧς καὶ τὴν περίεχ' χώραν ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐνεργότεραν ἐποίησε ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις τῶν οἰκητόρων. Φασαηλίδα καὶ ταύτην ἐκάλει.
- 146 (3) Τὰς δὲ ἄλλας εὐεργεσίας ἄπορον εἰπεῖν ὅσας ἀπέδωκε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν τε Συρίᾳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ παρ' οἷς ποτ' οὖν<sup>3</sup> ἀποδημήσας τύχοι· καὶ γὰρ πλείους λειτουργίας καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων κατασκευᾶς καὶ χρήματα τοῖς δεομένοις ἔργοις<sup>4</sup> εἰς ἐπιτέλειαν,<sup>5</sup> τῶν προτέρων ἔργων ἐκλειοιπύτων,
- 147 ἄφθονα χαρίσασθαι δοκεῖ. τὰ δὲ μέγιστα καὶ διασημότατα τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ, Ῥοδίοις μὲν τό τε Πύθιον ἀνέστησεν οἰκείοις ἀναλώμασιν καὶ παρ-

<sup>1</sup> fano alexandrino Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπίντων AM.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: ἄν codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἔργοις om. AMW.

<sup>5</sup> Hudson: ἐπιμέλειαν codd.

<sup>a</sup> Ras el 'Ain, 6 miles due S. of Capharsaba and 10 miles N.E. of Joppa; cf. *Ant.* xi. 329 note; xiii. 390 note; *B.J.* i. 417 note.

size of its trees. This city he called Antipatris<sup>a</sup> after his father Antipater. And above Jericho he built a place notable for its security and most pleasant to stay in, which he called Cypros after the name of his mother. And to his brother Phasaël, because of the affection that he felt for him, he dedicated a very beautiful monument by setting up in the city itself a tower just as large as that of Pharos, and called it Phasaël.<sup>b</sup> This was both a part of the defences of the city and a memorial to the dead man because it was called by his name. He also built a city named after him in the valley of Jericho northward from there, and thereby made the surrounding region, formerly a wilderness, more productive through the industry of its inhabitants. And this city he called Phasaëlis.<sup>c</sup>

(3)<sup>d</sup> But it would be difficult to mention all his other benefactions, such as those that he conferred on the cities in Syria and throughout Greece and on whatever places he may have happened to visit. For he is reputed to have contributed to many civic functions and to the construction of public works and to have donated lavish sums for the completion<sup>e</sup> of earlier work on which operations had ceased. But the greatest and most celebrated of his deeds were the following.<sup>f</sup> For the people of Rhodes he erected the Pythian temple at his own expense, and also pro-

Herod's  
benefac-  
tions to the  
Greek  
cities.

<sup>b</sup> One of three imposing towers which were part of the reconstructed palace. Cf. Perowne, pp. 118 f., Abel, *HP* i. 365 n. 1. *B.J.* v. 166-169 gives details of the structure; cf. also *Ant.* xvii. 257; *B.J.* i. 418; ii. 46, 439; vii. 1; and Appendix D.

<sup>c</sup> On Phasaëlis cf. Perowne, p. 121 and Appendix D.

<sup>d</sup> §§ 146-149; cf. the fuller account in *B.J.* i. 422-428.

<sup>e</sup> Conjectured by Hudson (cf. critical note); mss. "pursuit."

<sup>f</sup> For these and others cf. *B.J.* i. 422-425 and Appendix D.

έσχεν ἀργυρίου πολλά τάλαντα πρὸς ναυπηγίαν. Νικοπολίταις δὲ τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ κτισθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τὰ πλείστα τῶν δημοσίων συγκατεσκευά-  
 148 σεν. Ἀντιοχεῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἐν Συρίᾳ μεγίστην πόλιν οἰκοῦσιν, ἣν κατὰ μῆκος τέμνει πλατεῖα, ταύτην αὐτὴν στοαῖς κοσμήσας<sup>1</sup> παρ' ἑκάτερα, καὶ λίθῳ τὴν ὑπαιθρον ὁδὸν ξεστῶ καταστορέσας, πλείστον εἰς κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκούντων εὐχρηστίαν ὠφέλη-  
 149 σεν. τὸν γε μὴν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα πολὺ τῆς προσηγορίας ἀδοξότερον ὑπ' ἀχρηματίας διατεθει- μένον, τιμιώτερον ἔποιει χρημάτων προσόδους καταστήσας, καὶ πρὸς τε θυσίας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον ἐσεμνοποίησεν τὴν πανήγυριν. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν φιλοτιμίαν διηνεκῆς ἀγωνοθέτης παρὰ τοῖς Ἡλείοις<sup>2</sup> ἀνεγράφη.

150 (4) Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἐπέρχεται θαυμάζειν τὸ διεστὸς τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει προαιρέσεως· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς φιλοτιμίας καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας ἀπίδωμεν αἰς ἐκέχρητο πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν<sup>3</sup> τις αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἔλαττον τετιμημένων ἠρνήθῃ<sup>4</sup> μὴ συνομολογεῖν εὐεργετικωτάτῃ κεχρηῆσθαι τῇ  
 151 φύσει. ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὰς τιμωρίας καὶ ἀδικίας ἄς εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπεδείξατο βλέψῃ τις<sup>5</sup> καὶ καταμάθῃ τὸ σκληρὸν καὶ τὸ δυσπα- αἴτητον<sup>6</sup> τοῦ τρόπου, νικηθῆσεται θηριώδη δοκεῖν

<sup>1</sup> κοσμήσας ex Lat. add. Richards et Shutt, duce Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> Naber (et alii, cf. B.J.): πλείστοις codd.

<sup>3</sup> Ernesti; οὐκ ἂν codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἠδυνήθη con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>5</sup> τις E: om. codd. <sup>6</sup> δυσπαράκλητον PW.

<sup>a</sup> See C. Kraeling, "The Jewish Community at Antioch," *JBL* 51 (1932), 130-160; R. Förster, "Antiochia am Orontes," *JKDA* 12 (1897), 103-198.

vided them with many talents of silver to build ships. For the people of Nicopolis, founded by Caesar near Actium, he helped construct the greater part of their public buildings. And for the Antiochenes, who inhabit the greatest city in Syria, which has a street running through it lengthwise, he adorned this street with colonnades on either side, and paved the open part of the road with polished stone, thereby contributing greatly to the appearance of the city and to the convenience of its inhabitants.<sup>a</sup> As for the Olympic games, which for lack of money had fallen into a state of far less repute than their name had once had, he brought them greater honour by setting aside certain revenues for them and gave the festival greater dignity in respect of sacrifices and other ceremonies. For his munificence in this matter he had his name recorded by the people of Elis as perpetual president of the games.<sup>b</sup>

(4)<sup>c</sup> Now it has occurred to others to wonder at the Herod's inconsistency of Herod's natural tendencies. For love of fame. when, on the one hand, we consider his munificence and the benefactions which he bestowed upon all men, it is impossible for anyone, even for those who have very little respect for him, to refuse to agree that he had a most beneficent nature. But when, on the other hand, one looks at the punishments and the wrongs which he inflicted upon his subjects and his closest relatives, and when one notes how harsh and inexorable his character was, one is forced to regard

<sup>b</sup> On the Olympic Games cf. *B.J.* i. 426-427. The reading "people of Elis" is conjectured (rightly, it seems) from *B.J.* (cf. critical note).

<sup>c</sup> §§ 150 ff.: Thackeray (*Josephus*, p. 67) believes that this criticism of Herod is from Josephus himself rather than his source.

152 καὶ πάσης μετριότητος ἀλλότριον. ἔνθεν καὶ διά-  
 φορόν τινα καὶ μαχομένην ἐπ'<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ νομιζουσι γενέ-  
 σθαι τὴν προαίρεσιν. ἐγὼ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχων, μίαν  
 153 αἰτίαν ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ὑπολαμβάνω· φιλότιμος  
 γὰρ ὢν καὶ τούτου τοῦ πάθους ἠττημένος ἰσχυρῶς,  
 προήγετο<sup>2</sup> μὲν εἰς μεγαλοψυχίαν, εἴ που μνήμης εἰς  
 αὐθις ἢ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐφημίας ἐλπίς ἐμπέσοι·  
 154 ταῖς δὲ δαπάναις ὑπὲρ δύνάμιν χρώμενος ἠναγκά-  
 ζετο χαλεπὸς εἶναι τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις· τὰ γὰρ εἰς  
 οὓς ἔδαπάνη πολλὰ γενόμενα, κακῶν<sup>3</sup> ποριστὴν ἐξ  
 155 ὧν ἐλάμβανεν ἐποίει. καὶ συνειδὼς ἐφ' οἷς ἠδίκηκε  
 τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους μισούμενον ἑαυτὸν τὸ μὲν ἐπ-  
 ανορθοῦσθαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας οὐ ῥάδιον ἐνόμιζεν (οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ εἰς τὰς προσόδους λυσιτελεῖς ἦν), ἀντεφιλο-  
 νεῖκει δὲ τὴν δύσνοιαν αὐτὴν εὐπορίας ἀφορμὴν ποι-  
 156 ούμενος. περὶ γε μὴν τοὺς οἰκείους, εἴ τις ἢ  
 λόγῳ μὴ θεραπεύοι τὸ δοῦλον ἐξομολογούμενος ἢ  
 δόξειεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τι παρακινεῖν, οὐχ ἱκανὸς  
 ἑαυτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐγίνετο καὶ διεξήλθεν ὁμοῦ συγ-  
 γενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἴσα πολεμίοις τιμωρούμενος, ἐκ  
 τοῦ μόνου ἐθέλειν τιμηθῆσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας ἀμαρ-  
 157 τίας ἀναλαμβάνων. μαρτύριον δέ μοι τούτου τοῦ  
 πάθους, ὅτι μέγιστον περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰ γινόμε-  
 να κατὰ τὰς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀγρίππα καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων φίλων τιμᾶς· οἷς γὰρ ἐθεράπευε τοὺς κρείτ-  
 τονας, τούτοις καὶ τὸς ἡξίου θεραπεύεσθαι, καὶ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ἐν Naber.<sup>2</sup> προήγετο AMWE.<sup>3</sup> κακῶν AM: καινῶν con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. critical note. Richards and Shutt comment:  
 "κακῶν is possible, 'a provider of evils to those whom he  
 taxed,' but 'fresh sources of revenue' suits ποριστὴν better,

him as bestial and lacking all feeling of moderation. For this reason they think that there were divergent and warring tendencies within him. But I myself have a different view and believe that both these tendencies had the same cause. For Herod loved honours and, being powerfully dominated by this passion, he was led to display generosity whenever there was reason to hope for future remembrance or present reputation, but since he was involved in expenses greater than his means, he was compelled to be harsh toward his subjects, for the great number of things on which he spent money as gifts to some caused him to be the source of harm<sup>a</sup> to those from whom he took this money. And though he was aware of being hated because of the wrongs that he had done his subjects, he decided that it would not be easy to mend his evil ways—that would have been unprofitable in respect of revenue—, and, instead, countered their opposition by seizing upon their ill-will as an opportunity for satisfying his wants. In fact, among his own people if anyone was not deferential to him in speech by confessing himself his slave or was thought to be raising questions about his rule, Herod was unable to control himself and prosecuted his kin and his friends alike, and punished them as severely as enemies. These excesses he committed because of his wish to be uniquely honoured. As evidence that this was the greatest of his passions I can cite what was done by him in honour of Caesar and Agrippa and his other friends. For the very same attentions which he showed to his superiors he expected to have shown to himself by his subjects, and

and is probably right" (p. 174). But for the combination κακῶν ποριστὴν cf. Thuc. viii. 48. 6.

κάλλιστον ὧν<sup>1</sup> ᾤετο παρέχων<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ δίδόναι τὴν  
 158 τοῦ τυχεῖν τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιθυμίαν ἐδήλου. τό γε  
 μὴν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἠλλοτριῶται νόμῳ πρὸς πάντα  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ συνείθισται τὸ δίκαιον ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 πρὸς δόξαν ἠγαπηκέναι. διόπερ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχα-  
 ρισμένον, ὅτι μὴ δυνατὸν εἰκόσιν ἢ ναοῖς ἢ τοιοῦτοις  
 159 ἐπιτηδεύμασι κολακεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ φιλό-  
 τιμον. αἰτία μὲν αὕτη μοι δοκεῖ τῆς Ἡρώδου περὶ  
 μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ συμβούλους ἀμαρτίας, περὶ δὲ  
 τοὺς ἔξω καὶ μὴ προσήκοντας εὐεργεσίας.  
 160 (vi. 1) Τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰουδαίους καὶ  
 ὄσους ἢ πρὸς Κυρήνη<sup>3</sup> Λιβύῃ κατέσχευεν, ἐκάκουν αἱ  
 πόλεις, τῶν μὲν πρότερον βασιλέων ἰσονομίαν αὐ-  
 τοῖς παρεσχημένον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε δι' ἐπηρείας  
 ἐχόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ χρημάτων  
 ἱερῶν ἀφαίρεσιν ποιείσθαι καὶ καταβλάπτειν ἐν τοῖς  
 161 ἐπὶ μέρους. πάσχοντες δὲ κακῶς καὶ πέρασ οὐδὲν  
 εὐρίσκοντες τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπανθρωπίας, ἐπρε-  
 σβεύσαντο πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ὁ δ'  
 αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσοτέλειαν ἔδωκεν, γράψας τοῖς  
 κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ὧν ὑπετάξαμεν τὰ ἀντίγραφα  
 μαρτύρια τῆς διαθέσεως ἣν ἔσχον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνω-  
 θεν οἱ κρατοῦντες.  
 162 (2) " Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς δημαρχικῆς ἐξ-  
 ουσίας<sup>4</sup> λέγει. ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων

<sup>1</sup> τὸ κάλλιστον ὧν] ὁ κάλλιστον con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> παρέχειν PW. <sup>3</sup> Niese: Κυρήνην codd. E.

<sup>4</sup> post ἐξουσίας lacunam statuit Naber.

<sup>a</sup> On Diaspora Judaism, Jewish privileges, and sacred

what he believed to be the most excellent gift that  
 he could give another he showed a desire to obtain  
 similarly for himself. But, as it happens, the Jewish  
 nation is by law opposed to all such things and is  
 accustomed to admire righteousness rather than  
 glory. It was therefore not in his good graces, be-  
 cause it found it impossible to flatter the king's am-  
 bition with statues or temples or such tokens. And  
 this seems to me to have been the reason for Herod's  
 bad treatment of his own people and his counsellors,  
 and of his beneficence toward foreigners and those  
 who were unattached to him.

(vi. 1) Now the Jews of Asia<sup>a</sup> and those to be found  
 in Cyrenaean Libya were being mistreated by the  
 cities there, although the kings had formerly granted  
 them equality of civic status (*isonomia*); and at this  
 particular time the Greeks were persecuting them to  
 the extent of taking their sacred monies away from  
 them and doing them injury in their private concerns.  
 And so, being mistreated and seeing no limit to the  
 inhumanity of the Greeks, they sent envoys to Caesar  
 about this state of affairs. And he granted them the  
 same equality of taxation as before, and wrote to the  
 provincial officials letters of which we subjoin copies  
 as evidence of the (friendly) disposition which our  
 former rulers had toward us.

(2)<sup>b</sup> " Caesar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus with Augustus'  
 tribunician power, decrees as follows. Since the decree in  
 Jewish nation has been found well disposed to the favour of  
 Asia.

monies, see Juster, i. 188 ff., 213-242, 377-385. Cf. § 27  
 note.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 162-165. On the decrees (not given in chronological  
 order by Josephus) cf. Reinhold, *Agrippa*, pp. 118-121;  
 Bikerman, *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, pp. 11-34; Juster, i.  
 149-151 notes; Viereck, pp. 91-116; Laqueur, p. 222.



εὐχάριστον εὐρέθη οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι καιρῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ προγεγενημένῳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ τε ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτῶν Ἰρκανός, ἔδοξέ μοι καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συμβουλίῳ μετὰ ὀρκωμοσίας, γνώμη δῆμου Ῥωμαίων<sup>1</sup> τοὺς Ἰουδαίους χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθισμοῖς<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὸν πάτριον αὐτῶν νόμον, καθὼς ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ Ἰρκανοῦ ἀρχιερέως θεοῦ ὑψίστου, τὰ τε ἱερά<sup>3</sup> εἶναι ἐν ἀσυλία καὶ ἀναπέμπεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἀποδοχεῦσιν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐγγύας τε μὴ<sup>4</sup> ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββασιν ἢ τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐνάτης. εἰάν τις φωραθῆ κλέπτων τὰς ἱεράς βιβλους αὐτῶν ἢ τὰ ἱερά χρήματα ἔκ τε σαββατίου<sup>5</sup> ἔκ τε ἀαρῶνος,<sup>6</sup> εἶναι αὐτὸν ἱερόσυλον καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἐνεχθῆναι εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. τό τε ψήφισμα τό δοθέν μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐσεβείας ἧς ἔχω πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὑπὲρ Γαίου Μαρκίου Κλησωρίνου, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ διάταγμα κελεύω ἀνατεθῆναι ἐν ἐπισημοτάτῳ τόπῳ τῷ γεννηθέντι μοι ὑπὸ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῷ . . . Ῥωμαίων] et senatui cum sententia populi Romani Lat.

<sup>2</sup> θεσμοῖς PW.

<sup>3</sup> ἱερά χρήματα ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> μὴ om. P: μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι ex seqq. (§ 168) con. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> σαββατίου P: σαββατίου AM.

<sup>6</sup> ἀαρῶνος (Hebraice) Reland: ἀνδρῶνος codd.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. A. D. Nock, *HTR* 29 (1936), 66, add.; Leszynsky (*Sadducees*, p. 94) sees here an influence of the Sadducean concept of Zadokite priest-kingship after Melchizedek; cf. *Rosh. Hash.* 18b, *Assumpt. Mos.* vi. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Friday (חַמִּשְׁתַּיִם). According to Zeitlin in *JQR* 42 (1951-1952), 252 n. 3, "The Hellenized Jews did not use the

Roman people not only at the present time but also in time past, and especially in the time of my father the emperor Caesar, as has their high priest Hyrcanus, it has been decided by me and my council under oath, with the consent of the Roman people, that the Jews may follow their own customs in accordance with the law of their fathers, just as they followed them in the time of Hyrcanus, high priest of the Most High God,<sup>a</sup> and that their sacred monies shall be inviolable and may be sent up to Jerusalem and delivered to the treasurers in Jerusalem, and that they need not give bond (to appear in court) on the Sabbath or on the day of preparation for it (Sabbath Eve) after the ninth hour.<sup>b</sup> And if anyone is caught stealing their sacred books or their sacred monies from a synagogue or an ark (of the Law),<sup>c</sup> he shall be regarded as sacrilegious, and his property shall be confiscated to the public treasury of the Romans. As for the resolution which was offered by them in my honour concerning the piety which I show to all men, and on behalf of Gaius Marcus Censorinus,<sup>d</sup> I order that it and the present edict<sup>e</sup> be set up in the most conspicuous (part of the temple) assigned to me by the

word παρασκευῇ but πρὸ σαββάτων, comp. *Ant.* 3. 10. 7 [=iii. 255]; *Judith* 8. 6; *II Macc.* 8. 26."

<sup>c</sup> Reading the conjecture (cf. critical note). Text: a banquet hall or lounge. On ἀνδρῶν cf. Krauss, *Syn. Alt.* 25; Nock, *op. cit.* pp. 47-48. Casanowicz, *JE* ii. 109, followed by Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* iv. 116, suggests that ἀρόν (אֲרוֹן) was not used for a synagogue ark in rabbinic circles until the time of Maimonides.

<sup>d</sup> Consul in 8 B.C., proconsul of Asia in A.D. 2-3. For references cf. Magie, p. 1581. Horace dedicated his eighth Ode of Book IV to him.

<sup>e</sup> διάταγμα: cf. Juster, i. 161 n. 1. For Philo's account of the edict cf. *Leg. ad Gaium* 315 f.

τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Ἀγκύρῃ.<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν δέ τις παραβῆ τι τῶν προειρημένων, δώσει δίκην οὐ μετρίαν." ἐστηλογραφήθη ἐν τῷ Καίσαρος ναῶ.

166 (3) "Καίσαρ Νωρβανῶ Φλάκκω χαίρειν. Ἰουδαῖοι ὅσοι ποτ' οὖν εἰσίν, οἱ δι' ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν εἰώθασιν χρήματά τε ἱερὰ φέροντες ἀναπέμπειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀκωλύτως τοῦτο ποιείτωσαν." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Καίσαρ.

167 (4) Ἀγρίππας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. "Ἀγρίππας Ἐφεσίων ἀρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναφερομένων ἱερῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν βούλομαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ

168 Ἰουδαίους ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. τοὺς τε κλέπτοντας ἱερὰ χρήματα<sup>2</sup> τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταφεύγοντας τε εἰς τὰς ἀσυλίας βούλομαι ἀποσπᾶσθαι καὶ παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰ δικαίῳ ἀποσπῶνται οἱ ἱερόσυλοι. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ Σιλανῶ<sup>3</sup> τῷ στρατηγῶ ἵνα σάββασιν μηδεὶς ἀναγκάζῃ Ἰουδαίων ἐγγύας ὁμολογεῖν."

169 (5) "Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας Κυρηναίων ἀρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ χαίρειν. οἱ ἐν Κυρήνῃ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤδη ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγὸν τότε ὄντα Φλάβιον<sup>4</sup> καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλ-

<sup>1</sup> Scaliger: ἀργυρῇ (-ῆ) codd.      <sup>2</sup> γράμματα P.

<sup>3</sup> Σιλωνανῶ AMW: Sylano Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Φάβιον AM Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Reading Scaliger's conjecture (see critical note). Ancyra was a city in Galatia, modern Ankara. For suggestions to read "Pergamum" here cf. Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, p. x.

<sup>b</sup> Consul in 38 B.C., proconsul of Asia between 31 and 27 B.C.

federation (*κοινων*) of Asia in Ancyra.<sup>a</sup> If anyone transgresses any of the above ordinances, he shall suffer severe punishment." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

(3) "Caesar to Norbanus Flaccus, greeting.<sup>b</sup> The Jews, however numerous they may be, who have been wont, according to their ancient custom, to bring sacred monies to send up to Jerusalem, may do this without interference." These were the edicts of Caesar.

(4) But Agrippa himself also wrote on behalf of the Jews in the following manner. "Agrippa to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. It is my will that the care and custody of the sacred monies belonging to the account of the temple in Jerusalem shall be given to the Jews in Asia in accordance with their ancestral customs. And if any men steal the sacred monies of the Jews and take refuge in places of asylum, it is my will that they be dragged away from them and turned over to the Jews under the same law by which temple-robbers are dragged away from asylum. I have also written to the praetor Silanus<sup>c</sup> that no one shall compel the Jews to give bond (to appear in court) on the Sabbath."

(5) "Marcus Agrippa<sup>d</sup> to the magistrates, council and people of Cyrene, greeting. The Jews in Cyrene, on whose behalf Augustus has already written to the former praetor of Libya, Flavius,<sup>e</sup> and to the other

Cf. Magie, *loc. cit.* These decrees apparently were issued in 14 B.C.; cf. Reinhold, *Agrippa*, p. 120 n. 84.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "Silvanus."

<sup>d</sup> Cf. § 27 note.

<sup>e</sup> Variant "Fabius" (preferred by Niese); the name is uncertain. Cf. Groag, *PW* vi. 1744; Reinhold, *Agrippa*, pp. 120 f.

λους τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπιμελουμένους, ἵνα ἀνεπι-  
 κωλύτως ἀναπέμψῃται τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα εἰς Ἱερο-  
 170 σόλυμα, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς πάτριον, ἐνέτυχόν μοι νῦν  
 ὡς ὑπὸ τινων συκοφαντῶν ἐπηρεάζονται καὶ ὡς ἐν  
 προφάσει τελῶν μὴ ὀφειλομένων κωλύονται<sup>1</sup>. οἷς  
 ἀποκαθιστάνειν<sup>2</sup> κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἐνοχλου-  
 μένοις, καὶ εἴ τινων ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀφῆρηται τῶν  
 πόλεων,<sup>3</sup> τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποκεκριμένους καὶ ταῦτα  
 διορθώσασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίοις κελεύω.”

171 (6) “Γάιος Νωρβανὸς Φλάκκος ἀνθύπατος Σαρ-  
 διανῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ βουλῇ<sup>4</sup> χαίρειν. Καίσαρ μοι  
 ἔγραψε κελεύων μὴ κωλύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὅσα<sup>5</sup>  
 ἂν ὦσι κατὰ τὸ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔθος συναγαγόντας  
 χρήματα ἀναπέμψῃ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἔγραψα οὖν  
 ὑμῖν, ἵν’ εἰδῆτε ὅτι Καίσαρ καγὼ οὕτως θέλωμεν  
 γίνεσθαι.”

172 (7) Οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ Ἰούλιος Ἀντώνιος ἀνθ-  
 ύπατος ἔγραψεν. “Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ  
 χαίρειν. οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι  
 εἰδοῖς Φεβρουαρίους δικαιοδοτοῦντί μοι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ  
 ὑπέδειξαν Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν  
 συγκεχωρηκέναι αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις  
 καὶ ἔθεσιν, ἀπαρχάς τε, ἃς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> κωλύοντο μὴ τὰ ἱερὰ ῥέζειν con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> post ἀποκαθιστάνειν verba πάντα κελεύω vel sim. addere  
 velit Niese.

<sup>3</sup> πολιτῶν Lat.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ βουλῇ dm. PW: ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ con. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> Niese: ὅσοι codd.

<sup>a</sup> Ordinarily each male Jew from the age of twenty was ex-  
 pected to contribute one-half shekel to the Temple at Jerusa-

officials of the province to the effect that the sacred  
 monies may be sent up to Jerusalem<sup>a</sup> without inter-  
 ference, as is their ancestral custom, now complain to  
 me that they are being threatened by certain in-  
 formers and prevented (from sending these monies)  
 on the pretext of their owing taxes, which are in fact  
 not owed. I therefore order that these monies be  
 restored to the Jews, who are in no way to be molested,  
 and if sacred monies have been taken away from any  
 cities, the persons in charge of these matters shall see  
 that amendments are made to the Jews there.”

(6) “Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the  
 magistrates and council of Sardis, greeting. Caesar  
 has written to me, ordering that the Jews shall not  
 be prevented from collecting sums of money, however  
 great they may be,<sup>b</sup> in accordance with their ancestral  
 custom, and sending them up to Jerusalem. I have  
 therefore written to you in order that you may know  
 that Caesar and I wish this to be done.”

Flaccus  
 to the  
 people of  
 Sardis.

(7) In no way differently did the proconsul Julius  
 Antonius<sup>c</sup> write. “To the magistrates, council and  
 people of Ephesus, greeting. When I was administer-  
 ing justice in Ephesus on the Ides of February, the  
 Jews dwelling in Asia pointed out to me that Caesar  
 Augustus and Agrippa have permitted them to follow  
 their own laws and customs, and to bring the offerings,  
 which each of them makes of his own free will and out

Julius  
 Antonius to  
 the  
 Ephesians.

lem. Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 312; Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* i. 76 f.; Juster,  
 i. 377-388; on rabbinic sources, Schürer, ii. 245-254.

<sup>b</sup> Conjectured by Niese; cf. critical note. Apparently he  
 regards the ms. reading as an assimilation to § 166.

<sup>c</sup> Son of Mark Antony and Fulvia; consul in 10 b.c. He  
 was put to death in 2 b.c. for an intrigue with the emperor's  
 daughter Julia. Horace dedicated his second Ode of Book  
 IV to him. The confirmatory decree is dated in 4 b.c.

ιδίας προαιρέσεως εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον<sup>1</sup> . . . ἀνακομιδῆς συμπορευομένους ποιεῖν  
 173 ἀνεμποδίστως. ἦτουν τε ὅπως καὶ γὰρ ὁμοίως τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα δοθεῖσιν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην βεβαιώσω. ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἰδέναι ἐμῆ<sup>2</sup> τοῖς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα βουλήμασι συνεπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια χωρὶς ἐμποδισμοῦ.”

174 (8) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἕξ ἀνάγκης, ἐπειδὴ μέλλουσιν αἱ τῶν ἡμετέρων πράξεις ἀναγραφῆαι τὸ πλέον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἰέναι, δεικνὺς αὐτοῖς ὅτι πάσης τιμῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιτυγχάνοντες οὐδὲν τῶν πατριῶν ἐκωλύθημεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων πράττειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργούμεθα τὰ<sup>3</sup> τῆς θρησκείας ἔχοντες  
 175 καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμῶν. ποιοῦμαι δὲ πολλάκις αὐτῶν τὴν μνήμην ἐπιδιαλλάττων τὰ γένη, καὶ τὰς ἐμπεφυκυίας τοῖς ἀλογίστοις ἡμῶν τε κακείνων  
 176 μίσους αἰτίας ὑπεξαιρούμενος. ἔθεσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν γένος ὃ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ χρῆται, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἔσθ' ὅπη πολλῆς ἐγγιγνομένης τῆς διαφορᾶς·  
 177 τὸ δίκαιον δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδεύουσι<sup>4</sup> λυσιτελέστατον ὃν Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις, οὐ πλείστον οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν νόμοι λόγον ἔχοντες ἅπασιν ἡμᾶς, εἰ καθαρῶς ἐμμένομεν<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῖς, εὖνους  
 178 καὶ φίλους ἀπεργάζονται. διὸ καὶ ταῦτα παρ' ἐκείνων ἡμῖν ἀπαιτητέον,<sup>6</sup> ὡς<sup>7</sup> δέον οὐκ ἐν τῇ διαφορᾷ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἴεσθαι τὸ ἀλλότριον,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> post θεῖον lacunam statuit Cocceji.

<sup>2</sup> ἐμὲ Cocceji : ἐν codd.

<sup>3</sup> συνεργῶς μαθημάτων AMW : defendebamur Lat.

of piety toward the Deity, travelling together under escort (to Jerusalem) without being impeded in any way. And they asked that I confirm by my own decision the rights granted by Augustus and Agrippa. I therefore wish you to know that in agreement with the will of Augustus and Agrippa I permit them to live and act in accordance with their ancestral customs without interference.”

(8)<sup>a</sup> Now it was necessary for me to cite these decrees since this account of our history is chiefly meant to reach the Greeks in order to show them that in former times we were treated with all respect and were not prevented by our rulers from practising any of our ancestral customs but, on the contrary, even had their co-operation in preserving our religion and our way of honouring God. And if I frequently mention these decrees, it is to reconcile the other nations to us and to remove the causes for hatred which have taken root in thoughtless persons among us as well as among them. For there is no nation which always follows the same customs, and it also happens that there are great differences among cities. And it is most profitable for all men, Greeks and barbarians alike, to practise justice, about which our laws are most concerned and, if we sincerely abide by them, they make us well disposed and friendly to all men. We therefore have a right to expect this same attitude from them, for one should not consider foreignness a matter of differences in practice but of whether

Josephus' motives in citing the Roman decrees.

<sup>a</sup> On §§ 174-178 cf. Laqueur, pp. 221-223.

<sup>4</sup> conieci : ἐπιτηδεύοντες codd. : studeatur Lat. : ἐπιτηδεύει ed. pr. : ἐπιτηδεύεται Cocceji.

<sup>5</sup> ἐμμένομεν PW.

<sup>7</sup> Niese : καὶ codd.

<sup>6</sup> ἀπαντητέον con. Naber.

+ κείσθαι Richards et Shutt.



ἀλλ' <sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ πρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν ἐπιτηδείως <sup>2</sup> ἔχειν·  
τοῦτο γὰρ κοινὸν ἅπασιν καὶ μόνον ἰκανὸν διασώζειν  
τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον. ἐπάνειμι δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ  
συνεχῆ τῆς ἱστορίας.

- 179 (vii. 1) Ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης πολλοῖς τοῖς ἀναλώ-  
μασιν εἰς τε τὰς ἕξω χρείας <sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰς <sup>4</sup> ἐν τῇ βα-  
σιλείᾳ χρώμενος, ἀκηκοὺς ἔτι τάχιον ὡς Ἵρκανὸς  
ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἀνοίξας τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον  
ἀργυρίου λάβοι τρισχίλια τάλαντα κειμένων πολὺ  
πλειόνων ἔτι καὶ δυναμένων εἰς ἅπαν ἐπαρκέσαι  
ταῖς χορηγίαις, ἐκ πλείονος μὲν δι' ἐννοίας εἶχε τὴν  
180 ἐπιχείρησιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε νυκτὸς ἀνοίξας τὸν τά-  
φον εἰσέρχεται πραγματευσάμενος ἥκιστα μὲν τῇ  
πόλει φανερὸς εἶναι, παρειληφῶς δὲ τοὺς πιστοτά-  
181 τοὺς τῶν φίλων. ἀποθέσιμα μὲν οὖν χρήματα,  
καθάπερ Ἵρκανός, οὐχ εὗρεν, κόσμον δὲ χρυσοῦν <sup>5</sup>  
καὶ κειμηλίων πολὺν, <sup>6</sup> ὃν ἀνείλετο πάντα. σπουδῆν  
δ' εἶχεν, ἐπιμελεστέραν ποιούμενος τὴν ἔρευναν, ἐν-  
δοτέρω τε χωρεῖν καὶ καταγνῦναι <sup>7</sup> τὰς θήκας ἐν αἷς  
ἦν τοῦ Δαυίδου καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος τὰ σώματα.  
182 καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν δορυφόρων διεφθάρησαν,  
φλογὸς ἔνδοθεν εἰσιούσιν ἀπαντώσης, ὡς ἐλέγετο,  
περίφοβος δ' αὐτὸς ἐξῆι, καὶ τοῦ δέους <sup>8</sup> ἱλαστήριον  
μνημα λευκῆς πέτρας ἐπὶ τῷ στομίῳ κατεσκευά-  
183 σατο πολυτελεστάτῃ δαπάνῃ. τούτου καὶ Νικόλαος  
ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστοριογράφος μέμνηται τοῦ κατα-

<sup>1</sup> post ἀλλ' lacunam statuit Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνεπιτηδείως con. Richards et Shutt.  
<sup>3</sup> χρείας add. Bekker.

<sup>4</sup> τὰς . . . τὰς] τοὺς . . . τοὺς AM.

<sup>5</sup> χρυσοῦ W.

there is a proper attitude to goodness. For this is common to all men and alone enables society to endure. But I must once more resume the course of my narrative.

(vii. 1) Now Herod, who had spent large sums of Herod money both on external needs and on those of the <sup>opens</sup> realm and had heard even earlier that Hyrcanus, one <sup>David's</sup> of the kings before him, had opened David's tomb <sup>tomb.</sup> <sup>a</sup> and taken three thousand talents of silver from the much larger amount that was still stored there and was sufficient to pay for all his lavish gifts, for a long time had the idea of laying hands upon it. And so one night he opened the tomb and entered it, first taking precautions not to be seen by anyone in the city, but bringing along only the most trustworthy of his friends. Unlike Hyrcanus, however, he did not find money stored there but he did find many ornaments of gold and other valuable deposits, all of which he took away. He was intent upon making a more careful search, penetrating farther and breaking open <sup>b</sup> the coffins in which the bodies of David and Solomon lay. But as two of his bodyguards were destroyed, it is said, by a flame that met them as they entered, the king himself became frightened, and as a propitiation of the terror <sup>c</sup> he built at the entrance (of the tomb) a memorial of white marble, which was a huge expense. This structure is also mentioned by his contemporary,

<sup>a</sup> During the siege of Jerusalem in 135/4 B.C. Cf. Ant. vii. 393; xiii. 249; B.J. i. 61.

<sup>b</sup> Conjectured by Marcus. The received text (cf. critical note) may be rendered "and even to the coffins . . ."

<sup>c</sup> Marcus would have preferred "of God."

<sup>6</sup> κόσμον δὲ πολὺν κειμηλίων χρυσοῦν E: ornatum vero et vasa aurea plura Lat.

<sup>7</sup> conieci: κατὰ codd. E Lat.

<sup>8</sup> Marcus θεοῦ.

σκενάσματος, οὐ μὴν ὅτι καὶ κατήλθεν, οὐκ εὐπρε-  
 πῆ τὴν πράξιν ἐπιστάμενος. διατελεῖ δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα  
 184 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον χρώμενος τῇ γραφῇ· ζῶν τε<sup>1</sup> γὰρ  
 ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ συνῶν<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ, κεχαρισμένως  
 ἐκείνῳ καὶ καθ' ὑπηρεσίαν ἔγραφεν,<sup>3</sup> μόνων ἀπτό-  
 μενος τῶν πρὸς εὐκλειαν αὐτῷ φερόντων, πολλὰ δὲ  
 καὶ τῶν ἐμφανῶς ἀδίκων ἀντικατασκευάζων καὶ  
 185 μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐπικρυπτόμενος· ὅς γε καὶ τὸν  
 Μαριάμμης θάνατον καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτῆς οὕτως  
 ὠμῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ πεπραγμένον εἰς εὐπρέπειαν ἀν-  
 άγειν βουλόμενος, ἐκείνης τε ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τῶν  
 νεανίσκων ἐπιβουλὰς καταψεύδεται, καὶ διατετέλεκε  
 τῇ γραφῇ τὰ μὲν πεπραγμένα δικαίως τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 περιττότερον ἐγκωμιάζων, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν παρανομη-  
 186 θέντων ἐσπουδασμένως ἀπολογούμενος. ἐκείνῳ  
 μὲν οὖν πολλὴν ἂν τις, ὡς ἔφην, ἔχοι τὴν συγγνώ-  
 μην· οὐ γὰρ ἱστορίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλὰ ὑπουργίαν  
 187 τῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτην ἐποιεῖτο. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ γένους  
 ὄντες ἀγγχοῦ τῶν ἐξ Ἀσαμοναίου βασιλέων καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο σὺν τιμῇ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχοντες, τὸ ψεύσα-  
 σθαί τι περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ὑπειληφότες,  
 καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐκτίθεμεν τὰς πράξεις, πολ-  
 λούς μὲν τῶν ἐγγόνων τῶν ἐκείνου βασιλεύοντας ἔτι  
 δι' ἐντροπῆς ἔχοντες, τὴν δ' ἀλήθειαν πρὸ ἐκείνων  
 τετιμηκότες ἦν ὅτε δικαίως ἐγένετο συνέβη γε<sup>4</sup>  
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ὀργῆς τυγχάνειν.

<sup>1</sup> ζῶν τε Cocceji : ζῶντι codd.

<sup>2</sup> σὺν PW.

<sup>3</sup> con. Niese : ἀνέγραψεν codd.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπὲρ PW.

<sup>5</sup> conieci : τε PW : δὲ A : μὴ δὲ M<sup>2</sup> : post ἐγένετο lacu-  
 nam statuit Naber : ἦν ὅτε . . . συνέβη τε con. Post.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* i. 94 ; xii. 126 ; xiv. 104 ; Laqueur, pp. 130 ff.,  
 262 ; Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 67.  
 282

the historian Nicolas,<sup>a</sup> but he does not say that the king also went down (into the tomb), for he considered this action improper. Indeed Nicolas continues to write in this manner about other things. For since he lived in Herod's realm and was one of his associates, he wrote to please him and to be of service to him, dwelling only on those things that redounded to his glory, and transforming his obviously unjust acts into the opposite or concealing them with the greatest care. For example, in his desire to give a colour of respectability to the putting to death of Mariamme and her sons, which had been so cruelly ordered by the king, Nicolas makes false charges of licentiousness against her and of treachery against the youths.<sup>b</sup> And throughout his work he has been consistent in excessively praising the king for his just acts, and zealously apologizing for his unlawful ones. But, as I said, one may fully forgive him since what he produced was not a history for others but a work meant to help the king. We, however, being of a family closely related to the kings descended from Asamoniaios<sup>c</sup> and therefore having the priesthood together with (other) honours, have considered it unfitting to tell any falsehoods about them, and for this reason we relate their deeds with sincerity and fairness. And although we have respect for many of his<sup>d</sup> descendants who are still reigning, we have honoured the truth more than them, and on some occasions, indeed, when this was rightly done, it provoked those very persons to anger.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Otto, *PW* Suppl. ii. 3, 50 ff., 129.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xii. 265 and note.

<sup>d</sup> ἐκείνου : i.e. Asamoniaios. Referred to Herod by Whiston.

<sup>e</sup> Reinach's edition posits a lacuna here and does not attempt to translate ὅτε δικαίως ἐγένετο.

The partiality of the historian Nicolas of Damascus.

188 (2) Ἡρώδης δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἣν ἐποίησατο τῷ τάφῳ χεῖρον ἐδόκει πράττειν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, εἴτε δὴ τοῦ μηνύματος ἐπιδόντος εἰς ἃ μάλιστα καὶ πρότερον ἐνόσει πλείω γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀνηκέστους ἐξελεθεῖν συμφορὰς, εἴτε καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐν ἐκείνῳ<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιουμένης ἐν οἷς τὸ κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν εὐκαιρον οὐ μικρὰν πίστιν παρεῖχε τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῷ τὰς συμφορὰς ἀπηγγη-  
 189 κέναι. στάσις γὰρ ἦν ὡσπερ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ μίση πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνθυπερ-  
 190 βαλλομένων ταῖς διαβολαῖς. ἐστρατήγει δ' αἰεὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀντίπατρος, δεινὸς ὢν ἕξωθεν μὲν περιβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ταῖς αἰτίαις, αὐτὸς δὲ πολ-  
 λάκις ἀπολογουμένου τόπον λαμβάνων, ἢ ἡ τὸ δοκοῦν εὖνον πιστὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ὢν ἐσκόπει.<sup>3</sup> καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ποικίλως ἐκ-  
 περιεληλύθει τὸν πατέρα, μόνος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου  
 191 σωτηρίας ἅπαντα πράττειν αὐτὸς πεπιστωκῶς.<sup>4</sup> ὁ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ διοικητῆς τῶν τῆς βασιλείας πραγμάτων, Ἀντιπάτρῳ συνίστη, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου μητρὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπειγόντων ἐβουλεύετο. καὶ καθόλου τὰ πάντα ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ πράττειν ὅσα θέλοιεν καὶ πρὸς δύσνοιαν ἄγειν τὸν  
 192 βασιλέα τῶν ἕξωθεν ὅσοις ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Μαριάμμης χαλεπώτερον αἰεὶ διειτίθεντο, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ om. PW.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκείνοις ed. pr.

<sup>3</sup> coniecti: ἐδόκει codd.

<sup>4</sup> Holwerda: πεπιστευκῶς aut πεπεικῶς codd.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 188-205: cf. *B.J.* i. 467-484, a more detailed account.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *B.J.* i. 467.

(2)<sup>a</sup> Now it seemed as if it was because of the attempt which Herod had made upon the tomb (of David) that the state of affairs in his household became worse, whether it was the wrath (of God) that caused just those ills from which he was already suffering to grow even worse and to develop into incurable misfortunes, or whether Fortune attacked him at a time so appropriate to the occasion as to provoke no little suspicion that these misfortunes had come upon him because of his impiety. For the dissension in the palace was like a civil war, and the hatred between the two sides caused them to outdo each other in calumny.<sup>b</sup> Antipater was always manœuvring against his brothers, being skilful in entangling them in charges coming from an outside source, and yet frequently seizing the opportunity to defend them in order that this show of goodwill might make him seem trustworthy in the hostile moves which he was planning. It was in such devious ways that he got round his father and convinced him that he, Antipater, alone was doing everything he could for his wellbeing.<sup>c</sup> And so the king recommended to Antipater's friendship Ptolemy, who was minister of the royal finances.<sup>d</sup> He also consulted with Antipater's mother about pressing matters (of state). And these persons had absolutely complete freedom both to do as they pleased and to cause the king to be hostile to such outsiders as they thought would be to their advantage.<sup>e</sup> But the sons of Mariamme found themselves

Antipater's  
hold over  
Herod.

<sup>e</sup> Reading the conjecture (Holwerda endorsed by Schmidt). On § 190 cf. *B.J.* i. 468, 472.

<sup>d</sup> On Ptolemy as διοικητής cf. Otto, *PW*, Sup. ii. 60. A friend of Herod and later of Archelaus (*B.J.* ii. 14, etc.), and Herod's executor (*Ant.* xvii. 195 = *B.J.* i. 667). Cf. *B.J.* i. 473 note.

<sup>e</sup> § 191: cf. *B.J.* i. 473.

τὴν ἀτιμίαν<sup>1</sup> ὑπ' εὐγενείας οὐκ ἔφερον παρεωσμένοι  
 193 καὶ τάξιν ἀτιμοτέραν ἔχοντες. αἱ γὰρ μὴν γυναῖκες,  
 ἡ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνοικοῦσα θυγάτηρ Ἀρχελαίου  
 Γλαφύρα μῖσος εἶχεν εἰς τὴν Σαλώμην κατὰ τε τὴν  
 πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα διάθεσιν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνης  
 θυγατέρας δοκεῖν ὑπερηφανιώτερον διακείσθαι· συν-  
 ὡκει μὲν γὰρ Ἀριστοβούλῳ, τὴν δὲ ἰσοτιμίαν αὐτῆς  
 ἀναξιοπάθει Γλαφύρα.<sup>2</sup>

194 (3) Δευτέρας οὖν ταύτης ἔριδος ἐμπεπτωκυίας  
 οὐδ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς Φερώρας ἔξω παραχῆς  
 ἦν, ἰδίαν δὲ ὑπόθεσιν ὑποψίας καὶ μίσους εἶχεν· ἐμ-  
 πεπτῶκει μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἔρωτα δουλευούσης αὐτῷ  
 γυναικός, ἠττητο δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου μεμνηνόντως, ἐπὶ  
 τοσοῦτον κρατούμενος ὥστ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς τοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἐγγυηθείσης θυγατρὸς τὴν μὲν ὑπερη-  
 195 φανῆσαι, πρὸς δὲ τῇ δούλῃ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν. ἤχθετο  
 δὲ ἀτιμασθεὶς Ἡρώδης τῷ πολλὰ μὲν εὐεργετήσασθαι  
 τὸν ἀδελφόν, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ κοινωνὸν ἔχειν τῆς  
 βασιλείας, οὐχ ὅμοιον εἰς τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ὄρων, κὰν τῷ  
 196 προσώπῳ δυστυχεῖν ᾔετο. καὶ τὴν μὲν κόρην, μὴ  
 τυχῶν Φερώρα δικαίου, παιδὶ Φασαήλου δίδωσιν,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ χρόνον διελθόντος οἴομενος ἤδη παρηκμα-  
 κέναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὰδελφῷ περὶ τε τῶν ἐρώτων<sup>3</sup>  
 ἠττιάτο καὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἡξίου λαμβάνειν, Κύπρος  
 197 δ' ἐκαλεῖτο. Φερώρα δὲ συμβουλεύει Πτολεμαῖος

<sup>1</sup> αἰτίαν P: corruptela latere vid.

<sup>2</sup> hanc sententiam clausula carere putat Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Naber: πρώτων codd. E.

<sup>a</sup> § 192: cf. B.J. i. 467-468.

<sup>b</sup> § 193: cf. B.J. i. 475-477.

<sup>c</sup> Salampsio, a daughter by Mariamme I; cf. § 228; *Ant.*  
 xviii. 130 ff.

§ 194: cf. B.J. i. 483 ff.

in an ever more difficult position, and because of their noble birth they could not bear the disgrace of being pushed aside and accepting a less honourable rank.<sup>a</sup> As for the women, Alexander's wife Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, incurred the hatred of Salome both because of her feeling (of love) for her husband and because of her very insolent attitude toward Salome's daughter, who was married to Aristobulus and whose equality of rank with herself Glaphyra regarded with indignation.<sup>b</sup>

(3) Now when this second quarrel arose, the king's brother Pheroras was by no means excluded from the trouble but on his own account gave (the king) grounds for suspicion and hatred. For he had fallen in love with one of his female slaves and was the victim of his mad passion for this creature and so possessed by it that he scorned the king's daughter,<sup>c</sup> who had been betrothed to him, and gave his thoughts only to the slave girl.<sup>d</sup> Herod was vexed at this slight because of the many benefits that he had conferred upon his brother, to whom he had given a share of the royal power, and as he did not see him making a like return, he considered that he had chosen the wrong person. And so, not receiving fair treatment from Pheroras, he gave the girl in marriage to the son of Phasaël.<sup>e</sup> But after some time had elapsed, in the belief that his brother's passion had passed its peak, Herod took him to task for his amorousness and asked him to take his second daughter, whose name was Cypros.<sup>f</sup> And Ptolemy advised Pheroras now at

<sup>a</sup> Her cousin Phasaël, son of Phasaël, Herod's brother; cf. B.J. i. 484 and note.

<sup>f</sup> A daughter by Mariamme I, named after Herod's mother (*Ant.* xiv. 121); she later married her cousin Antipater, son of Herod's sister Salome (*Ant.* xviii. 130 ff.).



ἤδη ποτὲ παυσαμένῳ τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀτιμίας καταβαλεῖν τὸν ἔρωτα· καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι δούλης ἠττώμενον ἀποστρεφῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως, αὐτίον δὲ κἀκείνῳ ταραχῆς καὶ 198 μίσους πρὸς αὐτὸν καθίστασθαι. ταῦτ' ἐκείνος ἰδὼν λυσιτελήσοντα τῷ καὶ πρότερον ἐν διαβολαῖς γενόμενος συνεγνώσθαι,<sup>1</sup> τὴν μὲν ἄνθρωπον, ἤδη καὶ παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχων ἀποπέμπεται, βασιλεὶ δὲ ὡμολόγει λήψεσθαι τὴν δευτέραν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν συνέθετο τοῦ γάμου, συνεπομνύμενος ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι κοινώνημα πρὸς τὴν ἀπο- 199 πεμφθείσαν ἔσται. διελθουσῶν δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τοσοῦτον ἦν ἠττων τοῦ ἔρωτος ὥστε μηδὲν μὲν ἔτι ποιῆσαι τῶν ὡμολογημένων, πάλιν δὲ διατελεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ.<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα φανερώς ἤδη τὸν Ἡρώ- 200 δην ἐλύπει καὶ πρὸς ὄργην ἤγεν. ἦσαν οὖν λόγοι τινὲς αἰεὶ προσπίπτοντες<sup>3</sup> παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τὴν ὄργην τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφορμὴν τῶν κατὰ Φερώρου διαβολῶν ἐποιοῦντο. διέλειπε δὲ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἦτις ἡμέρα οὐδ' ὥρα καθ' ἣν ἀτρεμεῖν αὐτῷ συνέβαινεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι προσέπιπτε καινῶν ἀγωνισμάτων συγγενῶν<sup>4</sup> καὶ φιλάτων εἰς ἀλλήλους πεποιημένων. 201 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ Σαλώμη χαλεπὴ καὶ δύσνους οὐσα τοῖς ἐκ Μαριάμμης οὐδὲ τὴν ἑαυτῆς θυγατέρα συν-οικοῦσαν Ἀριστοβούλῳ θατέρῳ τῶν νεανίσκων εἶα τῇ τοῦ γάμου πρὸς ἐκείνον εὐνοίᾳ χρῆσθαι, λέγε-τε εἰ τι λαλήσειεν κατ' ἰδίαν ἀναπειθούσα καὶ μη-

<sup>1</sup> συνεγνώσθη AM : in marg. γρ. συγγνώμης ἡξιώσθαι (ἡξιώθη M) AM.

last to cease dishonouring his brother and to suppress his love, for, he said, it was disgraceful for him to lose his head over a slave girl and thus deprive himself of the king's goodwill and also give Herod reason to be disturbed and to feel hatred for him. Pheroras saw that this change of attitude would be to his profit in view of his having been forgiven once before after being accused. He therefore put away the woman although he had already had a child by her. He also promised the king that he would marry his second daughter, and he fixed the wedding for thirty days from then. In addition, he took an oath that he would no longer consort with the woman who had been put away. But when the thirty days had passed, he was so enslaved to his love that he was unable to do any of the things that he had promised but resumed relations with the first woman.<sup>a</sup> This plainly grieved Herod and made him angry, and so he kept letting certain remarks drop, and many persons used his anger as an opportunity to calumniate Pheroras. Not a single day or hour passed in which the king found rest; instead, there were always new contests among his relatives and closest friends.<sup>b</sup> Thus, Salome's intrigues. Salome, who was bitterly hostile to the sons of Mariamme, would not even allow her own daughter, who was married to Aristobulus, one of the two youths, to show him any wifely affection; instead, she persuaded her to report to her (Salome) anything which he might say to her privately, and whenever

<sup>a</sup> Or "former wife"; but this is uncertain; Reinach "sa maîtresse."

<sup>b</sup> Cf. §§ 73-75. On §§ 201-205 cf. *B.J.* i. 478-481.

<sup>2</sup> ἐρωμένη Naber.

<sup>3</sup> παραπίπτοντες PW.

<sup>4</sup> καινὸν ἀγώνισμα τῶν συγγενῶν AME.

202 νύειν ἑαυτῇ, κὰν τοῖς προσκρούμασιν, οἷα συμ-  
 βαίνει, πολλὰς ὑποψίας εἰσάγουσα. δι' ὧν αὐτῇ  
 μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ κατ' ἐκείνους ἐμάνθανε, δύσνον δὲ  
 203 τὴν παῖδα τῷ νεανίσκῳ πεποιήκει. χαριζομένη δ'  
 ἐκείνῃ τῇ μητρὶ πολλάκις ἔλεγεν, ὡς μέμνηται μὲν  
 ἰδιάζοντες ἐκείνοι τῆς Μαρίας, ἐστουγῆκασιν δὲ  
 τὸν πατέρα, συνεχὲς δὲ διαπειλοῦσιν, εἰ τύχοιεν  
 αὐτοὶ ποτε τῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων  
 γυναικῶν παῖδας Ἡρώδῃ γεγενημένους κωμογραμ-  
 ματεῖς καταστήσειν, ἀρμόσειν γὰρ εἰς τοιαύτην  
 204 χρεῖαν τὸ νῦν ἐπιμελὲς αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς παιδείαν  
 ἐσπουδασμένον, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας, εἴ ποτε καὶ ταύτας  
 ἴδοιεν τοῦ μητρῴου κόσμου μετειληφύϊας, ἀντὶ τῆς  
 παρούσης ἀβρότητος ἀπειλεῖν ὡς τρύχεσιν<sup>1</sup> ἡμφιε-  
 μέναι καθειροῦνται<sup>2</sup> μηδὲ τὸν ἥλιον βλέπουσαι.  
 205 ταῦτ' εὐθύς ἀπηγγέλλετο διὰ τῆς Σαλώμης τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ. κἀκεῖνος ἤκουε μὲν ἀλγεινῶς, ἐπειρᾶτο δὲ  
 διορθοῦν· ἐκακοῦτο δὲ ταῖς ὑποψίαις καὶ χείρων ἀεὶ  
 γινόμενος ἅπασιν κατὰ πάντων ἐπίστευεν. οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐπιπλήξας τοῖς παισίν, ἀπολογησα-  
 μένων ῥᾶν εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐγίνετο, ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς  
 πολὺ χείρω<sup>3</sup> προσέπεσεν.  
 206 (4) Ὁ γὰρ Φερώρας ἔλθων παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 ἔχοντα τὴν Ἀρχελαίου θυγατέρα Γλαφύραν, ὡς  
 ἐδηλώσαμεν, Σαλώμης ἔφη λεγοῦσης ἀκηκοῦναι τὸν  
 Ἡρώδην ἠτῆσθαι τοῦ τῆς Γλαφύρας ἔρωτος καὶ  
 207 δ' σπαργόρητον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν εἶναι. τοῦτο  
 οὖν ἐκείνος ἀκούσας ὑπὸ τε νεότητος καὶ ζηλοτυ-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: τρύχεσιν codd.: ciliciis Lat.

<sup>2</sup> καθεδοῦνται AME: καθείρσειν Zonaras.

<sup>3</sup> E: χείρων codd.: atrocius exarsit Lat.

there was friction between them, as sometimes hap-  
 pens, she would sow great distrust in her daughter.  
 In this way Salome learned of everything that passed  
 between them and also made her daughter hostile to  
 the youth. And she, to please her mother, often said  
 that when they were alone, the youths spoke of  
 Mariamme but hated their father and continually  
 threatened that if ever they obtained power, they  
 would make village clerks out of the sons borne to  
 Herod by his other wives, for, they said, their present  
 concern with the education which had carefully been  
 given them fitted them for such a position. As for  
 the women, if ever they saw them using any of their  
 mother's choice apparel, they threatened that they  
 would be dressed in rags<sup>a</sup> instead of their present  
 finery and shut up in a place where they could not  
 even see the sun. These remarks were immediately  
 reported by Salome to the king, who, though he  
 heard them with distress, attempted to set things  
 right. But he was adversely affected by his suspicions  
 and as he continually became more troubled, he began  
 to believe everyone against everyone else. However,  
 after he had rebuked his sons and they had defended  
 themselves, he felt more at ease for the time being,  
 but later on much worse troubles came upon him.

(4) For Pheroras came to Alexander, who, as we  
 have related, was married to Glaphyra, the daughter  
 of Archelaus,<sup>b</sup> and said that he had heard from Salome  
 that Herod was smitten with love for Glaphyra and  
 that his passion was difficult to assuage. When Alex-  
 ander heard this, he became incensed with youthful

Pheroras  
 incites  
 Alexander  
 against  
 Herod.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "haircloth"; cf. critical note and *B.J.* i. 480, where the same possible itacism occurs in the mss.

<sup>b</sup> Archelaus Philopatris, king of Cappadocia, who reigned fifty years, beginning c. 36 B.C. Cf. *Ant.* xv. 105 note e.

πίας ἐξεκαίετο, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τιμὴν εἰς τὴν παῖδα  
 γινόμενα παρ' Ἡρώδου (πολλάκις δ' ἦσαν αἱ τοι-  
 αῦται φιλοφρονήσεις) ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐλάμβανεν ἐξ  
 209 ὑπονοιῶν διὰ τὸν ἐκπεσόντα λόγον. οὐκ ἐκαρτέρη-  
 σέν τε τὴν ὀδύνην τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλὰ ἐλθὼν πρὸς  
 τὸν πατέρα καταμηνύει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φερώρα ῥη-  
 θέντα μετὰ δακρύων. Ἡρώδης δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον  
 ἐκπαθῆς γενόμενος καὶ τὸ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τῆς δια-  
 209 βολῆς ἔψευσμένον οὐ φέρων ἐτετάρακτο. καὶ πολ-  
 λάκις μὲν ᾠδύρετο τὴν πονηρίαν τῶν οἰκείων οἷος  
 εἰς αὐτοὺς γενόμενος οἷων τυγχάνοι, μεταπέμπεται  
 δὲ τὸν Φερώραν καὶ προσονειδίσας, "κάκιστε πάν-  
 των," εἶπεν, "εἰς τοῦτο τῆς ἀμέτρου καὶ περιττῆς  
 ἦλθες ἀχαριστίας ὡς τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ ἡμῶν νοῆσαι,  
 210 τοιαῦτα δὲ λαλεῖν; ἄρ' οὐχ ὀρῶ τὴν σὴν προαίρε-  
 σιν, ὡς οὐ βλασφημίας ἐστοχασμένους τοιού-  
 τους λόγους τῷ παιδὶ προσήνεγκας, ἐπιβουλήν δὲ  
 καὶ φάρμακον αὐτοὺς ποιούμενος τῆς ἐμῆς ἀπω-  
 λείας; τίς γὰρ ἂν, εἰ μὴ δαιμόνων ἀγαθῶν ἔτυχεν,  
 ὡσπερ οὗτος ὁ παῖς, ἠνέσχετο τὸν πατέρα μὴ τίσα-  
 211 σθαι διὰ τοιαύτην ὑποψίαν; πότερον δὲ λόγον εἰς  
 τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ ξίφος εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ  
 δοκεῖς κατὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος; τί δέ σοι βούλεται  
 τὸ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
 μόνην τὴν κατ' ἐμοῦ βλασφημίαν εὖνοιαν ὑποκρίνα-  
 σθαι καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν ἅ τῆς σῆς ἀσεβείας ἦν  
 212 καὶ νοῆσαι καὶ διαβαλεῖν;<sup>2</sup> ἔρρε, κάκιστος εἰς  
 εὐεργέτην καὶ ἀδελφὸν γενόμενος, καὶ σοὶ μὲν ἦ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν τε Niese: τε αὐτὸν codd.

<sup>2</sup> λαλεῖν Niese.

jealousy and put the worst construction upon the  
 tokens of esteem given the girl by Herod—these  
 friendly attentions being frequent—because of the  
 suspicions aroused by the report that had come to  
 him. He did not have the strength to bear the grief  
 which this affair caused him but went to his father and  
 with tears informed him of what had been said by  
 Pheroras. Thereupon Herod became much more  
 furious, and not being able to bear the shameful and  
 false accusation, was thoroughly disturbed. He often  
 lamented the wickedness of his own family and how  
 badly he had been treated by those to whom he had  
 been so good. Then he sent for Pheroras and after  
 further reproaching him, said, "You wickedest of all  
 men, have you come to so unmeasured and excessive  
 a degree of ingratitude that you think of such things  
 and say such things about me? But do you really  
 suppose that I do not see what your plan is? It was  
 not merely with the idea of slandering me that you  
 brought such stories to my son but to make them the  
 occasion of a plot and the poison for my destruction.  
 For what man, except one who like this son of mine  
 happened to be guided by good angels, would refrain  
 from taking vengeance on his father if he had any  
 such suspicion of him? Do you think that it is merely  
 a thought that you have put into his mind rather than  
 a sword that you have put into his right hand to use  
 against his father? And since you hate both him  
 and his brother, what is your idea in pretending  
 goodwill toward him with a view only to slandering  
 me, and in speaking of things that only one of your  
 impiety would think of or calumniously utter? Be-  
 gone, you who have acted so abominably toward  
 your benefactor and brother, and may that (evil)

συνείδησις αὐτῆ συζήσειεν, ἐγὼ δὲ νικῶν αἰὲ τούτους ἐμοὺς μήτε ἀμυνόμενος κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ μειζόνως εὐεργετῶν ἢ τυχεῖν εἶσι δίκαιοι."

213 (5) Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς. Φερώρας δ' ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ<sup>1</sup> Σαλώμην ἔφη ταῦτα συν-  
214 θείναι<sup>2</sup> καὶ παρ' ἐκείνης εἶναι τοὺς λόγους. ἢ δὲ ὡς μόνον ἤκουσεν (ἐτύγγανε δὲ παρούσα), πιθανῶς ἀνεβόησεν ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη παρ' αὐτῆς τοιοῦτον, καὶ ὅτι διὰ σπουδῆς ἐστὶν ἅπασιν εἰς μῖσος ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἀνελεῖν<sup>3</sup> διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν ἔχει περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην, αἰὲ προ-  
215 γινώσκουσα τοὺς κινδύνους. ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι· μόνη γὰρ ἀναπειθούσα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκβάλλειν ἣν εἶχε γυναῖκα, λαμβάνειν δὲ θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως, εἰκότως ὑπ' ἐκείνου μεμι-  
216 σῆσθαι. τοιαῦτα λεγούσης καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐπιδραττομένης τῶν τριχῶν, πολλάκις δὲ τυπτούσης τὰ στέρνα, ἢ μὲν ὄψις εἶχε τι πρὸς τὴν ἄρνησιν πιθανόν, ἢ δὲ κακοῦθρα τοῦ τρόπου· τὴν ἐν τοῖς  
217 γινομένοις ὑπόκρισιν ἀπεσήμαινεν. ὁ δὲ Φερώρας εἰς μέσον ἀπέλιπτο, μηδὲν εὐσχημον εἰς ἀπολογία ἔχων, εἰπεῖν μὲν ὠμολογηκῶς, ἀκοῦσαι δ' οὐ πιστευόμενος. ἐγένετο δ'<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ πλείον ἢ τε σύγχυσις  
218 καὶ ἡ τῶν λόγων εἰς ἀλλήλους ἄμιλλα. τέλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μεμισηκῶς ἀπεπέμπετο, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπαινέσας τῆς ἐγ-

<sup>1</sup> + ἀλοὺς ed. pr.

<sup>2</sup> Wolf: συνθήσειεν AM: συνπίσειεν PW: persuasit Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνέχειν PW et in marg. AM: occidere Lat.

<sup>4</sup> μὲν M: μὲν οὖν A.

conscience of yours live with you as your companion. As for me, may I always gain the victory over my kin by not punishing them as they deserve and by giving them greater benefits than they are entitled to receive."<sup>a</sup>

(5) It was in such terms that the king spoke. And Pheroras, being caught red-handed in villainy, said that it was Salome who had concocted<sup>b</sup> the plot and that these charges had come from her. But no sooner did Salome—she happened to be present—hear this than she protested in a convincing manner that none of this was her doing and that they were all trying their hardest to earn for her the hatred of the king and to get rid of her<sup>c</sup> in any way possible because of the affection that she felt for Herod, to whom she was always foretelling the dangers that threatened him. At the moment, she said, she was the victim of an even more serious plot, for since she alone was trying to persuade her brother to put away his present wife and marry the king's daughter, she was naturally the object of Pheroras' hatred. Speaking in this vein, she repeatedly tore her hair and repeatedly beat her breast, and this spectacle helped somewhat to make her denial plausible. But the malignity of her character proclaimed the insincerity of her actions. As for Pheroras, he was stopped short, for he had nothing creditable to say in his defence since he had confessed to saying these things and was not believed when he said that he had heard them from others. Thus the confusion became greater, as did the battle of words between them. Finally the king sent away his brother and sister, whom he had learned to hate, and

Herod learns to distrust Salome and Pheroras.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Abel, *HP* i. 391.

<sup>b</sup> The text here is corrupt.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "to oppose her" (ἐνέχειν); cf. critical note.



κρατείας καὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνευγεκῆν τοὺς λόγους, ὁψὲ τῆς ὥρας περὶ θεραπείαν τοῦ σώματος 219 ἐγένετο. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐμπεσοῦσης κακῶς ἤκουσεν ἡ Σαλώμη· παρ' αὐτῆς γὰρ ἐδόκει κεκινήσθαι τὰ περὶ τὴν διαβολήν· αἱ τε τοῦ βασιλέως γυναῖκες ἤχθοντο, φύσει δυσχερεστάτην εἰδυῖαι καὶ γινομένην ἄλλοτ' ἄλλην, κατὰ καιροὺς ἐχθρὰν καὶ φίλην. ἔλεγον οὖν αἰεὶ τι πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην κατ' αὐτῆς, καὶ τι συμπεσὸν ἐπὶ μείζον ἤγαγε<sup>1</sup> τὴν εἰς τοῦτο παρρησίαν.

220 (6) Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀραβίας βασιλεὺς Ὀβάδας<sup>2</sup> ἀπράγμων καὶ νωθῆς τὴν φύσιν, Σύλλαιος δ' αὐτῷ διώκει τὰ πολλὰ, δεινὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν 221 νέος ἔτι καὶ καλός. ὑπὸ χρείας οὖν τινος ἐλθὼν ὡς τὸν Ἡρώδην, συνδειπνῶν εἶδε τὴν Σαλώμην καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔσχε πρὸς αὐτήν, γινώσκων δ' ὅτι καὶ 222 χήρα τυγχάνοι διελέγετο.<sup>3</sup> Σαλώμη δὲ καὶ χεῖρον ἢ πάλαι φερομένη παρὰ τὰδελφῶ, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον οὐκ ἀπαθῶς ὄρωσα, πρὸς τὸν γάμον ὤρμητο· ταῖς τε<sup>4</sup> μεταξὺ φοιτάντων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐνεφαίνετο πλείω τε καὶ μὴ μέτρια<sup>5</sup> τῆς ἐκείνων πρὸς ἀλλήλους 223 ὁμολογίας. ταῦτα δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνέφερον τῷ βασιλεῖ, διαγελῶσαι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην, Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Φερώρα προσεπυθάνετο καὶ τηρεῖν ἤξιον παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον πῶς τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐσχῆ-

<sup>1</sup> ἦρε E.<sup>2</sup> Ὀβόδας PW.<sup>3</sup> διελέγετο περὶ γάμων ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.<sup>4</sup> + γυναῖξί Naber.<sup>5</sup> + τεκμήρια Naber.<sup>a</sup> §§ 219-227; cf. B.J. i. 486 f.<sup>b</sup> Variant spellings "Obodos," "Obedos"; Arabia

after praising his son for his self-control and for having reported these matters to him, he went at a late hour to give his body some rest. As a result of such a fight having broken out Salome began to have a bad reputation, for the trouble caused by the calumnies was thought to have been started by her. The king's wives also resented her because they knew her to be very difficult by nature and constantly changing and being by turns an enemy or a friend. And as they continually spoke against her to Herod, something also happened to increase their boldness in this respect.<sup>a</sup>

(6) The king of Arabia, Obadas,<sup>b</sup> was inactive and sluggish by nature; for the most part his realm was governed by Syllaeus, who was a clever man, still young in years and handsome. Having come to Herod on some business or other, as he was dining with him, he saw Salome and set his heart on having her. And as he knew that she was a widow, he spoke to her about his feeling. Salome, who was even more in the bad graces of her brother than before, and regarded the young man with anything but indifference, was eager for marriage with him, and during the following days, when many people came together for dinner, there appeared numerous and unmistakable signs of an understanding between these two. These were reported to the king by the other women, who derided their lack of discretion. Herod then inquired further about it of Pheroras and asked him to watch them during dinner to see how they felt about each

"Obedath," etc. Cf. Cooke, *N.S.I.* pp. 244 f.; Strabo xvi. 663 f., 780; Abel, *HP* i. 386-390; Glueck, *BASOR* 131 (1953), 10. See also §§ 279 f., 288, 294, 337, 339; *B.J.* i. 487. Obadas was advanced in years at this time and died soon afterward.

Syllaeus the Arab courts Salome.

κασιν. ἐκείνος δὲ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι καὶ νεύμασιν καὶ  
 βλέμμασιν οὐκ ἄδηλοι τῆς ὀρμῆς εἰσιν ἀμφότεροι.  
 224 μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν Ἄραβ ὑποπτος ὢν ἀπῆει· δια-  
 λιπὼν δὲ δύο μῆνας ἢ τρεῖς ἔρχεται πάλιν ὡς ἐπ'  
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καὶ λόγους Ἑρώδῃ προσέφερεν, ἀξιώων  
 αὐτῷ τὴν Σαλώμην δοθῆναι πρὸς γάμον· ἔσεσθαι  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἀλυσιτελές τὸ κῆδος ἐπιμιξία τῆς τῶν  
 Ἀράβων ἀρχῆς, ἣν αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἤδη παρεῖναι  
 225 δυνάμει, καὶ μᾶλλον ὀφείλεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Ἑρώδου  
 τὸν λόγον ἀναφέροντος καὶ πυνθανομένου τῆς ἀδελ-  
 φῆς εἰ πρὸς τὸν γάμον ἐτοιμῶς ἔχει, ταχέως μὲν  
 ἐκείνη προσήκατο, Σύλλαιος δέ, ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν  
 ἐγγραφῆναι τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσι καὶ τότε γα-  
 μεῖν<sup>1</sup> (ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι δυνατόν), οὐχ ὑπομείνας,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ καταλευσθήσεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἀράβων  
 226 εἰπὼν εἰ τοῦτο πράξειεν, ἀπαλλάττεται. Σαλώμην  
 οὖν ὁ τε Φερώρας ἤδη διέβαλλεν εἰς ἀκρασίαν, καὶ  
 μᾶλλον αἱ γυναῖκες λέγουσαι κοινωνίαν αὐτῇ γενέ-  
 227 σθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἄραβα. τὴν τε κόρην ἣν τὰδελφῷ  
 κατενεγύησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἣν ὁ μὲν Φερώρας οὐκ  
 ἔλαβεν, ὡς προείπον, ἡττημένος τῆς γυναικός, αἰ-  
 τουούσης Σαλώμης εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἐκ Κοστοβάρου  
 228 γενόμενον, ὠρμητο μὲν ἐκείνῳ συνοικίσαι· μεταπί-  
 θεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φερώρα, τὸν τε νεανίσκον οὐκ  
 εὖνον ἔσεσθαι λέγοντος διὰ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ  
 πατρὸς καὶ δικαιότερον εἶναι λαβεῖν τὸν αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τότε γαμεῖν] circumcidi Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Naber: αὐτοῦ codd., edd.

<sup>a</sup> Out of deference to the Jews Herod had observed the general rule of compelling Gentiles to adopt the Jewish faith

other. Pheroras reported that they both made their  
 passion clear by their gestures and looks. Some time  
 after this the Arab left under suspicion but after the  
 lapse of two or three months he came again on the  
 same matter and made proposals to Herod, asking  
 that Salome be given him in marriage. This con-  
 nexion, he said, would not be unprofitable to Herod  
 through his association with the government of  
 Arabia, which was even now virtually in his (Syllaeus')  
 hands and by rights should be more so. When Herod  
 brought this proposal to his sister and inquired  
 whether she was ready for this marriage, Salome  
 quickly agreed. But when they asked Syllaeus to be  
 initiated into the customs of the Jews<sup>a</sup> before the  
 wedding—otherwise, they said, marriage would be  
 impossible—, he would not submit to this but took his  
 departure, saying that if he did submit, he would be  
 stoned to death by the Arabs. Then Pheroras began  
 to accuse Salome of lewd behaviour, and even more  
 did the women at court, who said that she had been  
 intimate with the Arab. And when Salome asked  
 that there be given to her son by Costobarus<sup>b</sup> the girl  
 whom the king had betrothed to his brother but whom  
 Pheroras, as I said before,<sup>c</sup> did not take because of his  
 hopeless passion for the other woman, Herod was of  
 a mind to give her in marriage to this son of Salome.  
 But he changed his mind at the instance of Pheroras,  
 who said that the youth would not be loyal to him  
 because of the murder of his father and that it would  
 be more just for his own son to have her since he was

if they married into his family. Cf. *Ant.* xx. 38 ff.; *Ap.* ii.  
 282-286; Juster, i. 253-290; Bamberger, *Proselytism*, pp.  
 21 f., 48 f.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xv. 253 note and 252-264.

<sup>c</sup> §§ 196 ff.

παῖδα τῆς τετραρχίας ὄντα διάδοχον. οὕτω δὲ συγγνώμην ἤτειτο, καὶ μετέπεσεν<sup>1</sup> οὗτος.<sup>2</sup> ἐκεῖνη μὲν οὖν ἀντιμετατεθείσης τῆς ἐγγύης ἐγαμείτο τῷ Φερώρα μειρακίῳ, φερνήν ἐπιδόντος ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τοῦ βασιλέως.

- 229 (viii. 1) Οὐκ ἀνεῖτο δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν αἰεὶ καὶ μείζους τὰς ταραχὰς λαμβάνοντα, καὶ συμπίπτει τι τοιοῦτον ἐξ αἰτίας μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεποῦς, χωρῆσαν δὲ  
 230 πρόσω κατὰ δυσχέρειαν ἦσαν εὐνοῦχοι τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ κάλλος οὐ μετρίως ἐσπουδασμένοι. τούτων ὁ μὲν οἰνοχοεῖν, ὁ δὲ δεῖπνον προσφέρειν, ὁ δὲ κατακομιζέειν βασιλέα πεπίστευτο καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν  
 231 ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς. καὶ τις ἀγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ διαφθαρῆναι τούτους<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασι. ἀνακρίνοντι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς γεγενημένης πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίας καὶ μίξεως ὁμολόγουν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν δυσχερὲς εἰς τὸν πατέρα  
 232 συνειδέειν. βασανιζόμενοι δὲ μᾶλλον κἂν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ὄντες, ἐπιτεινόντων αἰεὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ χαριζομένων<sup>4</sup> τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἔλεγον ὡς εἶη δυσμένεια πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ μῖσος ἐμ-  
 233 φυτον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, παραινοίη δ' αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδην μὲν ἀπεγνωκέναι περιττὸν ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου<sup>5</sup> τετυχηκότα<sup>6</sup> καὶ τῷ γῆρα<sup>7</sup> παρακάλυμμα ποιούμενον, μελαινόντα τὰς τρίχας καὶ κλέπτοντα τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς

<sup>1</sup> μὴ πέσας PW : μετέπεσεν ed. pr.

<sup>2</sup> cod. Voss. et Cocceji : οὕτως rell. : οὕτω . . . οὕτως om.

E Lat.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦτον AM Lat. (τούτους in marg. AM).

<sup>4</sup> χαριζόμενοι con. Richards et Shutt, fort. recte.

<sup>5</sup> verba τοῦ χρόνου in codd. post παρακάλυμμα inventa huc transposui.

<sup>6</sup> γεγηρακότα Naber.

<sup>7</sup> τῷ γῆρα καὶ Ibbetson.

to be his successor as tetrarch. Thus did he seek to obtain pardon and the king have a sudden change of mind.<sup>a</sup> And so the arrangements for the girl's betrothal were changed, and she was married to the young son of Pheroras, and the king added a hundred talents to her dowry.

(viii. 1)<sup>b</sup> But there was no let-up in the troubled state of his household, which steadily experienced even greater disturbances. The following incident that took place arose from a disgraceful cause and progressed to further unpleasantness. The king had some eunuchs of whom he was immoderately fond because of their beauty. One of them was entrusted with the pouring of his wine, the second with serving his dinner, and the third with putting the king to bed and taking care of the most important matters of state. Now someone informed the king that these eunuchs had been corrupted by his son Alexander with great sums of money. When Herod asked whether they had had intimate relations with Alexander, they confessed to this but said that they were not aware of any other offence on his part against his father. When they were further tortured, however, and were in extremities as the attendants turned the screws ever more tightly to please Antipater, they said that Alexander felt hostility and an innate hatred toward his father and had suggested to them that Herod, who had already lived a long time, had given up hope of living much longer and was actually concealing his senility by dyeing his hair black and furtively removing the signs of his age, and that if

Herod's eunuchs accuse Alexander of plotting against him.

<sup>a</sup> The statement is sometimes referred to Pheroras' son ; cf. critical note. The text is evidently corrupt.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 229-261 : cf. B.J. i. 488-499.

JOSEPHUS

ἡλικίας· εἰ δ' αὐτῷ προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, περιγενο-  
 μένης<sup>1</sup> τῆς βασιλείας, ἦν καὶ μὴ βουλομένου τοῦ  
 πατρὸς οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς εἶναι, ταχὺ τὸν πρῶτον  
 234 ἔξεν ἐν αὐτῇ τόπον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὸ γένος ἀλλ'  
 ἤδη καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἔτοιμον αὐτῷ τὸ κρατεῖν  
 εἶναι· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν  
 φίλων συνεστᾶσιν, οὐχὶ<sup>2</sup> πονηροὶ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν καὶ  
 δρᾶν καὶ πάσχειν.  
 235 (2) Τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης ὅλος  
 ἐγένετο τῆς ἐπηρείας καὶ τοῦ δέους, τὰ μὲν εἰς  
 ὕβριν ῥηθέντα χαλεπῶς, τὰ δ' εἰς ὑπόνοιαν οὐκ  
 ἀκινδύνως ἐκλαβὼν, ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξ ἀμφοτέ-  
 ρων ἠρεθίζετο, καὶ πικρὸς ὢν ἐδεδοίκει μὴ καὶ τι<sup>3</sup>  
 ταῖς ἀληθείαις συνέστηκεν<sup>4</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰσχυρότερον  
 236 ἢ φυλάξασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν. ἔνθεν οὐδ'  
 ἐκ φανεροῦ τὴν ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο, κατασκόπους δὲ  
 τῶν ὑπονοουμένων διέπεμψεν. ὑποψία τε καὶ μίση  
 πρὸς ἅπαντας ἦν, καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ  
 λαμβάνων πολλήν, καὶ κατὰ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων αὐτῇ  
 237 χρώμενος διετέλει. πέρας τε οὐδὲν ἦν, ἀλλὰ μένει<sup>5</sup>  
 οἱ<sup>6</sup> νομιζόμενοι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον ἰσχύοντες,  
 ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ φοβεροὶ τοὺς<sup>7</sup> δ' οἷς οὐκ ἦν συνθήεια  
 πλείων ὀνομάσαι μόνον ἔδει,<sup>8</sup> καὶ μέρος εὐθὺς ἀσ-  
 238 φαλείας ἐδόκουν ἀπολλύμενοι. τέλος τε οἱ περὶ  
 αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν βέβαιον εἰς ἐλπίδα σωτη-

<sup>1</sup> E: -μένων, -μενον, -μένω codd.  
<sup>2</sup> in marg. A: οὐχ οἱ codd.  
<sup>3</sup> μὴ καὶ τι Dindorf: μηκέτι codd.  
<sup>4</sup> Dindorf: συνεστηκέναι codd.  
<sup>5</sup> ἀλλὰ μένει] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οἰκέτοι con. Richards et Shutt.  
<sup>6</sup> οὐ AM.  
<sup>7</sup> Dindorf: τοῖς codd.  
<sup>8</sup> Dindorf: ἐδόκει codd.

they gave their support to him (Alexander) when the kingdom became his—for it would not go to anyone else even if his father wished to have it otherwise—, they would soon have the first place in it. The royal power, he said, was ready for him to seize not only because of his lineage but also because of the preparations that had already been made, for many of the leading men and many of the king's friends supported him and were not afraid of anything, whatever they must do or suffer.

(2)<sup>a</sup> When Herod heard these statements, he was thoroughly outraged and filled with fears, being furious at the insulting things said about him and also realizing how dangerous were the things that aroused his suspicion, so that he was still more exacerbated for both these reasons. In his bitterness he was afraid that in actual fact a more powerful combination had been formed against him than he was able to guard against at this particular time. Hence he did not make his inquiries openly but set spies on the trail of those whom he suspected. His mistrust and hatred were directed against all, and since he regarded constant suspicion as a measure of safety, he continued to show it even toward those who did not deserve it. There was no limit to this; those who were accustomed to stay with him seemed to him more to be feared as being more influential, while as for those who had no great familiarity with him, it was only necessary<sup>b</sup> to name them and at once it seemed a necessary part of his safety for them to be killed. Finally his courtiers, having no firm ground for hoping to be saved, turned upon one another in

Herod sets spies on the suspects at court.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 235-253: cf. B. J. i. 492-497.  
<sup>b</sup> MSS. "it seemed enough."



ρίας, ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐτράπησαν, νομίζοντες μὲν, εἰ φθάσας ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον διαβάλλοι, τοῦτ' αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν φέρειν, ἐπίφθονοι δ' εἴ ποτε τύχοιεν ὧν ἡξίουεν γενόμενοι, καὶ τὸ δικαίως αὐτοὶ παθεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλους<sup>1</sup> ἠδίκησαν προσλαμβάνοντες<sup>2</sup> μόνον.

239 ἤδη γοῦν οἰκείας τινὲς ἔχθρας ἐπεξήεσαν τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ, καὶ καταφωραθέντες ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐγένοντο, τὸν καιρὸν ὡσπερ ὄργανον καὶ πάγην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς νοοῦντες, καὶ συναλισκόμενοι τῇ πείρᾳ

240 καθ' ἣν ἑτέροις ἐπεβούλευον. ἡ τε γὰρ μετάνοια τῷ βασιλεῖ ταχὺ διὰ τὸ μὴ προφανῶς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀναιρεῖν ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ταύτης τὸ χαλεπὸν οὐκ εἰς τὸ παύσασθαι τὰ ὅμοια δρᾶν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τιμωρησασθαι τοῖς ἴσοις τοὺς ἐνδειξαμένους ἀπηρτίζετο.

241 (3) Τοιαύτη μὲν ἦν τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλήν ἢ ταραχῆ. πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν φίλων ἤδη καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ προεῖπεν<sup>3</sup> ὡς οὐτ' ἐμφανίζεσθαι δεόν αὐτῷ λοιπὸν οὐτ'<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸ βασιλείον εἰσιεῖναι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐποιεῖτο καθ' ὃ ἡ παρρησίας<sup>5</sup> ἐλάττονος ἢ πλείονος

242 ἐντροπῆς μετελλήφει· καὶ γὰρ Ἀνδρόμαχον καὶ Γέμελλον, ἄνδρας ἄνωθεν φίλους αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς χρείας ἐν τε πρεσβείαις καὶ συμβουλίαις ὠνήσαντας αὐτοῦ τὸν οἶκον, συμπαιδεύσαντας δὲ τοὺς υἱούς, καίτοι γ' ἄρτι<sup>6</sup> πρῶτον

243 παρρησίας τόπον ἐσχηκότας, παρητήσατο τότε, τὸν μὲν ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ συνήθης ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Γέμελλον δὲ εὖνον ἐπιστάμενος ἐκείνῳ.

<sup>1</sup> E Lat. : ἀλλήλους codd.

<sup>2</sup> προσλαμβάνοντες ed. pr.

<sup>3</sup> πολλοῖς . . . προεῖπεν E Lat. : πολλοὶ . . . προεῖπον codd.

<sup>4</sup> οὐτ' . . . οὐτ' Dindorf : οὐδ' . . . οὐδ' codd. E.

<sup>5</sup> καθ' ὃ ἡ παρρησίας] καθ' ὧν ἡ παρρησία AME.

<sup>6</sup> καίτοι γ' ἄρτι Naber : καὶ τί γὰρ ἡ codd.

the belief that he who was beforehand in accusing another would thereby assure his own safety, but those who achieved their purpose became objects of envious hatred, and obtained no further satisfaction beyond the fact that they themselves were rightly suffering the wrongs that they had inflicted upon others.<sup>a</sup> Some, indeed, pursued their private enmities in this manner, only to be caught and placed in the same predicament, for though they looked upon the crisis as a handy means of ensnaring their enemies, they were themselves caught in the same trap which they had treacherously set for others. For the king soon began to repent of having put to death persons who had not clearly committed any sin, but the terrible thing about this was that he ended not by ceasing to do this kind of thing but by punishing informers in the very same way.

(3) Such was the troubled state of affairs at court. To many of his friends Herod announced that in future they were neither to appear before him nor enter the palace. This order he gave in accordance with the feeling he had of less freedom of action or greater restraint in their presence. Thus, for example, Andromachus and Gemellus,<sup>b</sup> men who had long been his friends and had been of great help to his family in matters of state through embassies and councils and had helped to educate his sons, he now dismissed although they had recently enjoyed greater freedom of speech than any others. The one he dismissed because his son Demetrius<sup>b</sup> was a close friend of Alexander, while Gemellus he knew to be well disposed

The suspicious Herod turns on his friends.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "one another."

<sup>b</sup> These two, and Demetrius, the son of Andromachus (§ 243), are mentioned by name only in this account in Josephus.

καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς κὰν τῇ παιδείᾳ παραγε-  
γόνει, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ συνδιέτριβεν ἀποδη-  
μίαν. παρητήσατο<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ τούτους ἡδέως μὲν ἂν  
καὶ χεῖρον,<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ μὴ κατ' ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀσή-  
μων ἔχειν τὴν ἄχρι τοσοῦτων παρρησίαν, τὴν τε  
τιμὴν καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι κωλύειν ἁμαρτάνοντα<sup>3</sup> παρ-  
αιρούμενος.

244 (4) Ἦν δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων αἴτιος Ἀντίπατρος,  
ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὸ νεοσηκὸς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρρησίας<sup>4</sup>  
κατέμαθεν, ἔκπαλαι μὲν συνεδρεύων αὐτῷ προσέ-  
κειτο, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει τι περαίνειν, εἰ τῶν ἀντ-  
245 ἔχειν δυναμένων ἕκαστος ὑπεξαιρεθείη. τότε γοῦν  
τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον ἀπελαθέντων λόγου καὶ  
παρρησίας, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅσους ᾤετο  
πιστοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασάνοις ἀνέκριεν εἴ τι κατ'  
αὐτοῦ τολμηθὲν εἰδείησαν· οἱ δὲ ἀπέθνησκον οὐδὲν  
246 ἔχοντες λέγειν. τῷ δ' ἦν φιλονεικίας αἴτιον, εἰ μὴ  
τι τοιοῦτον οἶον ἐνενοεῖ<sup>5</sup> κακὸν<sup>6</sup> εὐρίσκοιτο,<sup>7</sup> καὶ  
δεινὸς Ἀντίπατρος ἦν<sup>8</sup> τὸν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀλη-  
θείας ἀναίτιον εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ πίστιν διαβαλεῖν,  
ἐπιπαροξύναι δὲ ζητεῖν ἐκ πλειόνων τὸ λανθάνον  
247 τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. καὶ τις ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς βασανι-  
ζομένοις εἶπεν ὡς εἰδείη τὸν νεανίσκον λέγοντα πολ-  
λάκις, ὅταν ἐπαινούμενος αὐτὸς τύχοι τό τε σῶμα

<sup>1</sup> παρητήσατο fort. corruptum.

<sup>2</sup> χεῖρον διαθεῖς con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> P: ἁμαρτάνοντα<sup>s</sup> rell. Lat.

<sup>4</sup> προπετείας vel διαθέσεως Bekker: παρανομίας con. Post.

<sup>5</sup> E: ἐνοεῖ AM: ἐδόκει PW.

<sup>6</sup> Herwerden: κακῶς codd. E.

<sup>7</sup> εὐρίσκοι ex Lat. (inveniebat) con. Niese.

toward Alexander, for he had been brought up and educated with him and had stayed with him during his visit in Rome. Herod would gladly have dismissed these two with still worse treatment, but since he was not free to act so boldly against such distinguished men, he merely deprived them of their rank and of the power to prevent him from committing sins.

(4)<sup>a</sup> The cause of all this was Antipater, who on becoming aware of the morbid lack of restraint in his father and having long been one of his counsellors, kept urging him on, for he believed that he would accomplish still more if every one of those able to oppose him were quietly put out of the way. At this time, therefore, when Andromachus and his friends had been prevented from speaking to him and freely expressing themselves, the king first examined under torture those whom he believed to be faithful to Alexander, to find out whether they knew of any plot against him, but they went to their deaths without having anything to tell him. When no such evil as he suspected was found, it caused him to be still more intent on having his way. Antipater too was skilful in calumniating those who in very truth were innocent by accusing them of constancy and faithfulness to Alexander, and in inciting Herod to seek information from more persons about the secret plots against his life. Among the many who were tortured there was one who said he knew that the young man had often said, when he happened to be praised for his great bodily size and for being an expert marks-

Antipater  
plays on  
Herod's  
morbid  
fears.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 244-253: cf. B.J. i. 495-497.

<sup>b</sup> ἦν Cocceji: ὦν AM: om. PW.

ὡς εἶη μέγας καὶ τὴν τοξικὴν εὐστοχος καὶ τὰλλα  
τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, ὅτι ταῦτ' αὐτῷ κακὰ<sup>1</sup>  
248 μᾶλλον ἢπερ ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν· ἄχθε-  
σθαι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸν πατέρα καὶ φθονεῖν· αὐτός  
τε ὅταν μὲν ἅμα<sup>2</sup> περιπατοῖη συστέλλειν αὐτὸν καὶ  
καθαίρειν ὡς μὴ μείζων ὀράσθαι, τοξεύων δὲ ἐν  
τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις ἐκείνου παρόντος ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ρί-  
πτει· τὴν γὰρ φιλοτιμίαν<sup>3</sup> εἰδέναι τοῦ γεγεννηκότος  
249 τούτων<sup>4</sup> εὐδοκιμούντων. βασιανιζομένων τῶν τε  
λόγων<sup>5</sup> καὶ προσγινομένης ἀνέσεως τῷ σώματι,<sup>6</sup>  
προσέτιθει ὅτι καὶ συνεργὸν ἔχων τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
Ἀριστόβουλον βουλευσαίτο<sup>7</sup> ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ λοχήσας  
ἀνελεῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ<sup>8</sup> φεύγειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐπειδὴν  
τοῦτ' αὐτῷ πραχθῆ, τὴν βασιλείαν αἰτησόμενος.  
250 εὐρέθη δὲ καὶ γράμματα τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὸν  
ἀδελφόν, ἐν οἷς ἐμέμφετο τὸν πατέρα μὴ δίκαια  
ποιεῖν,<sup>9</sup> Ἀντιπάτρῳ χώραν ἀπονέμοντα πρόσδοον  
251 διακοσίων ταλάντων φέρουσαν. ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐθύς  
μὲν ἔδοξέ τι πιστὸν ἔχειν Ἡρώδης, ὡς ᾤετο, τῆς  
κατὰ<sup>10</sup> τῶν παίδων ὑποψίας· καὶ συλλαβὼν ἔδησε  
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. αὐθις δὲ οὐκ ἀνίει χαλεπὸς ὢν,  
τὰ μὲν οὐδ' οἷς ἤκουσεν ἄγαν πεπιστευκώς· ἀνα-  
λογιζομένῳ γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἐπιβουλής ἐξ αὐτῶν  
οὐδὲν ἐφαίνετο, μέμφεις δὲ καὶ νεανικαὶ φιλοτιμίαι,  
καὶ τὸ κτείναντα φανερώς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὀρμᾶν

<sup>1</sup> καλὰ AMW : τὰ καλὰ λυπηρὰ E.

<sup>2</sup> ἅμα om. PWE.

<sup>3</sup> γρ. τὴν κενοδοξίαν [cf. infra § 359] in marg. AM.

<sup>4</sup> κατὰ τῶν Cocceji.

<sup>5</sup> βασιανιζομένων τῶν τε λόγων coniecti : βασιανιζομένῳ τῷ τε (τε om. AM) λόγῳ codd. : cumque verbum scrutaretur Lat. : om. E.

<sup>7</sup> βουλευσαίτο add. E.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ . . . σώματι om. E.

<sup>8</sup> ἀνελεῖν . . . καὶ add. E.

<sup>9</sup> ποιήσῃ PW : fecisse Lat.

man with the bow and for the other qualities in which he excelled all men, that these gifts of nature were bad rather than good for him, since his father was irritated by them and envious of him. And, he said, whenever he walked about with his father, he would contract and shorten himself in order not to appear the taller of the two. And whenever he would shoot on a hunting trip on which Herod was present, he would aim beside the mark, for he knew his father's ambition to excel in such generally approved activities. While his statements were being scrutinized, and respite was given his body, he added that Alexander, with the help of his brother Aristobulus, had plotted to ambush and kill his father while they were hunting, and after this deed was done, to flee to Rome, where he would lay claim to the kingdom. There was also found a letter from the youth to his brother, in which he blamed their father for acting unjustly in assigning to Antipater territory that brought in revenue of two hundred talents (annually).<sup>a</sup> In view of these discoveries Herod at first believed himself to have some reliable grounds, as he thought, for suspecting his sons, and he arrested and imprisoned Alexander. But he did not thereafter relax his rigorous search (for evidence), partly because he did not put too much faith in what he had heard, partly, as he thought the matter over, because there did not seem to him to be sufficient reason for their plotting ; (he thought them guilty only of) grumbling and youthful ambition, and regarded it as improbable that after killing him his son should openly depart for

<sup>a</sup> Apparently an exaggeration. Cf. *Ant.* xvii. 96, which gives Antipater's annual income as 50 talents.

<sup>10</sup> τῆς κατὰ cod. Voss. : κατὰ τῆς rell.

## JOSEPHUS

252 ἀπίθανον. ἡξίου δὲ καὶ μείζον τι λαβεῖν τῆς περι-  
 τὸν υἱὸν παρανομίας τεκμήριον, καὶ φιλόνεικος ἦν  
 μὴ δόξαι προπετῶς τὰ δεσμὰ κατεγνωνκέναί. τῶν  
 τε φίλων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου βασανίζων τοὺς ἐν τέλει,  
 διεφθειρεν αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους, οὐδὲν εἰπόντας ὧν  
 253 ἐκεῖνος ᾔετο. πολλῆς δὲ τῆς εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐτοι-  
 μότητος<sup>1</sup> οὔσης καὶ φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς περὶ τὸ  
 βασιλεῖον, εἰς τις τῶν νεωτέρων, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγ-  
 καις ἐγένετο, διαπέμπειν ἔφη τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλοις  
 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀξιοῦντα κληθῆναι θάττον ὑπὸ  
 Καίσαρος· ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ πράξιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν συν-  
 ισταμένην μηνῦσαι, Μιθριδάτην τὸν βασιλέα Πάρ-  
 θων τοῦ πατρὸς ἠρημένου κατὰ Ῥωμαίων φίλον·  
 εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακον ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι παρε-  
 σκευασμένον.<sup>2</sup>

254 (5) Τούτοις ἐπίστευσεν Ἡρώδης, καὶ τινα παρα-  
 μυθίαν τῆς προπετείας εἵληφεν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς, ὑπὸ  
 τῶν χειρόνων κολακευόμενος. καὶ τὸ μὲν φάρ-  
 255 μακον εὐθὺς ἐσπουδακότη ζητεῖν οὐχ εὐρέθη. τὴν  
 δ' ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κακῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ φιλο-  
 νεικίας ἐπιρρῶσαι θέλων εἰς μὲν ἄρνησιν οὐκ ἐτρέ-  
 πετο, μετήγει δὲ τὴν προπέτειαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμαρτία  
 μείζονι, τάχα δὴ καὶ διὰ τούτου δυσωπήσαι βουλό-  
 μενος τὸ πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς ἔτοιμον, οὐχ ἦκιστα δέ,  
 εἰ καὶ ἔτυχε πιστευθεῖς, κακοῦν αὐτὸν τε καὶ πᾶσαν  
 256 τὴν βασιλείαν προηρημένος. γράμματα γὰρ γράψας  
 ἐν βιβλίοις<sup>3</sup> τέσσαρσιν ἀπέστειλεν, ὡς οὐδὲν δεῖ  
 βασανίζειν οὐδὲ περαιτέρω χωρεῖν γενέσθαι γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> ἰταμότης con. Naber.<sup>2</sup> κατεσκευασμένον AME.<sup>3</sup> βιβλίοις PWE.

Rome. He was therefore in search of some stronger proof of his son's lawlessness, and he was intent upon not seeming to have been too rash in condemning him to imprisonment. Torturing those of Alexander's friends who were in positions of authority, he put many of them to death but without their saying anything that Herod expected them to say. And while much attention was being given to this matter, and there was fear and confusion in the palace, one of the younger men under extreme torture said that Alexander had sent messages to his friends in Rome, asking them to have him quickly called there by Caesar, for, he said, he could inform him of a hostile action taken against him, namely that his father had chosen Mithridates, the king of Parthia, to be his friend against the Romans. He also said that Alexander had a poisonous drug prepared in Ascalon.

(5)<sup>a</sup> To these statements Herod gave credence, and found some consolation for his rashness in this bad situation, for he was flattered when things became worse than had been expected. As for the drug, although he at once made every effort to find it, he was unable to do so. And since out of perverse pride Alexander wished to aggravate the extremely bad situation, he did not trouble to deny the charges but punished his father's rashness with a greater crime, perhaps because he wished in this way to put to shame Herod's readiness to listen to calumnies, but not least because he had made up his mind to injure both him and the entire kingdom if he should happen to be believed. For he composed a work in four books and sent it out, saying that there was no need to torture anyone or proceed further since there had

Alexander's  
 perverse  
 pride  
 further  
 exasperates  
 Herod.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 254-260: cf. B.J. i. 498.



τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ ταύτης συλλαμβάνειν τὸν τε  
 Φερώραν καὶ τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων,  
 Σαλωμην δὲ καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπεισελθοῦσαν ἄκοντι μι-  
 257 γῆραι· καὶ πάντας ἐπὶ ταῦτόν ἤκειν, τὸ<sup>1</sup> θάπτων  
 ἐκείνον ἐκποδῶν ποιησαμένους ἄδειαν<sup>2</sup> τῆς αἰεὶ προσ-  
 δοκίας ἔχειν. ἐν τούτοις καὶ Πτολεμαῖος διεβέ-  
 βλητο καὶ Σαπίνιος,<sup>3</sup> οἱ πιστότατοι τῷ βασιλεῖ.  
 258 καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ<sup>4</sup> καθάπερ λύττης τινὸς ἐμπεσοῦσης  
 κατ' ἀλλήλων οἱ πάλοι φίλτατοι τεθηρίωντο, μὴτ'  
 ἀπολογίας μὴτ' ἐλέγχου τόπον ἕως<sup>5</sup> ἀληθείας ἔχον-  
 των, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ γινομένης ἀκρίτου τινὸς εἰς ἅπαντας  
 ἀπωλείας, καὶ τῶν μὲν δεσμά, τῶν δὲ θανάτους,  
 τῶν δὲ τὸ ταῦτα μέλλειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄδυρομένων,  
 ἡσυχία τε καὶ κατήφεια τὸ βασιλεῖον ἀπεκόσμει τῆς  
 259 πρώτης εὐδαιμονίας. καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν Ἡρώδῃ πᾶς  
 ὁ βίος ἐκτεταραγμένῳ καὶ τὸ μηδενὶ πιστεύειν μέγα  
 τῆς προσδοκίας κολαστήριον ἔχοντι· πολλάκις γοῶν  
 ὡς ἐπανιστάμενον αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν ἢ<sup>6</sup> καὶ ξιφήρη  
 260 παρεστῶτα διὰ φαντασίας ἐλάμβανεν. οὕτως ἢ  
 ψυχὴ καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν πρὸς τούτῳ γινομένη,  
 πάθος ἀνεμάξατο μανίας καὶ ἀνοίας<sup>7</sup> οὐχ ἦττον.  
 καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐκείνον εἶχεν οὕτως.  
 261 (6) Ἀρχέλαος δὲ ὁ τῶν Καππαδόκων βασιλεὺς,  
 ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρώδη, ἀγωνιῶν ὑπὲρ  
 τε τῆς θυγατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ συναλλαγῶν

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: τοὺς codd.: τοῦ E.

<sup>2</sup> εἰδίαν con. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Σαπίνιος A: Σαπίνιος M: Sabinus Lat.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ] καίτοι γ' ἄρτι Naber.

<sup>5</sup> ὡς AM. <sup>6</sup> ἢ om. AM: ἦδη con. Niese.

<sup>7</sup> ἀγνοίας AMW: insaniam Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Both are named together as friends of Herod in *Ant.*

really been a plot against Herod and that in this he had had the help of Pheroras and the most faithful of the king's friends, and that Salome had forced her way into his room one night and lain with him against his will, and that all men had the same thing in mind, namely to get rid of the king as quickly as possible and so be freed of their continual anxiety. Among others accused were Ptolemy and Sapinnius,<sup>a</sup> the most faithful friends of the king. When mad rage fell upon them—for what else could it have been?—those who had formerly been the best of friends behaved bestially toward one another since they had no opportunity for defence or refutation to establish the truth, and destruction continually faced all of them without a trial. Some lamented their imprisonment, and some their being put to death, and others the fact that these same things awaited them. Silence and sadness darkened the former splendour of the palace. Herod's whole life became unbearable to him, so greatly was he disturbed, and because he trusted no one, he was greatly tormented by his anxiety. For example, in imagination he would often see his son advancing upon him or even standing over him with drawn sword. So intent upon this thought was his mind both night and day that he took on the appearance of suffering from madness and from foolishness as well. Such was the state in which he found himself.

(6)<sup>b</sup> When Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, Archelaus  
 learned of what was going on at Herod's court, being tries to  
 anxious about his daughter and the youth (her hus- reconcile  
 Alexander  
 xiv. 377 = *B.J.* i. 280. On variant spellings of Sapinnius  
 cf. critical note here and in *Ant.* xiv. 377. *B.J.* reads "Sap-  
 phinius."

<sup>b</sup> §§ 261-270: cf. *B.J.* i. 499-512, a more detailed account.

ἀνδρὶ φίλω τῆς ἐπὶ τοσούδε ταραχῆς, ἦκεν<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐν  
 262 παρέργω θέμενος τὰ πράγματα. καὶ καταλαβὼν  
 οὕτως ἔχοντα, τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἢ φάναι γενέσθαι τι  
 προπετές αὐτῷ τελέως ἀνοίκειον εἰς τὸν καιρὸν  
 ἠγγήσατο· φιλονεικήσειν γὰρ κεκακωμένον, καὶ μᾶλ-  
 263 λον ἀπολογεῖσθαι σπεύδοντα πλείονος ὀργῆς ἀνα-  
 πλησθήσεσθαι· μετῆει δὲ τάξιν ἑτέραν εἰς<sup>2</sup> τὴν  
 ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἡτυχημένων, ὀργιζόμενος τῷ νε-  
 ανίσκῳ κἀκείνον ἐπεικῆ λέγων τῷ μηδὲν ἐκ προ-  
 πετείας ἐργάσασθαι· τὸν τε γάμον διαλύσειν ἔφη  
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ μηδ' ἂν τῆς θυγατρὸς  
 φείσασθαι,<sup>3</sup> εἴ τι συνειδυῖα τούτῳ οὐ κατεμήνυσεν.  
 264 τοιούτου δ' ὄντος<sup>4</sup> οὐ κατὰ προσδοκίαν ὦν Ἡρώδης  
 ᾤετο, τὸ δὲ πλεόν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπιδει-  
 κνυμένου, μετέπιπτεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς χαλεπότητος,  
 καὶ λαβὼν<sup>5</sup> ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου δοκεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα  
 πεποιηκέναι, κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀντι-  
 265 μεθίστατο πάθος. οἰκτρὸς<sup>6</sup> δ' ἦν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις,  
 ὅτε μὲν ἀπελύοντό τινες τὰς τοῦ νεανίσκου δια-  
 βολάς, εἰς ὀργὴν ἐκταραττόμενος, ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀρχέ-  
 λαος συγκατηγόρει, πρὸς δάκρυα καὶ λύπην οὐκ  
 ἀπαθῆ μεθιστάμενος· ἐδεῖτο γοῦν ἐκείνου μήτε δια-  
 λύειν τὸν γάμον ὀργῆς τε ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς ὁ

<sup>1</sup> ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς om. PWE.

<sup>3</sup> + δικαίως AMW.

<sup>4</sup> + Ἀρχελάου E.

<sup>5</sup> λαβὼν Naber: λωφῶν con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>6</sup> οἰκτρος PW Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Latin; cf. critical note. These events occurred in 10/9  
 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "would not in justice spare."

band), and sympathizing with the suffering of one who was his friend and was so greatly disturbed, he came (to Judaea),<sup>a</sup> for he regarded the matter as most serious. When he found Herod in this state, he thought it wholly inappropriate at that moment to reproach him or to charge him with having acted rashly, for if Herod were abused, he would become quarrelsome, and the more he was pressed to defend himself, the more extreme his anger would be. Archelaus therefore resorted to another way of setting to rights the unfortunate state of affairs; that is, he showed anger toward the youth and said that Herod had been lenient in not having done anything rashly. He also said that he would dissolve his daughter's marriage with Alexander and would not spare<sup>b</sup> even her if she had learned something (about her husband) of which she did not inform Herod. Since Archelaus acted in this way, which was quite different from what Herod had expected, and for the most part displayed anger on Herod's account, the king lost some of his grimness, and since he had won the point<sup>c</sup> that he had done these things from a just motive, he gradually adopted a different attitude—that of a father. But he was to be pitied in either case; when some persons sought to refute the charges<sup>d</sup> brought against the youth, he was roused to anger, but when Archelaus joined in accusing Alexander, the king was moved to tears and to a grief that was touching. Indeed, he begged him not to dissolve the marriage nor to be so angry at the in-

<sup>c</sup> The conjectured λωφῶν (cf. critical note) is possible ("and since he had ceased to think . . .") and apparently Josephan. The word is used 11 times elsewhere; cf. especially § 268: *Ant.* vii. 181; *B.J.* vi. 251.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Thucydides viii. 87. 1.

266 νεανίσκος ἠδίκηκεν.<sup>1</sup> Ἀρχέλαος δὲ παραλαβὼν ἐπιεικέστερον, εἰς τε τοὺς φίλους μετέφερε τὰς διαβολάς, ἐκείνων εἶναι λέγων νέον ὄντα καὶ κακοηθείας ἀναίσθητον διαφθεῖραι, τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ  
 267 μᾶλλον εἰς ὑποψίαν καθίστη· τοῦ γὰρ Ἡρώδου χαλεπῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φερῶραν ἔχοντος, ὁ μὲν ἀπορία τοῦ διαλλάξοντος Ἀρχέλαον ὁρῶν μάλιστα δυνάμενον, αὐτὸς τυχῶν<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐτράπετο μελανιμονῶν<sup>3</sup> καὶ πάντα τὰ σημεῖα τῆς μετὰ μικρὸν  
 268 ἀπωλείας ἔχων, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ οὔτε ὑπερεῖδε τὴν ἔντευξιν οὔτ' ἔφη δυνατὸς εἶναι ταχὺ μεταπίθειν οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸν βασιλέα· βέλτιον δὲ εἶναι αὐτῷ προσιέναι καὶ δεῖσθαι, τῶν πάντων αἴτιον αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦντα· λωφῆσειν<sup>4</sup> γὰρ οὕτως τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ  
 269 περιττόν, αὐτὸς δὲ συλλήψεσθαι παρών. ταῦτα δὲ πεισθέντος αὐτοῦ συναμφότερον ἦν διαπεπραγμένον, αἱ τε διαβολαὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἀφήρητο τοῦ νεανίσκου, καὶ Φερῶραν Ἀρχέλαος διαλλάξας οὕτως εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἀπήει, κεχαρισμένος ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος ἐν τῇ τότε περιστάσει τῶν καιρῶν Ἡρώδη γενόμενος. ὅθεν καὶ δῶροις αὐτὸν ἐτίμησε πολυτελεστάτοις, κὰν τοῖς ἄλλοις μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα  
 270 φίλτατος ἡγησάμενος. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ συνθήκας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τούτων ἐγγράπτο Καίσαρι, καὶ μέχρις Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παρήλθον. ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα Συρίας Τίτιον,<sup>5</sup> ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> ἠδίκησεν Niese. <sup>2</sup> τυχὼν Cocceji: ἐντυχὼν con. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: μελανιμῶν codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἀφελήσειν PW: ἀφελεῖν E: prodessent Lat.: μαλάξαι Zonaras. <sup>5</sup> Τίτον PW.

<sup>a</sup> Marcus Titius, quaestor under Pompey; consul suffectus in 31 B.C.; governor between 20 and 12 B.C. Cf. PW vi A. 1159-1162, No. 18; CAH x. 62, 77; Corbishley, JRS 24

justices which the youth had committed. Thereupon Archelaus, finding him more lenient, shifted the accusations to the king's friends, saying that it was through them that one so young and innocent of malice had been corrupted, and he fastened suspicion more on Herod's brother. Since Herod was also hostile to Pheroras, the latter, who had no one to reconcile him (with his brother) and saw that Archelaus had the greatest influence (with Herod), himself sought him out and turned to him in the black garb of a mourner and with all the signs of imminent ruin. Archelaus did not disdain his plea but said that he was unable to change the king's attitude immediately in view of the way he felt. He told him that it would be better for him to go and appeal to the king himself and confess that he was responsible for the whole trouble, for in this way he might allay the king's excessive wrath; and Archelaus added that he would be present to help him. When Pheroras had been persuaded to do this, two purposes were accomplished at the same time, for the charges against the youth were dismissed, contrary to expectation, and Archelaus also reconciled Pheroras with the king. He then returned to Cappadocia, having endeared himself to Herod as no one else could have at that critical moment. For that reason Herod honoured him with the most sumptuous presents, and in other respects treated him magnificently as one of his dearest friends. He also made an agreement to go to Rome, since someone had written to Caesar about these matters, and they travelled together as far as Antioch. There Herod also reconciled Archelaus with Titius,<sup>a</sup>

(1934), 43-49. The quarrel described by Josephus is dated in 14-12 B.C.

διαφορᾶς Ἀρχελάω κακῶς ἔχοντα, διήλλαξεν Ἡρώδης, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑποστρέφει.

- 271 (ix. 1) Γενομένω δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κάκειθεν ἐπανήκοντι συνέστη πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβας ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης· οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸν Τράχωνα, Καίσαρος ἀφελομένου Ζηνόδωρον καὶ προσθέντος Ἡρώδη τὴν χώραν, ληστεύειν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ἐξουσίαν ἔτι,  
 272 γεωργεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῆν ἡμέρως ἠναγκάζοντο. τὸ δ' ἦν ἐκείνοις οὐχ αἰρετὸν οὐδὲ λυσιτέλειαν ἔφερον ἢ γῆ πονούντων. ὅμως δὲ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀπέιχοντο τῶν εἰς τοὺς περιόικους ἀδικημάτων, καὶ πολλὴ διὰ τοῦτο ἦν εὐδοξία  
 273 τῆς ἐπιμελείας Ἡρώδη. πλεύσαντος δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὅτε καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατηγορεῖ καὶ παραθησόμενος Ἀντίπατρον τὸν υἱὸν παρελήλυθει Καίσαρι, λόγον ὡς ἀπολωλὼς εἶη διασπείροντες<sup>1</sup> οἱ τὸν Τράχωνα νεμόμενοι τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησαν καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τὸ<sup>2</sup> τοὺς πλη-  
 274 σιοχώρους ἀδικεῖν ἐτρέποντο. τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπόντος ἐχειρώσαντο· περὶ τετταράκοντα δὲ τινες ἀρχιλησταὶ κατὰ δέος  
 275 τῶν ἡλωκότων ἐξέλιπον μὲν τὴν χώραν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀφορμήσαντες Συλλαίου δεξαμένου μετὰ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν τοῦ Σαλώμης γάμου, τόπον τε ἐρυμνὸν ἐκείνου δόντος ᾤκησαν, καὶ κατατρέχοντες οὐ μόνον τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν

<sup>1</sup> λόγου . . . διασπαρέντος Ernesti.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ ins. Naber.

the governor of Syria, who had been on bad terms with him after a dispute, and he then returned to Judaea.

(ix. 1)<sup>a</sup> After Herod had been in Rome and returned from there, a war broke out between him and the Arabs for the following reason. The inhabitants of Trachonitis,<sup>b</sup> the region that Caesar had taken from Zenodorus<sup>c</sup> and added to Herod's territory, no longer had freedom to practise brigandage but were forced to till the soil and live peaceably. This was not what they wanted, nor did the soil bring much profit in return for their labour. At first, however, with the king preventing them, they refrained from committing offences against their neighbours, and for that reason Herod acquired a favourable reputation for vigilance. But after he sailed to Rome to bring charges against his son Alexander and to visit Caesar in order to leave his son Antipater in his care, the inhabitants of Trachonitis spread a report that he had died, and they revolted and again turned to their accustomed way of robbing their neighbours. On this occasion, at least, the king's generals in his absence subdued them. But some forty of the brigand chiefs, fearful of what had been done to those who had been captured, left the country and set off for Arabia, where Syllaeus received them after his failure to marry Salome, and gave them a fortified place to dwell in. And they overran and pillaged not only Judaea but

Herod makes war on the Arabs.

in detail by Nicolas of Damascus. Cf. Jacoby, *FGH*, loc. cit. On Herod and the Nabataeans see Abel, i. 386-390.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus here uses the name of the village, although the reference, as he indicates, is to the region (between Damascus and Bosra south of Damascus); cf. § 292 (Trachonitis).

<sup>c</sup> On Zenodorus cf. *Ant.* xv. 344-359; xvii. 319; *B.J.* i. 398-400.

<sup>a</sup> In 10/9 B.C. Herod's war against the Arabs was narrated



ἅπασαν ἐλήζοντο, παρέχοντος ὀρηγήτρια τοῦ Συλ-  
 276 λαίου καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦσιν ἄδειαν. Ἡρώδης δὲ  
 ἐπανελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔγνω πολλὰ τῶν οἰκειῶν  
 αὐτῷ κεκακωμένα, καὶ τῶν μὲν ληστῶν ἐγκρατῆς  
 οὐ δυνάμενος γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἦν ἐκ τῆς  
 τῶν Ἀράβων προστασίας ἐπορίσαντο, χαλεπῶς δὲ  
 277 ἔχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἀδικημάτων, περιελθὼν<sup>1</sup> τὸν Τρά-  
 χωνα τοὺς οἰκειοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέσφαξεν. ἐντεῦθεν  
 ἐκεῖνοι καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς ὄργας ὧν ἐπεπόνθεισαν,  
 ὄντος αὐτοῖς καὶ νόμου πάντα τρόπον ἐπεξιέναι  
 τοὺς τῶν οἰκειῶν φονεῖς, ἀνυποτιμήτως τὴν Ἡρώ-  
 δου πᾶσαν ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες διετέλουν. ἐκεῖνος  
 δὲ διελέγετο περὶ τούτων τοῖς Καίσαρος ἡγεμόσι  
 278 Σατορνίνῳ τε καὶ Οὐλομνίῳ, ἐπὶ κολάσει τοὺς  
 ληστὰς ἐξαιτούμενος. ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἰσχυρῶς  
 ἐχόντων πλείους μὲν ἐγίνοντο, πάντα δὲ ἐτάραττον  
 ἐπ' ἀναστάσει τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας, χωρία καὶ  
 κώμας πορθοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς λαμβανομένους τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀπέσφαττον,<sup>2</sup> ὡς εἶναι πολέμῳ τὴν ἀδι-  
 κίαν ἐοικυῖαν· ἐγεγόνεισαν γὰρ ἤδη περὶ χιλίους.  
 279 ἐφ' οἷς ἀχθόμενος Ἡρώδης τοὺς τε ληστὰς ἐξήτει  
 καὶ χρέος ὃ διὰ Συλλαίου δανείσας ἔτυχεν Ὀβάδα,  
 τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα, παρηκούσης αὐτῷ τῆς προθεσ-  
 280 μίας ἀπολαβεῖν ἡξίου. Σύλλαιος δὲ τὸν μὲν Ὀβά-  
 δαν παρεωσμένον<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸς δὲ ἅπαντα διοικῶν, τοὺς  
 τε ληστὰς ἐξαρνος ἦν μὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν εἶναι,  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀνεβάλλετο, περὶ ὧν ἐπὶ τε  
 Σατορνίνου καὶ Οὐλομνίου τῶν Συρίας ἐπίστα-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> ἱππεὺς ἐκπεριελθῶν (i. ras. m. 2 A) AM: ἐκπεριελθῶν E.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπισφάττοντες AMW: ἀποσφάττοντες E: interimendo

Lat.

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also all of Coele-Syria,<sup>a</sup> for Syllaenus provided a base of operations and security to these malefactors. But when Herod returned from Rome, he learned that many of his possessions had suffered, and since he was unable to seize the brigands because of the security which they enjoyed as a result of the protection given them by the Arabs, and was himself angry at the injuries inflicted by them, he surrounded Trachonitis and slaughtered their kinsmen. Thereupon the brigands, being made still angrier by this treatment—for it is a law among them to take vengeance at any cost on the slayers of their kinsmen—, continued to harry and despoil all of Herod's territory without fear of the consequences. Herod therefore spoke of this matter to Saturninus and Volumnius,<sup>b</sup> the officers of Caesar, and demanded that the brigands be given over to him for punishment. Thereupon their strength and numbers increased still more, and they spread confusion everywhere in an effort to overthrow Herod's kingdom; they plundered towns and villages, and slaughtered their captives, so that their outbreaks resembled a war, for they now numbered about a thousand. Indignant at these actions, Herod demanded the surrender of the brigands and also demanded the repayment of the debt of the sixty talents that he had loaned to Obadas through Syllaenus, for the time-limit had now been reached. But Syllaenus, who had set Obadas aside and was in charge of everything, flatly denied that the brigands were in Arabia, and he also delayed payment of the money. About this there was a discussion before Saturninus

<sup>a</sup> =Transjordan.

<sup>b</sup> Governors of Syria. See p. 322 note a.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: παρεωσμένους codd.: παρωσάμενος E.

281 τούντων ἐγίνοντο λόγοι. τέλος δὲ συνέθεντο δι' ἐκείνων ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα τὰ τε χρήματα τὸν Ἡρώδη ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλήλων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φυγάδας ἀποδοῦναι.<sup>1</sup> καὶ παρὰ μὲν Ἡρώδη τῶν Ἀράβων οὐδεὶς εὐρέθη τὸ σύνολον οὔτε ἐπ' ἀδικίας οὔτε κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον, οἱ δ' Ἄραβες ἠλέγχοντο τοὺς ληστὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν.

282 (2) Διελθούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας ὁ Σύλλαιος οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων πεποιηκῶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνέρχεται. ῥύσια δὲ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ληστῶν Ἡρώδης ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σατορνῖνον καὶ Οὐολόμνιον ἐπιτρεπόντων ἀγνωμονοῦντας ἐπέξιέναι, στρατιάν τε ἔχων προήγαγεν<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ σταθμοὺς διανύσας. καὶ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ τοῦς ληστὰς ἔχοντος αἰρεῖ μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου πάντας αὐτούς, κατασκάπτει δὲ τὸ χωρίον Ῥάεπτα<sup>3</sup> καλούμενον.

284 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδέν<sup>4</sup> ἐλύπησεν. ἐκβοηθησάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων ἠγουμενοῦ Νακέβου μάχη γίνεται, καθ' ἣν ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν Ἡρώδου, Νάκεβος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων στρατηγὸς καὶ περὶ εἰκοσιπέντε τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πίπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πρὸς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο.

285 τισάμενος δὲ τούτους, τρισχιλίους Ἰδουμαίων ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> φυγάδας ἀποδοῦναι ex Lat. add. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: προσήγαγεν codd. E.

<sup>3</sup> Ῥάεπτα AM: Ῥαιεπτά W: Repta Lat.

<sup>4</sup> οὐδένα A Lat.: οὐδέν Hudson.

<sup>a</sup> L. Volusius Saturninus, consul suffectus 12 B.C.; governor of Africa, then of Syria; died A.D. 20. Volumnius: cf.

and Volumnius, the governors of Syria.<sup>a</sup> Finally, through the intervention of the Romans, they agreed that Herod should be paid his money within thirty days and that each of them should return those of the other's subjects who had taken refuge in his realm.<sup>b</sup> And not a single one of the Arabs was found in Herod's territory who was wanted for a crime or any other reason, whereas the Arabs were proved to be keeping the brigands in their territory.

(2) But when the time-limit was at an end, Syllaus departed for Rome without meeting any of his just obligations. Thereupon Herod sought to get back the money wrongfully withheld and the brigands sheltered by the Arabs, and when Saturninus and Volumnius gave him permission to take action against them as defaulters, he led his army into Arabia, covering a seven days' march in three days. After reaching the fortress which held the brigands, he captured them all in one attack, and demolished the place, which was called Rhaëpta.<sup>c</sup> He did not, however, molest anyone else. But when the Arab leader Nakebos<sup>d</sup> came to the assistance of the brigands, a battle ensued, in which only a few of Herod's men fell as against the Arab commander Nakebos and twenty-five of his men, while the rest of them turned to flee. After punishing these Arabs, Herod settled three thousand Idumaeans

Herod's  
victory  
over the  
Arabs.

§§ 332, 369, B.J. i. 535, 538 and note. The last two call him military tribune and procurator respectively. The identity is uncertain. Frey, *CIJ* i. lxxii f. gives four inscriptions attesting a synagogue Βολουμνησίων at Rome.

<sup>b</sup> The end of the sentence, incomplete in Greek, is conjectured from the Latin; cf. critical note.

<sup>c</sup> Only here and in § 288; location unknown. An "Erremte" was located 25 miles E.N.E. of Pella in Byzantine times.

<sup>d</sup> A kinsman of Syllaus according to § 288; cf. § 350.

τῇ Τραχωνίτιδι κατοικίσας εἰργε<sup>1</sup> ληστὰς τοὺς ἐκεῖ, καὶ περὶ τούτων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἔπεμπε περὶ Φοινίκην οὖσιν, ἀποδεικνύς ὅτι μηδὲν πλέον ὢν ἀγνωμονοῦντας ἐπέξελεθεῖν ἔδει τοὺς Ἀραβας αὐτῷ πέπρακται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκείνοι πολυπραγμανοῦντες εὕρισκον οὐ ψευδόμενον.

- 286 (3) Ἄγγελοι δὲ Συλλαίῳ καταταχίσαντες εἰς Ῥώμην τὰ πεπραγμένα διεσάφουν, εἰς μείζον, ὡς  
 287 εἰκός, ἕκαστον τῶν γεγονότων αἴροντες. ὁ δὲ ἦδη μὲν ἐπεπραγμάτευτο γνώριμος εἶναι Καίσαρι, τότε δὲ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναστρεφόμενος, ὡς ἤκουσεν, εὐθὺς μεταμφιέννυται μέλαιναν ἐσθήτα, καὶ παρελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς αὐτὸν ὅτι πολέμῳ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν εἶη κεκακωμένα καὶ πᾶσα ἀνάστατος ἡ βασιλεία, στρατιᾶ<sup>2</sup> πορθήσαντος αὐτὴν Ἡρώδου.  
 288 δακρύων δὲ πεντακοσίους μὲν ἐπὶ δισχιλίους Ἀράβων ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς πρώτους ἔλεγεν, ἀνηρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Νάκεβον, οἰκείον αὐτῷ καὶ συγγενῆ, πλοῦτον δὲ διηρπάσθαι τὸν ἐν Ῥαέπτοις, καταπεφρονῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Ὀβάδα, ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας οὐκ ἀρκέσαντα τῷ πολέμῳ διὰ τὸ μήτ' αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup>  
 289 μήτε τὴν Ἀραβικὴν δύναμιν παρεῖναι. τοιαῦτα τοῦ Συλλαίου λέγοντος καὶ προστιθέντος ἐπιφθόνως ὡς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀπέλθοι τῆς χώρας μὴ πεπιστευκῶς ὅτι Καίσαρι μέλοι τὴν εἰρήνην ἅπασιν εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μηδ', εἰ παρῶν ἐτύγχανεν ἐκεῖ, λυσιτελή ποιῆσαι ἂν<sup>4</sup> τὸν πόλεμον Ἡρώδῃ, παροξυνθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνέκρινε τῶν Ἡρώδου

<sup>1</sup> ἦγε PA marg.

<sup>2</sup> βασιλεία στρατιᾶ P Lat.: βασιλείος στρατιᾶ AMWE.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸς Naber.

<sup>4</sup> ἂν add. Niese.

in Trachonitis and thus restrained the brigands there.<sup>a</sup> He also wrote to the (Roman) governors, who were in Phoenicia, about these matters, explaining that he had done nothing more than what was proper in taking action against the defaulting Arabs. And when the Romans<sup>b</sup> made a full investigation of this, they found that he had not misrepresented the facts.

(3) But messengers hastened to Sylla<sup>c</sup> in Rome and informed him of what had happened, and, as was natural, exaggerated each incident. Now Sylla<sup>c</sup> had already managed to make himself known to Augustus on behalf of the Arabs. Caesar, and at this particular time was in attendance at court.<sup>c</sup> When he heard the news, he immediately changed into black dress and went in to Caesar and told him that Arabia had been ravaged by war and the whole kingdom devastated because Herod had plundered it with his army. Tearfully he went on to say that twenty-five hundred of the leading Arabs had perished, that their commander Nakebos, his close friend and kinsman, had been slain, that the wealth stored in Rhaepta had been taken as booty, and that Obadas, whose feebleness disabled him from taking part in war, had been treated contemptuously because neither Sylla<sup>c</sup> himself nor the Arab force had been present. After speaking in this vein Sylla<sup>c</sup> added maliciously<sup>d</sup> that he himself would not have left his country if he had not been sure that Caesar was concerned that they should all be at peace with one another, and that if he had been there, he would have made the war unprofitable for Herod. Irritated by these words, Caesar asked Herod's friends

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Dittenberger, *OGIS*, No. 15.

<sup>b</sup> "the Romans" (ἐκείνοι).

<sup>c</sup> The circumstances are not recorded by Josephus.

<sup>d</sup> ἐπιφθόνως: cf. Thucydides i. 75. 2; iii. 82. 8.

τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας  
 ἦκοντας αὐτὸ μόνον, εἰ τὴν στρατιὰν Ἑρώδης ἔξα-  
 290 γάγοι.<sup>1</sup> τῶν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸ λέγειν ἀνάγκη  
 ἔχόντων, τὸ δὲ ἔφ' ὅτῳ καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἀκούοντος,  
 ὀργή<sup>2</sup> τε μείζων ἐγένετο τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ γράφει  
 πρὸς τὸν Ἑρώδην τὰ τε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς καὶ τοῦτο  
 τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος  
 291 αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται. γράφει δὲ καὶ  
 Σύλλαιος ὑπὲρ τούτων τοῖς Ἀραβῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπαρ-  
 θέντες οὔτε τῶν ληστῶν ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐξεδίδοσαν  
 οὔτε τὰ χρήματα διευλύτουν, νομάς τε ἄς ἐκείνου  
 μισθωσάμενοι διακατεῖχον, ἀμισθὶ ταύταις ἐχρῶντο,  
 τεταπεινωμένοι τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλέως διὰ  
 292 τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἐπιτίθενται δὲ τῷ καιρῷ  
 καὶ οἱ τὴν Τραχωνίτιν ἔχοντες, τῆς τῶν Ἰδουμαίων  
 φρουρᾶς κατεξαναστάντες καὶ λησθηρίους χρώμενοι  
 μετὰ τῶν Ἀράβων, οἱ<sup>3</sup> ἐλεηλάτου<sup>4</sup> τὴν ἐκείνων  
 χώραν οὐκ ἀπὸ ὠφελείας μόνον, ἀλλὰ κακ<sup>5</sup> μνησι-  
 κακίας χαλεπώτεροι τὰς ἀδικίας ὄντες.

293 (4) Ἑρώδης δὲ ταῦτα πάντα φέρων ἠνείχετο,  
 μεταβεβληκυίας αὐτῷ τῆς παρρησίας ἣν εἶχε διὰ  
 Καίσαρα, καὶ τὸ μείζον ἀφήρητο τοῦ φρονήματος·  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν ἀπολογησο-  
 μένην ὁ Καίσαρ ἠνέσχετο, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς ἀνελθόντας<sup>6</sup>  
 294 ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψεν.<sup>7</sup> ἦν δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ἀθυμία καὶ δέος, ὃ τε Σύλλαιος οὐ μετριῶς ἐλύπει

<sup>1</sup> κατάγοι P<sup>W</sup>: καταγάγοι E: ad Arabiam deduxisset Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ὀρμή E.

<sup>3</sup> οἷς AME.

<sup>4</sup> (οἷς) συνελεηλάτου con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>5</sup> κακ Niese (duce Cocceji): καλ codd.

who were there and his own men who had come from Syria only this one question, whether Herod had led his army out of the country. Since they were compelled to answer that one question, and Caesar did not hear under what circumstances and how Herod had acted, he became still more angry and wrote to Herod in a harsh tone throughout and particularly in the main point of his letter, which was that whereas formerly he had treated him as a friend, he would now treat him as a subject. Syllaenus also wrote of this matter to the Arabs, and they, being elated, refused to give up the brigands who had taken refuge with them or to pay back the money which they owed; and the grazing land which they had rented from Herod and now held in their possession they used without paying rent, now that the king of the Jews had been humiliated by the angry Caesar. This opportunity was also seized by the inhabitants of Trachonitis, who rose up against the garrison of Idumaeans and resorted to brigandage together with the Arabs, who despoiled the Idumaeans' territory not only for gain but also to satisfy their grudge, and therefore injured them the more savagely.

(4) All this Herod was forced to endure, since the freedom of action which had been given him by Caesar was gone, and he lost a good deal of his spirit, for Caesar would not deign to receive the embassy which Herod sent to him to plead in his defence but sent the envoys back home unsuccessful.<sup>a</sup> In view of these things Herod was in despair and fear. And Syllaenus added considerably to his distress since he enjoyed

Augustus  
resents  
Herod's  
treatment  
of the  
Arabs.

<sup>a</sup> ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψεν: cf. Thucydides i. 24. 7:

<sup>6</sup> Herwerden: ἀνελθόντας codd.

<sup>7</sup> Ernesti: ἀνέπεμψεν codd.



πιστευθεῖς τε καὶ παρῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε δὲ καὶ  
 μειζόνων ἀπτόμενος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὀβάδας ἐτεθνήκει,  
 παραλαμβάνει δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχὴν Αἰνείας ὁ  
 295 μετονομασθεὶς αἰθις<sup>1</sup> Ἀρέτας. τοῦτον γὰρ ἐπε-  
 χεῖρει διαβολαῖς παρωσάμενος αὐτὸς ἀναλαμβάνει  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν, χρήματα μὲν πολλὰ διαδοῦς<sup>2</sup> τοῖς περὶ  
 τὴν αὐλήν, πολλὰ δὲ Καίσαρι δώσειν ὑπισχνού-  
 296 μενος. ὁ δὲ τῷ μὴ τὸν Ἀρέταν ἐπιστεῖλαντα πρό-  
 τερον αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν ὠργίζετο. πέμπει δὲ  
 κάκεινος ἐπιστολὴν καὶ δῶρα τῷ Καίσαρι στέφανόν  
 τε χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ πολλῶν ταλάντων· ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ  
 κατηγορεῖ Σύλλαιον ὄντα πονηρὸν δοῦλον Ὀβάδαν  
 τε φαρμάκοις διαφθεῖραι καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι κρατεῖν  
 αὐτόν, τὰς τε τῶν Ἀράβων μοιχεύοντα γυναῖκας<sup>3</sup>  
 καὶ χρήματα δανειζόμενον, ὥστ' ἐξειδιώσασθαι τὴν  
 297 ἀρχὴν. προσέσχε δὲ οὐδὲ τούτοις ὁ Καίσαρ, ἀλλ'  
 ἀποπέμπει μηδὲν τῶν δῶρων λαβῶν. τὰ δὲ περὶ  
 τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Ἀραβίαν<sup>4</sup> αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεδί-  
 298 μηδένα προεστάναι· τῶν γὰρ βασιλέων ὁ μὲν οὐπω  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν βεβαίαν ἔχων οὐχ ἰκανὸς ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς  
 ἀδικοῦντας, Ἡρώδης δέ, ἐφ' οἷς ἡμύνατο τάχιον  
 ὀργισθέντος αὐτῷ Καίσαρος, ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς αὐτόν  
 299 παρανομίας φέρειν ἠναγκάζετο. πέρασ δ' οὐδὲν  
 ὀρῶν τῶν περιεστώτων κακῶν ἔγνω πάλιν εἰς  
 Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν, εἴ τι δύναιτο μετριώτερον

<sup>1</sup> αἰθις om. PWE.<sup>2</sup> διδοῦς PW.<sup>3</sup> γυναῖκας add. Naber.

the confidence of Caesar and was present in Rome ; and at that time he was also undertaking greater schemes. For Obadas had died, and the rule of the Arabs was taken over by Aeneas, whose name was later changed to Aretas.<sup>a</sup> Syllaueus tried by calumnies to have this man forced out and himself take the throne ; he distributed large sums of money to those at court, and promised to give much to Caesar also. Now Caesar was angry that Aretas had taken the throne before writing to him for permission. But Aretas too sent a letter to Caesar, along with gifts and a gold crown worth many talents ; the letter accused Syllaueus of being a bad servant, of having killed Obadas by poison, of exercising royal power while Obadas was still alive, of seducing the wives of the Arabs, and of borrowing money to take the throne for himself. Caesar, however, still paid no attention to these charges, and sent the envoys away without accepting any of his gifts. And so affairs in Judaea and Arabia went from bad to worse, partly because of the disorder and partly because there was no one to take charge when things deteriorated. For of the two kings, one did not yet hold the throne securely and was unable to restrain law-breakers, while Herod, who had incurred Caesar's anger by his too prompt reprisal, was compelled to endure all the unlawful acts committed against him. Since he saw no end to the troubles that surrounded him, he decided to send an envoy to Rome again, in the hope that he might somehow find a more favourable reception through his

<sup>a</sup> Reigned 9 B.C.—A.D. 40. Cf. Glueck, *Other Side of Jordan*, p. 197, for an inscription of 7 B.C. on the life of the king Haretat) and his wife Hulda.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀραβίαν καὶ Ἰουδαίαν AM Lat. fort. recte.

εὔρειν διὰ τε τῶν φίλων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ἐντυχίαν ποιησάμενος.<sup>1</sup> κάκει μὲν ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἀπῆει Νικόλαος.

- 300 (x. 1) Ἐξετετάρακτο δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ πολὺ χεῖρον ἐσχηκότα περὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον. ὅλως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἀσύνοπτον ἦν ὡς τὸ μέγιστον καὶ δυσχερέστατον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παθῶν ἀπειλείται τῇ βασιλείᾳ διὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐπέβαινε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον
- 301 ἠυξήθη τότε παρὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Εὐρυκλῆς ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος οὐκ ἄσημος τῶν ἐκεῖ κακὸς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπος καὶ περὶ τρυφὴν καὶ κολακείαν δεινὸς ἑκατέραν<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν ἔχειν τε καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν, ἐπιδημήσας ὡς τὸν Ἡρώδην δῶρά τε δίδωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ πλείω παρ' ἐκείνου λαβῶν ταῖς εὐκαιρίαις τῶν ἐντεύξεων ἐπραγματεύσατο φίλος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
- 302 γενέσθαι βασιλέως. ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καταγωγή μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιπάτρων, πρόσσδος δὲ καὶ συνήθεια πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἀρχελάω γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ
- 303 Καππάδοκι διὰ σπουδῆς. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν Γλαφύραν ὑπεκρίνατο τιμᾶν, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἀφανῶς μὲν ἐκθεραπέυων ἅπαντας, αἰεὶ δὲ τοῖς λαλουμένοις ἢ γινόμενοις προσέχων, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι τὰς
- 304 διαβολάς. τέλος δὲ τοιοῦτος ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰς συντυχίας ἀπέβαινε ὡς ἐκείνῳ μὲν εἶναι φίλος τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις δοκεῖν κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἐκείνῳ προσείναι.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ποιησόμενος PW.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson: ἑκατέρων W: ἑκάτερον rell. E.

<sup>3</sup> cod. Busb. teste Hudson: προσείναι rell.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. §§ 335-355, where Nicolas' mission and its effect of reconciling Herod and Augustus are given in detail.

friends and also by making an appeal to Caesar himself. And so Nicolas of Damascus left for Rome.<sup>a</sup>

(x. 1) But it was just at that time that affairs in Herod's household were in great disorder, and his relations with his sons were much worse. For even earlier it had been altogether impossible not to see at a glance that the kingdom was threatened by Fortune with the greatest and most grievous of human ills, and these increased and became still greater for the following reason. There was a certain Eurycles from Lacedemon,<sup>b</sup> a man of some note in that country, but of bad character, who was skilful in enjoying luxury and dispensing flattery without seeming to do either. Coming to visit Herod,<sup>c</sup> he gave him presents and received even greater ones from him, and by the adroitness of his approach managed to become one of the closest friends of the king. He was lodged in Antipater's home but he also had access to and familiarity with Alexander, for he claimed to enjoy the esteem of Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia. He therefore pretended to hold Glaphyra in honour and was very busy cultivating them all in secret, and was always observant of what was said and done, in order to return their favours by calumniating them. In short he proved to behave toward each man in such a way that he seemed to him to be his friend and to have dealings with others only to serve his interest.

Eurycles of Lacedemon assists Antipater in his intrigues against Alexander.

<sup>b</sup> C. Julius Eurycles. Cf. §§ 301-310 and the account in *B.J.* i. 513-531. A Spartan adventurer of distinguished family, mentioned by Pausanias (ii. 3. 5) as the builder of the finest baths at Corinth. Cf. *PW* x. 309, 495, 658, 839; vi. 1330; H. Seyrig, *Rev. Arch.* (1929), 97-99; Strabo viii. 5. 1; West, *Lat. Inscr. Corinth* viii, Pt. 2, No. 67; Plutarch, *Antony* 67.

<sup>c</sup> 8/7 B.C.

τὸν οὖν Ἀλέξανδρον προσεκτήσατο<sup>1</sup> νέον ὄντα, καὶ  
περὶ ὧν ἐπεπόνθει μηδενὶ μὲν, πρὸς ἐκείνους δὲ  
305 μόνον ἀδεῶς πεπεισμένον ἐξεῖναι λέγειν· ἐνέφαιεν  
οὖν ἀχθόμενος ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἠλλοτριώτο, καὶ τὰ περὶ  
τὴν μητέρα διηγέτο καὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, ὅτι  
παρωθούμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς τιμῆς τὰ πάντα ἤδη  
δύναται. τούτων δὲ ἀνεκτὸν οὐδὲν ἔφη, κατεσκευ-  
ασμένου πρὸς μῖσος ἤδη τοῦ πατρός, ὡς μηδὲ συμ-  
306 ποσίοις ἢ συλλόγοις ἀνέχεσθαι λέγων.<sup>2</sup> τοιαῦτα  
μὲν ἐκείνος, ὡς εἰκός, ἐφ' οἷς ἤλγει· τοὺς δὲ λόγους  
Εὐρυκλῆς Ἀντιπάτρῳ τούτους ἀπέφερεν, λέγων μὲν  
ὡς οὐχ ἔνεχ' αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup> τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ποιεῖ,<sup>4</sup> νικᾶσθαι δὲ  
" ὑπὸ σοῦ τιμώμενος "<sup>5</sup> τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πράγματος,  
καὶ φυλάττεσθαι παρακελευόμενος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον·  
οὐ γὰρ ἀπαθῶς τούτων ἕκαστον λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
307 ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ἐνεῖναι<sup>6</sup> τὴν αὐτοχειρίαν. Ἀντί-  
πατρος μὲν οὖν εὖνουν ὑπολαμβάνων ἐκ τούτων  
μεγάλως αὐτῷ παρ' ἕκαστα δωρεὰς ἐδίδου, καὶ  
τέλος ἤδη πείθει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀναφέρειν τὸν  
308 λόγον. ὃ δ' οὐκ ἦν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου δύσνοιαν ἐξ  
ὧν ἔλεγεν ἀκηκοέναι διηγούμενος ἀπίθανος, ἀλλ'  
οὕτω διέθηκε τὸν βασιλέα, περιάγων αἰεὶ τοῖς ῥή-  
μασι καὶ παροξύνων, ὡς ἀμετάγνωστον ἐμποιεῖσαι<sup>8</sup>  
309 τὸ μῖσος. ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν·  
εὐθὺς γὰρ Εὐρυκλεῖ δίδωσιν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα  
δωρεάν. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα λαβὼν καὶ πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον

<sup>1</sup> τὸν . . . προσεκτήσατο] οὕτως Ἀλέξανδρον παράγει P.

<sup>2</sup> λέγων suspectum putat Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf: ἐνεκα σοῦ codd.: pro mea utilitate Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Naber: ποιεῖν codd.

<sup>5</sup> νικώμενος PW.

<sup>6</sup> ex Lat. (inesse) Niese: εἶναι codd.

And so he won over the young Alexander and per-  
suaded him that he might with safety speak openly  
about his troubles to him (Eurycles) but to no one  
else. Alexander therefore in his distress revealed  
to him how his father has been alienated from him,  
and related what had happened to his mother and  
how Antipater had thrust them from their place of  
honour and was now all-powerful. None of these  
things, he said, was endurable, for his father had by  
now been made to hate them so much that he could  
not bear to speak to them at dinner parties or other  
gatherings. In such terms, as was natural, did he  
speak of his suffering. But Eurycles reported these  
words of his to Antipater, saying that he was doing  
so not for his own sake but because he was overcome  
by the honour shown him by Antipater and because  
of the gravity of the matter. He urged him to beware  
of Alexander, who, he said, had spoken of all these  
things with a great deal of emotion, and in whose  
words murder was a real possibility. Accordingly,  
Antipater, who on the basis of these statements sup-  
posed him to be his well-wisher, would on each occa-  
sion give him valuable gifts, and at long last persuaded  
him to report Alexander's speech to Herod. And  
when Eurycles spoke to him of Alexander's disloyalty,  
about which he said he had learned from listening to  
his words, he incurred no disbelief but by perplexing  
the king with his devious words and provoking him to  
anger got him into such a state that he filled him with  
implacable hatred. This he showed at that very time,  
for he at once gave Eurycles fifty talents as a gift.  
Having received this sum, Eurycles went to Arche-

<sup>7</sup> τῷ Niese.

<sup>8</sup> ποιῆσαι PWE: complevit Lat.

- ἀναβὰς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Καππαδόκων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπήγει καὶ χρήσιμος ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα γεγενῆσθαι. χρηματισάμενος δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου, πρὶν καταφωραθῆναι τῆς κακοθηρίας ἀπήγει. Εὐρυκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι παυσάμενος εἶναι μοχθηρός, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἀπεστερήθη τῆς πατρίδος.
- 311 (2) Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὡσπερ πρότερον εἶχε πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἀκούειν<sup>2</sup> μόνον τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν διαβολάς, ἀλλ' ἤδη διὰ μίσους οἰκείου γεγενημένων αὐτός,<sup>3</sup> εἰ καὶ μὴ λέγοι τις, ἐξεργάζετο,<sup>4</sup> παρατηρῶν ἕκαστα καὶ πυνθανόμενος καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνδιδοὺς τοῖς βουλομένοις, εἴ τις ἔχοι τι κατ' ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν, . . . Εὐάρατον<sup>5</sup> τε Κῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνειδέναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν<sup>6</sup> καθ' ἡδονὴν τὸ πάντων ἥδιστον Ἡρώδης ἐλάμβανεν.
- 313 (3) Ἐπιγίνεται δὲ κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων μεῖζόν τι, σκευωρουμένης αἰετῆς κατ' αὐτῶν διαβολῆς, καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἄθλου τούτου προκειμένου λέγειν τι περὶ ἐκείνων δυσχερὲς ὁ πρὸς τῆς τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἐδόκει σωτηρίας. σωματοφύλακες ἦσαν Ἡρώδῃ δύο κατ' ἰσχὺν καὶ μέγεθος τιμώμενοι, Ἰούκουνδος καὶ Τύραννος. οὗτοι προσκρούσαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεωσμένοι τοῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἦσαν συνιππαζόμενοι καὶ κατὰ γυμνασίαν

<sup>1</sup> εἰς πολλὰ PW.<sup>2</sup> ἀκούων E.<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῖς Naber.<sup>4</sup> περιεργάζετο Zonaras teste Naber: ἐξεργάζετο con. Niese: ἐξήταξε Herwerden.

laus, the king of Cappadocia, and sang the praises of Alexander, to whom he claimed to have been very useful in reconciling him with his father. When he had got money out of Archelaus too, he went away before his rascality could be detected. But not even in Lacedemon did Eurycles cease to be a scoundrel, and for his many crimes he was banished from his native land.

(2) As for the king of the Jews, he no longer felt toward Alexander and Aristobulus as formerly when he merely listened to accusations against them. Now because of his own hatred he would himself induce others (to make accusations against them) if no one did so, and would observe their every act and make inquiries and give ready hearing to anyone who had something to say against them<sup>a</sup> . . . and Euaratus<sup>b</sup> of Cos had conspired with Alexander. This gave Herod the greatest pleasure imaginable.

Herod's extreme hatred of his sons.

(3)<sup>c</sup> But a still greater misfortune came upon the youths while calumny was continually being manufactured against them and there was a contest, so to speak, among all who could point out some dissatisfaction on their part which might seem to be connected with the king's safety. Herod had two bodyguards, Jucundus and Tyrannus, who were esteemed for their strength and size. When these two were dismissed by the king after a quarrel, they began to ride out with Alexander and his friends, and being

Further charges against Alexander.

<sup>a</sup> Lacuna in the Greek text. On § 312 cf. *B.J.* i. 532.<sup>b</sup> Cf. critical note on the spelling; *B.J.* Εὐάρεστον. C. Julius Euaratos of Cos, priest of Apollo at Halasarna in 12 B.C. Cf. *IGRR* iv. 1101.<sup>c</sup> §§ 313-330: cf. *B.J.* i. 527-530.<sup>5</sup> οὐάρατον P: οὐάρατον AM.<sup>6</sup> οὐ con. Niese.



τιμώμενοι καὶ τι χρυσίον καὶ δωρεὰς ἄλλας ἐλάμ-  
 315 βανον. εὐθὺς οὖν καὶ τούτους ἐν ὑποψίαις ὁ βα-  
 σιλεὺς ἔχων ἐβασάνιζεν, οἱ δὲ διακαρτερήσαντες  
 πολὺν χρόνον ὕστερον ἔλεγον ὅτι πείθοι φονεῦειν  
 αὐτοὺς Ἡρώδην Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεὶ περὶ τι κυνηγέ-  
 σιον θηρίον διώκων προσβάλοι<sup>1</sup>. δυνατὸν γὰρ εἶναι  
 λέγειν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου κατενεχθεὶς ἐμπαρεῖη<sup>2</sup>  
 ταῖς αὐτοῦ λόγχαις· καὶ γὰρ πρότερον αὐτῷ τοιοῦ-  
 316 τον γενέσθαι πάθος. ἐπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον  
 ἐν ἵππῳ κατωρυγμένον, καὶ τὸν ἀρχικύνηγον  
 ἐξήλεγχον ὅτι καὶ λόγχας αὐτοῖς δοίη βασιλικὰς καὶ  
 τοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον θεραπεύουσιν ὄπλα, κελεύοντος  
 ἐκείνου.  
 317 (4) Μετὰ τούτους ὁ φρούραρχος Ἀλεξανδρείου  
 συλληφθεὶς<sup>3</sup> ἐβασανίζετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος αἰτίαν  
 εἶχε δέξασθαι<sup>4</sup> τῆ φρουρᾶ καὶ παρέξεν χρήματα τοῖς  
 νεανίσκοις ὑπεσχῆσθαι τὰ κείμενα τῶν βασιλικῶν  
 318 κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ φρούριον. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ὡμο-  
 λόγησεν, υἱὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ παρελθὼν ταῦτ' ἔφη γενέ-  
 σθαι, καὶ γράμματα ἐπέδωκεν ὡς εἰκάσαι τῆς  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου χειρός· “τελέσαντες, σὺν θεῷ εἰπεῖν,  
 ἃ προεθέμεθα πάντα, ἤξομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἀλλὰ  
 πειράθητε καθὼς ὑπέσχεσθε, δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ  
 319 φρουρίῳ.” μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ γραμματεῖον ὁ μὲν  
 Ἡρώδης οὐκ ἔτι ἐνδοιασίμως εἶχε περὶ τῆς τῶν  
 παίδων εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Διό-  
 φαντον ἔφη τὸν γραμματέα μιμήσασθαι τὸν τύπον,  
 καὶ δι' Ἀντιπάτρου κακουργηθῆναι τὸ γραμματι-  
 διον· ὁ γάρ· τοι Διόφαντος ἐδόκει τὰ τοιαῦτα δεινός,

<sup>1</sup> προλάβοι P.<sup>2</sup> ἀναπαρεῖη P: ἀναπαρήει W.<sup>3</sup> ληφθεὶς PWE.<sup>4</sup> Havercamp: δέξασθαι codd. E.

esteemed for their gymnastic skill, they used to re-  
 ceive gold and other gifts. The king therefore soon  
 began to hold them in suspicion too, and tortured  
 them. After enduring this bravely for a long time,  
 they finally said that Alexander had tried to persuade  
 them to kill Herod when he would be pursuing a wild  
 animal in the chase and strike at it, for they could say  
 that he had fallen from his horse and had been im-  
 paled on his own spears. Such an accident, he said,  
 had indeed happened to him before. They also  
 pointed to the gold that had been buried in the earth  
 under a stable, and convicted the chief hunter of  
 having given the king's spears to them and weapons  
 to Alexander's servants at the latter's command.

(4) After these men were examined, the com-  
 mander of the fortress of Alexandreion<sup>a</sup> was arrested  
 and tortured. He was accused of having promised  
 to receive the youths in the garrison and to supply  
 them with the king's money that was stored in that  
 fortress. Now he himself confessed nothing, but his  
 son came forward and said that this was true, and he  
 handed over a letter, presumably in the handwriting  
 of Alexander, which read: “When with God's help  
 we have achieved all that we set out to do, we will  
 come to you. Only take it upon you to receive us  
 into the fortress, as you promised.” After reading  
 this letter Herod no longer had any doubt that his  
 sons were plotting against him. Alexander, however,  
 said that the scribe Diophantus<sup>b</sup> had imitated his  
 manner of writing and that the note had been fraudu-  
 lently worded by Antipater. This Diophantus, it  
 seems, was very clever at such things, but was later

A forged  
 letter  
 incri-  
 minates  
 Alexander.

<sup>a</sup> 3 miles S.W. of the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan rivers. Cf. Ant. xiii. 417.

<sup>b</sup> B.J. i. 529.

- ἐν ὑστέρω δὲ διελεγχθεῖς ἐπ' ἄλλοις οὕτως ἀπέ-  
θανεν.
- 320 (5) Τοὺς δὲ βασανισθέντας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ  
πλήθος προήγαγεν ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι, κατηγοροῦντας<sup>1</sup>  
τῶν παίδων· καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς οἱ πολλοὶ  
321 βάλλοντες ἀπέκτειναν· ὠρμημένων δὲ καὶ τοὺς περι-  
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁμοίως κτείνειν, τοῦτο μὲν ὁ βα-  
σιλεὺς παρητήσατο, διὰ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Φερώρα τὸ  
πλήθος ἀναστεύσας· ἦν δὲ φυλακὴ καὶ τήρησις  
αὐτῶν καὶ προσήει μὲν οὐδεὶς,<sup>2</sup> πάντα δ' ἐπεσκο-  
πεῖτο τὰ γινόμενα καὶ λαλούμενα, καὶ τί γὰρ ἦ<sup>3</sup>  
322 καταδίκων εἶχον ἀδοξίαν καὶ δέος; ἄπερος<sup>4</sup> δ'  
αὐτῶν Ἀριστόβουλος ἐκ βαρυθυμίας ἐπαγόμενος<sup>5</sup>  
καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τηθίδα καὶ πενθερὰν συναλαγεῖν αὐτῷ  
ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ μισεῖν τὸν τοιαῦτα πειθόμενον,  
“ οὐ γάρ,” ἔφη, “ καὶ σοὶ κίνδυνος ἀπωλείας διαβε-  
βλημένη Συλλαίῳ κατ' ἐλπίδα γάμων ἅπαντα τὰν-  
323 θάδε προμηνύειν;” τούτους ἐκείνη ταχὺ μάλα  
τάδε λφῶ προσφέρει τοὺς λόγους. ὁ δ' οὐκέτι κατα-  
σχῶν αὐτὸν δῆσαι τε κελεύει καὶ διαστήσαντας ἀπ'  
ἀλλήλων ὅσα κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ταῦτα  
324 γραψαμένους Καίσαρι<sup>6</sup> ἀποφέρειν. οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦτο  
προσετέτακτο αὐτοῖς, ἐγγράφουσιν ἐπιβουλήν μὲν  
οὔτε νοῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος οὔτε συσκευά-  
σασθαι, δρασμῷ δὲ ἐπιβαλέσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο δι'

<sup>1</sup> κατηγορῶν Niese: filios et accusatores eorum Lat.  
<sup>2</sup> + ἐτι AM.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ . . . ἦ] καίτοι γ' ἄρτι Naber.

<sup>4</sup> Bekker: ἑταῖρος W: ἕτερος rel. E.

<sup>5</sup> υπαγόμενος P: οἰόμενος Zonaras: existimans Lat.

convicted of similar crimes against others and was put to death.

(5) The king also brought before the populace at Jericho the men who had been tortured, in order that they might accuse his sons. And the mob killed them by stoning them at close range. As they were bent on killing Alexander and his brother in the same way, the king averted this and restrained the populace with the help of Ptolemy<sup>a</sup> and Pheroras. But the youths were put under guard and under observation, and no one had access to them. Everything they did or said was watched, and they suffered exactly the same disgrace and from the same fear that condemned criminals feel. <sup>b</sup> One of the two, Aristobulus, in his heaviness of heart tried to induce his aunt and mother-in-law to sympathize with him in his misfortunes and to hate the man who had consented to do such things. “Are you not also in danger of perishing,” he asked, “in view of the charge that in the hope of marrying Syllaeus you betrayed to him all the things that were happening here?” These statements Salome very quickly reported to her brother, and Herod, no longer being in control of himself, ordered the youths to be put in chains and kept apart from each other, and that when a list was made of all the injuries they had done their father, this information was to be turned over to Caesar. The youths, however, on receiving this order, wrote that they had neither planned nor organized any plot against their father but that they had set their minds on fleeing and had done so only by

Herod  
imprisons  
Alexander  
and  
Aristobulus.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 191 note *d*; B.J. i. 473 note *a*.

<sup>b</sup> §§ 322-324 = B.J. i. 534-536.

<sup>6</sup> Καίσαρι om. PW.

ἀνάγκην, ὑπόπτου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ὄντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βίου.

- 325 (6) Κατὰ τοῦτον<sup>1</sup> τὸν χρόνον ἤκοντος ἐκ Καππαδοκίας πρεσβευτοῦ παρὰ Ἀρχελαίου Μήλα τινός, ὃς ἦν δυνάστης τῶν ἐκείνου,<sup>2</sup> βουλόμενος Ἡρώδης ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν δύσνοιαν Ἀρχελαίου πρὸς αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς ἦν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς καὶ πάλιν ἠρώτα περὶ τῆς φυγῆς, ὅπου καὶ πῶς ἐγγνώ-  
 326 κασιν ἀποχωρεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς Ἀρχελαον ἔφη, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ὁμολογήσαντα διαπέμψειν· ἄλλ'<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἄτοπον οὔτε δυσχερὲς ἐντεθυμῆσθαι κατὰ τοῦ πατρός, οὐδ' ὅσα συνεσκεύασται κακοηθεία τῶν ἐναντίων ἀληθὲς εἶναι τι  
 327 τούτων. βούλεσθαι δ' ἂν ἔτι ζῆν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Τύραννον εἰς ἐξέτασιν ἀσφαλεστέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους ἀπολέσθαι θάπτον, Ἀντιπάτρου τῷ πλήθει τοὺς ἰδίους ἐγκαθιστάντος<sup>5</sup> φίλους.  
 328 (7) Τοιαῦτα λέγοντος ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα τὸν τε Μήλαν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγειν ὡς Γλαφύραν τὴν Ἀρχελαίου καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς εἰ μηδὲν  
 329 ἠγνόει τῶν εἰς ἐπιβουλήν Ἡρώδου γιγνομένων. ὡς δὲ ἤκον, εὐθύς μὲν Γλαφύρα δεσμώτην ἰδοῦσα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπλήξατο τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ καταπληξαμένη μέγα καὶ συμπαθὲς ἀνώμωξεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου δάκρυα καὶ τῶν παρόντων ὀδυνηρά τις θεά, μέχρι πλείονος οὐδὲ ἐφ' οἷς ἤκον εἰπεῖν ἢ  
 330 πράττειν δυναμένων. ὁψὲ δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου (τούτῳ γὰρ ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐπετέτακτο) φράζειν κελεύσαντος εἴ τι τῶν πραττομένων ἢ γυνὴ συνοῖδεν

<sup>1</sup> δὲ P: τοῦτον οὖν AM.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκείνη Niese. <sup>3</sup> coniecti: αὐτὸν codd.

necessity since their lives had become full of suspicion and trouble.

(6) About this time there came from Cappadocia Alexander as Archelaus' envoy a certain Melas, who was one of the princes of that king. Herod, wishing to show that Archelaus was unfriendly to him, summoned Alexander from his prison and again asked him about their proposed flight, and where and how they had decided to flee. Alexander replied that it was to Archelaus, who had agreed to send them on further from his court to Rome, but that they had not planned any outrageous or injurious act against their father, nor was there any truth in the charges contrived by the malice of their adversaries. But they did wish that Tyrannus and his friends were still living in order that they might be examined more carefully, and that they had not been put to death so quickly as a result of Antipater's having placed his own friends among the crowd.

(7) When Alexander had spoken in this fashion, Herod ordered both Melas and Alexander to be taken to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, and that she should be asked whether she did not know of anything that was done as part of a plot against Herod. But as soon as they came to her and she saw Alexander in chains, she beat her head and in her consternation groaned loudly and pitifully. And the youth shed tears too; as for the bystanders, the sight was so painful to them that for a long time they could not say or do any of the things for which they had come. But when at last Ptolemy, who had been commanded to bring him, ordered him to tell whether his wife had

<sup>4</sup> ἄλλο δ' AM Zonaras Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ἐγκαθίσταντος Naber.

## JOSEPHUS

αὐτῷ, “τί δ’ οὐκ ἄν,” ἔφη, “συνέγνω τῆς ψυχῆς ἔμοι στεργομένη πλεον καὶ κοινωνοῦσα τέκνων;”  
 331 ἢ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν ἀνεβόησεν ὡς συνειδείη μὲν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, εἰ δὲ φέροι πρὸς τὴν σωτηριάν τὴν ἐκείνου τὸ καὶ καθ’ αὐτῆς τι ψεύσασθαι, πάνθ’ ὁμολογεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, “ἀσεβὲς μὲν οὐδέν,” εἶπεν, “οὐδ’ ὦν ὑπονοοῦσιν οὓς ἤκιστα ἐχρῆν οὐτ’ αὐτὸς ἐνόησα σύ τε οὐδὲν οἶσθα, ἀλλ’ ὅτι παρ’ Ἀρχέλαον ἀποχωρεῖν ἐγνώκειμεν κάκειθεν εἰς Ῥώ-  
 332 μην.” ταῦτα κάκεινης ὁμολογούσης ὁ μὲν Ἡρώδης Ἀρχέλαον ἐξεληλέγχθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν δυσνοίας ὑπολαβὼν δίδωσιν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ Οὐλομνίῳ γράμματα, κελεύσας ἐν παράπλῳ μὲν Ἐλαιούσῃ<sup>1</sup> τῆς Κιλικίας προσσχόντας Ἀρχελάῳ τὸ<sup>2</sup> περὶ τούτων ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ μεμψαμένους ὅτι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐφάψαιτο<sup>3</sup> τοῖς παισὶν ἐκείθεν εἰς Ῥώμην πλεῖν.  
 333 κὰν εὕρωσιν ἀνύσαντά τι Νικόλαον, ὡς μηκέτ’ αὐτῷ δυσχεραίνειν Καίσαρα, δίδόναι τὰς ἐπιστολάς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους, οὓς κατὰ τῶν νεανίσκων συνε-  
 334 σκευασμένους<sup>4</sup> ἐπέστειλεν. Ἀρχέλαος μὲν οὖν ἀπελογεῖτο, δέξασθαι<sup>5</sup> μὲν τοὺς νεανίσκους ὁμολογήσας διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν<sup>6</sup> αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τῷ πατρὶ μὴ χαλεπώτερόν τι προστεθῆναι κατ’ ὄργην ὦν ὑπόπτως ἔχοντες ἐστασίαζον· οὐ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα πέμψειν οὐδ’ ἄλλο τι κατὰ δύσνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνον ὁμολογήσαι τοῖς νεανίσκοις.

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: Ἐλεούσης PAM: Ἐλούσης W.

<sup>2</sup> τε codd. Busb. Hen. et Vat. teste Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> συνεφάψαιτο con. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> A: συνεσκευασμένους PM: κατεσκευασμένους WE.

<sup>5</sup> Niese: δέξασθαι codd. E.

<sup>6</sup> Bekker: συμφέρον codd. E.

been aware of his acts, he replied, “How could she not have been aware of them when she is dearer to me than my life and is the mother of my children?” At these words his wife cried out that she was not aware of anything outrageous done by him but if she could contribute to his safety by falsely accusing herself, she would confess all. Alexander, however, said, “No unfilial deed, certainly not such a one as they suspect who have the least right to do so, has entered my mind, nor do you know anything except that we had decided to go off to Archelaus and from there go on to Rome.” When she too confessed this, Herod, believing that Archelaus’ hostility to him was fully proved, gave a letter to Olympus<sup>a</sup> and Volumnius, ordering them to touch at Elaeusa in Cilicia<sup>b</sup> on their voyage and give Archelaus an account of these matters, reproach him for having taken a hand in the plot formed by his sons, and then sail on to Rome. And, he said, if they should find that Nicolas had succeeded to some extent in causing Caesar not to be angry with him any longer, they were to give him the letter and the proofs which Herod had prepared against the youths and had sent to him. Now as for Archelaus, he said in his own defence that he had agreed to receive the youths because it would have been both to their advantage and their father’s to prevent his taking some further drastic step in his anger at their factious opposition when suspicion fell on them. He would not, however, have sent them to Caesar, he said, and he had not made any agreement with the youths to do anything out of hostility to Herod.

<sup>a</sup> One of Herod’s friends; cf. *B.J.* i. 535.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 131; *B.J.* i. 456.



335 (8) Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποκομισθέντες ἔσχον  
 καιρὸν ἀποδοῦναι<sup>1</sup> τὰ γράμματα τῷ Καίσαρι, διη-  
 λαγμένον εὐρόντες Ἡρώδῃ· τὰ γὰρ περὶ τὴν Νικο-  
 336 λάου πρεσβείαν ἀπέβη τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ὡς  
 ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐγένετο,  
 πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐφ' οἷς ἐληλύθει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 Συλλαίου κατηγορεῖν ἡξίου· καὶ δῆλοι πρὸ τῆς ἐν-  
 337 τυχίας ἦσαν ἀλλήλους πολεμοῦντες· οἱ δὲ Ἄραβες  
 ὑπονοστήσαντες<sup>2</sup> ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Νικολάῳ προσελ-  
 θόντες τὰς ἀδικίας ἀπάσας ἐμήνουν, καὶ τῶν  
 Ὀβάδου πλείστων<sup>3</sup> ὡς διαφθαρέντων πάντων ἐμ-  
 φανῆ τεκμήρια παρέχοντες· ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῶν γραμ-  
 μάτων αὐτοῦ ἅ<sup>4</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑψηρημένοι  
 338 διὰ τούτων ἤλεγχον· ὁ δὲ Νικόλαος εὐτυχίαν τινα  
 ταύτην ὄρων αὐτῷ προσγεγεννημένην, δι' αὐτῆς  
 ἐπραγματεύετο τὸ μέλλον, ἐπείγων εἰς διαλλαγὰς  
 ἐλθεῖν Ἡρώδῃ Καίσαρα<sup>5</sup>· σαφῶς γὰρ ἠπίστατο  
 βουλομένῳ μὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔπραξεν οὐκ  
 ἔσσεσθαι παρρησίαν, ἐθέλοντι δὲ κατηγορεῖν Συλ-  
 λαίου γενήσεσθαι καιρὸν ὑπὲρ Ἡρώδου λέγειν.  
 339 συνεστώτων οὖν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ δοθείσης ἡμέρας,  
 ὁ Νικόλαος, παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀρέτα πρέσβειων,  
 τὰ τε ἄλλα κατηγορεῖ τοῦ Συλλαίου, τὴν τε τοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἀπώλειαν λέγων καὶ πολλῶν Ἀράβων,  
 340 χρήματά τε ὡς εἶη δεδανεισμένος ἐπ' οὐδὲν ὑγιές,  
 καὶ μοιχείας ἐξελέγχων οὐ τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ μόνον  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γυναικῶν· προσετίθει δὲ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> E: ἐπιδοῦναι codd.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπονοστήσαντες P Lat.: τι κακὸν add. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> + φίλων Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> Hudson: ὁ P: om. AMW.

(8)<sup>a</sup> When the envoys landed<sup>b</sup> at Rome, they had an opportunity to deliver the letter to Caesar, whom they found reconciled with Herod, for Nicolas' mission had been carried out in the following way. When he arrived in Rome and visited the court, he first decided not only to attend to the matter for which he had come but also to accuse Syllaesus. And they had clearly been fighting among themselves before his meeting with them. The Arabs, who had withdrawn from Syllaesus and gone over to Nicolas, informed him of all the crimes of Syllaesus and furnished clear proof of the destruction of most of Obadas' friends. For there were letters of Syllaesus which they had carried off when they broke with him, and through these they convicted him. Nicolas, who looked upon this as a piece of good fortune coming his way, proceeded to make use of it for his future plans, being eager to reconcile Caesar with Herod. For he clearly understood that if he sought to make a defence of Herod's acts, he would not be able to speak freely; if, however, he were willing to accuse Syllaesus, he would have an opportunity to speak on Herod's behalf. And so, when the two sides had agreed to confront each other and a day had been fixed for the hearing, Nicolas in the presence of Aretas' envoys accused Syllaesus of a number of things, among them that he had caused the death of the king<sup>c</sup> and many other Arabs, and that he had borrowed money for nefarious purposes. He also proved him guilty of adultery not only with women in Arabia but also with some in Rome. Then he added the most serious charge,

Nicolas in Rome clears Herod of the charges brought by the Arabs.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 536.

<sup>b</sup> ἀποκομισθέντες: cf. Thucydides v. 10. 10. <sup>c</sup> § 220 note b.

<sup>5</sup> ποιῆσαι Καίσαρα AMWE.

μέγιστον, ὡς ἐξαπατήσῃε<sup>1</sup> Καίσαρα, μηδὲν ἀληθὲς  
 341 διδάξας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑρώδη πεπραγμένων. ὡς δ'  
 ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ ἐξείργεν  
 αὐτόν, τοῦτο μόνον ἀξίων ὑπὲρ Ἑρώδου λέγειν, εἰ  
 μὴ στρατιὰν ἤγαγεν εἰς Ἀραβίαν μηδὲ δισχιλίους  
 καὶ πεντακοσίους ἀποκτείνειεν τῶν ἐκεῖ, μηδ' αἰχ-  
 342 μαλώτους λάβοι τὴν χώραν διαρπάσας. πρὸς ταῦτα  
 ὁ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔφη καὶ μάλιστα διδάξειν  
 ὅτι μηδὲν ἢ τὰ πλείστα γε αὐτῶν οὐ γέγονεν, "ὡς  
 σὺ ἀκήκοας," καὶ ὡς<sup>2</sup> δίκαιον ἦν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χαλε-  
 343 πώτερον φέρειν. πρὸς δὲ τὸ παράδοξον Καίσαρος  
 ἐνδόντος αὐτὸν ἀκροατὴν, τὸ δάνειον εἰπὼν τῶν  
 πεντακοσίων ταλάντων καὶ τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἐν ἣ  
 καὶ τοῦτο ἦν προσγεγραμμένον, ἐξείναι τῆς προ-  
 θεσμίας παρελθούσης ῥύσια λαμβάνειν ἐξ ἀπάσης  
 τῆς χώρας, τὴν μὲν στρατείαν<sup>3</sup> οὐ στρατείαν<sup>4</sup> ἔλεγεν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δικαίαν τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαίτησιν χρημάτων.  
 344 καὶ μηδὲ ταύτην ταχὺ μηδ' ὡς ἐπέτρεπον αἱ συγ-  
 γραφαί<sup>5</sup> . . . πολλάκις μὲν ἐπὶ Σατορνίνου ἐλθόντα  
 καὶ Οὐολόμνιον τοὺς τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμόνας, τελευ-  
 ταῖον δὲ ἐν Βηρυτῶ τούτων ἐναντίον Συλλαίου  
 "τὴν σὴν τύχην" ἐπομόσαντος, ἥ μὴν ἐντὸς ἡμε-  
 ρῶν τριάκοντα παρέξειν τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐκ  
 345 τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἑρώδου πεφευγότας. ὦν οὐδὲν  
 ποιήσαντος Συλλαίου πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐλ-  
 θεῖν Ἑρώδη, κἀκείνων ἐφέντων αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν

<sup>1</sup> Naber: ἐξαπατήσῃε codd. E.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς ins. Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf: στρατιὰν codd. E.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: στρατιὰν codd. E: expeditionem Lat.: ἐπιστρα-  
 τείαν Ernesti.

<sup>5</sup> post συγγραφαί excidisse verba ποιήσασθαι Ἑρώδη ἀλλὰ  
 con. Bekker.

which was that Syllaenus had deceived Caesar by telling him nothing but falsehoods about Herod's activities. But when he came to this point, Caesar stopped him and asked him to say only this much about Herod, whether he had not led an army into Arabia, killed twenty-five hundred of its inhabitants and taken captives while plundering the country. To this Nicolas replied that he certainly had something instructive to say about these charges, that none of them or at least hardly any of them were true, as Caesar had heard them, or not in such a way that he would be justified in becoming very angry at them. At this surprising statement Caesar gave him his whole attention, and Nicolas spoke of the five hundred talents (loaned to Syllaenus by Herod) and the contract, in which it was further stipulated that when the time-limit expired, Herod should have the right to recover the amount of the loan from all of Syllaenus' country, wherefore, he said, the expedition was not really an expedition<sup>a</sup> but merely a justified attempt to recover his own money. And even then he had not done this hastily nor as promptly as the contract allowed, for he had often gone to Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Syria. Finally, he said, in their presence at Berytus<sup>b</sup> Syllaenus had sworn by the Fortune of Caesar that within thirty days he would hand over the money and those who had fled from Herod's dominions. Since Syllaenus had done neither of these things, Herod again went to the governors, and when they had given him permission

<sup>a</sup> οὐ στρατείαν ἔλεγεν. On the expression cf. *Ap.* ii. 34; *Ant.* ii. 14; *Deut.* xxxii. 21 (LXX); *Rom.* ix. 25; and many examples among ancient writers. Cf. Schmidt, p. 516.

<sup>b</sup> A city in Phoenicia and a Roman colony from about 15 B.C. with *ius Italicum*; modern Beirut.

τὰ ρύσια, μόλις οὕτως ἐξελλθεῖν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν.  
 346 “ ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος, ὡς οὗτοι τραγωδοῦντες ἔλεγον,  
 καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐπιστρατείας τοιαῦτα. καίτοι πῶς ἂν  
 εἴη πόλεμος, ἐπιτρεψάντων μὲν τῶν σῶν ἡγεμόνων,  
 δεδωκυίας δὲ τῆς συνθήκης, ἡσεβημένου δὲ μετὰ  
 τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν καὶ τοῦ σοῦ, Καῖσαρ, ὀνόματος;  
 347 τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐξῆς ἤδη λεκτέον.  
 λησταὶ τῶν τὸν Τράχωνα κατοικοῦντων, τετταρά-  
 κοντα τὸ πρῶτον εἶπ’ αὐθις πλείονες, τὰς Ἑρώδου  
 κολάσεις διαφεύγοντες ὀρηγήριον ἐποιήσαντο τὴν  
 Ἀραβίαν. τούτους ὑπεδέξατο Σύλλαϊος ἐπὶ πάντας  
 ἀνθρώπους τρέφων, καὶ χώραν ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι, καὶ  
 348 τὰ κέρδη τῶν ληστῶν αὐτὸς ἐλάμβανεν.<sup>1</sup> ὠμολό-  
 γησε δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄρκοις ἀποδώ-  
 σαι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ δανείου προθεσίαν. καὶ  
 δύναται ἂν οὐκ ἐπιδείξαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὗτ’<sup>2</sup> ἄλλον  
 τινα τῆς Ἀράβων χώρας ἢ τούτους ἐξηρημένους  
 349 οὔτε<sup>3</sup> πάντας, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι μὴ λαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν. οὕτως  
 οὖν καὶ τοῦ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπιφθόνου συκοφαντή-  
 ματος πεφηνότος μέγιστον, ὃ Καῖσαρ, κατάμαθε  
 πλάσμα καὶ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν σὴν ὀργὴν αὐτῷ  
 350 ποιηθέν. φημὶ γάρ, ἐπελθούσης ἡμῖν τῆς τῶν Ἀρά-  
 βων δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἑρώδην πεσόντος ἐνὸς  
 καὶ δευτέρου, τότε μόλις ἀμυνομένου Νάκεβον τὸν  
 στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι συνέβη  
 πεσεῖν<sup>4</sup> τοὺς πάντας, ὧν ἕκαστον αὐτὸς εἰς ἑκατὸν  
 ἀναφέρων δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τοὺς ἀπολω-  
 λότας ἔλεγεν.”

<sup>1</sup> μετελάμβανεν ex Lat. (cum eis partiebatur) con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: οὐδ’ PAM: οὐκ E: om. W.

to recover the money owed him, even then it was with reluctance that he took the field with a few men. “ And so ‘ the war,’ as these men theatrically called it, and the expedition were of this nature. And yet, how could it be a war, when your governors permitted it, when the agreement provided for it, and when your name, Caesar, along with those of the other gods, had been profaned? Next we must speak of the captives. There were some brigands among the inhabitants of Trachonitis, at first numbering forty but later more than that, who fled from punishment at the hands of Herod and made Arabia their base of operations. These men Syllaeus welcomed and supported as enemies of all men, gave them territory to inhabit, and himself took the profits of their brigandage. But under the same oaths he had agreed to give up these brigands on the same day as that fixed for payment of his loan. And he cannot show that up to the present time any but these brigands have been removed from Arab territory. And not even all of these have been taken but only those who did not manage to hide. Now that the matter of the captives has been shown to be a malicious calumny, let me tell you, Caesar, what the greatest fiction and falsehood is that has been made up by him to arouse your anger. For it is my contention that when the Arab force attacked us, and one or two of Herod’s men fell, Herod then barely defended himself, whereupon Nakebos their commander and some twenty-five of them in all, as it happened, fell. Each of these Syllaeus has multiplied a hundred times in claiming that twenty-five hundred men were lost.”

<sup>3</sup> Niese: οὐδὲ codd. E.

<sup>4</sup> συνέβη πεσεῖν ex E ins. Naber.

351 (9) Ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἐκίνει τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ πρὸς  
 τὸν Σύλλαιον ἐπιστραφεὶς ὀργῆς μεστὸς ἀνέκρινεν  
 ὅπόσοι τεθνήκασιν Ἀράβων. ἀπορουμένου δ'  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ πεπλανῆσθαι λέγοντος, αἶ τε συνθήκαι  
 τῶν δανείων ἀνεγινώσκοντο καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων  
 352 γράμματα πόλεις τε ὅσαι ληστήρια κατηγιώντο· καὶ  
 πέρας εἰς τοῦτο μετέστη<sup>1</sup> Καῖσαρ ὡς τοῦ μὲν Συλ-  
 λαίου καταγνώσαι θάνατον, Ἡρώδῃ δὲ διαλλάττε-  
 σθαι, μετάνοιαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκ διαβολῆς πικρότερον  
 ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ πεπονθῶς, καὶ τι τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν εἰς  
 τὸν Σύλλαιον, ὡς ἀναγκάσειεν αὐτὸν ψευδεὶ λόγῳ  
 353 πρὸς ἄνδρα φίλον ἀγνωμονῆσαι. τὸ δὲ σύμπα, ὁ  
 μὲν Σύλλαιος ἀνεπέμπετο, τὰς δίκας καὶ τὰ χρέα  
 τοῖς δεδανεικόσιν ἀποδώσων, εἶθ' οὕτω κολασθησό-  
 μενος. Ἀρέτα δ' οὐκ εὐμενῆς ἦν Καῖσαρ, ὅτι τῆν  
 ἀρχὴν μὴ δι' ἐκείνου, καθ' αὐτὸν δὲ ἔλαβεν. ἐγ-  
 νώκει δὲ<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν Ἡρώδῃ διδόναι, διε-  
 κώλυσε δὲ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου πεμφθέντα γράμματα.  
 354 τοῖς γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον καὶ Οὐολόμνιον εὐμενῆ  
 Καίσαρα πυθομένοις εὐθὺς ἔδοξεν ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ἡρώ-  
 δου τὰ περὶ τῶν παίδων γράμματα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγ-  
 355 χους ἀναδιδόναι. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς τὸ μὲν ἀρχὴν  
 ἄλλην προστιθέσαι γέροντι καὶ κακῶς πράττοντι τὰ  
 περὶ τοὺς παῖδας οὐκ ᾤήθη καλῶς ἔχειν, δεξάμενος  
 δὲ τοὺς παρὰ<sup>3</sup> Ἀρέτα καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπιτιμήσας,  
 ὡς προπετεία χρήσαιτο τῷ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 βασιλείαν ἀναμεῖναι λαβεῖν, τὰ τε δῶρα προσήκατο  
 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐβεβαίωσεν.

<sup>1</sup> P Lat. : κατέστη AMWE.<sup>2</sup> γὰρ W.<sup>3</sup> P : περὶ rell. E.

(9) These statements affected Caesar more strongly, and full of anger he turned to Syllaes and asked him how many Arabs had been killed. When Syllaes showed embarrassment and said that he had been misled, the loan-contracts were read, as were the letters from the governors and all the cities that complained of brigandage. Finally, Caesar's attitude underwent such a change that he condemned Syllaes to death and became reconciled with Herod, for he felt regret at having written to him so harshly as a result of the calumny. He said to Syllaes something to the effect that he had compelled him by his false statements to act unfairly toward a man who was his friend. In sum, Syllaes was sent back to pay the penalty and what he owed his creditors, and then to be punished accordingly.<sup>a</sup> But Caesar was not well disposed to Aretas because he had seized the throne by himself and with no reference to him. He had also decided to give Arabia to Herod but was prevented from doing so by the letters which had been sent by the latter. For when Olympus and Volumnius learned that Caesar had become well disposed (to Herod), they at once thought it best to deliver to him the letters and the evidence against his sons that Herod had instructed them to forward. But when he read them, Caesar did not think it would be well to add another kingdom to Herod now that he was old and having so much trouble with his sons; instead, he received the envoys of Aretas and reproached him only with having been rash in not waiting to receive his kingdom from Caesar, but he accepted his gifts and confirmed him as ruler.

<sup>a</sup> On Syllaes' fate cf. *Ant.* xvii. 54-57; *B.J.* i. 574-577; Strabo xvi. 4. 24.



356 (xi. 1) Ἡρώδης δὲ γράφει διηλλαγμένους, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς παισὶν ἄχθεσθαι λέγων καὶ δέον, εἰ μὲν ἀνοσιώτερόν τι τετολημῆκασι, ἐπεξιέναι πατραλίας ὄντας (αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐφεῖναι<sup>1</sup> ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν), εἰ δὲ δρασμὸν ἐνόησαν, ἄλλως ρουθητήσαντα μηδὲν  
 357 ἀνήκεστον διαπράττεσθαι. συμβουλευεῖν δὲ ἔχειν<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ συνέδριον ἀποδείξαντα περὶ Βηρυτόν, ἐν ᾗ κατοικοῦσιν Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ παραλαβόντα τοὺς τε ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Καππαδόκων Ἀρχέλαον ὅσους τε τῶν ἄλλων οἴεται φιλία τε καὶ ἀξιώματι ἐπιφανεῖς, μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ὃ τὴν χρῆ  
 358 διαλαμβάνειν. Καίσαρ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐπέστειλεν.<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης τῶν γραμμῶν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπενεχθέντων περιχαρῆς μὲν εὐθύς ἐπὶ ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς ἐγγόνει, περιχαρῆς δὲ καὶ τῷ πάντα ἐξεῖναι κατὰ τῶν  
 359 παίδων αὐτῷ. καὶ πως<sup>4</sup> τὸ μὲν οὐκ εὖ πράττειν ἐν τῷ πρότερον χαλεπὸν μὲν ἀλλ' οὔτε θρασὺν οὔτε προπετὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν τέκνων παρείχεν αὐτόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε μεταβολῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ παρρησίας ἐπιλαβόμενος, τὸ μῖσος ἐκενοδόξει<sup>5</sup> καὶ<sup>6</sup> τὴν  
 360 ἐξουσίαν.<sup>7</sup> διέπεμπεν οὖν<sup>8</sup> ὅσους ἐδόκει καλῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον Ἀρχελάου χωρὶς· ἐκείνον γὰρ δι' ἔχθος οὐκ ἤξιον παρατυγχάνειν ἢ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει νομίζων ἐμποδῶν ἔσεσθαι.

361 (2) Γενομένων δὲ ἐν Βηρυτῷ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσους τῶν πόλεων ἐκάλεσεν, τοὺς μὲν παῖδας (οὐ γὰρ ἤξιον παράγειν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον)

<sup>1</sup> ἐφεῖναι Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ἔχειν om. E, secl. Naber.

<sup>3</sup> E: ἐπέστειλεν codd.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf: πῶς codd.

<sup>5</sup> ἐκαινοτόμει A marg.; ἐκενοτόμει M marg.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ inserui.

(xi. 1)<sup>a</sup> And so, being reconciled with Herod, Caesar wrote to him, saying that he was distressed because of his sons, and that if they had been so reckless as to attempt an unnatural crime, he ought to punish them as parricides—for this power was granted him—but if they had planned to flee, he should merely admonish them and not inflict irreparable punishment upon them. He also advised him to appoint and convene a council at Berytus, where Romans were settled as colonists, and to take along the governors (of Syria), Archelaus, the king of Cappadocia, and as many others as he thought conspicuously friendly or important, and with their advice to determine what should be done. These were the instructions that Caesar gave. When his letter was delivered, Herod was at once very glad that a reconciliation had taken place, and very glad too that full power had been given him to use against his sons. And somehow, whereas at an earlier time, when he was not prospering, he showed himself severe but neither reckless nor rash enough to destroy his sons, he now took advantage of the change for the better and his freedom of action to boast of his hatred and his power. He therefore sent letters around and invited to the council those whom he thought suitable with the exception of Archelaus. Him he did not choose to have present either because of his hatred of him or because he thought that he would interfere with his plans.

(2) When the governors (of Syria) and the others whom he had invited from the various cities had come to Berytus, he kept his sons—for he did not think it

Augustus advises Herod to convene a council concerning his sons.

Herod accuses his sons before the council of Roman officials.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 356-394 = B.J. i. 536-551.

<sup>7</sup> καὶ πως . . . ἐξουσίαν om. E Lat.

<sup>8</sup> εὐθύς οὖν διέπεμπεν AME: statim accersit Lat.

ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ Σιδωνίων εἶχε Πλατάνη<sup>1</sup> καλουμένη  
 πλησίον τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἔχειν εἰ κληθεῖεν παρα-  
 362 στήσαι. μόνος δὲ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν εἰσελθὼν, ἑκατὸν  
 καὶ πεντήκοντα συγκαθημένων ἀνδρῶν, κατηγορεῖ  
 κατηγορίαν οὐκ ὀδυνηρὰν ὡς πρὸς ἀνάγκην ὧν  
 ἠτύχει, πλείστον δὲ ἀπεικικίαν ἢ<sup>2</sup> πατὴρ ἐπὶ παισὶν  
 363 ἀν<sup>3</sup> εἴποι· βίαιος γὰρ ἦν καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν<sup>4</sup> τῆς  
 αἰτίας ἐτετάρακτο, καὶ μέγιστα θυμοῦ καὶ ἀγριότη-  
 τος ἐνεδίδου σημεῖα, τοὺς τε ἐλέγχους οὐκ ἐκείνοις  
 ἐπιτρέπων καταμαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνηγορίαν αὐτοῖς  
 προτιθεὶς πατρὶ κατὰ παίδων ἀσχήμονα, καὶ τὰ  
 γραφέντα δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀναγινώσκων, ἐν οἷς  
 ἐπιβουλή μὲν ἢ τις ἐπίνοια δυσσεβείας οὐκ ἐγέ-  
 γραπτο, μόνον δὲ ὡς φυγεῖν βουλεύοιντο, καὶ λοι-  
 δορίαί τινές εἰς αὐτὸν ὀνειδῆ περιέχουσαι διὰ τὴν  
 364 δύσνοιαν. ἐφ' αἷς ἐκείνος ὡς ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον τε  
 ἐξεβόα καὶ τὸ περιὸν εἰς ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς  
 δι' ἐκείνων ἠῤῥαεν, ἐπομνύμενος ὡς ἡδίων ἂν στέ-  
 365 ρουτο τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τοιούτων ἀκούειν λόγων· τὸ δὲ  
 τελευταῖον εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος  
 δόσει τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς ἔχει, προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ<sup>5</sup>  
 καὶ πατριον νόμον κελεύειν,<sup>6</sup> εἴ του κατηγορήσαντες  
 οἱ γονεῖς ἐπιθοῖεν τῇ κεφαλῇ τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπάναγκες  
 εἶναι τοῖς περιεστῶσιν βάλλειν καὶ τοῦτον ἀπο-  
 366 κτείνειν τὸν τρόπον· ὅπερ ἔτοιμος ὦν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ

<sup>1</sup> W et in marg. AM cum B.J. : Παλαεστῶrell. : Palestum Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Ernesti : εἰ W : ἢ rell. E. <sup>3</sup> ἂν add. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπίδειξιν AMWE. <sup>5</sup> αὐτῷ om. AMW : αὐτῷ Naber.

<sup>6</sup> ὅς ἐκέλευεν AME : ἐκέλευσεν W.

wise to bring them before the council—in a village of  
 the Sidonians called Platana,<sup>a</sup> near the city of Berytus,  
 in order that he might be able to produce them if  
 they were called. All alone, therefore, and by him-  
 self he went before the hundred and fifty men seated  
 there, and made the accusation, which was not  
 painful as would befit an unfortunate necessity but  
 very unlike what a father should say about his sons.  
 For he was violent and emotional in demonstrating  
 their guilt, and he gave the strongest signs of fury  
 and savagery. He did not permit the members of  
 the council to examine the proofs but offered argu-  
 ments in advocacy of these that were a disgrace for a  
 father to use against his sons. When he read aloud  
 the letters written by them, there was no plot or any  
 notion of filial disloyalty mentioned in them, only  
 that they were planning to flee, and some offensive  
 remarks about Herod that included reproaches for his  
 ill-will toward them. When he came to these passages,  
 he cried out even more loudly and exaggerated their  
 excessive language<sup>b</sup> into a confession of a plot formed  
 against him by his sons, swearing that he would much  
 rather lose his life than hear such words as these.  
 Finally, he said that both by nature and by Caesar's  
 grant he himself had authority to act, but he added  
 that there was also a law in his country that provided  
 that if a man's parents, after accusing him, placed  
 their hands on his head, the bystanders were bound  
 to stone him and to kill him in this way.<sup>c</sup> This, he

<sup>a</sup> *Ras Damur*, on the coast halfway between Beirut and Sidon. Cf. *B.J.* i. 539 ("a village in the territory of Sidon"). Variant *παλαεστῶ*; cf. critical note.

<sup>b</sup> Or "exaggerated the advantage that they offered" (Post).

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Ant.* iv. 260, 264; Deut. ii. 21.

πατρίδι καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖν, ὅμως ἀναμεῖναι τὴν ἐκείνων κρίσιν· ἦκειν μέντοι δικαστὰς μὲν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ φανεροῖς οἷς ἐκ τῶν παίδων ὀλίγου πάθου, συννορησθῆναι δὲ καιρὸν ἔχοντας, ὡς οὐδενὶ καὶ τῶν πόρρω γεγονότων ἀμελήσαι τοιαύτης ἐπιβουλῆς ἄξιον.

- 367 (3) Ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπόντος, καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων οὐδὲ ἕως ἀπολογίας παρηγγμένων, συμφρονήσαντες οἱ κατὰ τὸ συνέδριον ὡς ἐπιεικείας καὶ διαλλαγῶν χεῖρον ἔχουσι<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐβεβαίουν αὐτῶ.  
 368 καὶ πρῶτος μὲν Σατορνίνος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξιώματος, ἀπεφώνησε γνώμην αἰδημονεστάτην<sup>2</sup> περιστάσει χρώμενος· ἔφη γὰρ καταδικάζειν μὲν τῶν Ἡρώδου παίδων, κτείνειν δ' οὐκ οἶεσθαι δίκαιον<sup>3</sup> αὐτοὺς παῖδας ἔχων καὶ τοῦ πάθους μείζονος ὄντος, εἰ καὶ πάντα δι' αὐτοὺς δεδυστύχηκεν.  
 369 μετ' ἐκείνων οἱ Σατορνίνου παῖδες (εἶποντο γὰρ αὐτῶ πρεσβευταὶ τρεῖς ὄντες) τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀπεφώνησαντο, Οὐολόμνιος δὲ ἀντικρὺς ἔφη κολάζειν θανάτῳ τοὺς οὕτως ἀσεβήσαντας εἰς τὸν πατέρα. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς οἱ πλείους, ὥστε μηκέτ' ἄλλο τι δοκεῖν ἢ καταδεδικάσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ  
 370 τοὺς νεανίσκους. κάκειθεν μὲν εὐθὺς Ἡρώδης ἦκεν ἄγων αὐτοὺς εἰς Τύρον, καὶ τοῦ τε<sup>4</sup> Νικολάου πλεύσαντος ὡς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπυρθάνετο, προ-

<sup>1</sup> ἔχοι P.

<sup>2</sup> αἰδημονεστάτη AME: ἀηδεστάτη P: mitem Lat.

<sup>3</sup> codd. Gall. et Vat. ap. Hudson: δικαιοῦν rell.

<sup>4</sup> γε AMWE.

<sup>o</sup> § 368 = B.J. i. 541; § 369 = B.J. i. 542.

said, he was prepared to do in his own country and realm but still he awaited their judgment. Moreover, they had come not so much to be judges of the clear crimes of his sons, from which he had almost fatally suffered, as because they had an opportunity to share his anger, since it was not right for anyone, even those far removed, to be unconcerned about so serious a plot.

(3) After the king had spoken in this manner, without letting the youths be produced even long enough to defend themselves, the members of the council, being agreed that they were in no position to soften him or effect a reconciliation, confirmed his authority.<sup>a</sup> The first to speak was Saturninus,<sup>b</sup> a man of consular rank and of great influence, who expressed a most moderate opinion, taking the circumstances into account.<sup>c</sup> For he said that while he condemned Herod's sons, he did not think it right to put them to death, since he himself had sons, and such a penalty was too great, even granted that all his misfortunes were due only to them. After Saturninus had spoken, his sons—there were three of them, accompanying him as legates—expressed the same opinion, but Volumnius<sup>d</sup> on the contrary said that they should put to death sons who had been so unfilial to their father. The same sentiment was expressed by the majority of the following speakers, so that it seemed no other verdict had been given than that the youths should be sentenced to death. From there Herod at once went to Tyre, taking them along, and when Nicolas sailed from Rome to meet him there, Herod, after

The Roman officials differ about the punishment of Herod's sons.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 277 note b.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "who expressed an opinion which took into account the very shameful situation" (cf. critical note).

JOSEPHUS

διηγησάμενος τὰ ἐν Βηρυτῶ, ἦντιν' ἔχοιεν γνώμην  
 371 περὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ αὐτοῦ  
 φίλοι. κάκεινος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ μὲν ἀσεβῆ εἶναι  
 "τὰ ἐκείνοις περὶ σέ ἐγνωσμένα," χρῆναι μέντοι  
 372 αὐτοὺς καθεῖρξαντα δεσμώτας φυλάττειν, "καὶ εἰ  
 μὲν ἑτέρως σοι δοκοίη κολάζειν αὐτούς, μὴ φαίνοιο  
 ὀργῇ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ γνώμῃ κεχρηῆσθαι, εἰ δὲ τάναντία  
 ἀπολύειν, μὴ ἀνεπανόρθωτον εἶη σοι τὸ ἀτύχημα.  
 τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ<sup>1</sup> δοκεῖ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν  
 σῶν φίλων." καὶ ὃς σιωπήσας ἐν πολλῇ ἐγένετο  
 συννοία, κάκεινον ἐκέλευσε συμπλεῖν αὐτῷ.  
 373 (4) Ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Καισάρειαν, γίνεται λόγος<sup>2</sup>  
 εὐθύς ἅπασι τῶν παίδων, καὶ μετέωρος ἡ βασιλεία,  
 ποῖ ποτε χωρήσειε τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκδεχομένων.  
 374 δεινὸν γὰρ ὑπῆει πάντας δέος ἐκ παλαιοῦ κατα-  
 στασιαζομένους εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πέρας ἔλθειν, καὶ τοῖς  
 μὲν πάθειν ἐδυσχέρανον, οὐκ ἦν δ' οὔτε εἰπεῖν τι  
 προπετές οὔτ' ἄλλου λέγοντος ἀκούειν ἀκίνδυνον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐγκεκλεισμένοι τὸν ἔλεον ὀδυνηρῶς μὲν ἀναύ-  
 375 δως δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πάθους ἔφερον. εἰς δὲ  
 αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> πάλαι στρατιώτης ὄνομα Τίρων,<sup>4</sup> υἱοῦ αὐτῷ  
 καθ' ἡλικίαν ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ φίλου, πάνθ' ὅσα  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποδύμενα δι' ἡσυχίας ἦν, αὐτὸς  
 ὑπ' ἐλευθεριότητος ἐξελάλει, καὶ βοᾶν ἠναγκάζετο  
 376 πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ἀπαρακαλύπτως λέγων  
 ὡς ἀπόλοιο μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀνηρημένον εἶη, κρατοίῃ δὲ τὰ ψεύσματα  
 καὶ ἡ κακοήθεια, καὶ τοσοῦτο νέφος ἐπάγοι τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> τὰ αὐτὰ δέ] ταῦτα P.  
<sup>2</sup> λόγος ὃς ἦν AM: λόγος οὖν ἦν P.      <sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ AMW.  
<sup>4</sup> Τίρων AM: Τήρων WE: Tyro Lat. hic et infra (olim  
 Tiro iud. Niese): Τίρων aut Τήρων B.J.

first telling him what had happened in Berytus, asked him just what his friends in Rome thought about his sons. Nicolas said that while they thought that his sons' intentions toward him were unfilial, nevertheless he ought merely to imprison them and keep them in chains. "And if, indeed, you are resolved to punish them in some other way, do not appear to be giving way to anger rather than using your judgment. If, on the contrary, you choose to absolve them, do not let your unfortunate position remain unremedied. This same opinion is held by most of your friends in Rome." Thereupon Herod, after remaining silent in deep thought, ordered Nicolas to sail with him.

(4) When he came to Caesarea, everyone at once began to talk about his sons, and the kingdom was in suspense as people waited to see what would be done with them. For a terrible fear seized them all that the long dispute between the two sides would now reach its (tragic) end. And they were distressed by the sufferings of the youths. It was not possible, however, either to say anything impulsive or to hear another say it without danger, but they kept their pity locked within them, and so they bore their excessive suffering with pain but at the same time without speaking. But one of them, an old soldier named Tiro, who had a son of the same age as Alexander, his friend, spoke out freely about all the things that the others had secretly felt but had kept silence about.<sup>a</sup> He was impelled to cry out frequently in the presence of the masses, saying without disguise that truth had perished, justice had been abolished among men, and lies and malice prevailed and cast such a cloud over

Popular indignation at Herod's treatment of his sons.

<sup>a</sup> On the account of Tiro and Trypho in §§ 375-393 of B.J. i. 544-550. The narratives are substantially the same.



πράγμασιν, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων  
 377 παθῶν ὄρασθαι τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν. τοιοῦτος ὢν  
 ἐδόκει μὲν οὐκ ἀκινδύνως παρρησιάζεσθαι, τὸ δ'  
 εὐλογον ἐκίνει πάντας, οὐκ ἀνάνδρως αὐτοῦ πρὸς  
 378 τὸν καιρὸν ἱσταμένου. διὸ καὶ πάνθ' ἄπερ αὐτὸς  
 εἶποι ἂν<sup>1</sup> ἕκαστος ἡδέως ἤκουον ὑπ' ἐκείνου λεγόμενα,  
 καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ σιγαῦν  
 προορώμενοι, τὴν ἐκείνου παρρησίαν ὅμως ἀπεδέχοντο.  
 τὸ γὰρ προσδοκώμενον πάθος ἐβιάζετο  
 πάνθ' ὄντινον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λαλεῖν.

379 (5) Ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας  
 ὡσάμενος μόνος μόνῳ λέγειν ἤξίου, καὶ συγχωρήσαντος,  
 "οὐ δυνάμενος," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, διακαρτερεῖν ἐπὶ  
 τοιοῦτῳ πάθει, τὴν τολμηρὰν ταύτην παρρησίαν,  
 ἀναγκαίαν δὲ σοὶ καὶ συμφέρουσαν, εἰ λάβοις τι  
 χρήσιμον ἐξ αὐτῆς, προὔκρινα τῆς ἐμῆς  
 380 ἀσφαλείας. ποῖ ποτε οἴχονταί<sup>2</sup> σου καὶ πεπτώκασι  
 ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς αἱ φρένες; ποῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ περιττὸς  
 ἐκείνος νοῦς, ᾧ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατώρθους; τίς  
 381 δὲ ἢ τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἐρημία; κρίνω δὲ οὐδὲ  
 παρόντας αὐτοὺς συγγενεῖς εἶναι ἢ φίλους, οἱ  
 περιορώσι τοιοῦτο μῦθος ἐπὶ τῇ μακαριζομένῃ ποτὲ  
 βασιλείᾳ. σὺ δ' οὐ σκέφει τί τὸ<sup>3</sup> πραττόμενόν ἐστιν;  
 382 δύο νεανίσκους ἐκ βασιλίδος γυναικὸς γενομένους  
 εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρους ἀναιρήσεις, σεαυτὸν ἐν  
 γῆρα καταλιπὼν ἐφ' ἐνὶ παιδί κακῶς οἰκονομήσαντι  
 τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίδα καὶ συγγενέσιν, ὧν αὐτὸς

<sup>1</sup> εἶποι ἂν Niese: εἶποιεν codd.: εἶπειεν Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> ᾧχοντο W.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ om. AMWE.

things that not even the greatest human sufferings were visible to erring men. Acting in this way, it would seem that he was incurring danger through his outspokenness, but his reasonableness<sup>a</sup> moved all his hearers, who regarded him as meeting the occasion like a real man. For that reason everyone was glad to hear him say the things that he himself would have said, and while they were looking out for their own safety by keeping silence, they nevertheless approved of his outspokenness, for the expected tragedy forced everyone to speak about it.

(5) Tiro, with the greatest boldness, thrust his way even into the king's presence, and asked to speak to him alone. When the king granted this request, he said, "Since, O King, I am unable to endure such great suffering, I have preferred this bold outspokenness to my own safety,—an outspokenness that would be necessary and advantageous to you, if you should make good use of it. Where has your sense gone after leaving you? Where is that extraordinary mind of yours with which you accomplished so many great deeds? What of the complete absence of friends and kin? And I do not consider as kin and friends, even when they are present, those who take no notice of so great a defilement coming upon your once blessed kingdom. Do you not see what is being done? Are you going to put to death two youths who were borne to you by a wife who was a queen, and are paragons of every virtue? Will you in your old age entrust yourself to a single son who has ill repaid the hope placed in him,<sup>b</sup> and to your relatives,

The old soldier Tiro rebukes Herod.

<sup>a</sup> τὸ δ' εὐλογον: cf. Thucydides iv. 87. 3 and vi. 84. 2.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. Antipater (named in the *B.J.* account); cf. especially §§ 87-90, 190 ff.

383 τοσαυτάκις ἤδη κατέγνωκας θάνατον; οὐκ ἐνοή-  
σεις ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὄχλων ἢ σιωπῇ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν<sup>1</sup>  
ὁμως ὄρᾳ καὶ μισεῖ τὸ πάθος, ἢ τε στρατιὰ πᾶσα  
καὶ ταύτης οἱ πρωτεύοντες ἔλεον μὲν τῶν ἀτυχούν-  
των, μίσος δὲ τῶν ταῦτα διαπραττομένων ἐσχή-  
384 καιν;” ἤκουε τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὐ  
παντάπασιν ἀγνωμόνως, ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν,  
διεκίνησεν αὐτὸν ἀφαιμένου τοῦ Τίρωνος ἐναργῶς  
τοῦ τε πάθους καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπιστίας.  
385 αἰθῆς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπεδίδου κατὰ μικρὸν ἀμέτρῳ καὶ  
στρατιωτικῇ χρώμενος παρρησίᾳ (τὸ γὰρ ἀπαίδευ-  
τον ὑπερέξέπιπτε<sup>2</sup> τοῦ καιροῦ) ταραχῆς δὲ Ἡρώ-  
386 δης ἐνεπίμπλατο, καὶ μᾶλλον ὀνειδίζεσθαι δοκῶν ἢ  
πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ  
τοὺς κακῶς<sup>3</sup> διακειμένους στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς  
ἀγανακτοῦντας ἡγεμόνας ἐπύθετο, προστάττει τῶν<sup>4</sup>  
τε ὀνόματι δηλωθέντων ἀπάντας<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὸν Τίρωνα  
δήσαντας ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ.  
387 (6) Τούτου γεννηθέντος ἐπιτίθεται τῷ καιρῷ καὶ  
Τρύφων τις κουρεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς ἔφη προσελ-  
θὼν ὡς πείθῃ πολλάκις αὐτὸν ὁ Τίρων, ὅπῃ  
θεραπεύῃ τὸν βασιλέα ξυρῷ τὸν λαίμον ἀποτεμεῖν·  
ἔσεσθαι γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ με-  
388 γάλας λήψεσθαι δωρεάς. ταῦτα εἰπόντα συλλαμ-  
βάνειν κελεύει, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα βάσανος ἦν τοῦ τε  
Τίρωνος καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ κουρέως.  
389 διακαρτεροῦντός τε τοῦ Τίρωνος, ὄρων ὁ νεανίσκος

<sup>1</sup> ἀμογίαν P: ἀλογίαν con. Zedler: crudelitatem Lat.

<sup>2</sup> AME: ὑπεξέπιπτε P: ἐξέπιπτε W.

<sup>3</sup> κακῶς add. Ernesti. <sup>4</sup> τῷ P: τοὺς E.

<sup>5</sup> ed. pr.: ἀπάντων codd.: om. E.

whom you yourself have already so often condemned to death?<sup>a</sup> Will you not understand that even though they are silent, the masses still see your error<sup>b</sup> and abhor the tragic event, and that the entire army with its leaders has begun to feel pity for the unfortunate youths but hatred for those who are bringing these things about?” At first the king listened to these statements not altogether inconsiderately but, it is hardly necessary to add, when Tiro openly touched upon the tragic event and his failure to trust his own family, he was thoroughly shaken. When Tiro began again and gradually went further and further in his lack of moderation and soldierly bluntness—for lack of education made him go far beyond the needs of the occasion—, Herod was filled with consternation, thinking that he was being rebuked rather than listening to statements that were to his advantage. And so, when he learned who the disaffected soldiers and the indignant commanders were, he gave orders that all of those who were designated by name, as well as Tiro himself, should be put in chains and kept under guard.

(6) When this was done, a certain Trypho, one of the king's barbers, also seized the occasion to come forward and say that Tiro had often tried to persuade him to cut the king's throat with his razor when he was shaving him, and had told him that he would become one of Alexander's best friends and would receive large gifts. As a result of this statement Herod ordered the man's arrest, and thereupon they began to torture both Tiro and his son, and also the barber. Tiro bravely endured suffering but the youth,

<sup>Tiro is accused of plotting to kill Herod.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Named in the *B.J.* account (i. 545) as Pheroras and Salome. <sup>b</sup> Latin “brutality.” The text is uncertain.

τὸν πατέρα χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤδη διακαίμενον, ἔχοντα δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας, αὐτῷ τε τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν πάσχοντα δυσχερείας προὔπτον, ἔφη μηνύσειν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ παραιτήσεται διὰ τοῦ φράσαι τῆς βασάνου καὶ τῆς αἰκίας αὐτὸν  
 390 τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα. δόντος δὲ πίστιν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἔλεγεν ὡς εἶη συνθήκη τις ἐπιθέσθαι δι' αὐτοχειρίας βασιλεῖ τὸν Τίρωνα, προσελθεῖν γὰρ εὖπορον εἶναι μόνον μόνῳ, καὶ δράσαντα παθεῖν τι τῶν εἰκότων  
 391 οὐκ ἀγεννὲς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χαριζόμενον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνος εἰπὼν ἐξαιρέται τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἀδηλον εἶτε τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκβιασθεὶς φράζειν, εἶτε καὶ περιγραφὴν<sup>2</sup> νοήσας τινὰ ταύτην τῶν κακῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ γεγεννηκότι.  
 392 (7) Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης οὐδ' εἶ τι πρότερον ἐνδοιάσιμον ἦν αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν τεκνοκτονίαν, τούτῳ τόπον ἢ χῶραν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καταλελοιπῶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἐξηρημένος τὸ δυνησόμενον αὐτῷ μετάνοιαν<sup>3</sup> ἀμείνονος λογισμοῦ παρασχέιν, ἔσπευσεν ἤδη τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι  
 393 τῇ προαιρέσει. καὶ προαγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τριακοσίου τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἐν αἰτία γενομένους καὶ τὸν Τίρωνα σὺν τῷ παιδί καὶ τῷ ἐκείνου<sup>4</sup> διελέγοντι κουρεῖ, κατηγορίαν ἀπάντων αὐτῶν  
 394 ἐποιήσατο. κάκεινους μὲν τὸ πλῆθος αἰεὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν βάλλοντες ἀπέκτειναν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ἀχθέντες εἰς Σεβαστήν ἐπιτά-

<sup>1</sup> οὖν om. AMWE.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπόνοιαν P.

<sup>2</sup> Naber: παραγραφὴν codd.

<sup>4</sup> E: πρὸ ἐκείνου codd.

<sup>a</sup> The conjecture is plausible in view of Josephus' usage. παραγραφὴ is *hapax leg.* in Josephus, though as a law term it

seeing his father in a now terrible state and with no hope of surviving, and foreseeing from the painful suffering of his father what would happen to himself, said that he would reveal the truth to the king if in return for his information Herod would let both him and his father escape torture and mistreatment. When the king had given his word to do so, the youth said that there had been an agreement that Tiro would murderously attack the king, for it would be easy for him to get close to him when they were alone together. And if after committing the deed Tiro should suffer for it, as might be expected, the service he was rendering Alexander would be a noble one. By these statements, therefore, the youth freed his father from his desperate state but it is not clear whether he was telling the truth under compulsion, or whether he thought that this confession would bring an end<sup>a</sup> to the sufferings of his father and to his own.

(7) But even if Herod may have had some hesitation about killing his sons before, he no longer left any place or room in his mind for this; he rejected anything that might be able to cause him to change his mind for better counsel, and he now hastened to bring his plan to fulfilment. He brought three hundred of the (military) leaders who had been accused and Tiro with his son and the barber who had denounced them before an assembly, and brought charges against all of them. And these men the crowd killed by striking them with whatever came to hand.<sup>b</sup> Then Alexander and Aristobulus were taken to Sebaste<sup>c</sup> and at the command of their father were

Herod has Alexander and Aristobulus killed by strangling.

may be suggested by the context. The parallel in *B.J.* i. 549 has ἀπαλλαγὴν.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *B.J.* i. 550.

<sup>c</sup> Samaria.

ξαντος τοῦ πατρὸς στραγγάλη κτείνονται. τὰ δὲ σώματα νύκτωρ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειον ἀπέθεντο, τοῦ τε μητροπάτορος ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν πλείστων αὐτοῖς προγόνων κειμένων.

- 395 (8) Ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἄλογον ἐνίοις καταφαίνεται τρεφόμενον ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸ μῖσος οὕτως ἀξήθηται καὶ περαιτέρω προελθὼν ἀποικῆσαι τὴν φύσιν. ἐπίστασις δὲ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰκότως, εἴτε εἰς τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀνοιστέον τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν, πρὸς ἄκρον<sup>1</sup> ὀργῆς ἐνάγοντας τὸν πατέρα καὶ χρόνῳ παρασκευάσαντας ὑπὸ χαλεπότητος ἀνήκεστον αὐτοῖς, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἀπαθῆ καὶ περιττὸν ὄντα περὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδοξίας, ὡς μηδὲν οἶεσθαι παραλειπτέον<sup>2</sup> ἐφ' ᾧ πᾶν τὸ βου-  
397 λόμενον ἀνίκητον ἔχειν, ἢ καὶ τὴν τύχην παντὸς εὐγνώμονος λογισμοῦ μεῖζω τὴν δύναμιν ἐσχηκυῖαν, ὅθεν καὶ πειθόμεθα τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας πράξεις ὑπ' ἐκείνης προκαθισιῶσθαι τῇ τοῦ γενέσθαι πάντως ἀνάγκῃ, καὶ καλοῦμεν αὐτὴν εἰμαρμένην, ὡς οὐδενὸς  
398 ὄντος ὃ μὴ δι' αὐτὴν γίνεται. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν λόγον, ὡς νομίζω,<sup>3</sup> πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀρκέσει κρίνειν<sup>4</sup> ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόντας τι καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς<sup>5</sup> τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὐκ ἀνυπευθύνους ποιούντας,  
399 ἃ πρὸ ἡμῶν ἤδη πεφιλοσόφηται καὶ τῷ νόμῳ. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δύο τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων μέμψαιτ' ἂν τις αἰτίαν, ὑπὸ τε ἀθαδείας νεωτερικῆς καὶ βα-

<sup>1</sup> Ernesti? αἰτίαν αὐτ αἰτίον codd. : ὁτιοῦν Cocceji.

<sup>2</sup> μηδὲν . . . παραλειπτέον Niese : μηδένα . . . παραληπτέον codd.

<sup>3</sup> T. Terry ap. Hudson : μεῖζω codd.

<sup>4</sup> T. Terry : κινεῖν codd. <sup>5</sup> διαφορὰς T. Terry.

killed by strangling. During the night their bodies were laid away in Alexandreion,<sup>a</sup> where their maternal grandfather and most of their ancestors were buried.<sup>b</sup>

(8)<sup>c</sup> Now perhaps it may not seem absurd to some that a long nourished hate should grow so great and go so far as to overpower nature. But one might reasonably hesitate to decide whether the blame for this should be laid upon the youths, who drove their father to the extreme of anger and by their intransigence over a period of time made him irreconcilably hostile to them, or upon Herod himself, who was so unfeeling and so immoderate in his desire to rule and to enjoy other forms of glory that he thought nothing should be left undone by which he could obtain invincibly all that he wanted, or upon Fortune, who has a power greater than all prudent reflection. For which reason we are persuaded that human actions are dedicated by her beforehand to the necessity of taking place inevitably, and we call her Fate on the ground that there is nothing that is not brought about by her. Now it will, I think, suffice to compare this doctrine with that according to which we attribute some part of the cause to ourselves and hold ourselves not unaccountable for the differences in our behaviour, as has been philosophically discussed before our time in the Law.<sup>d</sup> As for the other two causes, one might blame the sons of Herod because through youthful

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 13 and *Ant.* xiii. 417 note <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> The trial took place in 7 B.C. and the death of the sons in the winter of 7/6 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> §§ 395-404, which are wanting in the Latin, are regarded by Richards and Shutt (p. 172) as "almost certainly additions made to the second edition of the work, prepared and perhaps not completed by the author." Cf. Thackeray, *Josephus*, p. 67.

<sup>d</sup> On the Pharisees cf. *Ant.* xviii. 12-15.

Reflections upon Herod's domestic tragedy.



σιλικῆς οἰήσεως, ὅτι καὶ διαβολῶν ἠνείχοντο κατὰ  
 τοῦ πατρός, καὶ τῶν πραττομένων αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν  
 βίον οὐκ εὐμενεῖς ἦσαν ἐξετασταί, καὶ κακοῦθεις  
 μὲν ὑπονοεῖν, ἀκρατεῖς δὲ λέγειν, εὐάλωται δὲ δι'  
 ἀμφότερα τοῖς ἐπιτηροῦσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς χάριν  
 400 καταμηνύουσιν. ὁ μέντοι πατὴρ οὐδ' ἐντροπῆς ἀξι-  
 ος ἔοικεν φαίνεσθαι ἐκ' τοῦ περὶ ἐκείνους ἀσεβήμα-  
 τος, ὃς οὔτε πίστιν ἐπιβουλῆς ἐναργῆ λαβὼν οὔτε  
 παρασκευὴν ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐλέγχειν ἔχων ἐτόλμησεν  
 ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ φύντας, ἀρίστους μὲν τὰ  
 σώματα καὶ περιποθήτους πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις,  
 οὐκ ἀποδέοντας δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, εἴ ποῦ  
 θηρᾶν ἢ γυμνάζεσθαι τὰ πολέμων ἢ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 401 ἐμπεσόντων ἔδει. τούτων γὰρ ἀπάντων μετείχον,  
 Ἄλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ πρεσβύτερος· ἦρκει  
 γάρ, εἰ καὶ κατέγνω, καὶ ζῶντας ὅμως ἐν δεσμοῖς  
 ἢ ξενιτεύοντας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχειν, μεγάλην ἀσφά-  
 λειαν αὐτῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν,  
 δι' ἣν οὐδὲν οὐδ'<sup>2</sup> ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ βίας παθεῖν ἐδύ-  
 402 νατο. τὸ δ' ἀποκτεῖναι ταχὺ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ  
 νικῶντος αὐτὸν πάθους, ἀσεβείας τεκμήριον ἀνυπο-  
 τιμήτου, καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας οὔσης ἐν γῆρα τοσοῦτον  
 403 ἐξήμαρτεν. ἢ γε μὴν παρολκῆ καὶ τὸ χρονίζον οὐκ  
 ἂν αὐτῷ συγγνώμην τινὰ φέροι· ταχὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ-  
 πλαγέντα καὶ κεκινημένον χωρῆσαι πρὸς τι τῶν  
 ἀτόπων, εἰ καὶ δυσχερές, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ συμβαῖνον, ἐν  
 ἐπιστάσει δὲ καὶ μήκει, πολλάκις μὲν ὀρμηθέντα  
 πολλάκις δὲ μελλήσαντα, τὸ τελευταῖον ποστῆναι  
 καὶ διαπράξασθαι, φωνώσης καὶ δυσμετακινήτου

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ add Niese.<sup>2</sup> Niese οὐτ' codd.

arrogance and royal conceit they allowed slanders to  
 be spoken about their father, they were uncharitable  
 critics of the things done by him during his life, they  
 were malicious in their suspicions and intemperate in  
 their speech and on both accounts fell easy prey to  
 those who watched them closely and informed against  
 them in order to win favour. Their father, however,  
 should not be thought worthy of respect because of  
 his unfatherly disloyalty to them, since without ob-  
 taining any clear evidence of their treachery or being  
 able to prove that they had prepared to attack him,  
 he had the hardihood to kill his own flesh and blood,  
 who were physically perfect and well liked by  
 foreigners, and by no means lacking in skill whether  
 in hunting or military exercises or speaking on cur-  
 rent affairs. In all these things they possessed skill,  
 especially Alexander, who was the elder. For it would  
 have been enough for Herod, even if he condemned  
 them, to keep them alive at least, either in prison or  
 in exile from the realm, since he was protected by the  
 great security of the power of Rome and because of  
 this would not have had to suffer anything in the way  
 of a sudden attack or violence. But for him to kill  
 them so quickly and to gratify the passion that over-  
 powered him was a sign of an irreligious spirit that  
 is beyond assessment, especially when he committed  
 so great a crime in his old age. Nor indeed should his  
 delaying and temporizing win him any pardon. When  
 someone in consternation and under great emotion  
 proceeds to do something atrocious, it is a common  
 occurrence, however hard to bear. But to do so after  
 deliberating a long time and after frequent starts and  
 as frequent hesitations, and finally to take a stand  
 and accomplish the deed—this is the act of a murder-

404 ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων. ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ<sup>1</sup> τοῖς αὐθις οὐκ ἀποσχόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν περιλοίπων ὅσους ἐδόκει φιλάτους, ἐφ' οἷς τὸ μὲν δίκαιον ἔλαττον ἐποίει συμπαθεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, τὸ δ' ἄμὸν ὅμοιον ἦν τὸ<sup>2</sup> μηδὲ ἐκείνων φεισάμενον.<sup>3</sup> διέξιμεν δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξῆς ἀφηγούμενοι.

<sup>1</sup> Thackeray: καὶ codd.

<sup>2</sup> τῶ AM.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: φεισαμένων P: φεισαμένω AMW.

ous mind that cannot be turned from evil. Herod also revealed the same traits in his later acts, when he did not spare even the survivors whom he regarded as dearest to him. In their case, however, justice made men pity them less for their destruction, although he showed equal cruelty in not sparing even them. But we shall deal fully therewith in the portion of our narrative that follows.

## BIBAION IZ

(i. 1) Ἀντιπάτρω δὲ ἀραμένω τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἀσεβεία τε τῇ ὑστάτῃ καὶ ἀλαστορία τῇ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸν πατέρα περιβεβληκότι, οὐτι κατὰ γνώμας ἢ ἐλπίς τοῦ αἵθις βίου ἦν· ἀπαλλαγείς γὰρ φόβου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μὴ ἐπικοινωνήσον, ἐργωδέστερον καὶ ἄπορον αὐτῷ εὔρισκε τὸ τῆς βασιλείας περιγενέσθαι· τοσόνδ' ἐφόβη τῷ ἔθνει <sup>2</sup> μῖσος πρὸς αὐτόν. ὄντος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦδε χαλεποῦ, πλειόνως παρελύπει τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἄλλοτριῶς ἔχον τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰς οὓς τὰ πάντα ἦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀνακείμενα τοῦ οἰκείου ἀσφαλοῦς,<sup>1</sup> ὅποτε τύχοι τὸ ἔθνος νεωτέρων ὀριγνώμενον πραγμάτων· τοσόνδε κίνδυνον ἐμνήστευσεν αὐτῷ <sup>3</sup> ὁ ὄλεθρος τῶν ἀδελφῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνήρχεν γε τῷ πατρὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὡς βασιλεὺς ὢν, καὶ ἐπιστεύετο παρ' αὐτῷ μειζόνως, ἐξ ὧν ἀπολωλέναι καλῶς εἶχεν εὐνοίας βεβαιώματα εὐρημένους, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ σωτηρίας τῆς Ἡρώδου τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἐνδεδειχώς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχθρα τῇ πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ

<sup>1</sup> οἰκείου ἀσφαλοῦς] οἰκωφελούς Naber.

<sup>a</sup> Chap. i = B.J. i. 552-566. Josephus' main source continues to be Nicolas of Damascus, but the writer also evidently had the B.J. account before him (i. 552-ii. 116). From here

## BOOK XVII

(i. 1) <sup>a</sup> After Antipater had got rid of his brothers, thereby involving his father in the most impious of crimes and exposing him to divine vengeance, his hopes for his own future were not at all what he had intended. For though he was freed of the fear of having to share power <sup>b</sup> with his brothers, he still found it more difficult and hopeless to obtain the throne because of the extent to which the people had grown to hate him. With this difficulty already facing him he was still more troubled by the hostile attitude of the armed forces, for in their hands rests the entire security of a king whenever his nation is intent upon revolting. So great was the danger that he had courted for himself by destroying his brothers. Nevertheless he was at least co-ruler with his father and in no way different from a king. He also had the confidence of Herod in still greater measure, having found out how to obtain his goodwill more firmly but in a way that should properly have caused his downfall, for he made it appear that he had denounced his brothers for the sake of assuring Herod's safety and not through enmity toward them and earlier to-

through Book XIX Josephus' "assistant" is the "Thucydidean hack," as Thackeray called him. Certain stylistic peculiarities appear; Thucydidean parallels are numerous. For these one may consult Thackeray, Drüner, and others.

<sup>b</sup> On the Greek cf. Schmidt, p. 362.

πρὸ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· τοιαῖδε αὐτὸν περι-  
 4 ἔσπευδον<sup>1</sup> ἀραί.<sup>2</sup> ἄπερ δὴ πάντα μηχαναὶ τῆς ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁδοῦ ἴσαντο Ἀντιπάτρῳ, ἐρημοῦντι  
 αὐτὸν μὲν κατηγορῶν ἐφ' οἷς πράττειν διανοεῖτο,  
 Ἡρώδην δὲ καταφυγῆς<sup>3</sup> οἱ βοηθοῖεν αὐτῷ, τοῦ  
 5 Ἀντιπάτρου φανερώς πολεμίου καταστάτος· ὥστε  
 μίσει μὲν τῷ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔπρασε τὴν ἐπι-  
 βουλὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τὸ δὲ ἤπτετο μειζόνως τοῦ  
 ἐκ χειρῶν<sup>4</sup> μὴ ἀφίεσθαι τῆς πράξεως, ὡς ἀποθνή-  
 σκοντος μὲν Ἡρώδου, βεβαίως αὐτῷ περιγενο-  
 μένης τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξικνουμένου δὲ εἰς τὸ πλεόν ἔτι  
 ζῆν, κινδύνων ἂν περιστάντων<sup>5</sup> ἐξαγγέλου γενο-  
 μένης τῆς πράξεως, ἧς συνθέτης γεγονὼς πολέμιον  
 6 ἠνάγκαζε τὸν πατέρα καταστήναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο<sup>6</sup>  
 χαρίζεσθαι πολυτελῆς ἦν τοῖς<sup>7</sup> περὶ τὸν πατέρα,  
 κέρδεσι μεγάλοις ἐκπλήσων τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 μίσος πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης  
 φίλους πομπαῖς μεγάλων δωρεῶν εὐνοῦς καθιστά-  
 μενος, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Σατορνίνον τὸν τῆς Συρίας  
 7 ἐπιμελητήν. ὑπάξεσθαι<sup>8</sup> τε ἦν ἐλπίς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν  
 Σατορνίνου ἀδελφὸν μεγέθει δώρων, ἃ ἐδίδου, καὶ  
 τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνδρὶ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ  
 τὸν Ἡρώδην συνοικοῦσαν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ χρώ-  
 μενος. ψευδάμενός τε φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς ὀμλοῦντας

<sup>1</sup> W et AM marg. : περιεσπένδον A corr. M : περιέσπεν con. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> τοιαῖδε . . . ἀραί] talibus eum maliloquiis induxerat Lat., unde τοιαῖδε αὐτὸν κατέσπευσε διαβολαῖς con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> καταφυγῆς οὐχ ἔξοντα ex Lat. (non habens) con. Holwerda.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκ χειρῶν Cocceji : ἐγχειρῶν codd. : ab incepto Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ἂν περιστάντων W : ἀντιπεριστάντων rell. : surrectura Lat.

<sup>6</sup> ed. pr. : τοῦ codd.

ward his father. Such was the accursed madness that drove him on.<sup>a</sup> All this, of course, served Antipater as a devious way of attacking Herod, for he was ridding himself of those who might accuse him of the crimes that he was planning, and he was preventing Herod from seeking help from others whenever Antipater should openly appear as his enemy. Thus it was because of his hatred of his father that he formed the plot against his brothers, but what prompted him the more strongly not to give up carrying out these acts was the thought that if Herod were to die, the royal power would certainly fall to him; if, however, Herod should manage to prolong his life, he would be confronted with danger through the revelation of the crime which he had planned, thus forcing his father to become his enemy. And for this reason he was lavish in his favours to his father's followers, trying to drive out their hatred of him by great rewards, and especially to win the goodwill of (Herod's) friends in Rome by sending them large gifts, above all that of Saturninus, the legate<sup>b</sup> of Syria. He also hoped to win over Saturninus' brother through the great value of the gifts that he gave him, and he used the same methods with the king's sister, who was married to one of Herod's chief followers.<sup>c</sup> He was somehow very clever in making his associates believe in the friendship that he feigned,

His plotting  
against  
Herod.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Lat. (and conjectured reading): "By such slanders he drove him on."

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xvi. 277 note b and *B.J.* i. 554. On the meaning of ἐπιμελητής see *Ant.* xiv. 127 note d.

<sup>c</sup> i. e. Alexas, Josephus anticipating here the account in § 10. Cf. *B.J.* i. 553.

<sup>7</sup> Cocceji : τοὺς codd.

<sup>8</sup> A marg. : ὑποδέξασθαι AMW.



δεινότατός τις ἦν πεπιστευθεῖσθαι, καὶ μῖσος ἀράμενος  
 8 ἐφ' οὐστίνως ἐπικρύψασθαι συνετώτατος. οὐ μὴν  
 ἠπάτα γε τὴν τηθίδα προκατανενοηκυῖαν ἐκ πλείο-  
 νος αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέθ' οἷαν οὖσαν παραλογισθῆναι  
 διὰ τὸ ἤδη παρασκευῆ τῇ πάσῃ ἀντιτετάχθαι<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ  
 9 πρὸς τὸ κακότεροπον. καίτοι θυγατρὶ αὐτῆς συν-  
 ὠκει θεῖος πρὸς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου, προνοία τῇ  
 ἐκείνου καὶ διαπράξει παραλαβῶν τὴν κόρην πρό-  
 τερον Ἀριστοβούλῳ γεγαμημένην· τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ὁ  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Καλλέα<sup>2</sup> παῖς γυναικα εἶχεν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κατανοεῖσθαι πονηρὸν ὄντα  
 ἦν ἢ ἐπιγαμία τείχος, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἢ πρότερον συγ-  
 10 γένεια πρὸς τὸ οὐ μεμνησθῆναι. τὴν δὲ Σαλώμην  
 Ἡρώδης ἐσπουδακυῖαν Συλλαίῳ τῷ Ἀραβι γαμη-  
 θῆναι κατ' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν βιάζεται τῷ Ἀλεξᾷ  
 συνοικεῖν, συμπρασσοῦσης αὐτῷ Ἰουλίας καὶ πει-  
 θούσης τὴν Σαλώμην μὴ ἀνήνασθαι τὸν γάμον μὴ  
 καὶ ἔχθρα καθίσταται αὐτοῖς προὔπτος, ὁμωμο-  
 κότης Ἡρώδου μὴ<sup>3</sup> εὐνόησειν Σαλώμην μὴ ἀπο-  
 δεξαμένη<sup>4</sup> τὸν Ἀλεξᾷ γάμον. καὶ ἐπειθετο  
 Καίσαρος τε οὔση γυναικὶ τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ καὶ ἄλλως  
 11 συμβουλευοῦσα πάνυ συμφέροντα. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν Ἀρχελαίου θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδης  
 ὡς τὸν αὐτῆς πατέρα ἐξέπεμψεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνω-  
 κηκυῖαν, ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν προῖκα ἀποδοῦς, ὥστε  
 ἀμφισβήτημα αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι.

<sup>1</sup> ἀντιτετάχθαι W.

<sup>2</sup> Καλλία PM: Καλλαία W: Calleas Lat.

<sup>3</sup> μὴ Naber: μὴ ἂν codd.

<sup>4</sup> Ernesti: ὑποδεξαμένη codd. E.

<sup>a</sup> Theudion; cf. *B.J.* i. 592 and below, §§ 70, 73.

<sup>b</sup> Berenice: cf. *Ant.* xvi. 11.

and was also very adroit in concealing the hatred that he felt for anyone. He could not, however, fool his aunt, who had long been aware of his intentions and could no longer be hoodwinked by him because she had already taken every possible precaution against his evil designs. Nevertheless Antipater's maternal uncle<sup>a</sup> married her daughter,<sup>b</sup> and it was through Herod's marital arrangements. Antipater's planning and management that he took the young woman, who had formerly been married to Aristobulus. Salome's other daughter was given in marriage to the son of her husband Calleas.<sup>c</sup> But this marriage connexion was no barrier to her awareness of his evil nature, any more than the earlier relation had been to her hatred.<sup>d</sup> And though Salome was eager to be married to the Arab Syllaueus, for whom she felt an erotic desire, Herod forced her to become the wife of Alexas; in this situation Julia<sup>e</sup> co-operated with him, persuading Salome not to refuse the marriage lest open enmity be declared between them, for Herod had sworn that he would not be on good terms with Salome if she did not accept marriage with Alexas. And she took Julia's advice both because she was the wife of Caesar and because on other occasions she would give her very helpful counsel. At this time also Herod sent off the daughter of King Archelaus,<sup>f</sup> who had been the wife of Alexander, to her father, and returned her dowry out of his own money so that they might not have any dispute.

<sup>c</sup> Alexas; cf. *B.J.* i. 566. The name of Salome's daughter is unknown.

<sup>d</sup> "hatred": i.e. for Aristobulus.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. Livia, wife of Augustus; cf. *Ant.* xvi. 139 and below, §§ 141, 146, 190, etc.

<sup>f</sup> Glaphyra; cf. *Ant.* xvi. 11; *B.J.* i. 552 f.

- 12 (2) Ἀνέτρεφε δὲ αὐτὸς τῶν παίδων τὰ τέκνα πάνυ ἐπιμελῶς· ἦσαν γὰρ τῷ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἕκ Γλαφύρας ἄρσενες δύο, Ἀριστοβούλῳ δὲ ἕκ Βερενίκης τῆς Σαλώμης θυγατρὸς ἄρσενές τε τρεῖς καὶ
- 13 θήλειαι δύο. καὶ ποτε παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων παρασησάμενος τὰ παιδάρια καὶ τῶν νιέων ἀνακλαύσας τὴν τύχην, ἠϋχετο μηδὲν τοιόνδε παισὶν τοῖς ἐκείνων συνελθεῖν, αὐξηθέντας δὲ ἀρετῇ καὶ συμπεριφορᾷ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ δικαίου τὰς τροφὰς ἀμεΐφασθαι
- 14 ὡς ποιοῖτο. ἐγγεγυήτό τε εἰς γάμον, ὅποτε ἀφικοίατο εἰς ὄραν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῷ μὲν πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου παίδων Φερώρου θυγατέρα, τῷ δὲ Ἀριστοβούλου τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου, καὶ θυγατέρα τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου ἐπωνόμαζε παιδί τῷ Ἀντιπάτρου, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρων Ἡρώδη παιδί τῷ αὐτοῦ· γίνεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς· πάτριον γὰρ
- 15 πλείοσιν ἐν ταύτῳ ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν. ἔπρασσε δὲ τὰς μνηστείας τῶν παίδων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλέω τῶν ὀρφανῶν, εἰς εὖνοιαν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιγαμίαν τὸν
- 16 Ἀντίπατρον προκαλούμενος. Ἀντίπατρος δὲ γνώμη τῇ<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πολιτεύειν<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἐνέλιπε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῖς γεγονότας, ἧ τε τοῦ πατρὸς σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἠρέθιζεν αὐτόν, μεί-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: συμφορᾷ codd. (κ. συμφορᾷ τ. δικαίου om. Lat.).

<sup>2</sup> γνώμην τὴν M et ex corr. M.

<sup>3</sup> In marg. γρ. (om. M) πολυτεύειν AM.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 12-18: the *B.J.* account (i. 552, 556-560) gives the names of the persons here mentioned.

<sup>b</sup> Tigranes and Alexander. The former became king of

(2)<sup>a</sup> Herod himself brought up the children of his sons very carefully, Alexander having had two boys <sup>b</sup> Herod's grand-children. by Glaphyra, and Aristobulus three boys and two girls by Berenice, the daughter of Salome.<sup>c</sup> And on one occasion he presented the young children to a gathering of his friends, and after bewailing the fortune of his sons, prayed that no such fate might befall their children and that by their improvement in virtue and concern for righteousness they would repay him for bringing them up. He also promised in marriage, when they should reach the proper age, the daughter of Pheroras to the elder son of Alexander,<sup>d</sup> and the daughter of Antipater to Aristobulus' son,<sup>e</sup> and he designated one daughter of Aristobulus to marry the son of Antipater,<sup>f</sup> and the other daughter of Aristobulus to marry his own son Herod, who had been born to him by the daughter of the high priest,<sup>g</sup> for it is an ancestral custom of ours to have several wives at the same time. These betrothals the king arranged out of pity for the orphaned state of the children and to induce Antipater to feel kindly toward them because of the marriage connexion. But Antipater did not cease to maintain the same attitude toward his brothers' sons as to their fathers, and his own father's zeal on their behalf provoked him be-

Armenia (*Ant.* xviii. 139) for a short time as Tigranes IV. See Magie, *Roman Rule* i. 485.

<sup>c</sup> The boys were Herod (of Chalcis), Agrippa, and Aristobulus; the girls, Herodias and Mariamme. This was the Herodias mentioned in the New Testament (Mark vi. 17, 19, 22; Matt. xiv. 3, 6; Luke iii. 19).

<sup>d</sup> Another Alexander.

<sup>e</sup> Herod (of Chalcis).

<sup>f</sup> The name is unknown.

<sup>g</sup> The second Mariamme, daughter of Simon, son of Boethus; cf. *Ant.* xv. 319-322; xvii. 78.

ζονας<sup>1</sup> ἕσεσθαι τῶν ἀδελφῶν προσδεχόμενον, καὶ μάλιστα ὅποτε ἀνδρωθεῖεν, Ἀρχελάου συλληφόμενον<sup>2</sup> τοῖς θυγατρίδοις βασιλέως ἀνδρὸς καὶ Φερῶρου τῷ ληφιομένῳ<sup>3</sup> τὴν θυγατέρα· τετράρχης δὲ 17 καὶ οὗτος ἦν. ἐπήγειρε δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐλέω μὲν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς χρώμενον, μίσει δὲ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἐξαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένον κακοτροπία τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἐμηχανάτο οὖν διάλυσιν τῶν τῷ πατρὶ ἐγνωσμένων, ἐν δεινῷ τιθέμενος προσλήψει τοσῆσδε αὐτοὺς 18 ὁμιλῆσαι δυνάμεως. καὶ μετέπιπτεν Ἡρώδης εἰκὼν δεήσει τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα γαμεῖν, καὶ τὴν Φερῶρου τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τοῦ γάμου τοῦτον κινεῖται<sup>4</sup> τὸν τρόπον ἄκοντος<sup>5</sup> τοῦ βασιλέως.

19 (3) Ἡρώδη δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνώκουν ἐννέα γυναῖκες, ἧς τε Ἀντιπάτρου μήτηρ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐξ ἧς δὴ καὶ ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ παῖς ἐγεγόνει· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ παῖς αὐτῷ μία γεγαμημένη καὶ ἀνεψιὰ σὺν αὐτῇ. 20 καὶ ταῖσδε μὲν τέκνον οὐδὲν ἐφύη. ἦν δ' ἐν ταῖς γυναῖξιν κακ τοῦ Σαμαρέων ἔθνους μία καὶ παῖδες αὐτῆς Ἀντίπας καὶ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ θυγάτηρ Ὀλυμπιάς. καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὕστερον Ἰώσηπος γαμεῖ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς ὢν, Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> cod. Henn.: μεζονα PAM: μεζονος W: eos maiores ac meliores Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. Hudson: προσληφιομένου P: προσδεχομένου tell.

<sup>3</sup> τῷ υἱῷ ληφιομένου W.

cause he expected them to be greater than his brothers, especially when they should reach manhood with Archelaus, a royal personage,<sup>a</sup> helping his grandsons, and Pheroras, who was also a tetrarch, helping (the son of Alexander) who was to marry his daughter. What further provoked him was the fact that the whole populace was moved by pity for the orphans and by hatred for him because he had not hesitated to go to extremes out of malice toward his brothers. He therefore sought to bring about a revocation of the arrangements on which his father had decided, thinking it would be dangerous for him to have them come close to the acquisition of so much power. And Herod, yielding to Antipater's request, changed his mind, so that Antipater was to marry Aristobulus' daughter, and his son the daughter of Pheroras. In this fashion, then, were the betrothals changed against the wishes of the king.<sup>b</sup>

(3) Now at this time there were nine women married to King Herod: the mother of Antipater,<sup>c</sup> and the daughter of the high priest,<sup>d</sup> by whom he had a son of the same name (were two). There was also a daughter of his brother married to him, and a cousin as well,<sup>e</sup> but these two had no children. Among his wives was also a Samaritan native<sup>f</sup>; her sons were Antipas and Archelaus, and her daughter Olympias, who was later married to Joseph, a nephew of the

Herod's  
nine wives.

<sup>a</sup> See *Ant.* xvi. 206.

<sup>b</sup> Antipater thus would improve his position with Pheroras and with the Hasmonaean line. Cf. *B.J.* i. 561 f.

<sup>c</sup> Doris (of Jerusalem). On Herod's family cf. *B.J.* i. 562 f.

<sup>d</sup> Mariamme II (see above).

<sup>e</sup> Names unknown; the cousin was a daughter of his father's brother, Joseph.

<sup>f</sup> Malthace.

<sup>4</sup> γίνεται E: gerebantur Lat.

<sup>5</sup> εἰκοντος Naber.

Ἀντίπας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρά τινι Ἰουδαίῳ<sup>1</sup> τροφὰς  
 21 εἶχον. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ Ἱεροσολυμίτις ἐγεγάμητο  
 αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡρώδης τε ἐγεγόνεισαν  
 καὶ Φίλιππος, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τροφὰς εἶχεν.  
 καὶ Παλλὰς δὲ ἦν ἐν ταῖς γαμεταῖς, Φασάηλον  
 πεποιημένην παῖδα αὐτῷ, πρὸς γε μὴν ταύταις  
 Φαῖδρα καὶ Ἐλπίς ἦσαν, ἐξ ὧν θυγατέρες δύο ἦσαν  
 22 Ῥωξάνῃ καὶ Σαλώμῃ. τὰς δὲ πρεσβυτέρας αὐτοῦ  
 θυγατέρας ὁμομητρίας τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ὧν  
 περιεώρα Φερώρας τὸν γάμον, συνέκισε τὴν μὲν  
 Ἀντιπάτρῳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς παιδί ὄντι, Φα-  
 σαήλῳ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν· καὶ οὗτος Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ  
 παῖς ἐγεγόνει. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἡρώδου τὸ γένος ἦν.  
 23 (ii. 1) Τότε δὲ βουλόμενος πρὸς Τραχωνίτας  
 ἀσφαλῆς εἶναι, κώμην πόλεως μέγεθος οὐκ ἀπο-  
 δέουσαν ἔγνω Ἰουδαίων κτίσαι ἐν μέσῳ, δυσέμ-  
 βολόν τε ποιεῖν τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξ  
 ἐγγύου ὀρμώμενος, ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐμβάλων<sup>2</sup> κακουρ-  
 24 γεῖν. καὶ ἐπιστάμενος ἄνδρα Ἰουδαίων<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τῆς  
 Βαβυλωνίας σὺν ἵππευσι<sup>4</sup> πεντακοσίοις, ἵπποτοξό-  
 ταις πᾶσι, καὶ συγγενῶν πλήθει εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν  
 τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβεβηκότα κατὰ τύχας ἐν Ἀντι-  
 οχείᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ τῆς Συρίας διαιτᾶσθαι Σατορ-  
 νίνου τοῦ τότε στρατηγοῦντος εἰς ἐνοίκησιν αὐτῷ  
 25 δεδωκότος χωρίον, Οὐλαθὰ<sup>5</sup> ὄνομα αὐτῷ, μετεπέμ-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: *ιδίω* codd.: *ιδιώτη* ed. pr.: *familiarem* Lat.:  
 Ἰουδαίῳ *ιδιώτη* con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> ἐμβάλων om. PW.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰουδαίων ὀνόματι Ζάμαριν (cf. § 29) con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>4</sup> ἵππευσι om. P.

<sup>5</sup> Οὐάλαθα aut Οὐαλαθὰ AM marg. W: Balatha Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Son of Herod's brother, Joseph; cf. § 294.

<sup>b</sup> See Herodian Genealogy.

king<sup>a</sup>; Archelaus and Antipas were brought up in Rome by a certain Jew. Another wife was Cleopatra, a native of Jerusalem, by whom he had two sons, Herod and Philip, who was also brought up in Rome. And among his wives was Pallas, who bore him a son named Phasaël, and in addition to these, Phaedra and Elpis by whom<sup>b</sup> he had two daughters, Roxane and Salome. His eldest daughters, who had the same mother as Alexander and Aristobulus,<sup>c</sup> and whom Pheroras had refused to marry, he gave in marriage, the one to Antipater, the son of the king's sister, and the other to Phasaël, who was also a son of Herod's brother.<sup>d</sup> This, then, was the family of Herod.

(ii. 1)<sup>e</sup> It was at this time that Herod, wishing to be safe from attack by the Trachonites, decided to build, between them and the Jews, a village not inferior in size to a city and make his own territory difficult to invade, and also have a place from which to sally out against the enemy close by, and do them harm by sudden incursions. And when he learned that a Jew from Babylonia had crossed the Euphrates with five hundred horsemen, all of them mounted archers, and a group of kinsmen amounting to a hundred men, and was by chance staying in Antioch near Daphne in Syria, because Saturninus, who was then governor of Syria, had given him a place named Ulatha<sup>f</sup> to dwell in, he sent for this man with his

Herod's  
 settlement  
 of Baby-  
 lonian Jews  
 in  
 Batanaca.

<sup>e</sup> The daughters were Cypros and Salampsio; their mother, Mariamme I, who had been put to death in 29 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. Phasaël.

<sup>c</sup> §§ 23-31 have no parallel in *B.J.*

<sup>f</sup> The Holath Antioch often mentioned in the Talmud; see Carl Kraepling, *JBL* 51 (1932), 133-135. It is not to be confused with Ulatha, the region N.E. of Lake Huleh (cf. *Ant.* xv. 360).



πετο τούτον σὺν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐπομένων, παρέξειν ὑπισχνούμενος γῆν ἐν τοπαρχία τῇ λεγομένῃ Βατανέα, ὠρίζετο δὲ αὐτῇ τῇ Τραχωνίτιδι, βουλόμενος πρόβλημα τὴν κατοίκησιν αὐτοῦ κτᾶσθαι, ἀτελῆ τε τὴν χώραν ἐπηγγέλλετο, καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰσφορῶν ἀπηλλαγμένους ἀπασῶν, αἱ εἰωθῦναι . . . ,<sup>1</sup> ἐγκατοικεῖν τὴν γῆν ἄπρακτον παρασχόμενος.

- 26 (2) Τούτοις πεισθεὶς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἀφικνεῖται καὶ λαβὼν τὴν γῆν φρούρια ὠκοδομήσατο καὶ κώμην, Βαθυράν<sup>2</sup> ὄνομα αὐτῇ θέμενος. πρόβλημά τε ἦν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Τραχωνίτας καὶ Ἰουδαίων τοῖς ἐκ Βαβυλώνας ἀφικνουμένοις κατὰ θυσίαν ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, τοῦ μὴ ληστείας ὑπὸ τῶν Τραχωνιτῶν κακουργεῖσθαι, πολλοὶ τε ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἀπανταχόθεν, οἷς  
27 τὰ Ἰουδαίων θεραπεύεται πάτρια. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ χώρα σφόδρα πολυάνθρωπος ἀδεία τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀτελοῦς, ἃ παρέμεινεν αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδου ζῶντος. Φίλιππος δὲ υἱὸς<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνου παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν  
28 ὀλίγα τε καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦς<sup>5</sup> ἐπράξατο, Ἀγrippας μέντοι γε ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμῶνυμος καὶ πάνυ ἐξετρύχωσαν αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι τὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινεῖν ἠθέλησαν. παρ' ὧν Ῥωμαῖοι δεξάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μὲν ἐλευθέρου καὶ αὐτοὶ

<sup>1</sup> post εἰωθῦναι lacunam statuit Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> Βαρθύραν P.

<sup>3</sup> δεύτερας AMWE : υἱὸς in marg. AM : filius Lat.

<sup>4</sup> ὀλίγοις P : parvo tempore Lat.

<sup>5</sup> E : αὐτοῖς codd.

<sup>a</sup> For a reference to this settlement in the highlands E. of the Sea of Galilee cf. *Vita* 55-61, especially 55 note. The 384

band of followers, promising to give him land in the toparchy called Batanaea, which bordered on Trachonitis, for he wished to make a buffer-zone out of such a settlement, and he promised that this land should be free of taxes and that they should be exempt from all the customary forms of tribute, for he would permit them to settle on the land without obligation.<sup>a</sup>

(2) Being persuaded by this offer, the Babylonian went there to take possession of the land and built on it fortresses and a village, to which he gave the name of Bathyra.<sup>b</sup> This man was a shield both to the inhabitants exposed to the Trachonites and to the Jews who came from Babylonia to sacrifice in Jerusalem; these he kept from being harmed by the brigandage of the Trachonites. And there came to him many men—and from all parts—, who were devoted to the ancestral customs of the Jews. And so his land became very populous because of its immunity from all taxation—a state of things which lasted so long as Herod lived. But when his son Philip succeeded to the kingship, he subjected them to taxation, though it was not much and only for a short time.<sup>c</sup> Agrippa the Great, however, and his son of the same name did indeed grind them down and yet were unwilling to take their freedom away.<sup>d</sup> And the Romans, who have succeeded these kings as

unnamed Jew was Zamaris (§ 29); cf. critical note 3 on p. 382; Laqueur, pp. 43-45.

<sup>b</sup> Probably not—as has been suggested—the modern *Beit Eai* on the north bank of the Yarmouth to the south of Gamala, but perhaps *Basis* to the east near *Sanamein*. See Klein, *BJPES* 4 (1936), 33 f.; Ginzburg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte*, pp. 99 ff.; Klausner iv. 218 ff.

<sup>c</sup> 4 B.C.—A.D. 34.

<sup>d</sup> A.D. 37-44 and 50-c. 100 respectively.

τηροῦσιν τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἐπιβολαῖς δὲ τῶν φόρων εἰς τὸ πάμπαν ἐπέσαν αὐτούς. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦ καὶρός ἀκριβῶσμαι προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου.

- 29 (3) Τελευταῖα δὲ Ζάμαρις ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, ὃς ἐπὶ κτήσει τῆσδε τῆς χώρας Ἡρώδῃ προσποιεῖται, ζήσας τε μετὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ παῖδας λειπόμενος ἀγαθούς, Ἰάκειμον<sup>1</sup> μὲν, ὃς ἀνδρεία γενόμενος ἐπιφανῆς ἱππέυειν συνεκρότησε τὸ ὑφ' αὐτῷ Βαβυλώνιον, καὶ Ἰλη τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐδορυφόρει τοῦσδε τοὺς βασιλέας. καὶ Ἰάκειμος ἐν γῆρα τελευτῶν Φίλιππον τὸν υἱὸν κατέλιπεν ἄνδρα κατὰ<sup>2</sup> χεῖρας ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι παρ' ὄντινούν ἀξιόλογον.
- 31 διόπερ φιλία τε πιστὴ καὶ εὖνοια ἀσφαλῆς αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν γίνεται τὸν βασιλέα, στρατιάν δὲ ὀπόσην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔτρεφεν οὗτος ἀσκῶν διετέλει, καὶ ὅπη ἐξοδεύειν δεήσειεν ἡγούμενος.
- 32 (4) Ἡρώδου δ' ἐν οἷς εἶπον ὄντος ἀφεώρα τὰ πάντα πράγματα εἰς Ἀντίπατρον, καὶ οἷς ἐθελήσειεν<sup>3</sup> κυροῦν οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο ἐξουσίας, ἐπικεχωρηκός τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλπίδι εὖνοιας καὶ πίστεως, καὶ περαιτέρω κτᾶσθαι τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τολμηρὸς καθιστάμενος διὰ τὸ ἄδηλος τῷ πατρὶ εἶναι κακοεργῶν καὶ οἷς εἶποι<sup>4</sup> πιστότατος. ἦν τε πᾶσι φοβερὸς οὐχ οὕτως ἰσχύι τῆς ἐξουσίας ὡς τοῦ κακοτρόπου τῷ προμηθεῖ· μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν Φερώρας ἐθεράπευε καὶ ἀντεθεραπεύετο, δεινῶς πάνν

<sup>1</sup> Ἰάκειμον hic et infra (-os) AME. <sup>2</sup> κατὰ om. WE.  
<sup>3</sup> ὠφελήσειε P<sup>2</sup>A<sup>2</sup>M. <sup>4</sup> Niese: εἶποιεν codd.

<sup>a</sup> He held a high office (called ἑπαρχος in *Vita* 46) under Agrippa II; cf. *B.J.* ii. 421 note and note c on p. 387.

rulers, also preserve their status as free men but by the imposition of tribute have completely crushed them. But of these matters I shall treat more fully in the course of the narrative.

(3) When Zamaris the Babylonian, who had been acquired by Herod to take over this country, died after living a virtuous life, he left worthy sons. One of them was Jacimus,<sup>a</sup> a man of shining valour, who organized the Babylonians under him into a body of horsemen; it was a troop of these men who served these kings as bodyguards. And when Jacimus died in old age he left a son named Philip, who had great manual strength<sup>b</sup> and in respect of possessing other virtues could well bear comparison with any other man. For this reason faithful friendship and lasting goodwill were established between him and King Agrippa, and it was always he who trained any army that the king might maintain, and he would lead it wherever it had to march.<sup>c</sup>

(4)<sup>d</sup> With Herod in the state I have described, the management of all affairs fell to Antipater. He was not reluctant to use his authority in enforcing whatever wishes he had, for his father left everything to him because of his belief in Antipater's loyalty and faithfulness. And he was made still bolder in seeking to acquire authority over others because his evil designs were concealed from his father, who had the greatest confidence in anything that Antipater might say, and he was feared by all not so much because of his powerful authority as because of his farsighted malice. Pheroras in particular paid court to him and

<sup>b</sup> Or "who excelled in combat."

<sup>c</sup> On Philip cf. *Vita* 46-61, 177-180, 407-409; *B.J.* ii. 421. Agrippa II is meant here.

<sup>d</sup> §§ 32-45 = *B.J.* i. 567-571.

τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου περιστοιχίσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν  
 34 γυναικωνίτην συνισταμένου τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν· ἔδε-  
 δούλωτο γὰρ Φερώρας γαμετῇ τε καὶ μητρὶ ταύ-  
 της καὶ ἀδελφῇ, καὶ ταῦτα μισῶν<sup>1</sup> τὰς ἀνθρώπους  
 ὕβρει θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ παρθένων· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἠεί-  
 χετο, πράσσειν τε οὐδὲν ἦν δίχα τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκ-  
 περιωδευκυῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀλλήλαις εὐνοία  
 35 συμπράσσειν τὰ πάντα μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένων, ὥστε  
 παντοίως ὁ Ἀντίπατρος ὑπήκτο αὐτὰς<sup>2</sup> καὶ δι'  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς μητρός· ταῦτόν γὰρ αἶδε αἱ  
 τέσσαρες γυναῖκες ἔλεγον. καὶ Φερώρα δὲ πρὸς  
 Ἀντίπατρον ἐπ' οὐδαμνοῖς τισιν αἱ γινώμαι δι-  
 36 ἠλλάσσον. ἀντίσπασμα δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς βασιλείως ἢ  
 ἀδελφῆ περισκοποῦσά τε ἐκ πλείονος τὰ πάντα,  
 καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κακοῖς τοῖς Ἡρώδου  
 πρασσομένην εἰδυῖά τε καὶ μηνύειν οὐκ ἀποτετραμ-  
 37 μένη. καὶ γνόντες ἐν ἀπεχθείᾳ βασιλεῖ τὴν εὐνοίαν  
 αὐτῶν οὐσαν ἐπινοοῦσιν ὥστε φανεράν μὲν μὴ  
 εἶναι τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν σύνοδον, μίσους δὲ  
 καὶ λοιδοριῶν ἢ<sup>3</sup> καιρὸς προσποιήσιν, καὶ μάλιστα  
 Ἡρώδου παρατυγχάνοντος ἢ οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπαγ-  
 γέλλειν ἐμελλον, κρυπτῶς δὲ τὰ τῆς εὐνοίας ἐχυρώ-  
 38 τερα καθίστασθαι. καὶ ἐπρασσον οὕτως. ἐλάνθανε  
 δὲ τὴν Σαλώμην οὕτε πρῶτον ἢ διάνοια αὐτῶν ἐπὶ  
 τοιοῖσδε ὠρμημένων οὕτε ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦδε<sup>4</sup> χρῆσθαι  
 οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο αὐτῇ<sup>5</sup> πάντα δὲ ἀνίχνευέ τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> μισῶντος Ἡρώδου Aldrich ap. Hudson : μισῶν codd.

<sup>2</sup> αὐταῖς WE.

<sup>3</sup> ei PWE : οὐ (in ras. A) AM. <sup>4</sup> τοιοῦδε om. P.

<sup>5</sup> ed. pr. : αὐτῇ P : αὐτῇ rell. E. (neque tunc quando se-  
 cretas machinationes construebant Lat.).

<sup>a</sup> Cf. §§ 46 ff. and B.J. i. 568, 571, which indicate that

was courted in return, for Antipater had very cleverly  
 enmeshed him and had formed the women into a  
 band to deal with him. Pheroras, indeed, had be-  
 come a slave to his wife and her mother and sister,  
 even though he hated these creatures because of  
 their arrogance toward his virgin daughters.<sup>a</sup> Never-  
 theless he put up with them and he could do nothing  
 without these women, who got round the poor man  
 and in all things loyally agreed to act together in har-  
 mony, so that Antipater had them completely under  
 his control both through his own efforts and through  
 his mother, for these four women<sup>b</sup> expressed the same  
 opinions. And the differences that arose between  
 Pheroras and Antipater were over trifling matters,  
 but a check to their common activity was provided by  
 the king's sister, who for a long while had been observ-  
 ing all that went on, and knowing that their friend-  
 liness to one another was designed to injure Herod,  
 was quite prepared to inform against them. And  
 finding that their friendship was hateful to the king,  
 they schemed to keep their meetings from being known  
 and to make a show of hating and reviling each other  
 whenever there was an opportunity, especially when  
 Herod was present or any who were likely to report  
 to him ; but secretly they made their friendly under-  
 standing even stronger. This was the course they  
 took. But Salome was not unaware of these things,  
 neither at first when it was their intention to under-  
 take them nor when they were not far from acting  
 upon their intention.<sup>c</sup> She ferreted out all these

Salome  
 opposes  
 them.

Pheroras' wife insulted Herod's two daughters, Salome and  
 Roxana, and that it was Herod who hated her (or them) for  
 this reason. The text here may be corrupt ; cf. critical note.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 568 ff. The women are not named.

<sup>c</sup> Text and meaning unclear.

πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν μειζόνως ἐκδεινοῦσα<sup>1</sup> ἀπεσή-  
μαινεν, συνόδους τε κρυπτάς καὶ πότους βουλευ-  
τήριά τε ἀφανῶς κατεσκευασμένα, ὧν μὴ ἐπ' ὀ-  
λέθρῳ τῷ ἐκείνου συντιθεμένων κὰν πεφανερῶσθαι  
39 μὴ κεκωλύσθαι. νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐκ μὲν<sup>2</sup> τοῦ προὔπτου  
διαφόρους καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῇ ἀλλήλων  
λέγοντας, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν εὐνοίαν  
ἀνατιθεμένους, καὶ ὅποτε ἀλλήλοις συμμονωθεῖεν  
φίλια πράσσειν μὴ ἀπηλλαγμένους, ὁμολογεῖν πολε-  
μεῖν πρὸς οὓς λανθάνειν χρώμενοι εὐνοία τῇ ἀλλή-  
40 λων ἐσπουδάκοιεν. καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτ' ἀνίχνευέ τε καὶ  
ἀκριβῶς<sup>3</sup> συντυγχάνουσα<sup>4</sup> τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἀνέφερε  
συνιέντι μὲν ἤδη τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ, εἰς δὲ τὸ  
πράσσειν οὐ διεκινεῖτο<sup>5</sup> ὑπονοιῶν καθισταμένων<sup>6</sup>  
41 διαβολαῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς. καὶ ἦν γὰρ μόριόν τι  
Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπ' ἐξακριβώσει μέγα φρο-  
νοῦν τοῦ πατρίου καὶ νόμων<sup>7</sup> οἷς χαίρει<sup>8</sup> τὸ θεῖον  
προσποιοῦμενον,<sup>9</sup> οἷς ὑπήκτο ἡ γυναικωνίτις,  
Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῖ<sup>10</sup> δυνάμενοι<sup>11</sup> μάλιστα  
πράσσειν<sup>12</sup> προμηθεῖς, κὰκ τοῦ προὔπτου εἰς τὸ  
42 πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπηρμένοι. παντὸς γούν

<sup>1</sup> ἐκδηλοῦσα MWE et in marg. A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ μὲν Niese: μὲν ἐκ codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἀκριβῶν PA<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> τυγχάνουσα PA<sup>1</sup>W.

<sup>5</sup> πράσσειν οὐ διεκινεῖτο coniecti: θαρσεῖν οὐ διακενῆς PAM;  
θαρσεῖν οὐ διακεμένης W: θαρσεῖν οὐ διακεμένῳ E et in marg.  
AM: ad audendum aliquid licet excitatus esset Lat.

<sup>6</sup> ὑπονοιῶν καθισταμένῳ P.

<sup>7</sup> τοῦ πατρίου νόμου WE Lat.

<sup>8</sup> οἷς χαίρει} καὶ γεραίρειν con. Holwerda.

<sup>9</sup> A<sup>1</sup>: περιποιουμένων M: προσποιοιουμένων rell.: simulan-  
tium Lat.

<sup>10</sup> βασιλεῖσι P teste Hudson.

things and revealed them to her brother, making them worse in the retelling by mentioning the secret meetings and drinking-bouts and the councils privately arranged, which, she said, would not have been kept from general knowledge if they had not been contrived to destroy him. These men, who on the surface were in disagreement and spoke injuriously of one another on all occasions, were, she said, really concealing their friendship from public view and whenever they were alone together acted as friends without any differences and were agreed to fight against those from whom they had taken pains to conceal the goodwill that they felt toward one another. And these things Salome ferreted out and went to her brother to report them to him in detail, but though he had already found them out for himself in great part, he was not roused to action<sup>a</sup> because of the suspicions that he entertained about his sister's charges. There was also a group of Jews priding itself on its adherence to ancestral custom and claiming to observe the laws of which the Deity approves, and by these men, called Pharisees, the women (of the court) were ruled. These men were able to help the king greatly because of their foresight,<sup>b</sup> and yet they were obviously intent upon combating and injuring him. At least when the

Pharisees  
refuse to  
swear  
allegiance;  
Herod slays  
some of  
them.

<sup>a</sup> mss. "he was without confidence (in the matter)"; cf. critical note.

<sup>b</sup> Or "prediction"; cf. *Ant.* xv. 3 f. Pharisees and Essenes appear to be confused here. This would be strange for Josephus, who was himself a Pharisee, and the account may derive from his source (Nicolas was hostile toward the Pharisees). On the Essenes and Herod cf. *Ant.* xv. 371 ff.

<sup>11</sup> δυναμένῳ P: δυναμένων AM.

<sup>12</sup> ἀντιπράσσειν WE: afferre praesidium Lat.



τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι' ὄρκων ἢ μὴν εὐνοήσῃν<sup>1</sup> Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν, οἶδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ὤμοσαν ὄντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι, καὶ αὐτοὺς βασιλέως ζημιώσαντος χρήμασιν ἢ Φε-  
 43 ρώρου γυνή τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰσφέρει. οἱ δὲ ἀμειβόμενοι τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῆς (πρόγνωσιν δὲ ἐπεπίστευντο ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ θεοῦ) προὔλεγον, ὡς Ἑρώδῃ μὲν καταπαύσεως ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐψηφισμένης αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει τῷ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας εἰς τε ἐκείνην περιηξούσης καὶ Φερώ-  
 44 ραν παῖδας τε οἱ εἶεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ τότε (οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανε τὴν Σαλώμην) ἐξάγγελτα βασιλεῖ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διαφθειροῦν τινας. καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν τε Φαρισαίων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους ἀναιρεῖ καὶ Βαγῶαν τὸν εὐνοῦχον Κάρων τέ τινα<sup>2</sup> τῶν τότε προὔχοντα ἀρετῇ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς καὶ παιδικὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ. κτείνει δὲ καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι τοῦ οἰκείου συνεισθῆκει οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἔλεγεν. ἦρτο δὲ ὁ Βαγῶας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς πατὴρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης ὀνομασθησόμενος τοῦ ἐπικατασταθησομένου προρρήσει βασιλέως· κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὰ πάντ' εἶναι, παρέξοντος αὐτῷ γάμου τε ἰσχὺν καὶ παιδιώσεως τέκνων γνησίων.

45 (iii. 1) Ἑρώδης δὲ κολάσας τῶν Φαρισαίων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐλληλεγμένους, συνέδριόν τε ποιεῖται τῶν φίλων καὶ κατηγορίαν τῆς Φερώρου γυναικός, τὴν τε ὕβριν τῶν παρθένων τῇ τόλμῃ τῆς γυναικός

<sup>1</sup> Niese: εὐνοῆσαι codd.<sup>2</sup> τινα om. AMWE.<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xv. 370 f., where the Pharisees and Essenes are excused from the oath.

whole Jewish people affirmed by an oath that it would be loyal to Caesar and to the king's government, these men, over six thousand in number, refused to take this oath, and when the king punished them with a fine, Pheroras' wife paid the fine for them.<sup>a</sup> In return for her friendliness they foretold—for they were believed to have foreknowledge of things through God's appearances to them—that by God's decree Herod's throne would be taken from him, both from himself and his descendants, and the royal power would fall to her and Pheroras and to any children that they might have. These things, which did not remain unknown to Salome, were reported to the king, as was the news that the Pharisees had corrupted some of the people at court. And the king put to death those of the Pharisees who were most to blame and the eunuch Bagoas and a certain Karos, who was outstanding among his contemporaries for his surpassing beauty and was loved by the king. He also killed all those of his household who approved of what the Pharisee said. Now Bagoas had been carried away by their assurance that he would be called the father and benefactor of him who would some day be set over the people with the title of king, for all the power would belong to him and he would give Bagoas the ability to marry and to beget children of his own.<sup>b</sup>

(iii. 1)<sup>c</sup> After punishing the Pharisees who had been convicted of these charges, Herod held a council of his friends and made accusations against Pheroras' wife. To this woman's audacity he ascribed the out-

Herod's  
accusations  
against  
Pheroras'  
wife.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning is uncertain. A messianic significance has been suggested; cf. *Isa.* lvi. 1-5.<sup>c</sup> With this chap. cf. *B.J.* i. 571-581, a much briefer account.

ἀνατιθείς, καὶ ἔγκλημα ταύτην τὴν<sup>1</sup> ἀτιμίαν αὐτῷ  
 47 ποιούμενος, ὥστε ἀγνωστοθετεῖν στάσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ<sup>2</sup> πόλεμον ἐκ φύσεως<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 λόγῳ<sup>4</sup> καὶ δι' ἔργων ὅποσα δύναίτο, τὴν τε διάλυσιν  
 τῆς ζημίας τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβληθείσης τέλεσι δια-  
 φευκθῆναι τοῖς ἐκείνης, τῶν τε νῦν πεπραγμένων  
 48 οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐ μετ' αὐτῆς. "ἀνθ' ὧν, ὦ Φερώρα,  
 καλῶς εἶχεν<sup>5</sup> οὐ δεήσει οὐδὲ γνωμῶν εἰσηγήσεως  
 τῶν ἐμῶν αὐτοκέλευστον ἀποπέμπεσθαι γυναῖκα  
 ταύτην ὡς πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς μέ σοι αἰτίαν ἐσο-  
 μένην καὶ νῦν, εἶπερ ἀντιποιῆ συγγενείας τῆς  
 ἐμῆς, ἀπέπασθαι τήνδε τὴν γαμετὴν· μενεῖς γὰρ  
 οὕτως ἐμὸς<sup>6</sup> ἀδελφός τε καὶ στέργειν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγ-  
 49 μένος." Φερώρας δὲ καίπερ λόγων ἀρετῇ περι-  
 ωθούμενος οὔτε συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 ἔλεγε κινήσειν δίκαιον οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν πρὸς τὴν  
 γαμετὴν εὐνοιών, αἰρεῖσθαι τε πρότερον θανεῖν<sup>7</sup> ἢ  
 50 ζῶν τολμᾶν ἀπεστερηῆσθαι γυναικὸς αὐτῷ κεχαρισ-  
 μένης. Ἡρώδης δὲ Φερώρα μὲν ὑπερεβάλλετο τὴν  
 ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργὴν καίπερ ἂν ἠδονῆ<sup>8</sup> τιμωρίαν εἰσ-  
 πεπραγμένος, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ ἀπέειπε καὶ μητρὶ τῇ  
 ἐκείνου Φερώρα τε μὴ ὀμιλεῖν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν  
 51 φυλάσσεσθαι τὸ εἰς ταῦτόν<sup>9</sup> συνεσόμενον. οἱ δ'  
 ὠμολόγουν μὲν, συνῆσαν δὲ ἢ καιρὸς καὶ συνεκώ-  
 μαζον Φερώρας καὶ Ἀντιπάτρος. ἐφοῖτα δὲ λόγος  
 καὶ ὀμιλεῖν<sup>10</sup> Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν Φερώρου γυναῖκα,

<sup>1</sup> τὴν ins. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ex Lat. ins. Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκ φύσεως] ἐμφύλιον con. Hudson.

<sup>4</sup> ed. pr.: λόγων codd.

<sup>5</sup> ἔχειν A<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>WE: ἔχει Naber.

<sup>6</sup> ἐμὸς om. PAM. E: θανεῖσθαι codd.

<sup>8</sup> ἂν ἠδονῆ con. Richards et Shutt: ἀνῆδονον codd.

rageous treatment of the virgins,<sup>a</sup> and made the dis-  
 honour thereby done him a ground of complaint,  
 charging that like a promoter of games she had stirred  
 up strife between him and his brother and had done  
 everything in her power by word and deed to bring  
 about this unnatural war. The fine that had been  
 imposed by him (on the Pharisees) had been evaded,  
 thanks to the payments that she had made, and  
 nothing was now being done without her help.  
 "Therefore, Pheroras, it would be a good thing if  
 without any request or expression of opinion from  
 me but of your own accord you were to send this  
 woman away as likely to be the cause of war between  
 you and me. And if you really claim kinship with  
 me, give up your wife, for in that way you will remain  
 my brother and will not change in your affection for  
 me." But Pheroras, though greatly moved by the  
 force of these words, said that it would not be right  
 for him to give up any part either of his attachment  
 to his brother or of his devotion to his wife and that  
 he would prefer death rather than endure to live  
 without a wife so dear to him. Herod controlled his  
 anger at Pheroras for this response though he would  
 gladly have taken retaliatory action,<sup>b</sup> but he forbade  
 Antipater and his mother to associate with Pheroras  
 and ordered them to see to it that the women  
 should not meet. They agreed to this, to be sure,  
 but whenever there was an opportunity, Pheroras  
 and Antipater met and enjoyed a revel together.  
 And a rumour was current that Pheroras' wife was

<sup>a</sup> Cf. above, § 34.

<sup>b</sup> ἀνῆδονον (cf. critical note) is a rare word which does not  
 fit the context.

<sup>9</sup> E: αὐτόν codd. <sup>10</sup> καὶ ὀμιλεῖν E: ὀμιλεῖν καὶ codd.

συμπρασσοῦσης αὐτοῖς τὰ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου μητρός.

- 52 (2) Ὑφορώμενος δὲ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ εἰς πλείον προχωροῖη<sup>1</sup> τὰ τοῦ μίσους ἐπ' αὐτῷ, γράφει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλους, κελεύων ἐπιστέλλειν Ἡρώδῃ πέμπειν ἢ τάχος Ἀντίπατρον ὡς  
53 Καίσαρα. οὐ γενομένου ἐπεμπεν Ἡρώδης Ἀντίπατρον,<sup>2</sup> δῶρα συνεκέμψας ἀξιολογώτατα καὶ διαθήκην ἐν ἧ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἀπεδείκνυε βασιλέα, φθάσαντος δὲ τελευτᾶν, Ἡρώδην τὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς υἱὸν αὐτῷ γεγεννημένον.  
54 συνεξορμᾷ δ' Ἀντιπάλτρω καὶ Σύλλαιος ὁ Ἄραβ, μηδὲν ὦν προσέταξε Καίσαρ διαπεπραγμένος· καὶ Ἀντίπατρος αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος περὶ ὧν πρότερον Νικόλαος. κατηγορεῖτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀρέτα Σύλλαιος ὡς πολλοὺς ἀπεκτονῶς τῶν ἐν Πέτρα ἀξιολόγων παρὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα Σόαιμον<sup>3</sup> ἄνδρα τῇ ἐς πάντα ἀρετῇ τιμᾶσθαι δικαιοτάτον, ἀνηρηκέναι δὲ καὶ Φάβατον  
55 Καίσαρος δοῦλον. καὶ Σύλλαιος αἰτίαν εἶχεν ἐκ τοιῶνδε ἐγκλημάτων· Κόρινθος ἦν Ἡρώδου σωματοφύλαξ τοῦ βασιλέως μάλιστα πιστευόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τοῦτον πείθει Σύλλαιος ἐπὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις Ἡρώδην ἀποκτείνειν, καὶ ὑπέσχετο. μαθὼν οὖν Φάβατος Συλλαίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρηκότος  
56 διηγείται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ τὸν<sup>4</sup> Κόρινθον βασανίζει ἠλλαβῶν καὶ πάντα ἀνάψυστα ἦν αὐτῷ.

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: προχωροῖεν codd.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς . . . Ἀντίπατρον om. P Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: Σόνδον PA<sup>1</sup> Lat.: Σόεμον MWE et A marg.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν τε PAM.

actually intimate with Antipater and that Antipater's mother helped to bring them together.

- (2) Since he regarded his father with suspicion and was fearful that his hatred of him might grow stronger, he wrote to his friends in Rome, requesting them to instruct Herod to send Antipater to Caesar as quickly as possible. This was done,<sup>a</sup> and Herod sent Antipater, and along with him sent off very valuable presents and also a will in which he designated Antipater as his successor on the throne; in the event of his dying first, Herod, the son born to him by the high priest's daughter,<sup>b</sup> was to be king. And Syllaesus the Arab, who had not carried out any of Caesar's orders, sailed at the same time as Antipater. And Antipater accused him before Caesar of the same crimes that Nicolas had accused him of earlier. Syllaesus was also accused by Aretas<sup>c</sup> of having killed many of the notable men of Petra against his (Aretas') will, especially Soaemus,<sup>d</sup> a man most deserving of esteem for his complete virtue, and of having done away with Fabatus, one of Caesar's slaves. Syllaesus was also accused on the following charges. Herod had a bodyguard named Corinthus, who was fully trusted by the king. With an offer of large sums of money Syllaesus sought to persuade this man to kill Herod, and this he undertook to do. Now when Fabatus learned of this from Syllaesus' own mouth, he reported it to the king. Herod thereupon arrested Corinthus and put him to the torture, and thus the whole plot was disclosed

Antipater designated Herod's successor.

Antipater accuses Syllaesus before Caesar.

The plots against Herod disclosed.

<sup>a</sup> 5 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 14 note. With the account in §§ 52 ff. cf. *B.J.* i. 573 ff.

<sup>c</sup> See *Ant.* xvi. 294 note.

<sup>d</sup> In *B.J.* i. 574 he is described as "one of the most powerful personages in Petra."

συλλαμβάνει δὲ καὶ δύο ἑτέρου<sup>1</sup> Ἄραβας καταγορεύσει τῇ Κορίνθου πειθόμενος,<sup>2</sup> τὸν μὲν φύλαρχον ὄντα τὸν δὲ Συλλαίου φίλον. οἱ καὶ αὐτοὶ (βασανίζει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς) ὠμολόγουν ὅτι παρείεν ἐξοτρύνοντες μὴ μαλακίζεσθαι Κόρινθον, καὶ εἴ που δεήσειε καὶ συγχειουρήσοντες αὐτῷ τὸν φόνον. καὶ Σατορνίνος, δηλώσεως αὐτῷ πάντων ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου γενομένης, εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς.

58 (3) Φερώραν δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐμμένοντα εὐνοία τῆς γυναικός, ἀναχωρεῖν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδης κελεύει. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀπήρε, πολλὰ ὁμόσας οὐ πρότερον ἤξειν ἢ πύθοιτο Ἡρώδην τετελευτηκότα, ὥστε καὶ νοσήσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιωθείς ἤκειν ἐπὶ τινων πιστεύσεσιν<sup>3</sup> ἐντολῶν, ὡς<sup>4</sup> ἤμελλε<sup>5</sup> τελευτᾶν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ ὄρκου. οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης γε μιμεῖται τὸ<sup>6</sup> ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἐκείνου γνώμην προαποφηνάμενον ἣν ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἤκειν ὡς τὸν Φερώραν, ἐπειδὴ ὕστερον ἄρχεται νοσεῖν, καὶ μετακλήσεως αὐτῷ μὴ γενομένης· θανόντα δὲ<sup>7</sup> περιστείλας ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀγόμενος ταφῆς ἕξιον, καὶ πένθος μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ προέθετο.

60 τοῦτο Ἀντιπάτρῳ καίτοι γε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πεπλευκότι κακῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχή, τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας αὐτὸν τινυμένου θεοῦ. διηγῆσομαι δὲ τὸν πάντα περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον, παράδειγμα τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ γενησόμενον<sup>8</sup> τοῦ ἀρετῇ πολιτεύσοντος<sup>9</sup> ἐπὶ πᾶσιν.

<sup>1</sup> δύο ἑτέρου<sup>1</sup> ex B.J. con. Hudson: δευτέρους codd. Lat.  
<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. Hudson: πειθόμενος codd.

<sup>3</sup> πιστεύσιν P.

<sup>4</sup> Hudson: ἢ P: ἢ AM: ὡν W: si Lat.: εἰ Niese, Naber.  
<sup>5</sup> W: μέλλοι rell.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: τὴν codd. E.  
<sup>7</sup> δὲ E: om. codd.

to him. He also arrested two other Arabs on the strength of Corinthus' denunciation, one being a tribal chief, the other a friend of Syllaecus.<sup>a</sup> These too confessed—for the king put them to the torture—that they had come to urge Corinthus not to show weakness, saying that if it should be necessary, they would lend a hand in the murder. And when Saturninus was informed of all this by Herod, he sent them up to Rome.

(3) As for Pheroras, since he stubbornly persisted in his affection for his wife, Herod ordered him to retire to his own territory. So he gladly went off to his tetrarchy, swearing a mighty oath that he would not come back until he should hear of Herod's death, so that even when the king became ill and Pheroras was asked to return in order to receive certain confidential instructions, since it was thought that the king was about to die, he refused to do so out of respect for his oath. Herod, however, did not follow his example in this matter and state his resolve in advance, but came to Pheroras when his brother later became ill, even though he had not been sent for by him. And when Pheroras died, he had him prepared for burial and brought to Jerusalem, where he provided a burial-place and decreed solemn mourning for him. This proved to be the beginning of Antipater's misfortunes even though he had sailed to Rome, for God was punishing him for the murder of his brothers. I shall relate the whole story of this in order that it may be an example and warning to mankind to practise virtue in all circumstances.

Pheroras dismissed to his tetrarchy.

His death.

<sup>a</sup> On Syllaecus cf. especially *Ant.* xvi. 335-353.

<sup>8</sup> γένει ἐσόμενον AMW.

<sup>9</sup> Niese: πολιτεύσαντος P: πολιτεύεσθαι AMW.



- 61 (iv. 1) Ἐπειδὴ Φερώρας τελευτᾶ ταφαί τε<sup>1</sup> ἐγε-  
γόνεισαν αὐτοῦ, ἀπελεύθεροι δύο τῶν Φερώρα  
τιμίων προσελθόντες<sup>2</sup> Ἡρώδῃ ἠξίου μὴ ἀνεκδί-  
κητον καταλιπεῖν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὸν νεκρόν, ἀλλὰ  
ζήτησιν ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀλόγου τε καὶ δυστυχοῦς  
62 μεταστάσεως. τοῦ δ' ἐπιστραφέντος τοῖς λόγοις  
(πιστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει), δειπνήσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἔλεγον παρὰ  
τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς νόσου, φάρμακον δὲ  
προσκομισθὲν ἐν βρώματι μὴ πρότερον εἰωθότι  
ἐμφαγόντα ὑπὸ τούτου τελευτήσαι· κομιστὸν μὲντοι  
γενέσθαι τὸ φάρμακον ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀρα-  
βίας, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ προσποιήσεσιν ἐρώτων (φίλτρον  
γὰρ δὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ εἶναι), τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐπὶ τῇ  
63 Φερώρου τελευτῇ. φαρμακιστόταται δὲ εἰσι γυναι-  
κῶν αἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας· ἥ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεκάλουν καὶ  
τῆς Συλλαίου ἐρωμένης ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ὠμολόγητο  
εἶναι φίλη, πείσουσαί τε αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πράσει τοῦ  
φαρμάκου εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐληλύθεσαν ἢ τε μήτηρ  
τῆς τοῦ Φερώρου γυναικὸς καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή, καὶ  
ἐπανῆκον αὐτὴν ἀγόμεναι τοῦ δείπνου πρότερον  
64 ἡμέρα μιᾶ. ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν λόγων  
παροξυνθεὶς δούλας τε ἐβασάνιζε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ  
τινας ἐλευθέρας, καὶ ὄντος ἀφανοῦς τοῦ πράγματος  
διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐξειπεῖν, τελευταία τις περιουσῶν  
αὐτῆς τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἄλλο μὲν ἔφη οὐδέν, θεὸν δ'  
ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοιαῖσδε αἰκίαις δώσει<sup>3</sup> περιβαλεῖν  
τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου μητέρα, κακῶν τῶν ἐπεχόντων  
65 αἰτίαν πᾶσιν γενομένην. ταῦτα εἰς ἐπίτασιν<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ταφαί τε ex Lat. Hudson: ταφνίται aut ταφνήται codd.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ ante προσελθόντες om. Lat. Hudson.

(iv. 1)<sup>a</sup> When Pheroras was dead and buried, two of <sup>Discovery</sup> his freedmen, who had been highly valued by him, <sup>of</sup> Antipater's <sup>intrigues.</sup> came to Herod and begged him not to leave his brother's death unavenged but to hold an inquiry into his unaccountable and unhappy demise. When Herod showed interest in their statements—for they seemed trustworthy—they said that Pheroras had dined with his wife the day before he fell ill and had eaten a drug served to him in a kind of food to which he was not accustomed, and died of it. This drug, moreover, had been brought by a woman from Arabia, ostensibly to stimulate his erotic feeling—it was called a love-potion—, but in reality to kill him. Now the women of Arabia are the most skilful of all in the use of drugs, and the woman whom they accused of this act was admitted to be a very close friend of Syllaueus' mistress. To persuade her to sell the drug both the mother and the sister of Pheroras' wife had gone to that region and had returned, bringing her along, on the day before the dinner. Greatly angered by these statements, the king put to the torture the women's slaves and some of their freedwomen, and the matter remained obscure because no one would speak out. But at last one of the women, for whom the pain was too great, gave in, and while she said nothing else, called upon God to send the same torments upon Antipater's mother,<sup>b</sup> who was, she said, the cause of the evils that had fallen upon all of them. This made Herod even more

<sup>a</sup> Chap. iv = *B.J.* i. 582-607.

<sup>b</sup> Doris; cf. *Ant.* xiv. 300.

<sup>3</sup> δώσει om. E, fort. recte.

<sup>4</sup> Hudson cum ed. pr. ut vid.: ἐπίτασιν codd.: ἐξέτασιν con. Hudson,

\*Ἡρώδην ἄγει, καὶ τὰ πάντα βασάνοις τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνάπυστα ἦν, οἳ τε κῶμοι καὶ κρυπταὶ σύνοδοι καὶ δὴ καὶ λόγων πρὸς μόνον τὸν υἱὸν εἰρημένον ἐξοίσεις πρὸς τὰς Φερώρου γυναῖκας (ἦν δὲ ταλάντων ἑκατὸν δωρεὰς ἐπικρύπτεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ μῆ<sup>1</sup> φράζειν πρὸς Φερώραν τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ κέλευσις  
66 ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός), μίσός τε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ὄλοφυρμοὶ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῦ πατρὸς βίου<sup>2</sup> ἐξηγμένου, καὶ αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐλάσσοις τοῦ γήρως ἐπικειμένου, ὡς μηδ<sup>3</sup> ἂν ἐλθοῦσαν τὴν βασιλείαν ὁμοίως εὐφραναί ποτ<sup>4</sup> αὐτόν· παρατρέφεσθαι τε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφῶν παῖδας, οὐδαμῶς ἀδεῆ τὴν ἐλπίδα παρ-  
67 εχομένους<sup>5</sup> τὰσφαλοῦς· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι πάσχειν αὐτόν,<sup>4</sup> ἀδελφῷ μᾶλλον ἢ παιδὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κελεύειν τὴν ἀρχὴν δίδοσθαι. ὡμότητά τε πολλὴν κατηγορεῖ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τῶν υἱέων, φόβῳ τε μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἄπτοιτο ἤδη τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἄρασθαι<sup>5</sup> τέχνην ἐπινοῆσαι, Φερώραν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τετραρχίας.

68 (2) Ταῦτα (συνῆδεν γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις τῆς ἀδελφῆς) καὶ πολὺ τοῦ μὴ ἀπιστίαν εἶναι ὑποπτεῦσθαι συνῆγεν<sup>6</sup> αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κρατυνάμενος ἐπὶ κακίᾳ τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν Δῶριν τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, πάντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμον ταλάντων πολλῶν ὄντα ἀφελόμενος ἔπειτα αὐτὴν ἀποπέμπεται, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ μῆ ex B.J. (ἐπὶ τῷ μῆ διαλέγεσθαι Φερώρα) ins. Hudson. <sup>2</sup> ed. pr.: βιοῦν codd. <sup>3</sup> παρεχομένου PAM.

<sup>4</sup> πάσχειν αὐτόν συμβαίη cum E Hudson et Naber, sed cf. Schmidt, p. 429. <sup>5</sup> ἀπᾶραι con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>6</sup> συνῆγεν αὐταῖς Hudson.

<sup>7</sup> δὲ ins. E.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "This led Herod to recognition (of the truth)."

vehement,<sup>a</sup> and by means of torture he caused the women to bring the whole story to light. They spoke of the revelry and the secret meetings and, what was more, the disclosure to Pheroras' women<sup>b</sup> of things said (by Herod) only to his son—for Herod had instructed Antipater to conceal the gift of one hundred talents made on condition that he would not speak to Pheroras.<sup>c</sup> They also told of Antipater's hatred of his father and how he had lamented to his mother that his father was dragging out his life too long and that he himself was close to being quite an old man, so that even if the royal power came to him, he would still not be able to enjoy it. He also complained that many of his brothers and brothers' children were being groomed for the throne along with himself and left him no secure hope of safely obtaining it. And even now, he had said, if he should suffer death, Herod would direct the royal power to be given to his brother<sup>d</sup> rather than to his son. He also accused the king of great cruelty and of the slaughter of his sons; it was out of fear that Herod would attack them too that he and Pheroras had devised a plan (of escape), and he had departed for Rome, and Pheroras for his own tetrarchy.

(2) Since these statements agreed with those of his sister, they contributed greatly to removing Herod's suspicions of their credibility. And being convinced that Antipater's mother Doris was involved in his wickedness, the king took from her all her finery, which was worth many talents, and then

<sup>b</sup> His wife, mother, and sister; cf. B.J. i. 584-585.

<sup>c</sup> Inserted in part from B.J. i. 589; cf. critical note.

<sup>d</sup> Pheroras. But cf. B.J. i. 588, where Antipater complains that he had made Herod (Philip), son of Mariamme (II), his heir.

69 ταῖς Φερώρου γυναιξὶν φιλίαν ἐσπέισατο. μάλιστα δ' ἐξώτρυνεν εἰς ὀργὴν κατὰ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σαμαρείτης ἀνὴρ Ἀντίπατρος ἐπιτροπεύων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντίπατρον, ἄλλα τε αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις κατειπὼν καὶ ὅτι παρασκευασάμενος φάρμακον θανάσιμον δοίη Φερώρα, κελεύσας παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ, ἵν' ὡς πλείστον ἀφεστήκοι τῶν ἐν τοιοῦτοις ὑποτοπασμῶν, τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι.

70 καὶ κομίσει μὲν Ἀντίφιλον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸ φάρμακον, ἓνα τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου φίλων, σταλῆναι δὲ ὡς Φερώραν διὰ Θευδιῶνος μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως παιδός, καὶ οὕτως ἔλθειν τὸ φάρμακον εἰς τὴν γυναικα τὴν Φερώρου, δόντος

71 φυλάσσειν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς. ἥ δὲ ὠμολόγει μὲν ἀνακρίναντος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ δραμοῦσα ὡς κομίσειε, ῥίπτει κατὰ τέγουσ ἐαυτήν, οὐ μὴν τελευτᾷ,

72 ἐπὶ πόδας τῆς πτώσεως γενομένης. καὶ οὕτως ἐπεὶ ἀνεκτῆσατο αὐτήν,<sup>1</sup> ἄδειάν τε αὐτῇ ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις μηδὲν ἐπ' ἀφανισμῶ τάληθοῦς τρεπομένη, τρίψεω<sup>2</sup> γε μὴν κακοῖς τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀγνωμονεῖν προθεμένην, ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ὠμοσεν ἥ μὴν ἐρεῖν τὰ πάντα ὅν ἐπράχθη τρόπον, λέγουσα μὲν, ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀληθῆ

73 τὰ πάντα. “κεκόμισται γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ φάρμακον ὑπ' Ἀντιφίλου, ἀδελφός δ' ἐκείνῳ ἰατρός ὢν ἐπόρισε, καὶ Θευδιῶνος ὡς ἡμᾶς κομίσαντος ἐφύλασσαν<sup>3</sup> αὐτή, παρὰ Φερώρου λαβοῦσα

74 ἐπὶ σὲ ἤτοιμασμένον ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου. ἐπεὶ οὖν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὴν P.<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: τρίψεω codd. E: περιέψεω Naber.<sup>3</sup> E<sup>1</sup> Lat.: ἐφύλασσαν codd.

sent her away. He also made peace with Pheroras' women. But the one who most aroused the king's wrath against his son was a Samaritan named Antipater, the agent of the king's son Antipater. Among the other things that he revealed under torture was the fact that Antipater had prepared a fatal drug and had given it to Pheroras with instructions to give it to his father during Antipater's absence from the country in order that he might be removed as far as possible from any suspicion attaching thereto. And the drug had been brought from Egypt by Antiphilus, one of Antipater's friends, and had been sent to Pheroras through Theudion, the maternal uncle of Antipater the king's son, and in this way the drug had come to Pheroras' wife, for her husband had given it to her to keep. This the woman confessed when the king questioned her, and running as if to bring (the drug), threw herself from the roof. She did not die, however, because she fell upon her feet. Then, when Herod had revived her,<sup>a</sup> he promised immunity for her and her household if she did not resort to concealing any of the truth, but said that he would crush her with the most extreme torture if she preferred to be defiant. Thereupon she promised on oath that she would tell how everything had been done, and indeed, as most men assert, she spoke the truth in everything. “The drug was brought from Egypt by Antiphilus, having been furnished him by his brother, who is a physician, and Theudion brought it to us. After it was prepared by Antipater to be used against you, I received it from Pheroras, and kept it myself. Now when Pheroras became ill, and

<sup>a</sup> Or “when she had recovered herself” (αὐτήν). But cf. B.J. i. 594.

## JOSEPHUS

ἐνόσει Φερώρας καὶ ἐθεράπευες αὐτὸν ἀφικόμενος, ὄρων σου τὴν εὐνοίαν ἢ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐχρῶ, ἐπεκλάσθη τε τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ μετακαλέσας με, ὦ γυναῖ, φησὶν, περιώδυσέ με Ἀντίπατρος ἐπὶ πατρὶ μὲν τῷ αὐτοῦ, ἀδελφῷ δὲ τῷ ἐμῷ, θανάσιμόν τε γνώμην συνθεῖς καὶ φάρμακον ὃ διακονήσοιτο  
 75 αὐτῇ πεπορισμένος. νῦν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ὃ τε ἀδελφὸς οὐδὲν ἀρετῇ πρότερον ἢ ἐχρήτο περὶ ἐμέ<sup>1</sup> ὑφαιρῶν ὥπται ἐμέ τε ἐλπίς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπέσσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> τοῦ βίου, φέρε, μὴ γνώμη ἀδελφοκτόνῳ ἀποτισοίμην<sup>3</sup> προπάτορας τοῦς ἐμαυτοῦ, τὸ φάρμακον καίειν τε ἐμοῦ βλέποντος.<sup>4</sup> κομίσασάν τε οὐδὲν εἰς ἀνα-  
 76 βολὰς πράσσειν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὰς ἐπιστολάς.<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὸ μὲν πλείστον καύσασαν τοῦ φαρμάκου τυχεῖν, ὑπολιπέσθαι δὲ ὀλίγον, ἵνα εἰ Φερώρου μεταστάντος περιέποι κακῶς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς, μεθίστατο αὐτῷ<sup>5</sup>  
 77 διάδρασιν ποιουμένη τῶν ἀναγκῶν. ταῦτα εἰπούσα τό τε φάρμακον καὶ τὴν πυξίδα εἰς τὸ μέσον παρέηγεν. καὶ ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἀντιφίλου ἕτερος καὶ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀνάγκαις τε καὶ βασάνων σφοδρότητι ταῦτα  
 78 ἔλεγον καὶ ἐγνώριζον τὴν πυξίδα. κατηγορεῖτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἢ θυγάτηρ, γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς πάντων ἴστωρ τούτων γενομένη κρύπτειν τε<sup>6</sup> προθυμηθεῖσα αὐτά. καὶ διὰ τὰδε Ἡρώδης ἐκείνην τε ἐξέβαλε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἐξήλευσε τῶν διαθηκῶν, εἰς τὸ βασιλεύσαι μεμνημένων ἐκείνου,<sup>7</sup> καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφείλετο Σίμωνα

<sup>1</sup> E: ἐμοῦ codd.<sup>2</sup> ἀπελεύσεσθαι Naber.<sup>3</sup> ἀφικόμην πρὸς ex Lat. (ad . . . abierim) Herwerden, Richards et Shutt.<sup>4</sup> ἐπιτολάς AMWE: epistolam Lat.<sup>5</sup> αὐτῷ om. W. <sup>6</sup> τε add. E.

you came and took care of him, he saw how kindly you felt toward him, and was shaken in spirit. So he sent for me and said, 'My dear wife, Antipater has made a fool of me in regard to his own father, who is also my brother, by making plans for his death and providing the drug to serve that purpose. But now that my brother is seen to be no less honourable in his treatment of me than before, and as I do not expect to live much longer, let me not bring down the vengeance of my forefathers upon myself<sup>a</sup> through my fratricidal thoughts, but bring the drug and burn it before my eyes.' " So she had brought it and carried out her husband's orders without delay. She managed to burn most of the drug but left a little over in order that, if, after Pheroras' death, the king should treat her badly, she might end her life with this and thus escape torture. Having said this much, she brought out the drug and its box. And another brother of Antiphilus and his mother under great pain and torture said the same things and identified the box. And the high priest's daughter, who was the king's wife, was also accused of having been privy to all these plots and of having been eager to conceal them. For that reason Herod divorced her and struck her son<sup>b</sup> out of his will, for he had been named to the throne. He also took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law Simon,

Marlammé divorced; a new high priest appointed.

<sup>a</sup> Variant (from Latin) "let me not with fratricidal thoughts depart to my forefathers." Cf. critical note; but perhaps ἀπελευσοίμην would be more idiomatic as well as more easily confused with ἀπο(ε)ισοίμην. Cf. also B.J. i. 596 f.

<sup>b</sup> Herod (Philip); see *Ant.* xviii. 109 and Genealogy.

<sup>7</sup> εἰς . . . ἐκείνου Zonaras: εἰς ὃ βασιλεύσοι μετ' αὐτὸν (μενουσῶν P) codd.: in ceteris permanente Lat.



τὸν τοῦ Βοηθοῦ, καθιστᾶ δὲ Μαθθίαν τὸν Θεοφίλου Ἱεροσολυμίτην γένος.

- 79 (3) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Βάθυλλος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀπελεύθερος Ἀντιπάτρου παρῆν, καὶ βασανισθεὶς εὐρίσκεται φάρμακον κομίζων δώσειν<sup>1</sup> τε τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ καὶ Φερώρα, ὡς εἰ τὸ πρότερον μὴ ἄπτοιτο τοῦ βασιλέως, τούτῳ γοῦν μεταχειρίζοντο αὐτόν.
- 80 ἀφίκετο<sup>2</sup> δὲ γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλων τῷ Ἡρώδῃ, γνώμη καὶ ὑπαγορεύσει Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ Ἀρχελαοῦ καὶ Φιλίππου συγκείμενα, ὡς δῆθεν διαβάλλοιεν τε τὸν πατέρα ἐπὶ σφαγῇ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστόβουλον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, δι' οὐκτου δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς<sup>3</sup> λαμβάνοιεν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, οὐχ ὡς ἐφ' ἑτέροις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κἀκείνους προσαπολωλέναι τῆς κλήσεως αὐτῶν
- 81 γινομένης. ταῦτα δὲ μεγάλων μισθῶν οἱ φίλοι τῷ Ἀντιπάλτρω συνέπρασσον. γράφει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀντιπάτρος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς<sup>4</sup> μεγίσταις τῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλλάσσειν<sup>5</sup> φάσκων τὰ μειράκια, τῶν δὲ λόγων<sup>6</sup> τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενος. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ περὶ Σύλλαιον ἡγωνίζετο, καὶ περὶ θεραπείαν τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν ἐγεγόνει, κόσμους τε ἀξιοπρεπεῖς ταλάντων
- 82 ἐώνητο διακοσίων. θαυμάσειε δ' ἄν τις ὅτι τοσοῦτων ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ κατ' αὐτοῦ κεινημένων μηνσὶ πρότερον ἑπτὰ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ δῆλον γένοιτο· αἴτιον δ' ἦν ἢ τε ἀκρίβεια καὶ φυλακὴ τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ μῖσος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἦν ὃς

<sup>1</sup> κομίζων δώσων Naber.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr. Lat.: ἀφίκοιτο codd.

<sup>3</sup> edd.: αὐτοὺς codd. E.

<sup>4</sup> μὲν ταῖς ins. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> Naber: ἀπαλλάσσει codd. E. <sup>6</sup> λόγων om. PAM.

the son of Boethus,<sup>a</sup> and in his place appointed Matthias,<sup>b</sup> the son of Theophilus, a native of Jerusalem.

(3) Meanwhile Bathyllus, Antipater's freedman, came from Rome and when put to torture he was found to have brought a drug to give to Antipater's mother and to Pheroras in order that, if the first drug did not take effect on the king, they might then do away with him by using this one. And from his friends in Rome letters came to Herod that had been composed at the request and prompting of Antipater to accuse Archelaus and Philip of actually slandering their father as the murderer of Aristobulus and Alexander, and of feeling sorry for themselves because they had now been summoned by their father, and this summons was allegedly for no other purpose than that they too should be put to death. These letters Antipater's friends helped him to obtain for great sums of money. Antipater himself also wrote of them to his father, saying that he fully acquitted the young men of the most serious charges, and attributing other statements to their youth. He was then carrying on his contest with Syllaeus and was busy courting influential persons. He had also bought some valuable furnishings for two hundred talents.<sup>c</sup> One may wonder how it was that, though such serious steps had been taken against him in Judaea seven months earlier, nothing of all this came to his knowledge. The reason for this was the careful guarding of the roads and the general hatred of Antipater, for there was no one who was found

Antipater denounce Archelaus and Philip to Herod.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xv. 319-322 and notes; xviii. 136.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. §§ 164-167.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. to cover up his expenditures for the letters, as is explained in *B.J.* i. 605.

προθύμως κινδύνω τῷ αὐτοῦ ποριστῆς τῶν ἐκείνου ἀσφαλειῶν καθίστατο.

- 83 (v. 1) Ἡρώδης δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου γεγραφότος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς τὰ πάντα ὄν χρηῖ διαπεπραγμένους τρόπον ἧξι ἐν τάχει, ἐπικρυψάμενος τὴν ὀργὴν ἀντεπετίθει, κελεύων μὴ βραδύνειν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν μὴ καὶ τι πάσχοι παρὰ τὴν ἐκδημίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἅμα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ κατηγορῶν πρὸς<sup>2</sup> ὀλίγον, καταθήσεται μέμψεις ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὰς πρὸς αὐτὴν,
- 84 ὁπότε ἐκείνος ἀφίκοιτο· παντὶ τε τρόπῳ φιλότητα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνεδείκνυτο, δεδιὼς μὴ καὶ τι ὑποτοπήσας ὑπερβάλλοιτο μὲν ὁδοῦς τὰς πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ δὲ Ῥώμῃ ἐνδαιτώμενος<sup>3</sup> ἐφεδρεῖοι τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ
- 85 δῆ καὶ διαπρασσοιτό τι αὐτῇ.<sup>4</sup> τούτοις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπιτυγχάνει, τοῖς δὲ τὴν Φερώρου τελευτὴν διασαφοῦσιν ἐν Τάραντι πρότερον· δεινῶς τε ἠνεγκεν οὐκ εὐνοία τῇ Φερώρου, διότι δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν οὐ διαπραξάμενος ὥσπερ
- 86 ὑπέσχητο<sup>5</sup> ἀπέθανε. περὶ δὲ Κελένδεριν τῆς Κιλικίας γενόμενος ἐνεδοίαζεν ἤδη περὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε πλοῦ, δεινῶς τῇ ἐκβολῇ τῆς μητρὸς λελυπημένος· καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθά<sup>6</sup> πη παραδοκοῦντα ἀνέχειν,<sup>7</sup> οἱ δὲ μὴ διαμέλλειν τὸν οἴκαδε πλοῦν· λύσειν γὰρ παραγενόμενον αἰτίαν πᾶσαν, ὡς καὶ νῦν οὐτι ἐτέρωθεν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀπουσίαν ἰσχὺν τοῖς κατηγοροῖς ὑπογενέ-
- 87 σθαι. τούτοις πεισθεῖς ἔπλει τε καὶ προσέσχε τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπέναι τῆς PW : ἀνέναι τῆς con. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> Naber : ὡς codd.

<sup>3</sup> E : + κτήσεις codd. : demorans aliquas sibi possibilitates pararet.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ cod. L.-B. teste Hudson.

<sup>5</sup> Bekker : ὑπέσχετο codd. E.

<sup>6</sup> Naber : ταῦτά codd. E.

<sup>7</sup> ἐπέχειν WE.

willing to endanger himself in order to provide for Antipater's safety.

(v. 1)<sup>a</sup> As for Herod, when Antipater wrote to him that he would hasten his return when once he had seen that everything was done in the proper manner, he concealed his anger in replying to him and directed him not to delay on the way lest he (Herod) suffer some misfortune while Antipater was abroad. At the same time Herod made some minor charges against his mother but promised to drop these complaints when Antipater should arrive. And he displayed friendliness to him in every way, fearing that he might suspect something and put off his journey home and instead remain in Rome and plot against Herod's throne and eventually succeed in doing it<sup>b</sup> some harm. This letter Antipater came upon in Cilicia, having earlier received at Tarentum the letter reporting the death of Pheroras. He was terribly disturbed by this news not out of affection for Pheroras but because he had died without having managed to put his father to death as he had promised. When he came to Celenderis in Cilicia, he was already hesitating to sail for home, for he was terribly distressed about the sending away of his mother. And some of his friends told him to stay somewhere near there<sup>c</sup> and wait to see what might happen, while others did not want him to delay his voyage home, for by his coming he would dissolve every charge against him, since, as matters now stood, his accusers' case had no force other than that given it by his absence. Persuaded by these arguments, Antipater set sail and landed at the port

Antipater's return and cold reception.

<sup>a</sup> With chap. v cf. B.J. i. 608-645.

<sup>b</sup> Variant "him." <sup>c</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 610 note.

- Σεβαστῶ λιμένι λεγομένῳ, ὃν κατασκευάσας Ἡρώδης πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ Καίσαρος καλεῖ
- 88 Σεβαστόν. ἐν προὔτοις δ' ἦν Ἀντίπατρος ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς, μήτε προσιόντος αὐτῷ μηδενὸς μήτε προσαγορευόντος ὥσπερ ὅτ' ἐξήει μετ' εὐχῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιφημισμάτων. ταῖς δ' ἑναντιωτάταις ἀραῖς οὐκ ἐκωλύοντο αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ποινὴν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποτίνειν ὑπειληφότες.
- 89 (2) Ἐτύγχανε δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Οὐάρου Κυντίλιου, διάδοχος μὲν Σατορνίνῳ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἀπεσταλμένος, ἥκων δὲ αὐτός τε σύμβουλος Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων
- 90 αὐτῷ δεσθέντι. καὶ αὐτῶν συνεδρευόντων παρῆν ὁ Ἀντίπατρος, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ ἐκπύστου γεγονότος· εἴσεισι δὲ εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον ἔτι πορφυρίδας ἀμπεχόμενος. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν δέχονται οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις,
- 91 ἀνείργουσι δὲ τοὺς φίλους. ἐθορυβεῖτο δὲ ἤδη σαφῶς οἱ ἐληλύθει<sup>2</sup> κατανοῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ προσιόντα αὐτὸν ὡς ἀσπάσαιτο ἀπέωσατο, ἀδελφοκτονίαν τε ἐπικαλῶν καὶ βούλευσιν ὀλέθρου τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, πάντων τε ἀκροατὴν καὶ δικαστὴν ἔσεσθαι
- 92 Οὐάρου τῆς αὔριον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιούτου κακοῦ ἅμα τε ἀκροαθέντος καὶ παρόντος τῷ μεγέθει περιφερόμενος ᾤχετο, ὑπαντιάζουσι δ' αὐτῷ ἢ τε μήτηρ καὶ θυγατέρα (αὕτη δὲ ἦν ἡ γενομένη Ἀντιγόνῳ παῖς τῷ πατρὶ Ἡρώδου Ἰουδαίων βασιλευκότι), παρ' ὧν τὰ πάντα ἐκμαθὼν ἐν παρασκευαῖς τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἦν.

<sup>1</sup> δ' add. E: nunc e contra Lat.

<sup>2</sup> + κακῶν ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

called Sebastos,<sup>a</sup> which Herod had built at considerable expense and named Sebastos<sup>a</sup> in honour of Caesar. But Antipater could now foresee the evil fate in store for him, for no one came near him or greeted him with good wishes and words of favourable omen, as they had done on his departure. On the contrary, they did not restrain themselves from receiving him with curses, thinking that he was there to pay the penalty for his crimes against his brothers.

(2) At this time there happened to be in Jerusalem Quintilius Varus,<sup>b</sup> who had been sent to succeed Saturninus as governor of Syria and had come at Herod's request to advise him about the present situation. While they were taking counsel together, Antipater arrived without having been informed of anything, and entered the palace still wearing his purple robe. The doorkeepers admitted him but kept out his friends. Clearly perceiving, therefore, how far matters had gone, he was disturbed, especially when his father thrust him away as he approached to embrace him, and denounced him as a parricide and a plotter of his father's destruction, adding that on the next day Varus would hear the whole story and be his judge. With so great a misfortune confronting him at his very first hearing of it, he was in a turmoil as he left. He was then met by his mother and his wife—she was the daughter of Antigonos,<sup>c</sup> who had been king of the Jews before Herod—and from them he learned the whole story, and prepared himself for his ordeal.

Herod's  
reception of  
Antipater.

<sup>a</sup> Or "Augustus": cf. *B.J.* i. 613. The port of Caesarea; see Appendix D, *s.v.*; Abel, *GP* ii. 296.

<sup>b</sup> Consul in 13 B.C., *legatus* of Syria c. 6-4 B.C. Cf. *B.J.* i. 617 ff. and below, §§ 221 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Her name is unknown; cf. *Ant.* xv. 266 note b.

93 (3) Τῇ δ' ἐξῆς συνήδρευε μὲν Οὐάρος τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰσεκλήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφοῖν φίλοι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς βασιλέως Σαλώμη τε ἡ ἀδελφή, εἴτ' εἴ τινας μὲν ἔμελλον καὶ ὧν βάσανοι γεγόνεσαν, δοῦλοί τε μητρῶοι τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου, μικρῶ πρότερον συνειλημμένοι ἢ ἐκείνον ἦκειν, ἐπιστολὴν φέροντες, ἧς τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν γεγραμμένων ἦν μὴ ἐπανιέναι<sup>1</sup> ὡς πάντων τῶ πατρὶ ἠκόντων εἰς πύστιν, μόνην τε ἂν καταφυγὴν αὐτῷ λείπεσθαι Καίσαρα καὶ σὺν αὐτῇ τὸ μὴ τῶ πατρὶ ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι. Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ προσπεσόντος τῶ πατρὶ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἱκετεύοντος μὴ προδιεγνωσμένην καταστήσαι<sup>2</sup> δίκην, ἀλλ' ἀκροάσεως αὐτοῦ γενομένης παρὰ τῶ πατρὶ ἀκεραίως<sup>3</sup> μένειν δυναμένου,<sup>4</sup> τοῦτον κελεύσας Ἡρώδης ἀπάγειν εἰς μέσον, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν<sup>5</sup> ὠλοφύρατο τῶν παίδων τῆς ποιήσεως, ἣν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις αὐτῷ τύχαις γενομένην πρότερον ἢ ἐκ<sup>6</sup> τῆς δυσμενείας ἀνασπάσασθαι<sup>7</sup> τῶν πρότερον εἰς Ἀντιπάλου<sup>8</sup> ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ γῆρας,<sup>9</sup> τροφὰς τε καὶ παιδεύσεις ἃς ποιήσασθαι αὐτῶν ἐξηγουμένους, καὶ πλοῦτος εὐπορίαν ἐν καιροῖς ὡς 95 ἐθελήσειαν προτεθεῖσαν εἰς πάντα. ὧν οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἐμποδίσματος γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐπιβουλή τῇ ἐκείνων κινδυνεῦσαι τελευτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θᾶσσον δυσσεβῶς τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβεῖν ἢ φύσεως

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr. : ἐπανεῖναι codd. : ἐπανήκειν E.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf : καταστήναι codd. E.

<sup>3</sup> ἀκεραίω con. Cocceji : ἀκεραίας con. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> con. Hudson : δυναμένω codd. E : purgatum iri se apud patrem posse firmabat Lat. <sup>5</sup> αὐτὸν ins. Dindorf.

<sup>6</sup> ἢ ἐκ conieci : ἢ PW : ἐκ AME.

<sup>7</sup> ἀποσπάσασθαι AME.

<sup>8</sup> conieci : Ἀντιπάλου codd. E.

<sup>9</sup> πρότερον . . . γῆρας] aut unde tantam divinitatis indig-

(3) On the following day Varus and the king held a council, to which were invited the friends of both sides<sup>a</sup> and the relatives of the king, including his sister Salome, as well as any who were expected to give information and had been put to torture, and also some slaves of Antipater's mother who a little before his arrival had been arrested as they were carrying a letter of which the content was in sum that he should not return home, since the whole matter had become known to his father, and that Caesar remained his only refuge if only he could also avoid falling into Herod's hands. Antipater then threw himself down at his father's knees<sup>b</sup> and implored him not to pronounce judgment on him before the facts were known but to let him be heard, for he could establish his innocence before his father.<sup>c</sup> But Herod ordered him to be brought forward, and commiserated himself on having begotten sons who brought such misfortunes upon him, for before recovering from the unhappiness caused by his late sons, he was now in his old age plunged into the unhappiness caused by Antipater. He also spoke about the rearing and education that he had given them, and the abundance of money spent on them for all the things that they had wished for at any time. None of these benefits had prevented his being in danger of death when they plotted against him in order to take over his royal power impiously before

<sup>a</sup> Herod and Antipater; cf. *B.J.* i. 620.

<sup>b</sup> Or "down on his knees before his father."

<sup>c</sup> Conjectured by Hudson; mss. "be heard by a father who could remain unprejudiced."

nationem comparaverit ut sua senectus in Antipatri nequitias incidisset Lat. sequentia usque ad § 296 defic. in cod. W.



νόμῳ μεταστάντος εὐχῆ τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ δίκη.  
 96 τὸν τε Ἀντίπατρον θαυμάζειν, τίνων ἐλπίδι ἐπαρ-  
 θεῖς θαρσῆσειεν ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα χωρεῖν μὴ ἀπο-  
 τραπήναι· διάδοχον μὲν γὰρ ἀποφῆναισθαι δια-  
 γραμμάτων τῆς ἀρχῆς, ζῶντος δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ μειον-  
 εκτεῖν ἀξιώματός τε ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ἐξου-  
 σίας, πεντήκοντα μὲν τάλαντα ἐπέτειον πρόσοδον  
 κομισάμενον, δωρεὰν δ' εἰληφότα ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς  
 97 Ῥώμην τριακοσίων τάλαντων ἀριθμὸν. ἐπεκάλει  
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰ μὲν πονηρῶν γεγονότων  
 κατηγορίαν προθεμένῳ<sup>1</sup> μιμητῆ γερονότι, διακενῆς<sup>2</sup>  
 δὲ τοιῶνδε ἐπαγωγὰς ἐπάγοντι αὐτῷ τῶν συγ-  
 98 γενῶν· τὰ γὰρ πάντα οὐδαμόθεν ἀλλ' ἢ<sup>3</sup> μὲνύσει τῆ  
 ἐκείνου μεμαθηκότα πράξει τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πεπραγ-  
 μένα γνώμη τῆ ἐκείνου, οὓς ἀπολύειν κακοῦ παντός  
 κληρονόμον τῆς πατροκτονίας αὐτοῖς καθιστάμενον.  
 99 (4) Ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων εἰς δάκρυα τρέπεται λέγειν  
 τε ἄπορος ἦν. καὶ Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς φίλος  
 τε ὦν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰ πάντα συνδιατῶμενος  
 ἐκείνῳ, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄν πραχθεῖεν τρόπον  
 παρατετευχώς, δεηθέντι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ  
 εἰπεῖν ἔλεγεν<sup>4</sup> ὅποσα ἀποδείξεών τε καὶ ἐλέγχων  
 100 ἐχόμενα ἦν. καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου κατὰ δικαιο-  
 λογίαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τετραμμένου καὶ ὅποσα  
 παραδείγματα τῆς εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξιόντος,  
 τὰς τιμὰς αἱ ὑπῆρχον αὐτῷ προφερόμενος, ὥς μὴ  
 ἂν ποτε γενέσθαι μὴ οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἀξίῳ περὶ αὐτὸν  
 101 γερονότι· καὶ γὰρ ὅποσα προῖδεῖν δεήσειε, πάντων

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: προθεμένων codd.<sup>2</sup> εἰ δὲ μὴ διὰ κενης ed. pr.<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' ἢ Dindorf: ἀλλὰ codd.<sup>4</sup> ἔλεγεν ins. E.

their father should give it up by the law of nature and in accordance with his wish and with justice. As <sup>Herod's</sup> for Antipater, Herod said that he wondered what <sup>indictment</sup> had lifted his hopes so high and made him so daring <sup>of</sup> Antipater. that he had not been deterred from going to such lengths, for he had designated him in writing to be his successor on the throne, and even in his father's lifetime Antipater was in no respect inferior to him in splendour of place or in extent of authority. He had also been given an annual income of fifty talents, and for his journey to Rome he had received a sum of three hundred talents. Herod then reproached him for having brought charges against his brothers, saying that if they had really been guilty, Antipater had imitated them, but if not, he had made his attacks upon such close kinsmen to no purpose. For, said Herod, he had heard the whole story from no other informant than Antipater, and whatever he had done to his sons had been done by Antipater's advice. Now, having become heir to their parricide, Antipater was absolving them of all wickedness.

(4) So saying, Herod burst into tears and was unable to speak. And Nicolas of Damascus, a friend of the king and his daily companion, who was familiar with his way of conducting his affairs, was requested by the king to finish the speech. He therefore stated whatever was necessary by way of evidence and proof. And Antipater turned to his father to justify <sup>Antipater's</sup> himself, recalling all the instances of goodwill that <sup>defence.</sup> Herod had shown him, and adducing the honours that had come to him. These, he said, would never have been given him if he had not deserved them by his virtuous conduct toward his father. For whatever it had been necessary to provide, all this he had

προβεβουλευκέναι σωφρόνως, εἴ τέ τινα ἐδεῖτο  
 χειρῶν, πόνῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἐκπεπράχθαι τὰ πάντα,  
 εἰκός τε οὐκ εἶναι τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπιβουλῶν τὸν  
 πατέρα ἐξελόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλευτὴν καταστῆναι  
 ἀφανίζοντα ἀρετὴν ἢ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐμαρτυρεῖτο αὐτῷ,  
 102 κακία τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μελλούσῃ συνείναι.<sup>1</sup> καίτοι γε  
 τοῦ βασιλεύοντος<sup>2</sup> διάδοχον προαποδεδεῖχθαι καὶ  
 τοῦ συναπολαυσομένου τιμῶν αἰ εἰς τὸ παρὸν  
 περιῆσαν, οὐκ ἐπικεκωλῦσθαι εἰκός τε οὐκ εἶναι  
 τὸν<sup>3</sup> ἀπάντων ἀκινδύνως καὶ μετ' ἀρετῆς ἔχοντα  
 τὴν ἡμίσειαν, μετὰ φόγων καὶ κινδύνου ἐφίσσθαι  
 τοῦ ὅλου ἄδηλον εἰ δυναμένου περιγενέσθαι, καὶ  
 ταῦτα τεθεαμένον τὴν ζημίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ  
 μηνυτὴν μὲν καὶ κατηγορητὴν γενόμενον λανθάνειν  
 δυναμένων, κολαστὴν δ'<sup>4</sup> ἐπεὶ φανεροὶ κατέστησαν  
 103 πονηροὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὄντες. καὶ τὰδε μὲν  
 αὐτῷ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἠγωνισμένων παραδείγματα  
 εἶναι τῶν ἀκράτῳ εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πεπολι-  
 τευμένων· τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς μάρτυρα εἶναι  
 Καίσαρα ἐπίσης τῷ θεῷ ἀπατηθῆναι μὴ οἶόν τε  
 104 ὄντα. ὧν πίστιν εἶναι τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου γράμματα  
 ἐπεσταλμένα, ὧν οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν ἰσχυροτέρας εἶναι  
 τὰς διαβολὰς τῶν στασιάζειν αὐτοὺς προθεμένων,  
 ὧν<sup>5</sup> τὰς πλείους ἀποδημία τῇ αὐτοῦ συντεθῆναι  
 σχολῆς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγγενομένης, ἣν οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖς  
 105 ἐπιδημοῦντος παραγενέσθαι. διαβάλλοντος δὲ καὶ  
 τὰς βασάνους εἰς ψευδολογίαν, ὡς τῆς ἀνάγκης

<sup>1</sup> Ernesti: συνείναι codd.

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. Hudson: μέλλοντος codd.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: τῶν codd.

<sup>4</sup> Bekker: τ' codd.

wisely planned, and whatever required the use of his hands, all this he had accomplished by his own efforts. Nor was it likely that after saving his father from the plots formed by others he would himself become a plotter against him and destroy the (reputation for) virtue which he had earned by those acts through the villainy that would be ascribed to such an act as this. Moreover, he had been designated as the future successor of the king, and had not been prevented from sharing in the enjoyment of the honours which accrued thereto at the present time. Then too, it was not likely that one who possessed half the realm without danger to himself and with a good conscience would grasp at the whole with infamy and danger to himself when it was uncertain whether he could succeed therein, especially since he had witnessed the punishment of his brothers, whose denouncer and accuser he had been when they were still able to escape detection but their chastiser when they were revealed as wicked plotters against their father. And the struggle that he had had with them was an indication of the sincere affection with which he had acted toward his father. As for his behaviour in Rome, Caesar was his witness, and he was just as difficult to deceive as was God. Proof of this was the letter sent them by Caesar, which should not rightly have less force than the slanders of those who were promoting dissension between them, most of these slanders having been composed during his stay abroad, which provided his enemies with an opportunity that would not have been given them if he had been at home. He also denounced the tortures (inflicted earlier) as leading to false statements,

<sup>5</sup> ὧν add. van Herwerden.

φύσιν ἐχούσης διδάσκειν τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας τὰ πολλὰ ἡδονῇ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων λέγειν, καὶ παρέχοντος αὐτὸν εἰς βάσανον.

- 106 (5) Ἐπὶ τούτοις τροπῆς τοῦ συνεδρίου γενομένης (σφόδρα γὰρ ᾤκτειραν τὸν Ἀντιπάτρον δάκρυσίν τε καὶ αἰκίαις<sup>1</sup> τοῦ προσώπου χρώμενον, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δι' οὐκτου καταστήναι, φανερόν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Ἡρώδην εἶναι καμπτόμενόν τι τῇ γνώμῃ καίπερ μὴ βουλόμενον ἔκδηλον εἶναι), Νικόλαος ἀρξάμενος οἷς τε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατήρξατο λόγοις παλιλλογῆ μειζόνως ἐκδεινῶν, καὶ ὀπόσσα ἐκ βασάνων ἢ μαρτυριῶν συνῆγε τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος. μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιπολὺ ἐξηγεῖτο τοῦ βασιλέως, ἣ περὶ τε τροφᾶς καὶ παιδεύματα χρησάμενος τῶν υἱῶν οὐδαμόθεν εὗροιο ὀνησιφόρον αὐτῆν, περιπταιῶν ἑτέροις ἀφ' ἑτέρων.
- 108 καίτοι γε οὐχ οὕτως θαυμάζειν τῶν προτέρων τὴν ἀβουλίαν, νεωτέρους γὰρ καὶ κακίᾳ συμβούλων διεφθαρμένους ἀπαλείψαι τὰ τῆς φύσεως δικαιώματα, ἀρχῆς θάσσουν ἢ χρῆν μεταποιεῖσθαι σπουδά-
- 109 σαντας, Ἀντιπάτρου δ' ἂν δικαίως τὴν μιᾶν<sup>2</sup> καταπλαγήναι, μὴ μόνον οἷς<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐεργετηθεῖν τὸν λογισμὸν ὥσπερ τὰ ἰοβολώτατα τῶν ἔρπετῶν μὴ μαλαχθέντος, καίτοι γε κάκεινους τινὸς ἐγγνωμένης μαλακίας τοῦ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰς τύχας τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τὸ οὐ μιμητῆν αὐτῶν καταστήναι τῆς ὠμότητος ἐμπο-

<sup>1</sup> ἰκετεία P: humilitate Lat.

<sup>2</sup> μιᾶν cum cod. Vat. et Lat. Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> μόνον οἷς Niese: μόνους P: μόνος A: μόνον M.

for extreme suffering by its very nature prompts the victims to say many things that will please those who have power over them. Then he offered himself for torture.

(5) At these words a change of feeling came over the council—for they greatly pitied Antipater as he resorted to tears and contortions of his face, so that he moved even his enemies to compassion, and even Herod now gave signs of being somewhat shaken in his purpose although unwilling to let this be seen—<sup>a</sup> and Nicolas began with the same words as the king had used but in recapitulating made things worse in the retelling, and he summed up the evidence for the charge that resulted from the tortures and the testimony of witnesses.<sup>b</sup> In particular he dwelt at length on the king's virtue in undertaking the rearing and education of his sons without finding it profitable to himself in any way, for he had been involved in one trouble after another. And yet, he said, he was not so much surprised at the folly of the other sons—it was because they were very young and corrupted by wicked counsellors that they had written off the righteous claims of nature in their eagerness to possess the throne sooner than they should, but one would rightly be astounded by the horrible crime<sup>c</sup> of Antipater, for not only had his spirit not been softened by the benefactions received from his father, as though he were one of the most venomous of serpents—and even these can be softened enough not to harm their benefactors, but not even the unhappy fate of his brothers prevented him from imitat-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 636, where Herod is unmoved.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 637, a brief statement of what here occupies §§ 107-126.

<sup>c</sup> Variant "madness."

- 110 δῶν στάντος.<sup>1</sup> “καίτοι γε, ὦ Ἀντίπατρε, τῶν ἀδελφῶν μηνυτῆς τε ὧν τολμήσειαν αὐτὸς ἦς καὶ ἐρευνητῆς τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ κολαστῆς πεφωραμένων. καὶ οὐ τοῦ ἐπ’ ἐκείνοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν θυμῷ χρησθαι μὴ ἔλλιπόντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μμείσθαι τὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐτῶν σπουδάσαντος ἐκπεπλήγμεθα, εὐρίσκοντες κάκεινά σοι οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀσφαλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πεπραγμένα, ὅπως μισοπονηρία τῇ κατ’ αὐτῶν φιλοπάτωρ εἶναι πεπιστευμένος, ἀδεεστέραν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κακουργεῖν παραλάβοις δύναμιν· ὃ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις παρεστήσας. ἅμα γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἀνήρεις ἐφ’ οἷς ἤλεγχες πονηροὺς γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς ὁμοπραγήσαντας αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὑπεδίδους,<sup>2</sup> φανερόν τοῖς πᾶσιν καθιστὰς ὡς καὶ συνθήκην πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ποιησάμενος ἐπανεῖλου<sup>3</sup> κατηγορεῖν,
- 112 βουλόμενος σοὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν τῆς πατροκτονίας κερδαίνεσθαι καταμόνας, καὶ δυοῖν ἀγώνου εὐφροσύνην καρπούμενος τρόπου τοῦ σοῦ ἀξίαν, φανεροῦ μὲν τοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ᾧ καὶ ἠγάλλου ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις (καὶ ἦν ἀξίον οὕτως φρονεῖν, εἰ δὲ
- 113 μῆγε σὺ χεῖρων ἦς), κρυπτοῦ δὲ ὄν<sup>4</sup> κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς συντιθείς, ἐκείνους μὲν οὐχ ὡς τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιβεβουλευκότας μισῶν<sup>5</sup> (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξώκειλας

<sup>1</sup> στήσαντος con. Ernesti.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπεδίδους, vix rectum esse mon. Niese: ut . . . proderentur minime curasti Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Cocceji: ἐπανεῖλω AM; ἐπανεῖπω P.

<sup>4</sup> κρυπτοῦ δὲ ὄν] κρυπτόν δόλον M: sed te occulto adversario patris extante claret Lat.

<sup>5</sup> post μισῶν lacunam stat. Niese.

ing their cruelty. “And yet, Antipater,” he continued, “you yourself were the one who denounced your brothers for their reckless behaviour, and you searched for proofs and you punished them when they were found out. And we do not complain of your having been so relentless in bringing your anger to bear against them but we are astounded at the eagerness you showed to imitate their uncontrolled behaviour. For we find that those actions of yours arose not from concern for the safety of your father but for the destruction of your brothers and that by showing hatred of their wickedness you might be accounted a loving son and so be in a position to harm him with greater impunity. This is exactly what you have demonstrated by your actions. For while you destroyed your brothers by proving that they were guilty, you did not at the same time point out<sup>a</sup> their accomplices, and so you have made it clear to all men that you took it upon yourself to be their accuser while you were making a compact with them against your father, for you wanted their parricidal plot to profit you alone. And you sought to gather a pleasure worthy of your nature from the two enterprises. The one was openly directed against your brothers, and in this you exulted as if it had been a very great achievement—and you would have been right in your attitude if you had not been worse (than they), while the other enterprise, which was secret, you devised against your father. If you hated your brothers, it was not because they had plotted against your father—for then you would not have drifted

<sup>a</sup> Text and meaning somewhat unclear. Thackeray suggests ὑπενεδίδους. Read perhaps ὑπερεδίδους, a rare word which well fits the context.



- αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πράξιν παραπλησίαν) ἀλλ' ὡς διαδόχους  
 114 τῆς ἡγεμονίας σου δικαιότερον ἂν γενομένους, τὸν  
 δὲ πατέρα ἐπισφάζειν<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἵνα θάσσουν  
 ὡς<sup>2</sup> ἐκείνων τε ἐπικαταψεύσαι μὴ ἐλεγχθῆς καὶ  
 ὦν αὐτὸς δίκας παρασχεῖν ἄξιος γένοιτο ταύτην  
 παρὰ τοῦ δυστυχοῦς εἰσπράξαι πατρός, ἐπινοῶν  
 πατροκτονίαν οὐ κοινήν, ἀλλ' οἶαν μέχρι νῦν οὐχ  
 115 ἰστόρησεν ὁ βίος. οὐχ υἱὸς γὰρ μόνον πατρὶ ἐπε-  
 βούλευες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοῦντι καὶ εὐεργετηκότι,  
 κοινωτὸς τῆς βασιλείας ὦν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ διάδοχος  
 προφανθεῖς, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἤδη  
 προλαμβάνειν μὴ ἐπικεκωλυμένος, ἐλπίδα δὲ τὴν  
 εἰσαυθις γνώμη τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ γράμμασι προη-  
 116 σφαλισμένους. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρα τῇ Ἡρώδου ἀρετῇ τὰ  
 πράγματα, γνώμη δὲ καὶ πονηρία ἔκρινες τῇ σεαυ-  
 τοῦ, βουλόμενος τοῦ πάντων σοι ὑπακούσαντος πα-  
 τρός καὶ τὸ μέρος ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὄν προσεποιοῦ  
 τοῖς λόγοις σῶζειν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦτον ἀφανίσαι  
 117 ζητῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς πονηρὸς καθιστάμενος,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μητέρα ὦν ἐπενόεις πιμπλᾶς, καὶ  
 στασιοποιῶν τὴν εὐνοίαν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ τολμῶν  
 θηρίον ἀποκαλεῖν τὸν πατέρα, παντὸς ἔρπετοῦ  
 χαλεπωτέραν τὴν διάνοιαν κατεσκευασμένος, ἢ τὸν  
 ἐκείνων ἰὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς συγγενεστάτους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ  
 τοσοῦτοις εὐεργέτας παρεκάλες, ἐπισυμμαχίαις<sup>3</sup> φυ-  
 λάκων καὶ τέχναις ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν φρασ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπισφάζων Bekker : extinguere festinabas Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ὦν A.M.

<sup>3</sup> Herwerden : ἐπὶ συμμαχίαις codd.

into a similar crime—but because they would have had a better right than you to succeed to the throne. And you sought to slay your father after your brothers in order that you might not speedily be convicted of having accused them falsely, and that you might inflict upon your unhappy father the penalty that you yourself deserved to pay for what you had done. And the parricide that you planned was no common one but such as history has never yet recorded. For, though you were his son, you not only plotted against your father but against a father who loved you and was your benefactor, and this you did when you were actually his partner in the royal power and had been designated as his successor and were in no way hindered from enjoying the pleasure of authority in advance but had been assured by the written intention of your father that you would realize your hopes for the future. It was certainly not in accordance with Herod's virtue but with your own wicked purpose that you judged the situation, for it was your desire to take away from the father who had acceded to all your wishes even that share of power that he had, and you sought to destroy by your acts one whom by your words you pretended to save. And not only did you act like a villain yourself but you also filled your mother with your schemes, you turned the goodwill between your brothers into dissension, and you had the audacity to call your father a beast when you yourself had developed a spirit crueller than that of any serpent, and because of this you used the venom of serpents against your nearest kin and your greatest benefactors. And with the added assistance of guards and the artful tricks of men and women you protected yourself

Antipater's  
traitorous  
conduct.

- σόμενος κατὰ τοῦ γέροντος, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἀρκούσης σου τῆς διανοίας μίσος τὸ ὑποικουροῦν παραστήσαι.
- 118 καὶ νῦν ἐλήλυθας μετὰ βασάνους ἐλευθέρων, οἰκετῶν, ἀνδράσι γυναιξὶ διὰ σέ γεγονυίας μηνύσεις τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ἀντιλογεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σπεύδων, καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον<sup>1</sup> τὸν πατέρα ἀναιρεῖν μεμελετηκῶς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ νόμον τὸν κατὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένον καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆν Οὐάρου καὶ τοῦ
- 119 δικαίου τὴν φύσιν. οὕτως ἄρα τῇ ἀναιδείᾳ πέποιθας, ὥστε καὶ βασανίζεσθαι ἀξιοῖς, καὶ ψευδεῖς λέγων τὰς βασάνους τῶν προβεβασανισμένων, ἵν' οἱ μὲν ρυόμενοί σου τὸν πατέρα ἐκκρουσθῶσιν τοῦ
- 120 ἠληθευκένοι, αἱ δὲ σαὶ βάσανοι δοκῶσι πισταί; οὐ ρύση, Οὐαρε, τὸν βασιλέα τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν συγγενῶν; οὐδὲ ἀπολείς<sup>2</sup> πονηρὸν θηρίον, ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐνοίαν προσποιούμενον τοῦ πατρός, ἔνθα δὲ μέλλοι καταμόνας ταχέως ἀποίσεσθαι<sup>3</sup> τὴν βασιλείαν, πάντων αὐτῷ θανασιμώτατον ἀναφανόμενον; γνοὺς ὅτι πατροκτονία κοινόν ἐστὶν ἀδίκημα καὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τοῦ βίου, τὴν<sup>4</sup> πεφηνυῖαν<sup>5</sup> οὐδὲν ἡσσόνως<sup>6</sup> τοῦ βεβουλευμένου, καὶ ὃ μὴ κολάζων ἀδικεῖ τὴν φύσιν."
- 121 (6) Προσετίθει δὲ ἤδη τὰ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντιπάτρου ὅποσα πρὸς τινὰς ἦν κουφολογία γυναικείῳ<sup>7</sup> εἰρημένα, μαντείας τε καὶ θυσίας ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ γεγονυίας καὶ ὅποσα μετὰ τῶν Φερύρου γυναικῶν Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἡσέληγτο μετὰ οἴνου καὶ λύμης ἐρωτικῆς, τῶν τε βασάνων ἀνακρίσεις καὶ ὅποσα

<sup>1</sup> οὐχὶ μόνον ed. pr. : μονονουχι codd. : non solum Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπολείς add. ed. pr. <sup>3</sup> Dindorf : ἀποίσεσθαι codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἦν con. Bekker. <sup>5</sup> + πατροκτονίαν AM.

<sup>6</sup> edd. : ἡσσον ὡς codd.

<sup>7</sup> Dindorf : γυναικείως codd. : γυναικεία E.

against an old man as if your own spirit were not strong enough to show the hatred that lay hidden within it. And now, after the torturing of free men and slaves and the denouncing of men and women by your fellow-conspirators at your prompting, you have come here in haste to contradict the truth. You are fully prepared not only to remove your father from this world but also to annul the law written against you, the virtue of Varus and the nature of justice. Have you indeed so much confidence in your shamelessness that you ask to be put to the torture and say that the confessions extracted from those already tortured are false, in order that those who would save your father from you may be rejected as not having told the truth, while the words spoken under torture by you may be accepted as trustworthy? O Varus, will you not save the king from the abuse of his kin? Will you not destroy this wicked beast, whose pretence of affection for his father was meant for the destruction of his brothers, for when he was certain of obtaining the throne for himself alone within a short time, he showed himself to be a deadlier menace to his father than all the others. You know that parricide is a wrong done to both nature and humanity, when it is discovered no less than when it is planned, and he who does not punish it does wrong to nature."

(6) Then Nicolas added further remarks concerning the things that Antipater's mother had said to certain people in the frivolous way of a woman, the acts of divination and sacrifices directed against the king, Antipater's licentious affairs with the women of Pheroras in the form of drinking bouts and erotic excesses, the examinations under torture and the

Nicolas  
further  
accuses  
Antipater.

μαρτυριῶν ἐχόμενα. πολλά δὲ καὶ παντοῖα ἦν τὰ  
 μὲν προητοιμασμένα, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ὀξέως ἀπαγ-  
 122 γέλλεσθαι τε καὶ βεβαιουῖσθαι ἐφευρημένα· οἱ γὰρ  
 ἄνθρωποι κἂν εἴ τι κατὰ φόβον τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου,  
 μὴ διαδρὰς ἀμύνοιτο αὐτούς, σιγῇ παρεδίδοσαν,  
 ὀρώντες αὐτὸν ἐπιβατὸν ταῖς κατηγορίαις τῶν  
 ἀρξάντων γεγονότα καὶ τὴν ποτὲ πολλὴν αὐτῷ  
 συστάσαν τύχην προφανῶς αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
 παραδεδωκυῖαν, ἀπλήστως<sup>1</sup> μίσους τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 123 ἐνεφοροῦντο.<sup>2</sup> κατεσπεύδετο<sup>3</sup> δὲ τοῦτο<sup>4</sup> οὐ τοσοῦ-  
 τον<sup>5</sup> ἔχθρα τῶν ἐπικεχειρηκότων κατηγορεῖν ὡς  
 μεγέθει τόλμης ὧν ἐπενόησε κακιῶν καὶ δυσ-  
 μενείας τῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς,  
 στάσεως καὶ ἀλληλοφθοριῶν ἀναπεπληκῶς τὸν  
 οἶκον καὶ μήτε μίσει κατὰ δίκην μήτε φιλίᾳ δι-  
 124 φέρειν. ὧν ἀπάντων ἐκ πλέονος αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ  
 προανεσκοπημένοι, οἵπερ δὴ μάλιστα ἀρετῇ κρίνειν  
 πεφύκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι διὰ τὸ καὶ ὀργῆς  
 ἀπηλλαγμένως ἐπιψηφίζειν τοῖς γινομένοις, κατα-  
 βοᾶς ἐν τοῖς πρὶν εἰρχθέντες ποιεῖσθαι, παραγενο-  
 μένης ἀδείας ἐξέφερον εἰς μέσον ὅποσα εἶδειεν.  
 125 πολύτροποι τε κακιῶν ἀποδείξεις ἦσαν, οὐδαμῶ-  
 θεν ψεύδους αἰτίαν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι δυνάμεναι διὰ τὸ  
 μήτ' εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς Ἡρώδη λέγειν τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 μήτε ὑποψία κινδύνων σιγῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἔχοιεν εἰπεῖν

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: οἱ καὶ (καὶ om. PM) ἀπλήστως codd.

<sup>2</sup> + τότε πάντα ἐξέφερον ex Lat. Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> conieci: κατέσπευδε codd. <sup>4</sup> τότε P.

<sup>5</sup> οὐ τοσοῦτον ed. pr.: οὐτι τῆ codd.

<sup>a</sup> Or "discovered."

testimonies given. These were many and various, for some had been prepared beforehand, and others were devised on the spur of the moment both to give information and to confirm what had been said.<sup>a</sup> For some men if only in fear that Antipater would take vengeance on them if he should go free, had passed over his actions in silence, but when they saw that he was vulnerable to the charges brought by the first witnesses and that Fortune, who had greatly favoured him before, was now openly delivering him to his enemies, they gave full rein to their implacable hatred of him.<sup>b</sup> This was precipitated not so much by the enmity of those who had sought to accuse him as by the enormous audacity of the villainous deeds that he had contrived and his malevolence toward his father and brothers, for he had filled the household with dissension and mutual destruction, acting neither with justice in his hatred nor with loyalty in his friendship but only in a way that was likely to be profitable to himself. Of all these things many persons had long been aware, especially those who were by nature inclined to judge matters by a moral standard because they decided questions without being moved by anger. These persons had at first been prevented from making any outcry but when they were given the opportunity to do so without fear, they brought out into the open all that they knew. And all sorts of proofs of his crimes were given, which could in no way be assailed on the ground of falsity because the majority spoke not out of goodwill to Herod nor from fear of the danger that their silence about the things they could reveal might

Others  
accuse  
Antipater.

<sup>b</sup> Lat. adds "then they divulged everything"; cf. critical note.

ἐγκαλουμένης, ἀλλὰ τῷ πονηρὰ τε ἡγείσθαι τὰ  
 πράγματα, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖα  
 τῇ Ἡρώδου, πονηρία δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ πάσης ἄξιον  
 126 τιμωρίας. πολλά τε ἦν καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν οἷς μὴ  
 παρήγγελτο εἰπεῖν ἀγορευόμενα, ὥστε τὸν Ἀντί-  
 πατρον, καίπερ ἐπὶ πλείστον πάντα δεινότατον ὄντα  
 ψεύσασθαι καὶ ἀπερυθρίασαι, μηδὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ φωνῆς  
 ἐπ' ἀντιλέξει τὴν ἰσχὺν εἰσφέρεισθαι.

127 Νικολάου τε παυσάμενου τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τῶν  
 ἐλέγχων Οὐάρος ἐκέλευσεν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπ' ἀπο-  
 λογίᾳ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων χωρεῖν, εἴ τινες αὐτῷ παρα-  
 σκευαὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐνόχῳ τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις εἶναι· καὶ  
 γὰρ αὐτὸς εὐχέσθαι καὶ τὸν πατέρα εἰδέναι ἐκ<sup>2</sup> τῶν  
 128 ὁμοίων εὐχόμενον μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα φωρᾶν. ὁ  
 δ' ἐπὶ στόμα ἔκειτο ἀνατετραμμένος, τῷ τε θεῷ καὶ  
 πᾶσι προτιθεῖς<sup>3</sup> τὸ ἐπιμαρτυρῆσον<sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀδι-  
 κεῖν, ἢ τεκμηρίους ἐμφανέσι παραστήσαι μὴ οὐκ ἐπί-  
 129 βουλον αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρὸς γεγονέναι. εἰωθότες μὲν  
 καὶ πάντες οἷς ἐπιλείπει ἀρετῆς, ὅποτε μὲν ἐγχει-  
 ρηταὶ τινῶν κακῶν εἴεν, τοῦ<sup>5</sup> θείου τὸ πᾶσι παρα-  
 τυγχάνειν ἀφορίσαντες γνώμῃ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ἔργα χωρεῖν, ὅποτε δὲ φωρῶμενοι κινδυνεύοιεν  
 δίκην ὑποσχεῖν, κατ' ἐπίκλησιν αὐτοῦ μαρτυριῶν<sup>6</sup>  
 130 τὰ πάντα ἐκτρέπειν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ  
 συμβεβήκει· τὰ πάντα γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τοῦ θείου  
 διαπεπραγμένος, κατεργασίας αὐτὸν πανταχόθεν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ add. ed. pr.  
<sup>3</sup> προστιθεῖς AME.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ add. Herwerden.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιμαρτυρῆσαι AME.

<sup>5</sup> + ἀμνημονεῖν M et in marg. A.

be blamed but because they considered Antipater's acts wicked and believed him deserving of extreme punishment not for the sake of protecting Herod but because of his own villainy. Many things also were said by many persons who had not been called upon to speak, so that even though he had always been extremely clever at lying without blushing, Antipater could not summon enough strength to raise his voice in contradiction.

When Nicolas had finished his speech and concluded his arguments, Varus ordered Antipater to proceed to defend himself against these accusations if he was in any way prepared to show that he was not guilty of the charges brought against him. For, said Varus, he himself hoped—and he knew that for similar reasons his father hoped—that Antipater would not be convicted of any wrongdoing. Thereupon Antipater, who was lying prone in a state of collapse, appealed to God and all men to testify that he had done no wrong and to show by clear signs that he had not plotted against his father. For it is the custom of all those who are lacking in virtue to rule out the Deity's intervention in all matters when they undertake a crime and to proceed to act in accordance with their own purpose, but when they are caught in the act and are in danger of having to pay the penalty, they seek to overthrow all the testimony against them by calling upon His help.<sup>a</sup> And this was exactly the case with Antipater. For he had carried out all his plans as if no divine power existed, but when justice hemmed him in from all sides and left him

Antipater  
appeals to  
God for  
defence.

<sup>a</sup> On the difficulties in the Greek of this sentence see Schmidt, pp. 433 f.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: μαρτυρῶν P: μαρτυρεῖν AM.



τῆς δίκης ἀπορία τῶν ἀλλαχόθεν δικαιωμάτων οἷς ἀπολύσαιτο τὰ ἐγκεκλημένα, αὐθις ἐνεπαροίνοι τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦ θείου, μαρτυρίαν ἐπισκήπτων αὐτῷ ὅτι-  
περ<sup>1</sup> ἰσχύι τῇ ἐκείνου περιέωστο,<sup>2</sup> εἰς μέσους παραγαγόντος ὅποσα περὶ<sup>3</sup> τῷ πατρὶ πράσσειν τολμᾶν οὐκ ἐνέλιπεν.

- 131 (7) Ὁ δὲ Οὐάρος ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἀνακρίνων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐδὲν εὕρισκετο πλέον τῆς ἀνακλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁρῶν ἀέραντον ὃν τὸ γινόμενον ἐκέλευσε τὸ φάρμακον εἰς μέσους ἐνεγκεῖν, ἵν' εἰδῆ  
132 τὴν περιούσαν αὐτῷ δύναμιν. καὶ κομισθέντος,<sup>4</sup> τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τις ἐαλωκότων πίνει κελεύσαντος Οὐάρου καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔθανεν. τότε δὲ ἐξαναστάς ἀπῆει τοῦ συνεδρίου, καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας, οὐπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ πλείστον ἦσαν αὐτῷ αἱ διατριβαὶ διὰ τὸ Σύροις τοῦτο βασιλείον εἶναι. Ἡρώδης δὲ  
133 παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔδρασε τὸν υἱόν, ἄδελφοὶ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἦσαν αἱ Οὐάρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀμλίαι καὶ τί εἰπῶν ἀπεληλύθει. εἰκάζετο δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς γνώμη τῇ ἐκείνου πράσσειν ὅποσα περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἔπραξεν. δῆσας δὲ αὐτόν, εἰς Ῥώμην ὡς Καίσαρα ἐκπέμπει γράμματα περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδάξοντας τὸν Καίσαρα τὴν κακίαν τοῦ  
134 Ἀντιπάτρου.<sup>5</sup> ἀλίσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπιστολὴ ὑπὸ Ἀντιφίλου πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον γεγραμμένη (ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ αὐτὸς<sup>6</sup> διέτριβε), καὶ λυθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τάδε ἐδήλου. "ἐπεμψά

<sup>1</sup> περὶ P.

<sup>2</sup> περιέωστο AM: περιτο ἕως P: περιεσώστο rell.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ P. <sup>4</sup> κομισθεῖς con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>5</sup> + καὶ Κωπωνίου γνώμη τὴν Καίσαρος codd.: om. PE Lat.:

secl. edd.

without any other means of justification to acquit him of these charges, he once more insulted the divine virtue by proposing as a testimonial to himself that which by divine power had been rejected when it revealed how he unceasingly made bold to act towards his father.

(7) When Varus, after repeatedly questioning Antipater, got no more from him than invocations of God, and saw that the business would have no end, he ordered the drug<sup>a</sup> to be brought before them in order that he might learn what virtue it still had. When it was brought in, a prisoner under sentence of death drank it at Varus' order and instantly fell dead. Thereupon Varus rose and left the council and on the following day departed for Antioch, where he resided most of the time because it was the capital of Syria. As for Herod, he immediately put his son in chains but the populace was not told what Varus had talked to him about or what he had said on his departure. It was, however, popularly supposed that Herod had treated Antipater in this way on the advice of Varus. And after putting him in chains, Herod sent out a letter about him to Caesar in Rome and also sent some men to inform him by word of mouth about the villainy of Antipater.<sup>b</sup> And during these very same days they intercepted a letter written to Antipater by Antiphilus,<sup>c</sup> who was then staying in Egypt, and when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain the following. "I

Antipater placed under arrest.

Antipater's plot against Salome discovered.

<sup>a</sup> See §§ 69 ff.

<sup>b</sup> The addition (see critical note) seems unintelligible.

<sup>c</sup> In *B.J.* i. 641 Josephus says that Antiphilus' domestic brought Acme's letter from Rome.

<sup>6</sup> οὗτος Naber.

σοι τὴν παρ' Ἀκμῆς ἐπιστολὴν μὴ φεισάμενος τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς· οἶσθα γάρ, ὅτι αὐθις κινδυνεύσω<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ 135 δύο οἰκιῶν,<sup>2</sup> εἰ γνωσθῆιν.· σὺ δ' εὐτυχοῖς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα." καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ τάδε ἐδήλου. ἐζήτηε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπιστολὴν, οὐ μὴν φανερά γε ἦν, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιφίλου δοῦλος, ὃς τὴν ἀναγνωσθεῖσαν ἔφερεν, ἤρνεῖτο ἑτέραν παραλαβεῖν. 136 ἀπορίας οὖν ἐχούσης τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν φίλων τις τῶν τοῦ Ἡρώδου θεώμενος ὑπερραμμένον τοῦ δούλου τὸν ἐντὸς χιτῶνα (ἐνεδεδύκει γὰρ δύο) εἵκασεν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐπιπτυχῆς κρύπτεσθαι τὰ γράμ- 137 ματα· καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. λαμβάνουσιν οὖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἐγγεγραμμένα τε ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ τάδε· " Ἀκμῆ Ἀντιπάτρῳ. ἔγραψα τῷ πατρί σου οἷαν ἤθελες ἐπιστολὴν, καὶ ἀντίγραφον ποιήσασα τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν κυρίαν ὡς παρὰ Σαλώμης ἔγραψα,<sup>3</sup> ἣν ἀναγνοὺς οἶδ' ὅτι τιμωρήσεται Σαλώμην ὡς ἐπί- 138 βουλον." ἦν δὲ ἡ παρὰ τῆς Σαλώμης δοκοῦσα εἶναι πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν αὐτῆς, ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῷ Σαλώμης, ὅσα γοῦν ἡ διάνοια θέλοι, 139 ὑπηγορευμένη, λέξει δὲ συνέκειτο αὐτῆς. τὰ δὲ γεγραμμένα ἦν τοιαῦτα· " Ἀκμῆ βασιλεῖ Ἡρώδῃ. ἐγὼ ἔργον ποιουμένη μηδὲν σε λαυθάνειν τῶν κατὰ σοῦ γινομένων, εὐροῦσα ἐπιστολὴν Σαλώμης πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν κυρίαν κατὰ σοῦ γεγραμμένην, ἐπικινδύνως ἐμαυτῇ σοὶ δὲ ὠφελίμως ἐξεγραψάμην καὶ ἀπέστειλά σοι. ταύτην δὲ ἐκείνη ἔγραψε γήμασθαι Συλλαίῳ θέλουσα. κατὰσχισον οὖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν,

<sup>1</sup> κινδυνεύσω ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> οἰκιῶν AM Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεψα Bekker.

have sent you the letter from Acme " without considering the risk to my own life, for you know that if I am found out, I shall again be in danger from two households.<sup>b</sup> But I wish you luck in this business." Such were the contents of the letter. The king then looked for the other letter as well but it was not visible, and the slave of Antiphilus, who had brought the letter just read, denied that he had received any other. The king was therefore at a loss what to do but one of his friends noticed that there was a patch sown on the slave's inner tunic—he was wearing two of these—, and guessed that a letter was hidden within this fold. And this was in fact the case. So they took the letter, in which the following was written. "Acme to Antipater. I have written to your father the kind of letter you wanted, having also made a copy of the letter of Salome to my mistress that I composed. I know that when he has read it, he will punish Salome as a plotter against him." Now this letter, supposedly from Salome to Acme's mistress, written under Salome's name, was, as far as the meaning was concerned, based on Antipater's suggestions, but it was composed in the style of Salome.<sup>c</sup> The contents were as follows. "Acme to King Herod. I am actively concerned that nothing that is done against you shall be concealed from you, and so, when I found a letter written against you by Salome to my mistress, I copied it and sent it off. This was dangerous for me but was for your good. This letter was written by Salome because she wants to marry Syllaesus. Now please tear

<sup>a</sup> Cf. below, § 141, and *B.J.* i. 641-643.

<sup>b</sup> Caesar's and Herod's.

<sup>c</sup> The ambiguous Greek αὐτῆς may be corrupt. The Latin reads "acmes."

- 140 ἵνα μὴ κἀγὼ τῷ ζῆν κινδυνεύσω." πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐγγράπτο Ἀντίπατρον, διασαφύσης ὅτι διακονομένην κελεύσῃ τῷ ἐκεῖνου αὐτῆ τε γράψει πρὸς Ἡρώδην ὡς Σαλώμης ἐπιβούλως αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐπειγομένης τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀντίγραφον τῆς ὡς πρὸς δέσποιναν τῆν αὐτῆς πεμφθείσης ἐπιστολῆς
- 141 ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> Σαλώμης ἀποπέμφειεν αὐτῷ.<sup>2</sup> ἦν δὲ ἡ Ἀκμή Ἰουδαία μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐδούλευε δὲ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος γυναικί, καὶ ἔπρασε ταῦτα φίλιᾳ τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου, ὠνηθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλη δόσει χρημάτων συγκαουργεῖν κατὰ τε<sup>3</sup> τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κατὰ τῆς τηθίδος.
- 142 (8) Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς μεγέθει τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου κακίας ὤρμησε μὲν καὶ παραχρήμα αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὡς κύκηθρον μεγάλων γεγονότα πραγμάτων, καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἐπιβεβουλευκότα καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος διεφθαρκότα τὴν οἰκίαν· ἐξώτρυνε δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ Σαλώμη, στερνοτυπούμενη καὶ κτείνειν αὐτὴν κελεύουσα, εἰ τινος ἐπὶ τοιοῦσδε πίστεως αἰτίαν ἀξιόχρεων οἶα
- 143 τε παρασχεῖν γένοιτο. Ἡρώδης δὲ μεταπέμφας ἀνέκρινε τὸν υἱὸν κελεύων εἰ τι ἀντειπεῖν ἔχοι λέγειν μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενον,<sup>4</sup> ἔπει δὲ ἀχανῆς ἦν, ἤρετο αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ πανταχοῦ<sup>5</sup> πεφώραται πονηρὸς ὢν, τοὺς γοῦν συγκαουργήσαντας αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα μὴ
- 144 μελλῆσαι κατειπεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντιφίλῳ τῆν πάντων αἰτίαν ἀνέτιθει, ἕτερον δ' οὐδένα προὔτιθει. Ἡρώδης δὲ περιαλγῶν ὤρμησε μὲν πέμπειν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ Niese: παρὰ Naber.

<sup>2</sup> E: αὐτῇ codd.: om. Lat.

<sup>3</sup> E: γε codd.

this letter to bits so that I too may not be in danger of losing my life." And to Antipater himself she had written to inform him that, following his instructions, she had written to Herod to make him believe that Salome had been zealously forming all sorts of plots against him. She had also sent him<sup>a</sup> a copy of the letter allegedly written to her mistress by Salome. This Acme was a Jewess by birth but a slave of Caesar's wife Julia, and she did these things out of friendship for Antipater, for she had been bribed by him with a large sum of money to assist him in his evil designs against both his father and his aunt.

(8) In his dismay at the enormity of Antipater's villainy, Herod had the impulse to get rid of him immediately as a fomentor of serious troubles as well as for having plotted not only against him but also against his sister and for having corrupted the household of Caesar. To this he was also incited by Salome, who beat her breast and bade him kill her if she could have been so grievously at fault as to make such charges credible. Thereupon Herod sent for his son to question him, telling him to speak without mistrust if he had anything to say in rebuttal. And when Antipater remained mute, Herod asked him, since he had been found guilty of villainy on every count, at least to name his accomplices in these crimes without delay. But he only put the blame for everything on Antiphilus and did not denounce anyone else. Thereupon Herod, being deeply grieved, was prompted to send his son to Caesar in

<sup>a</sup> The mss. read "to her," i.e. her mistress. Cf. § 137, which appears inadvertently to be repeated here. The parallel in *B.J.* seems to refer to a different letter.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf: ὑπιδόμενον codd.

<sup>5</sup> τὰ πάντα πανταχοῦ P.

τὸν υἱὸν ὡς Καίσαρα, λόγον ὑφέξοντα τῶν ἐπὶ  
146 τοῖσδε βουλευμάτων, ἔπειτα δείσας μὴ καὶ βοήθεια  
τῶν φίλων εὐρίσκοιτο τοῦ κινδύνου διαφυγᾶς, αὐτὸν  
μὲν δέσμιον ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἐφύλασεν, αὐτῆς δὲ  
πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμπε καὶ γράμματα ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ  
τοῦ υἱέος, ὅποσα τε Ἄκμῃ συγκακουρήσειεν αὐτῷ,  
καὶ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν.

148 (vi. 1) Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης  
ἠπειγόντο, ὅποσα τε ἀνακρινόμενος δεῖσοι λέγειν  
προεκδιδαχθέντες<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέροντες· εἰς  
νόσον δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμπεσὼν διαθήκας γράφει, τῷ  
νεωτάτῳ τῶν υἱῶν τὴν βασιλείαν διδοὺς μίσει τῷ  
πρὸς τὸν τε Ἀρχέλαον καὶ Φίλιππον ἐκ τῶν Ἀντι-  
πάτρου διαβολῶν, Καίσαρι τε χρήματα<sup>2</sup> τάλαντων  
χιλίων, καὶ γυναικὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ τέκνοις  
καὶ φίλοις καὶ ἀπελευθέροις Καίσαρος πεντακοσίων.

147 ἔνεμε δὲ καὶ τοῖς υἱέσι χρήματα καὶ προσόδους καὶ  
ἀγροὺς καὶ υἱέσι τοῖς ἐκείνων, Σαλώμην δὲ ἐπὶ  
μέγα ἐπλούτιζε τὴν ἀδελφὴν, εὖνον τε αὐτῷ ἐπὶ  
πᾶσι διαμεμενηκύϊαν καὶ μηδαμόθι θρασυνομένην

148 κακουργεῖν. ἀπεγνωκῶς δὲ περιοίσειν (καὶ γὰρ  
περὶ ἔτος ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἦν) ἐξηγγρίωσεν ἀκράτῳ τῇ  
ὀργῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ εἰς πάντας<sup>3</sup> χρώμενος· αἴτιον δὲ  
ἦν δόξα τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἡδονῇ τὰς τύχας  
αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔθνος φέρειν, ἄλλως τε ἐπειδὴ τινες τῶν  
δημοτικωτέρων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ  
διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν.

149 (2) Ἦν Ἰούδας ὁ Σαριφαίου<sup>4</sup> καὶ Μαθθίας ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: προσεκδιδαχθέντες codd.

<sup>2</sup> χρήματα om. P.      <sup>3</sup> Hudson: πάντα codd.  
φαισαίου E: Σαμφωραίου (ex B.J.) in marg. AM.

Rome to undergo trial for his wicked plotting but later, fearing that with the help of his friends Antipater might find a way to escape this danger, he kept him in chains as before, and again sent envoys with letters (to Rome) to accuse his son and to tell all that Acme had done as his accomplice in crime, and he also sent copies of the letters (that had been intercepted).

(vi. 1)<sup>a</sup> And so the envoys hastened toward Rome with the letters, having been instructed beforehand just what they should say when they were questioned. But the king fell ill and made a will, giving the kingdom to his youngest son<sup>b</sup> because of his hatred of both Archelaus and Philip, arising from the calumnies of Antipater. And to Caesar he left the sum of a thousand talents, and to Caesar's wife Julia and his children, friends and freedmen he left five hundred talents. He also distributed money, revenues and lands to his sons and to their sons. He greatly enriched Salome, his sister, for she had remained loyal to him in all circumstances and had never ventured to do him harm. But having given up hope of recovering—he was actually about seventy years old—he became quite savage and treated everyone<sup>c</sup> with uncontrolled anger and harshness. The cause of this was his belief that he was despised and that the nation took pleasure in his misfortunes, especially when certain popular figures rose up against him for the following reason.

(2) Judas, the son of Sariphaeus,<sup>d</sup> and Matthias,

<sup>a</sup> With chap. vi cf. *B.J.* i. 646-660. See also Euseb. *HE* i. 8, 5 ff. Seditious movements in Jerusalem.

<sup>b</sup> Antipas, a son by Malthace (*B.J.* i. 646).

<sup>c</sup> Conjecture (Hudson); mss. "acted in everything."

<sup>d</sup> On variant spellings see critical note and *B.J.* i. 648.



Μαργαλώθου<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαίων λογιώτατοι καὶ παρ' οὐσ-  
 τινας ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων, ἄνδρες καὶ  
 δήμῳ προσφιλεῖς διὰ παιδείαν τοῦ νεωτέρου<sup>2</sup>. ὁσ-  
 ημέραι γὰρ διημέρευον αὐτοῖς πάντες οἷς προσποι-  
 150 ησις ἀρετῆς ἐπετηδεύετο. οὗτοι<sup>3</sup> πυνθανόμενοι  
 τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν νόσον θεραπεύειν ἄπορον οὔσαν,  
 ἐξῆραν τὸ νεώτερον, ὥστε ὅποσα παρὰ τὸν νόμον  
 τὸν πατριον κατεσκεύαστο ἔργα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως,  
 ταῦτα καθελόντας εὐσεβείας ἀγωνίσματα παρὰ τῶν  
 νόμων φέρεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup>  
 παρ' ὃ διηγόρευεν ὁ νόμος τῆς ποιήσεως τὰ τε  
 151 ἀλλὰ αὐτῷ συντυχεῖν, οἷς παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῦ  
 γὰρ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ τινὰ πραγματευθέντα παρὰ τὸν  
 νόμον, ἃ δὴ ἐπεκάλουν<sup>5</sup> οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ  
 Μαθθίαν. κατεσκευάκει δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ πυ-  
 λῶνος τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ ναοῦ ἀνάθημα καὶ λίαν  
 πολυτελές, ἀετὸν χρύσειον μέγαν· κωλύει δὲ ὁ νόμος  
 εἰκόνας τε ἀναστάσεις ἐπινοεῖν καὶ τιῶν ζώων  
 ἀναθέσεις ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι τοῖς βιοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν  
 152 προηρημένους. ὥστε ἐκέλευον οἱ σοφισταὶ τὸν  
 ἀετὸν κατασπᾶν· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις γένοιτο κίνδυνος  
 τῷ εἰς θάνατον ἀνακειμένῳ, πολὺ τῆς ἐν τῷ ζῆν

<sup>1</sup> Μαργαλώθου P: Meglothi cod. A Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν νεωτέρων E.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: οἱ τε codd.: οἱ τότε Dindorf: isti igitur Lat.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ M et ex corr. A: αὐτῶν rell.: eius Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ex Lat. Niese: ἀνθρώπου codd.

<sup>6</sup> συνέβη in marg. AM: fuerat conversatus Lat. unde ἐνδιέτριβεν con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>7</sup> ἐπεκάλουν M.

<sup>a</sup> On variant spellings see critical note and *B.J.* i. 648.

<sup>b</sup> See critical note.

the son of Margalothus,<sup>a</sup> were most learned of the Jews and unrivalled interpreters of the ancestral laws, and men especially dear to the people because they educated the youth, for all those who made an effort to acquire virtue used to spend time with them day after day. When these scholars learned that the king's illness could not be cured, they aroused the youth by telling them that they should pull down all the works built by the king in violation of the laws of their fathers and so obtain from the Law the reward of their pious efforts. It was indeed because of his<sup>b</sup> audacity in making these things in disregard of the Law's provisions,<sup>c</sup> they said, that all those misfortunes, with which he had become familiar<sup>d</sup> to a degree uncommon among mankind, had happened to him, in particular his illness. Now Herod had set about doing certain things that were contrary to the Law, and for these he had been reproached by Judas and Matthias and their followers. For the king had erected over the great gate of the Temple, as a votive offering and at great cost, a great golden eagle,<sup>e</sup> although the Law forbids those who propose to live in accordance with it to think of setting up images or to make dedications of (the likenesses of) any living creatures. So these scholars<sup>f</sup> ordered (their disciples) to pull the eagle down, saying that even if there should be some danger of their being doomed to death, still to those about to die for the preserva-

The plot to pull down the golden eagle.

<sup>a</sup> On Herod's breaking of the Law see Momigliano, *CAH* x. 335 n. 2; Cecil Roth, "An Ordinance Against Images in Jerusalem A.D. 66," *HTR* 49 (1956), 169-177; J. B. Frey in *Biblica* 15 (1934), 265-300.

<sup>d</sup> From the Latin; cf. critical note.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. *B.J.* i. 650.

<sup>f</sup> Heb. *hakanim*; Thackeray "doctors" in *B.J.* i. 648, 650.

ἡδονῆς λυσιτελεστέραν φαίνεσθαι τὴν προστιθε-  
 μένην<sup>1</sup> ἀρετὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ  
 φυλακῇ τοῦ πατρίου μελλήσουσι τελευτᾶν, διὰ τὸ  
 αἰδιον τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι φήμην κατασκευασαμένους  
 ἐν τε τοῖς νῦν ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις  
 153 ἀειμνημόνευτον καταλιπεῖν τὸν βίον.<sup>2</sup> καίτοι γε  
 καὶ τοῖς ἀκινδύνως διαιτωμένοις ἀφυκτον εἶναι τὴν  
 συμφορὰν, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν τοῖς ἀρετῆς ὀργνω-  
 μένοις τὸ κατεψηφισμένον αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup> μετ' ἐπαίνων καὶ  
 154 τιμῶν δεχομένοις ἀπιέναι τοῦ βίου. φέρειν γὰρ  
 κούφισιν πολλὴν τὸ ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις, ὧν μνηστῆρα  
 τὸν κίνδυνον εἶναι, τελευτᾶν, καὶ ἅμα νιέσι τῶν  
 αὐτῶν καὶ ὁπόσοι τοῦ συγγενοῦς καταλείποντο  
 ἄνδρες ἢ γυναῖκες, καὶ τοῖσδε περιποιησάμενοι ὄφελος  
 εὐκλείᾳ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν.  
 155 (3) Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοιοῦτοις λόγοις ἐξῆραν τοὺς  
 νέους. ἀφικνεῖται δὲ λόγος εἰς αὐτοὺς τεθνάναι  
 φράζων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ συνέπραττε τοῖς σοφισταῖς.  
 καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας ἀνελθόντες κατέσπων τε καὶ  
 πελέκεσιν ἐξέκοψαν τὸν αἰτόν, πολλῶν ἐν τῷ ἱε-  
 156 ρῶ διατριβόντων. καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ βασιλέως  
 (ἀγγέλλεται γὰρ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις πρὸς αὐτόν) ἀπὸ μεί-  
 ζονος διανοίας ἢ ἐπράσσετο ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεσι χεῖρα  
 πολλὴν ἀγόμενος,<sup>4</sup> ὁπόσοι ἀνθέξοιεν τῷ πλήθει  
 τῶν πειρωμένων καθαιρεῖν τὸ ἀνάθημα· ἐπιπεσόν  
 τε μὴ προσδεχομένοις, ἀλλ' ὅποια ὄχλος φιλεῖ,  
 δόξῃ μᾶλλον ἀμαθεῖ ἢ προνοία ἀσφαλεῖ τετολημη-  
 κόσιν,<sup>5</sup> ἀσυντάκτοις τε καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ ὀνήσοντος  
 157 προανεσκοπημένοις, τῶν τε νέων οὐκ ἐλάσσους

<sup>1</sup> προτεθειμένην AME.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ κλέος AM.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπαγόμενος E.

<sup>5</sup> ed. pr.: τετολημηκότας codd.: congregata (turba) Lat.

tion and safeguarding of their fathers' way of life the virtue acquired by them in death would seem far more advantageous than the pleasure of living. For by winning eternal fame and glory for themselves they would be praised by those now living and would leave the ever-memorable (example of their) lives to future generations. Moreover, they said, even those who live without danger cannot escape the misfortune (of death), so that those who strive for virtue do well to accept their fate with praise and honour when they depart this life. For it makes death much easier when we court danger for a noble cause, and at the same time we obtain for our sons and whatever relatives, men or women, survive us the benefit of the glory which is thereby acquired.

(3) With such words, then, did they stir the youth, and when a rumour reached them that the king had died, it only made the scholars' words more effective. At mid-day, therefore, the youths went up (to the roof of the Temple) and pulled down the eagle and cut it up with axes before the many people who were gathered in the Temple. And the officer <sup>a</sup> of the king—for the attempt had been reported to him—, suspecting that something more serious was involved than what was being done, came up with a force large enough to meet the crowd of men who were intent upon pulling down the image that had been set up. Upon these he fell unexpectedly, for, as is usual with a crowd, they had taken this daring step on a foolish whim rather than with the caution of foresight, and were therefore in disorder, not having looked around beforehand for a way to help themselves. He seized no fewer than forty of the

The offend-  
 ers seized  
 and  
 punished.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 652 and Acts iv. 1; v. 24.

τεσσαράκοντα ἀνδρῶν, οἱ θάρσει ἔμενον ἐπιόντα ἐς  
 φυγὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους καταστάτος, λαμβάνει,<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ τοὺς εἰσηγητὰς τοῦ τολμήματος Ἰούδαν καὶ  
 Μαθθίαν ἄδοξον ἡγουμένους ὑποχωρεῖν τὴν ἐφοδον  
 158 αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα. ἐρομένου  
 δέ, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκοντο ἐπ' αὐτόν, τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ<sup>2</sup>  
 τολμήσειαν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀνάθημα καθελεῖν, "ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 πεφρόνηται γε ἡμῖν τὰ φρονηθέντα,<sup>3</sup> καὶ πέπρακται  
 τὰ πεπραγμένα μετ' ἀρετῆς ἀνδράσι πρεπωδε-  
 στάτης· τοῦ τε γὰρ θείου τῆ ἀξιώσει πεπιστευμένα<sup>4</sup>  
 159 βεβοήθηται ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῦ νόμον τῆ ἀκροάσει<sup>5</sup>  
 πεφροντισμένα<sup>6</sup>. θαυμαστόν τε οὐδὲν εἰ τῶν σῶν  
 δογμάτων ἀξιοτέρους τετηρηῆσθαι ἡγήμεθα τοὺς  
 νόμους, οὓς Μωυσῆς ὑπαγορεύσει καὶ διδαχῆ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ γραψάμενος κατέλιπεν. ἡδονῆ τε τὸν θάνατον  
 οἴσομεν καὶ τιμωρίαν ἦντινα ἐπιβάλοις διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 ἐπ' ἀδίκους ἔργοις ἀλλὰ φιλία τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς μέλλειν  
 160 συνείσεσθαι τὸ ἐφομιλῆσαν αὐτοῦ." καὶ οἱ μὲν  
 ταῦτα πάντες ἔλεγον, οὐδὲν ἔλλιπεστέρα τῆ τόλμῃ  
 τοῦ λόγου χρώμενοι, ἢ<sup>7</sup> θαρσῆσαντες τὸ ἔργον  
 πράττειν οὐκ ἀπετράποντο. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς  
 καταδήσας ἐξέπεμπε<sup>8</sup> εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα, καλέσας<sup>9</sup>  
 161 Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἐν τέλει, καὶ παραγενομένων ἐξεκ-  
 κλησιάσας εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον<sup>10</sup> ἐπὶ κλινιδίου κεί-  
 μενος ἀδυναμία τοῦ στήναι, τῶν ἀγωνιῶν<sup>11</sup> τε ἐφ'  
 ὅσον δὴ τινες ἦσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γεγонуῖαι ἀνηριθ-

<sup>1</sup> συλλαμβάνει Naber.

<sup>2</sup> τί ex Lat. con. Bekker.

<sup>3</sup> πεφρόντισται . . . τὰ φροντισθέντα Naber.

<sup>4</sup> πεπιστευμένα om. P. <sup>5</sup> ἡκρόατο P.

<sup>6</sup> πεφροντισμένα A<sup>1</sup>: τὸ σῶφρον P.

<sup>7</sup> ἢ Bekker: ἦς Post. <sup>8</sup> μετέπεμπε P.

<sup>9</sup> καλέσας om. P. <sup>10</sup> Naber: αὐτὸ θέατρον codd.

young men, who had courageously awaited his attack  
 while the rest of the multitude took to flight, and he  
 also captured Judas and Matthias, the instigators of  
 the daring deed, who thought it inglorious to give  
 way on his approach, and he led them to the king.  
 When they came to him, the king asked whether  
 they had dared to pull down the offering he had set  
 up, and they replied, "Yes, but the thoughts that  
 we have thought and the deeds that we have done  
 had the highest degree of manly excellence. For we  
 have come to the aid of a cause entrusted to us by God  
 because he thought us worthy, and of deep concern  
 to us who obey the Law.<sup>a</sup> Nor is it at all surprising  
 if we believe that it is less important to observe your  
 decrees than the laws that Moses wrote as God  
 prompted and taught him, and left behind. And  
 with pleasure we will endure death or whatever  
 punishment you may inflict on us because we shall  
 be conscious that death walks with us not because  
 of any wrongdoing on our part but because of our  
 devotion to piety." They all spoke in this way and  
 showed no less daring in their speech than when  
 they had been undeterred in carrying out their bold  
 deed. Thereupon the king had them bound and  
 sent to Jericho, where he summoned the Jewish  
 officials, and when they arrived, he assembled them  
 in the amphitheatre,<sup>b</sup> and lying on a couch because  
 of his inability to stand, he recounted all his strenuous

Herod at Jericho denounces the insult to his generosity.

<sup>a</sup> Text and meaning somewhat uncertain; perhaps translate, "For we have come to the aid of things dedicated to God and to things that have come to be observed by the hearing of the Law." <sup>b</sup> On Jericho see Appendix D.

<sup>11</sup> τῶν ἀγωνιῶν Hudson: γωνιστῶν P: ἀγωνιστῶν AM: τῶν εὐποιῶν E.

JOSEPHUS

162 μείτο, καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν κατασκευὴν ὡς μεγάλοις  
τέλεσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ γένοιτο, μὴ δυνηθέντων ἔτεσιν  
ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιπέντε τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου ἐν οἷς ἔβα-  
σίλευον τοιόνδε τι ἐπὶ τιμῇ πράξαι τοῦ θεοῦ·  
163 κοσμήσαι δὲ καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις, ἀνθ' ὧν  
ἐλπίδα μὲν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ<sup>1</sup> μεθὸ θάνου καταλε-  
λείψεσθαι μνήμην τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐκλειαν. κατεβόα  
τε ἤδη διότι μηδὲ ζῶντα ὑβρίζειν ἀπόσχοιντο εἰς  
αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας τε καὶ ἐν ὄψει τῆς πληθύος  
ὑβρει χρωμένους ἄψασθαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνακει-  
μένων καὶ καθαίρειν ὑβρίζοντας πεπονήσθαι<sup>2</sup> λόγῳ  
μὲν εἰς αὐτόν, ἀληθεία δέ, εἴ τις ἐξετάζοι τοῦ γεγο-  
νότος, ἱεροσυλοῦντας.

164 (4) Οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ὀμότητα αὐτοῦ, μὴ δὴ καὶ κατ'  
αὐτῶν ἐξαγριώσας εἰσπράττειτο τιμωρίαν, οὔτε  
γνώμη ἔφασαν αὐτὰ πεπραχθαι τῇ αὐτῶν, φαίνεσθαι  
τε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένα κολάσεως αὐτὰ εἶναι.  
ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πραοτέρως ἔσχεν, Μαθθίαν δὲ  
τὸν ἀρχιερέα παύσας ἱεράσθαι ὡς αἴτιον τοῦ μέρους<sup>3</sup>  
τούτων γεγονότα, καθίστα Ἰώζαρον ἀρχιερέα,  
165 ἀδελφὸν γυναικὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Μαθθίου  
τούτου ἱερωμένου συμβαίνει καὶ ἕτερον ἀρχιερέα  
καταστήναι πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν, ἣν Ἰουδαῖοι νηστείαν  
166 ἄγουσιν. αἰτία δ' ἐστὶν ἣδε· ὁ Μαθθίας ἱερώμενος  
ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς ἡμέραν ἧ ἡ νηστεία ἐνίσ-

<sup>1</sup> E: καὶν codd.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: τε ποιέσθαι codd.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ μέρος con. Bekker.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xv. 380; *B.J.* i. 401; see Jones, pp. 105-110; Perowne, chaps. xx-xxi; and Appendix D.

efforts on their behalf, and told them at what great expense to himself he had constructed the Temple,<sup>a</sup> whereas the Hasmonaeans had been unable to do anything so great for the honour of God in the hundred and twenty-five years of their reign. He had also, he said, adorned (the Temple) with notable dedicatory offerings, and for these reasons he cherished the hope that even after his death he would leave behind a memorial of himself and an illustrious name. At this point he began to shout that even while he was alive, they had not hesitated to insult him but in broad daylight and in view of the populace had insultingly laid hands on the offering set up by him and had succeeded in pulling it down; this was supposed an insult to him but in actual fact, if one closely examined their actions, was sacrilege.

(4) Because of his savage state and out of fear that in his fury he might avenge himself upon them, those present said that these things had been done without their consent, and it seemed to them that the perpetrators should not be exempted from punishment. Herod therefore dealt rather mildly with these others but removed the high priest Matthias from his priestly office as being partly to blame for what had happened, and in his stead appointed his wife's brother<sup>b</sup> Joazar as high priest. Now it happened during this Matthias' term as high priest that another high priest was appointed for a single day—that which the Jews observe as a fast<sup>c</sup>—for the following reason. While serving as priest during the night preceding the day on which the fast occurred, Matthias seemed in a

Matthias  
deposed and  
Joazar ap-  
pointed as  
high priest.

<sup>b</sup> Son of Boethus, brother of Mariamme II. He served as high priest from 23 to 5 B.C.; cf. § 339 and *Ant.* xviii. 3, 26.

<sup>c</sup> Fast of Esther, 11th of Adar (March 13). But see pp. 448 f. note a.



τατο, ἔδοξεν ἐν οὐρανῷ ὠμολογῆσαι γυναικί, καὶ  
 διὰ τὸδε οὐ δυναμένου ἱερουργεῖν, Ἰώσηπος ὁ τοῦ  
 167 Ἑλλήμου<sup>1</sup> συνιέρασατο αὐτῷ, συγγενῆς ὢν. Ἡρώ-  
 δης δὲ τὸν τε Μαθθίαν ἐπεπαύκει τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης,  
 καὶ τὸν ἕτερον Μαθθίαν, ὃς ἐγγέρκει τὴν στάσιν,  
 καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ ἔκαυσε ζῶντας.  
 καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλιπεν.  
 168 (5) Ἡρώδης δὲ μειζόνως ἢ νόσος ἐνεπικραίνετο,  
 δίκην ὧν παρανομῆσαι ἐκπρασσομένου τοῦ θεοῦ·  
 πῦρ μὲν γὰρ μαλακὸν ἦν, οὐχ ὧδε πολλὴν ἀποση-  
 μαῖνον τοῖς ἐπαφωμένοις τὴν φλόγῳσιν ὀπόσην τοῖς  
 169 ἐντὸς προσετίθει τὴν κάκωσιν. ἐπιθυμία δὲ δεινὴ  
 τοῦ ὀδᾶσθαι<sup>3</sup> τι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἦν μὴ οὐχ  
 ὑπουργεῖν,<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἔλκωσις τῶν τε ἐντέρων καὶ  
 μάλιστα τοῦ κόλου δεινὰ ἀλγηδόνες, καὶ φλέγμα  
 ὑγρὸν περὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ διαυγές· παραπλησία δὲ  
 καὶ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον κάκωσις ἦν, ναί<sup>5</sup> μὴν καὶ τοῦ  
 αἰδοίου σήψις σκώληκας ἐμποιοῦσα, πνεύματός τε  
 ὀρθία ἐντασις καὶ αὐτῇ λίαν ἀηδῆς ἀχθηδόνι τε τῆς  
 ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῷ πυκνῷ τοῦ ἀσθματος, σπασμὸς<sup>6</sup>  
 τε περὶ πᾶν ἦν μέλος,<sup>7</sup> ἰσχὺν οὐχ ὑπομενητῆν  
 170 προστιθέμενος. ἐλέγετο οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν θειαζόντων

<sup>1</sup> Ἑλλήμου M: Ἑλλίμου E: Elimi Lat.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ κ' con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> Naber: δέξασθαι codd.: cibi Lat.

<sup>4</sup> οὐ . . . ὑπουργεῖν] nec tamen satietas rapidis incitata  
 faucibus valebat implere ingluviem Lat.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ Stephanus ap. Eusebium et Nicephorus.

<sup>6</sup> ἐσπασμένος PA<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>: contractus Lat.

<sup>7</sup> E Lat.: μέρος codd.

<sup>a</sup> On the Levitical impurity cf. Derenbourg, p. 160;  
 Schürer, *GJV* ii. 217, n. 7; Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish*  
 448

dream to have intercourse with a woman, and since  
 he was unable to serve as priest because of that  
 experience,<sup>a</sup> a relative of his, Joseph, the son of  
 Ellemus, served as priest in his place. Herod then  
 deposed Matthias from the high priesthood. As for  
 the other Matthias, who had stirred up the sedition,  
 he burnt him alive along with some of his com-  
 panions. And on that same night there was an  
 eclipse of the moon.<sup>b</sup>

(5) But Herod's illness became more and more Herod's  
illness  
grows  
worse. acute, for God was inflicting just punishment upon  
 him for his lawless deeds. The fever that he had was  
 a light one and did not so much indicate symptoms  
 of inflammation to the touch as it produced internal  
 damage. He also had a terrible desire to scratch  
 himself<sup>c</sup> because of this, for it was impossible not to  
 seek relief. There was also an ulceration of the  
 bowels and intestinal pains that were particularly  
 terrible, and a moist, transparent suppuration of  
 the feet. And he suffered similarly from an ab-  
 dominal ailment, as well as from a gangrene of his  
 privy parts that produced worms. His breathing  
 was marked by extreme tension, and it was very un-  
 pleasant because of the disagreeable exhalation of  
 his breath and his constant gasping. He also had  
 convulsions in every limb that took on unendurable  
 severity. Accordingly it was said by the men of

*Palestine*, p. 177 and note 120. A Day of Atonement inci-  
 dent in the Talmuds, e.g., *Yer. Yoma* i. 1 (*Bab. ibid.*, 12b).  
 Cf. *Horayoth* 12b; *Megillah* i. 9b. See *Ant.* xi. 290-295;  
 xii. 410-412.

<sup>b</sup> 13 March 4 B.C., the only eclipse mentioned by Jose-  
 phus; see Ginzler, p. 195; Boll, *PW* vi. 2329-2364 ("Fin-  
 sternisse").

<sup>c</sup> Conjectured by Naber; the mss. probably refer to his  
 taking food; cf. the Latin and Eusebius, *HE* i. 8. 6.

καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προαποφθέγγεσθαι σοφία πρόκειται,  
 ποιῆν τοῦ πολλοῦ δυσσεβοῦς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς εἰσ-  
 171 πράσσεισθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. καίπερ δὲ  
 μειζόνως ἢ ἀντίσχοι ἂν τις ταλαιπωρούμενος, ἐν  
 ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἀνασφαλοῦντος ἦν, ἰατροῦς τε μεταπέμ-  
 πων καὶ ὅποσα ἀρωγὰ ὑπαγορεύσειαν χρῆσθαι μὴ  
 ἀποτετραμμένος· ποταμόν τε περάσας Ἰορδάνην  
 θερμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρρόην αὐτὸν παρεδίδου,  
 ἅπερ σὺν τῇ ἐς πάντα ἀρετῇ καὶ πότιμά ἐστιν·  
 ἕξεισι δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἰς λίμνην τὴν ἀσφαλτο-  
 172 φόρον λεγομένην. κἀνταῦθα τοῖς ἰατροῖς δοκῆσαν  
 ὥστε ἀναθάλπειν αὐτόν, καθεσθεις εἰς πύελον ἐλαίου  
 πλέον δόξαν μεταστάσεως ἐνεποίησεν αὐτοῖς. τῶν  
 δὲ οἰκετῶν οἰμωγῇ χρωμένων περιενεγκῶν, καὶ  
 μὴδ' ἦντινα ἀμφὶ τοῦ σωθησομένου ἐλπίδα ἔχων,  
 τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκάστω  
 173 κελεύει νεμηθῆναι· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν  
 αὐτῶν καὶ φίλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔδωρεῖτο. καὶ παρῆν  
 αὐθις ἐπὶ Ἰεριχοῦντος· μέλαινα τε χολή αὐτὸν  
 ἦρει ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξαγριαίνουσα, ὥστε δὴ<sup>1</sup> τελευτῶν  
 174 πρᾶξιν τοιάνδε ἐπινοεῖν· ἀφικομένων προστάγματι  
 τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους  
 ὁποῖοτε ἀξιολόγων (πολλοὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ὡς τοῦ  
 παντὸς ἔθνους κατακεκλημένου καὶ πάντων ἀκροα-  
 σαμένων τοῦ διατάγματος, εἰς γὰρ θάνατον ἦν  
 ἀνακείμενα τοῖς ἀλογήσασι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν),<sup>2</sup> ἐμ-  
 μαινομένου πᾶσι τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμοίως τοῖς τε

<sup>1</sup> ἦδη E.    <sup>2</sup> ἐντολῶν cod. Busb. ap. Hudson-Havercamp.

“Or” to predict these things.” The verb is *hapax leg.* in Josephus.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 657; the “Baths of Herod” near the N.E. end of the Dead Sea. Abel, *GP* i. 87, 156, 461. References

God and by those whose special wisdom led them to proclaim their opinions<sup>a</sup> on such matters that all this was the penalty that God was exacting of the king for his great impiety. But though he was suffering greater misery than could well be endured, he still had hopes of recovering, and so he summoned his physicians and made up his mind to use whatever remedies they might suggest. He therefore crossed the river Jordan and took baths in the warm springs at Callirrhoe,<sup>b</sup> the waters of which beside all their other virtues are also good to drink. Now these waters run into the Lake Asphaltophoros, as it is called.<sup>c</sup> And when his physicians decided to warm his body there and had seated him in a tub of (warm) oil, he looked to them as though he had passed away. But he was brought round by the cries of lamentation uttered by his servants, and since he had not the slightest hope of being restored to health, he gave orders to distribute fifty drachmas apiece to all his soldiers. He also gave considerable sums to their officers and to his friends. Then he once more came to Jericho, where a black mood seized him and made him so bitter at everyone that though he was at the point of death, he devised the following plan. The notable Jews were commanded to come to him from all parts of the entire nation—and there were many of them since the whole nation had been called upon, and they had all obeyed his decree, for death awaited anyone who disregarded his written orders—and the king, who was furious with all alike,

Herod's  
vain search  
for a cure.

His plan to  
ensure  
mourning  
at his death.

to it occur in Pliny (v. 16), Ptolemaeus (v. 15. 6), and elsewhere, and it is shown on the Madaba Mosaic (Avi-Yonah, Item 10) and mentioned in the Talmud (Gen. *Rabbah* 37. 6).

<sup>c</sup> The Dead Sea; in *Ant.* xv. 168 called “Asphaltitis,” the more usual name.

176 ἀναιτίους καὶ παρεσχηκόσιν αἰτίαν· συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς πάντας ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ τὴν τε ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Σαλώμην καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς Ἀλεξάν μεταπέμψας, τεθνήξεσθαι μὲν οὐ πόρρω ἔλεγεν, ἐπὶ τοσόνδε τῶν ἀλγηδόνων αὐτὸν περιεχουσῶν<sup>1</sup>· καὶ τόδε μὲν οἰστόν τε καὶ πᾶσι φίλον παρατυγχάνειν, τὸ δὲ ὀλοφυρμῶν τε ἄπορον καὶ πένθους ἐνδεᾶ ὁποῖον ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ πράσσοιτο ἂν μάλιστα αὐτῷ

176 λυπηρὸν εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἀποσκοποῦν τὴν Ἰουδαίων διάνοιαν, ὡς εὐκτὸς αὐτοῖς καὶ πάννυ κεχαρισμένος ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ καὶ ζῶντος ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ ὕβρει τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προτιθεμένων·

177 ἔργον δ' ἄρα ἐκείνων εἶναι κούφισίν τινα αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιοῦδε ἀλγεῖν· τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ δὴ φρονῆσαι δόξῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀπειπαμένων μέγαν τε αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον γενήσεσθαι, καὶ ὁποῖος οὐδ' ἄλλοις βασιλέων καὶ πένθος διὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ἅπαντος ἐκ ψυχῆς ὀλοφυραμένων ἐπὶ παιδιᾷ καὶ γέλωτι

178 αὐτοῦ. ἐπὶ οὖν θεάσωνται τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφέντα αὐτόν, περιστήσαντας τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀγνοοῦν ἔτι τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ (μὴ γὰρ πρότερον εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἢ τάδε πράξαι) κελεύειν ἀκοντίσαι τοὺς ἐγκαθειργμένους, καὶ πάντας τοῦτον ἀνελόντας τὸν τρόπον διχόθεν αὐτὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτήσαντας<sup>2</sup> τοῦ εὐφρανοῦντος, κυρώσει τε

<sup>1</sup> περιεπουσῶν P.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: ἁμαρτήσαντας codd.: ἁμαρτήσαι E: ἁμαρτήσασθαι Bekker.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. i. 660 and note on a possible Jewish holiday

both the innocent and those who were considered guilty, had them all shut up in the hippodrome. He then sent for his sister Salome and her husband Alexas, and told them that he would be dead before long because of the pains that so greatly afflicted him in all parts of his body. Now death in itself is something to be borne and experienced in common by all men, but that he should have to go without the lamentation and mourning that are customary when a king dies was an extremely painful thought to him. He was not blind to the feelings of the Jews and he knew how ardently they prayed for his death and how much pleasure this would bring them because even during his lifetime they had been eager to revolt and to show their contempt for his projects.<sup>a</sup> It was therefore their responsibility (he said to Salome and Alexas) to adopt some plan that would alleviate his painful feeling in this situation. And if they were not unwilling to accept his own plan, he would, he said, have a grand funeral such as no other king had ever had, and there would be mourning throughout the entire nation, which would be lamenting from its very soul instead of mocking and ridiculing him. Accordingly, when they saw that he had breathed his last, they were to post soldiers round the hippodrome, who would be unaware of his death—for they were not to publish news of this before they had taken the following steps—and order them to shoot down those imprisoned there, for if they destroyed them all in this manner, they could not fail to make him happy over two things, namely the carrying out of the instructions he had given them

(*Megillat Taanit*) commemorating Herod's death. For rabbinic sources see Strack-Billerbeck i. 89.

- 179 ὡν ἐπιστείλειεν αὐτοῖς μέλλων τελευτᾶν, καὶ τῷ πένθει ἀξιολόγῳ τετιμῆσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν μετὰ δακρύων ποτινῶμενος, καὶ τοῦ συγγενοῦς τὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ πίστιν τοῦ θείου προσκαλῶν, ἐπέσκηπτε μὴ ἠτιμῶσθαι ἀξίων, κἀκεῖνοι ὠμολόγουν οὐ παραβήσεσθαι.
- 180 (6) Κατανοήσκει δ' ἂν τις τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὅτῳ τὰ πρότερα ἤρεσκεν ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλοζωεῖν πράξειε τὰ εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς πεπραγμένα, ἐκ γοῦν τῶν ἄρτι ἐπιστολῶν<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπιον εἰσφερομένην,<sup>2</sup> εἴ γε καὶ ἀπιῶν τοῦ βίου πρόνοιαν εἶχεν ὡς ἐν πένθει καὶ ἐρημίᾳ τῶν φιλιῶν τῶν πᾶν καταστήσειεν ἔθνος, ἕνα ἀπὸ ἐκάστου οἴκου κελεύων μεταχειρίσαι μηδὲν ἄδικον μήτε εἰς αὐτὸν δεδρακότας μήτε ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἐγκλήμασιν κατηγορίας αὐτῶν γενομένης, εἰωθότων οἷς προσποιήσεις ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δίκη ἐχθροὺς γενονότας ἐν τοιοῖσδε καιροῖς τὰ μίση κατατίθεσθαι.
- 182 (vii. 1) Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπιστέλλοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς, γράμματα παρῆν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς Ῥώμην πρέσβειων ἀπεσταλμένων πρὸς Καίσαρα. καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τὸ κεφάλαιον ἦν ὡς τῆς τε Ἀκμῆς ὀργῇ τῇ Καίσαρος ἀνηρημένης ἐφ' οἷς Ἀντίπατρον συγκακουρήσειεν, αὐτὸν τε Ἀντίπατρον ὡς ἐπὶ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐκείνου ποιοῖτο ὡς πατὴρ καὶ βασιλεὺς, εἴτε φυγάδα ἐλαύνειν ἐβελήσειεν, εἴτε καὶ κτιννύειν.
- 183 τούτων ἀκροώμενος<sup>3</sup> Ἡρώδης βραχὺ μὲν ἀνήνεγκεν ἠδονῇ τῶν γεγραμμένων θανάτῳ τε τῆς Ἀκμῆς ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ ἐξουσία τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παιδὶ τιμωρίας.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτολῶν AM.<sup>2</sup> εἰσφερομένων Hudson.<sup>3</sup> ἀκροασάμενος codd. Busb. et Vat. teste Hudson.

when about to die, and his being honoured by conspicuous mourning. These things he tearfully implored them to do, appealing to their family affection and their faith in God, and charging them not to leave him unhonoured. They in turn promised not to disregard his wishes.

(6) Even if one approves Herod's earlier treatment of his relatives as having been due to his love of life, one may nevertheless see from his latest instructions that the man's character had nothing human to recommend it, and this conclusion is unavoidable if, when he was about to leave this world, he took care to leave the entire nation in a state of mourning over the loss of their dearest ones, and gave orders to do away with one member of each household, although they had done nothing wrong or offended him in any way and had not been accused of any other crime, and though it is customary for all men who pretend to virtue to forget their hatred at such a time even when it is directed against those whom they have a right to regard as enemies.

(vii. 1) While he was giving these instructions to his relatives, a letter came from the envoys who had been sent to Caesar in Rome, and when it was read, its substance was as follows. Acme had been put to death by Caesar in his anger at her having aided Antipater in his criminal acts. As for Antipater himself, Caesar left it to the judgment of Herod, acting as his father and king, whether he preferred to send him into exile or even kill him. On hearing this news, Herod briefly recovered his spirits in his pleasure over the contents of the letter, for he was elated at the death of Acme and at the authority given him to punish his son. But when his pains

The letter  
from  
Augustus.



περιουσῶν<sup>1</sup> δὲ εἰς μέγα τῶν ἀλγηδόνων παρίετο<sup>2</sup>  
 τεταλαιπωρημένος σιτίων, καὶ ἤτησε μῆλον καὶ  
 μαχαίριον (ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἔθει καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ  
 περιλέψαντι αὐτὸ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον τέμνοντι  
 184 ἐσθίειν). λαβὼν δὲ καὶ περισκεψάμενος γνώμη  
 εἶχε παίσων<sup>3</sup> ἑαυτὸν, κἂν ἐπεπράχει μὴ φθάσαντος  
 αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν τὴν δεξιὰν Ἀχιάβου ὃς ἀνεψιὸς  
 ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μέγα ἀνακραγόντος οἰμωγῇ τε αὐθις<sup>4</sup>  
 ἀνὰ τὸ βασιλεῖον ἦν καὶ θόρυβος μέγας ὡς οἰχο-  
 185 μένου τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίπατρος (πιστεύει  
 γὰρ τέλος ἀληθῶς τὸν πατέρα ἔχειν) θάρσει τε  
 ἐχρήτη ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ὅλος ὡς ἤδη τῶν δεσμῶν  
 ἀφεϊμένος<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀκονιτὶ δεξόμενος<sup>6</sup> εἰς  
 χεῖρας, καὶ τῷ εἰρκοφύλακι περὶ ἀφέσεως ἦν αὐ-  
 τοῦ διάλογος, μεγάλα ὑπισχνουμένου εἰς τὸ παρὸν  
 καὶ τὸ αὐθις, ὡς ἂν περὶ τοιῶνδε τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐν-  
 186 εστηκότος. ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀπειθῆς ἦν πράσσειν  
 ἐφ' οἷς ἤξιον Ἀντίπατρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 ἀποσημαίνει διάνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου, πολλαῖς καὶ  
 187 προσεισφοραῖς<sup>7</sup> παρ' αὐτοῦ<sup>8</sup> χρώμενος.<sup>9</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἡρώ-  
 δης καὶ πρότερον οὐχ ἡσώμενος οὐδ'<sup>10</sup> εὐνοία τοῦ  
 υἱέος, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε τοῦ εἰρκοφύλακος ταῦτα εἰρη-  
 κότης, ἀνεβόησέ τε ἀνατυψάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν,  
 καίπερ ἐν τῷ ὑστάτῳ ὢν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγκῶνα  
 περιάρας ἑαυτὸν κελεύει πέμψας τινὰς<sup>11</sup> τῶν δορυφό-

<sup>1</sup> προῖουσῶν Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> ἐφίετο ex Lat. (adpetebat) Herwerden.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς παίσων ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> αὐθις Bekker (cf. B.J.).

<sup>5</sup> ἀφασόμενος P.

<sup>6</sup> ed. pr.: ἀξόμενος PA: δεξόμενος ME et in marg. A: perceperit Lat.

<sup>7</sup> πολλῇ κ. προσεισφορᾷ con. Niese.

became much more intense, he felt thoroughly miser-  
 able and refused to take any food. And he asked for  
 an apple and a knife—for it had long been his custom  
 to peel the fruit himself and cut it into small pieces  
 for eating—, and when he had been given the knife,  
 he looked around with the intention of stabbing  
 himself, and he would have done so if his cousin  
 Achiab<sup>a</sup> had not seized his right hand before he could  
 do so. Achiab then uttered a loud cry, and the sound  
 of lamentation filled the palace, and there was great  
 consternation as if the king had died. And Antipater,  
 who believed that his father's life had really come to  
 an end, began to adopt a bolder tone as though he  
 were now wholly released from his bonds and could  
 seize the throne for himself without a struggle. And  
 he discussed the question of his release with the  
 jailor, promising him great rewards both for the  
 present and for the future, as though the time had  
 come for him to exert himself about such matters.  
 But the jailor not only refused to do as Antipater  
 asked but also revealed his intentions to the king  
 and added many embellishments of his own.<sup>b</sup> When  
 Herod, who even before this time had been far from  
 overwhelmed by affection for his son, heard the  
 jailor's disclosures, he cried out and beat his head  
 although he was at the point of death, and raising  
 himself on his elbow, he sent off some of his body-

Herod  
attempts  
suicide.

Antipater  
executed.

<sup>a</sup> Or "Achiabus"; cf. *Ant.* xv. 250. Later with Varus he was a leader in fighting against the revolutionaries (§§ 270, 297).

<sup>b</sup> Or "and the many bribes he had been offered by him."

<sup>8</sup> αὐτοῦ PM.

<sup>9</sup> πολλαῖς . . . χρώμενος] et quae ab eo munera spondebantur.

<sup>10</sup> οὐδ' oim. AM.

<sup>11</sup> E: τινὰ codd.

ρων μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος κτεί-  
 ναντας<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ ταφὰς ἀσήμους ποιεῖσθαι.  
 188 (viii. 1) Τὰς δὲ διαθήκας αὐθις μετέγραφε, μετα-  
 βολῆς αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν γενομένης, Ἀντίπαν  
 μὲν, ᾧ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλελοίπει, τετράρχην  
 καθιστὰς Γαλιλαίας τε καὶ Περαιάς, Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ  
 189 τὴν βασιλείαν χαριζόμενος, τὴν δὲ Γαυλωνίτιν καὶ  
 Τραχωνίτιν καὶ Βατανέαν καὶ Πανειάδα Φιλίππῳ  
 παιδί μὲν τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχελάου δὲ ἀδελφῷ γνησίῳ<sup>2</sup>  
 τετραρχίαν εἶναι, Ἰάμνειαν δὲ καὶ Ἀζωτον καὶ  
 Φασαηλίδα Σαλώμη τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ κατανέμει  
 καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου μυριάδας πενήτηκοντα.  
 190 προῦνόησε δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὅποσοι συγγενεῖς  
 ἦσαν αὐτῷ, χρημάτων τε δόσεις καὶ προσόδων  
 ἀναφοραῖς ἐκάστους ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καθιστάμενος.  
 Καίσαρι δὲ ἀργυρίου μὲν ἐπισήμου μυριάδας χιλίας,  
 χωρὶς δὲ σκευὴ τὰ μὲν χρυσοῦ τὰ δ' ἀργύρου καὶ  
 ἐσθῆτα πάντα πολυτελεῖ, Ἰουλίᾳ δὲ τῇ Καίσαρος  
 γυναικὶ καὶ τισιν ἑτέροις πεντακοσίας μυριάδας.  
 191 ταῦτα πράξας ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ μεθ' ὃ Ἀντίπατρον  
 κτείνει τὸν υἱὸν τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας μεθ' ὃ μὲν  
 ἀνεῖλεν Ἀντίγονον ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα,<sup>3</sup>  
 μεθ' ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδέδεικτο ἑπτὰ καὶ  
 τριάκοντα, ἀνὴρ ὠμὸς εἰς πάντας ὁμοίως, καὶ  
 ὀργῆς μὲν ἦσσαν κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, τύχη  
 192 δὲ εἰ καὶ τις ἕτερος κεκρημένος εὐμενεῖ, ἕκ τε γάρ

<sup>1</sup> E: κτείνασον codd.: κτενοῦντας Zonaras teste Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> γνησίῳ secl. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> + ἐβασιλευσεν Ἡρώδης τὰ πάντα ἔτη τριακονταεπτὰ P.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiii. 417; xv. 366 note b: a fortress erected by

guard with orders to kill Antipater without delay and on the instant and to bury him without ceremony in Hyrcania.<sup>a</sup>

(viii. 1)<sup>b</sup> Then because of the change of mind he <sup>Herod's last will.</sup> had undergone, he once more altered his will and designated Antipas, to whom he had left his throne, to be tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, while he bestowed the kingdom on Archelaus. Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea and Paneas were to be given as a tetrarchy to his son Philip, who was a full brother <sup>c</sup> of Archelaus, while Jamneia, Azotus and Phasaelis were given over to his sister Salome along with five hundred thousand pieces of coined silver. He also provided for all his other relatives and left them wealthy through gifts of money and the assignment of revenues. To Caesar he left ten million pieces of coined silver beside vessels of gold and of silver and some very valuable garments, while to Caesar's wife Julia and some others he left five million pieces (of silver). Having done this he died, on the fifth day <sup>Herod's death, 4 B.C.; his character and reign.</sup> after having his son Antipater killed. He had reigned for thirty-four years from the time when he had put Antigonus to death, and for thirty-seven years from the time when he had been appointed king by the Romans. He was a man who was cruel to all alike and one who easily gave in to anger and was contemptuous of justice.<sup>d</sup> And yet he was as greatly favoured by fortune as any man has ever been in that from being a commoner he was made

John Hyrcanus and rebuilt by Herod. See Abel, *GP* ii. 350, and Appendix D (Fortresses).

<sup>b</sup> §§ 184-199 = *B.J.* i. 664-673.

<sup>c</sup> Incorrect, since Philip was the son of Cleopatra, and Archelaus of Malthace.

<sup>d</sup> On the Greek cf. *Ant.* xix. 173 and Thuc. ii. 64. 1.

ιδιώτου βασιλεὺς καταστάς καὶ κινδύνοις περι-  
στοιχιζόμενος μυρίοις, πάντων ποιεῖται διάδρασαν  
καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐξίκετο. ὅποσα δὲ τὰ  
κατ' οἶκον περὶ υἱεὶς τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅσα μὲν γνώμη  
τῆ ἐκείνου καὶ<sup>1</sup> πάνυ δεξιῶ κεκρημένος διὰ τὸ  
κρίνας ἐχθροὺς κρατεῖν οὐχ ὑστερήσαι, δοκεῖν δ'  
ἐμοὶ καὶ πάνυ δυστυχῆς.

- 193 (2) Σαλώμη δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς πρὶν ἔκπυστον γενέ-  
σθαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵπ-  
πόδρομον κατακεκλημένους<sup>2</sup> ἐκπέμπονται ἐπὶ τὰ  
αὐτῶν, φάμενοι βασιλέα κελεύειν ἀποῦσιν αὐτοῖς  
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς νέμεσθαι τὰ οἰκεία, πράσσειαί τε  
194 αὐτοῖς ἦδε εὐεργεσία μεγίστη εἰς τὸ ἔθνος. ἐφανε-  
ροῦτο δ' ἤδη ὁ θάνατος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ Σαλώ-  
μη καὶ Ἀλεξᾶς συναγαγόντες τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰς  
τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον τὸ ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι πρῶτον μὲν ἐπι-  
στολὴν ἀνέγνωσαν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας γεγραμ-  
μένην ἐπὶ τε πίστεως εὐχαριστία καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς  
εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακλήσει τῶν ὁμοίων παροκωχῆς<sup>3</sup>  
'Αρχελάω τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ, ὃν βασιλέα καθίστατο.  
195 εἶτα μέντοι Πτολεμαῖος τὸν σημαντήρα τοῦ βα-  
σιλέως πεπιστευμένος τὰς διαθήκας ἀνέλεγεν, αἱ  
λήψεσθαι κύρωσιν οὐκ ἄλλως ἔμελλον<sup>4</sup> ἢ Καίσαρος  
ἐντυχόντος αὐταῖς. βοή οὖν εὐθύς ἦν ἐκτιμώντων  
'Αρχέλαον βασιλέα, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κατὰ στίφη  
τε αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες εὐνοίαν τε ὑπισχνοῦνται  
καὶ προθυμίαν τῆν αὐτῶν, καὶ συλλήπτορα τὸν  
θεὸν παρεκάλουν.

<sup>1</sup> τύχη ante πάνυ ex B.J. add. Hudson.

<sup>2</sup> κατακεκλεισμένους AME sed cf. § 174.

king, and though encompassed by innumerable perils, he managed to escape them all and lived on to a very old age. As for the affairs of his household and his relation to his sons, he had, in his own opinion at least, enjoyed very good fortune since he had not failed to get the better of those whom he considered his enemies, but in my opinion he was very unfortunate indeed.

(2) Before the death of the king became generally known Salome and Alexas dismissed those who had been summoned to the hippodrome and sent them to their own homes, telling them that the king ordered them to go off to their fields and look after their own affairs. And this act of theirs came as the greatest benefaction to the nation. By now the death of the king had become public knowledge, and Salome and Alexas assembled the army in the amphitheatre at Jericho and first read aloud the letter that Herod had written to the soldiers to thank them for their faithfulness and goodwill to him and to ask them to give the same support to his son Archelaus, whom he had appointed king. The next thing was that Ptolemy, who had been entrusted with the king's seal, read aloud his will, but this was not to become effective until Caesar had examined it.<sup>a</sup> Immediately thereafter a shout went up from the men acclaiming Archelaus as their king, and the soldiers as well as their officers advanced by companies to assure him of their goodwill and zeal, and they invoked God as his helper.

<sup>a</sup> In B.J. i. 667 Ptolemy pronounces a benediction upon the deceased king.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: παροκώγη P: παροχή AME: παροχής ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> ἔλεγον P: om. ME: dicebatur Lat.

- 196 (3) Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τάφον ἠτοιμάζον τῷ βασιλεῖ,  
 μελλήσαν Ἀρχελάῳ πολυτελεστάτην γενέσθαι τὴν  
 ἐκκομιδὴν τοῦ πατρός, καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον προ-  
 197 κομίσαντος<sup>1</sup> εἰς ὃ συμπομπεύσειε τῷ νεκρῷ. ἐφέ-  
 ρετο δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσεάς λίθους πολυτελέσι καὶ  
 ποικίλοις διαπεπασμένῃς, στρωμνὴ τε ἦν ἀλουργῆς,  
 καὶ ἠμπέσχετο πορφυρίων ὁ νεκρὸς διαδήματι ἠ-  
 σκημένος, ὑπερκειμένου στεφάνου χρυσεοῦ, σκῆπ-  
 198 τρὸν τε τῇ δεξιᾷ παρακείμενον. περὶ τε τὴν κλίνην  
 οἱ τε υἱεῖς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν συγγενῶν, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τούτοις τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατὰ οἰκεία ἔθνη καὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 προσηγορίας<sup>3</sup> διέκειντο, οὕτως<sup>4</sup> νεμηθέντες, πρῶτοι  
 μὲν οἱ δορυφόροι, μετὰ δὲ τὸ Θράκιον, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τούτοις ὅποσοι Γερμανοί, καὶ<sup>5</sup> τὸ Γαλατικὸν μετ'  
 αὐτούς, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντες τῷ πολεμιστηρίῳ.  
 199 τούτων δὲ κατόπιν ἤδη πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ὥσπερ ἐς  
 πόλεμον ἐξοδεύοντες, ὑπὸ<sup>6</sup> λοχαγῶν ἀγόμενοι καὶ  
 τοῖς ταξιαρχοῦσιν αὐτῶν. τούτοις εἶποντο<sup>7</sup> πεντα-  
 κόσιοι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀρωματοφόροι. ἦσαν δὲ ἐπὶ  
 Ἡρωδείου στάδια ὀκτώ· τῆδε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο  
 αἱ ταφαὶ κελεύσματι τῷ αὐτοῦ. Ἡρώδης μὲν δὴ  
 τοῦτον ἐτελεύτα τὸν τρόπον.
- 200 (4) Ἀρχέλαος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἑβδομῆν ἡμέραν πένθος  
 τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ τιμῶν διετελεῖ (τόσας γὰρ δι-  
 αγορεύει τὸ νόμιμον τοῦ πατρίου), ἐστίαςας δὲ τοὺς  
 ὀμίλους καὶ καταλύσας τὸ πένθος ἀνεισιν εἰς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> συγκομίσαντος ME.<sup>2</sup> ἢ P: om. AM: ἢ Niese.<sup>3</sup> προσηγορία (+ τε A) AM: προσηγορίαι Niese.<sup>4</sup> οὕτως ex Lat. Hudson: αὐτοῖς codd.<sup>5</sup> καὶ ad AM.<sup>6</sup> ὑπὸ Lat., edd.: ὥσπερ ὑπὸ codd.<sup>7</sup> ἐπετετάχατο PA: sequébantur Lat.

(3) They then made preparations for the funeral of the king. Archelaus saw to it that his father's burial should be most splendid, and he brought out all his ornaments to accompany the procession for the deceased. Herod was borne upon a golden bier studded with precious stones of various kinds and with a cover of purple over it. The dead man too was wrapped in purple robes and wore a diadem on which a gold crown had been placed, and beside his right hand lay his sceptre. Round the bier were his sons and a host of his relatives, and after them came the army disposed according to the various nationalities and designations. They were arranged in the following order: first came his bodyguards, then the Thracians, and following them, whatever Germans he had, and next came the Gauls. These men were all equipped for battle. Right behind them came the whole army as if marching to war, led by their company-commanders and lower officers, and they were followed by five hundred servants carrying spices. And they went eight stades toward Herodeion,<sup>a</sup> for it was there that the burial took place by his own order. This, then, was the manner of Herod's death.

(4)<sup>b</sup> Now Archelaus continued to mourn for seven days out of respect for his father—the custom of the country prescribes this number of days—and then, after feasting the crowds and making an end of the mourning, he went up to the temple. Wherever he

Archelaus  
addresses  
his subjects.

<sup>a</sup> Modern *Jebel Fereidis*, about eight miles south of Jerusalem. The site is described in *B.J.* i. 419-421. The parallel in *B.J.* i. 673 says that they travelled eight stades (one mile) each day until they had covered the 200 stades between Jericho and Herodeion. See also Abel, *HP* i. 406 n. 1; Schürer, i. 417; and Appendix D (Fortresses).

<sup>b</sup> §§ 200-205 = *B.J.* ii. 1-4.



201 *ἱερὸν. ἦσαν δὲ εὐφημίαι καὶ ἔπαινοι καθ' οὐστίνας ἱοί, ἐκάστων τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλοτιμουμένων εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν μείζοσι χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐφημίαις. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ὑψηλὸν βῆμα πεποιημένον ἀνελθὼν καὶ ἰδρυθεὶς εἰς θρόνον χρυσοῦν,<sup>1</sup> ἀντεδεξιούτο τοὺς ὀμίλους, χάριματι τῶν εὐφημιῶν τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῶν ἠδονῆ φέρων, χάριν τε ὠμολόγει διότι μηδὲν αὐτῷ μνησι-κακοῖεν ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ πατὴρ εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑβρίσειεν, καὶ πειράσσεσθαι μὴ ἐλλείψειν ἀμειβόμενον τὸ πρόθυμον*

202 αὐτῶν. ἄρτι μέντοι φειδῶ ποιείσθαι τοῦ βασιλείου ὀνόματος, τετιμῆσθαι<sup>2</sup> γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇ ἀξιώσει οὐπῶ<sup>3</sup> βεβαίως, ἕως<sup>4</sup> Καίσαρ ἐπικυρώσειε τὰς διαθήκας, αἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγράφησαν αὐτοῦ· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐδὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ περιθέσθαι προθυμουμένου δέξασθαι τὸ περι-μάχητον τῆς ἐνθένδε τιμῆς διὰ τὸ μηδέπω τὸν κυρίως ἀποδώσοντα φανερόν εἶναι παρασχόμενον.

203 περιόντων<sup>5</sup> μέντοι<sup>6</sup> γε εἰς αὐτὸν τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ λείψει ἀρετῆς τοῦ ἀμειβομένου τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῶν· σπουδάσει γὰρ ἐν πᾶσι τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς

204 φανεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμείνων τὰ πάντα. οἱ δέ, οἷον ὄχλος εἴωθε, φιλεῖν<sup>7</sup> οἰόμενοι τὰς πρώτας<sup>8</sup> τῶν ἡμερῶν τὰς διανοίας ἐμφανίζειν τῶν παριόντων ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ ἀρχάς, ὅσῳ πρῶτος καὶ θεραπευτικῶς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος διελέγετο αὐτοῖς, τοσῶδε μειζόνως τε ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ἐπαίνους· καὶ κατὰ αἰτήσεις δωρεῶν

<sup>1</sup> χρυσοῦν om. M.: + πεποιημένον PA.

<sup>2</sup> τετιμῆσθαι Naber.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: ὅπερ P: ὅπως AM: εἶπερ E: cum Lat.

<sup>4</sup> ἕως forte ins. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> E: περιόντων codd.: cum . . . adveniret Lat.

passed there were acclamations and expressions of praise for him, and all the people vied with one another as to who should seem to acclaim him the most extravagantly. Then he went up to a high platform that had been built there, and taking his seat on a throne of gold, acknowledged the greetings of the crowd, being delighted by their acclamations and taking pleasure in their goodwill. He also expressed his gratitude that they did not bear him any ill-will for the injuries that his father had inflicted upon them, saying that he would try not to be remiss in repaying their devotion to him. For the present, however, he would refrain from taking the name of king, for he would not validly be honoured with this title until Caesar should confirm the will that had been made by his father. It was for this reason, he said, that even when the army at Jericho was eager to place the diadem round his head, he had not accepted the honour that belonged thereto and is so much sought after, because it was not yet clear whether he who could properly grant this would bestow it upon him. Nevertheless, when the supreme power should come to him, he would not be lacking in the virtue of rewarding their goodwill, for he would make an effort to show himself kinder to them in every way than his father had been. The people believed, as is usual with a multitude, that the first days are likely to reveal the intentions of those who come into high office, and the more mildly and considerately Archelaus spoke to them, the more extravagant was the praise they gave him. Then they

<sup>6</sup> Niese: μὲν codd. E.

<sup>7</sup> εἴωθε φιλεῖν] φιλεῖ Ernesti.

<sup>8</sup> ed. pr.: πρώτας εἶναι codd.

ἐνεγράφατο,<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν εἰσφορὰς ὡς ἐνιαυσίους φέροιεν ἐπικουφίσειν βοῆ χρώμενοι, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν δεσμωτῶν, οἱ ὑφ' Ἡρώδου ἐδέδεοντο (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν καὶ πολλῶν  
205 χρόνων) ἀπόλυσι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἄρσεις τῶν τελῶν ἃ ἐπὶ πράσεσιν ἢ ἀναῖς δημοσίαις<sup>2</sup> ἐπεβάλλετο πρᾶσσόμενα πικρῶς ἤτοῦντο. ἀντέλεγε τε οὐδαμῶς Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπίηρα τοῦ ὀμίλου<sup>3</sup> σπουδαῖος ὧν ποιεῖν<sup>4</sup> πάντα διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μέγα πρᾶγμα εἰς τήρησιν τῆς ἀρχῆς γενήσεσθαι τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῷ τῆς πληθύος. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ θύσας τῷ θεῷ κατ' εὐωχίαν τρέπεται μετὰ τῶν φίλων.

206 (ix. 1) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τινας τῶν Ἰουδαίων συνελθόντες νεωτέρων ἐπιθυμία πραγμάτων, Μαθθίαν<sup>5</sup> καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ὑφ' Ἡρώδου ἀποθανόντας, οἱ παραχρῆμα<sup>6</sup> τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πενθεῖσθαι τιμῆς φόβῳ τῷ ἐκείνου ἀπεστέρητο, ἀπεθρήνουν<sup>7</sup> (ἦσαν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀετοῦ δεδικαιωμένων) ἐπὶ μέγα τε τῇ βοῇ καὶ οἰμωγῇ χρώμενοι καὶ τινα, ὡς κούφισιν φέροντα τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν, ἀπερρίπτουν  
207 εἰς τὸν βασιλέα. συνόδου τε αὐτοῖς γενομένης ἤξιουν τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ὑπ' Ἀρχελαίου γενέσθαι κολάσει τῶν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τιμωμένων, καὶ πάντων γε καὶ πρώτον καὶ ἐκδηλότατα τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερέα καθεστῶτα παύσαντα νομιμώτερόν τε ἅμα

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ἐγεγράφατο P: ἐπεγράφετο A<sup>1</sup>: γρ. ἐπεγράφοντο ἢ ἐπεφέροντο A marg.: ἐπέφεροντο M: ἐπέφερον E: vertuntur Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. Hudson: ἡμσεῖαις AME: om. P.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπίηρα τοῦ ὀμίλου E: ἐπειράτο ομείλους (sic) P: ἐπεὶ ἤρατο τοῦ ὀμίλου A: ἐπεὶ ἤρατο ὀμίλους M: ἐπεὶ ἤρατο ὀμίλους Cotelarius: ἐπεὶ ἤρατο ὀμίλους Naber.

<sup>4</sup> E: πονεῖν codd. <sup>5</sup> ὠδύροντο Matθίαν ed. pr.

<sup>6</sup> παρανόμως con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>7</sup> ἐκ τοῦ E: εἰς τὸ codd.

turned to him with requests for favours. Some cried out that he should lighten the yearly payments that they were making. Others demanded the release of the prisoners who had been put in chains by Herod—and there were many of these and they had been in prison for a long time. Still others demanded the removal of the taxes that had been levied upon public purchases and sales and had been ruthlessly exacted.<sup>a</sup> To these demands Archelaus made no opposition, for he was eager to do anything to please the multitude<sup>b</sup> in the belief that the goodwill of the people would greatly help to preserve his power. Thereupon he sacrificed to God and betook himself to feasting with his friends.

(ix. 1)<sup>c</sup> Meanwhile some of the Jews who had come together in their desire for revolutionary action began to utter lamentations for Matthias and his followers who had been put to death by Herod but because of the fear inspired by him had at that time been deprived of the honour of being mourned. They had been among those condemned for pulling down the golden eagle. And now the people made a great outcry and wailing, and even flung abuse at the king, as if that were a solace to the dead. Then they came together as a body and demanded that they be avenged by Archelaus through the punishment of those men who had been honoured by Herod, and that first of all and most publicly he remove the high priest appointed by Herod and choose another man

<sup>a</sup> On sales taxes cf. Heichelheim, "Roman Syria," in Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* iv. 238.

<sup>b</sup> The text of this line is uncertain.

<sup>c</sup> Chap. ix = B.J. ii. 5-38.

<sup>d</sup> ἀπεθρήνουν add. E.

<sup>e</sup> τῶν E: οἱ τῶν codd.

- 208 καὶ καθαρὸν ἀρχιεράσθαι ἀνδρα αἰρεῖσθαι. τοῦτοις Ἀρχέλαος καίπερ δεινῶς φέρων ἐπένευε, τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ἐπέχων<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὁδὸν ἀνεῖσθαι προκειμένην αὐτῷ ἢ<sup>2</sup> τάχος ἐπὶ περισκοπήσει τῶν δοξάντων Καίσαρι. πέμψας δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν πειθοῖ χρῆσθαι ἐκέλευεν ὡς<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις μωρίας<sup>4</sup> ἀποστάντας σκοπεῖν, θάνατόν τε, ὃς τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν συνέλθοι, μετὰ νόμων γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς αἰτήσεις ὡς ἐπὶ μέγα τοῦ ὑβρίζειν προτιοῖεν, τοὺς τε καιροὺς οὐκ ἐν τοιοῦσδε εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ' ἐν τῷ ὁμοιοῦν ἕως καταστησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπινεύσει τῇ Καίσαρος ἀφίκοιτο ὡς αὐτούς: τότε γὰρ κοινῇ βουλευσείν περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖεν σὺν αὐτοῖς: ἄρτι δὲ ἀνέχου, μὴ καὶ στασιάξῃς δοκοῖεν.
- 210 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ὑπειπὼν καὶ διδάξας τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ βοῶντες λέγειν τε οὐκ εἴων, καὶ εἰς κίνδυνον τοῦ ἀπολουμένου ἐκεῖνόν τε καθίστασαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅστις γε ἐπὶ σωφρονισμῷ καὶ ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ μὴ<sup>5</sup> τοιῶνδε ὀργνᾶσθαι τολμησείν<sup>6</sup> φθέγγασθαι φανερός ἦν,<sup>7</sup> διὰ τὸ πάντα βουλῆσει τῇ αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξουσία τῶν
- 211 ἐφεστηκότων συγχωρεῖν, δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι, εἰ ζῶντός τε Ἡρώδου στερηθεῖεν τῶν φιλάτων καὶ τελευτῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης τιμωριῶν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὠργηκότες<sup>8</sup> ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ νόμιμόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἡγούμενοι ὃ τι μελλήσοι ἡδονὴν αὐτοῖς φέρειν, κίνδυνον δὲ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προιδέσθαι τε

<sup>1</sup> φέρων M; om. P. <sup>2</sup> ἢ ins. Bekker.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκέλευεν ὡς add. E.

<sup>4</sup> τιμωρίας A: τιμωρίας ME. <sup>5</sup> μὴ om. AME.

<sup>6</sup> τολμῶσι M: τολμησῶν Holwerda: secl. Ernesti.

<sup>7</sup> ἦν ed. pr.: ἦν ἢ codd.

<sup>8</sup> ὠρηκότες A<sup>2</sup>M: ὠρηκότες καλῶντο A<sup>3</sup>.

who would serve as high priest more in accordance with the law and ritual purity. To these demands Archelaus assented in spite of his displeasure, for he was trying to restrain their impetuosity because of his intention of making a voyage to Rome as quickly as possible in order to observe what decision Caesar might make. He therefore sent an officer and ordered him to try persuasion and tell them to give up their foolish demands and to consider the situation (calmly), for the death that had come to their friends had been inflicted in accordance with the laws, and their demands amounted to great insolence. The times did not call for such behaviour but rather for concord until he should return to them after being established on the throne with the consent of Caesar. That would be the time, he said, for him to consult with them about their demands, but for the present they should be patient lest they give the appearance of sedition.

(2) Having given these suggestions and instructions Archelaus falls to pacify the malcontents. to the officer, Archelaus sent him to the people. But they made a clamour and prevented him from speaking and placed him in peril of his life, as they did anyone who gave signs of daring to utter a word to bring them to their senses or to dissuade them from their present attempt, for they were altogether more submissive to their own will than to the authority of their rulers. They were indignant at having been deprived of those dearest to them during Herod's lifetime and at having been deprived of their revenge for this after his death, when they were in so angry a mood. They regarded as lawful and just whatever might be likely to give them pleasure, and they did not have sense enough to foresee any danger that

ἀμαθεῖς καὶ εἰ τῷ ὑποπτευθείῃ, ὑπερβολῆς αὐτῷ  
 γενομένης τῆς παραχρήμα ἡδονῆς ἐκ τοῦ τιμωρή-  
 212 σασθαι τοὺς ἐχθίστους δοκοῦντας αὐτοῖς. πολλῶν  
 δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρχελαίου πεμπομένων οἱ διαλέξοντο  
 αὐτοῖς, τῶν τε ἐνεστώτων μὲν<sup>1</sup> ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γνώμη  
 δὲ τῇ αὐτῶν τὸ<sup>2</sup> δοκεῖν<sup>3</sup> παριόντων, ὅπως εἰς τὸ  
 πρᾶντερον καταστήσονται αὐτούς, οὐδενὸς ἠνεί-  
 χοντο εἰπεῖν ἀνάστασις τε ἦν λεύειν<sup>4</sup> ὄργῃ χρω-  
 μένων, φανεροί τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ μέγα αὐξήσοντες τὴν  
 στάσιν πλήθους ἐπισυρρέντος αὐτοῖς.

213 (3) Ἐνστάσις δὲ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν ἑορτῆς,  
 ἐν ἣ Ἰουδαίοις ἄζυμα προτίθεσθαι πάτριον φάσκα<sup>5</sup>  
 δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται, ὑπόμνημα οὖσα τῆς ἐξ  
 Αἰγύπτου ἀπάρσεως αὐτῶν γενομένης, καὶ θύουσιν  
 αὐτὴν προθύμως πλήθος τε ἱερείων ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῃ  
 214 κατακόπτειν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς νόμιμον· κάτεισι δὲ πλη-  
 θὺς ἀναριθμητος ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς  
 ὑπερορίας ἐπὶ θρησκείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ οἱ νεωτερισταὶ  
 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν τε καὶ Μαθθίαν ἐξηγητὰς  
 τῶν νόμων ὀδυρόμενοι συστάντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τροφῆς  
 ἠμποροῦντο τοῖς στασιασταῖς, οὐκ ὄν ἐν αἰσχύνῃ  
 215 μετατεῖν αὐτούς.<sup>6</sup> καὶ δείσας Ἀρχέλαος μὴ καὶ  
 τι δεινὸν βλαστήσειεν αὐτῶν τῇ ἀπονοίᾳ, πέμπει  
 σπεῖράν τε ὀπλιτῶν χιλιαρχόν τε τὴν ὀρμὴν τῶν  
 στασιαζόντων καταστῆλαι πρὸ τοῦ τὸν πάντα  
 ὄμιλον τοῦ μανιώδους αὐτῶν πλέω καταστήναι, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τε ἐνεστώτων μὲν P: δὲ οὐχ ὡς rell.: τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως λεγόντων τῶν δ' ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ con. Niese: om. codd. <sup>3</sup> δοκεῖν secl. Naber.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: δεύειν P: λύειν AM: λαν ed. pr.

<sup>5</sup> πάσχα ME Lat.

<sup>6</sup> ἀρτους ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>7</sup> στασιαζόντων . . . τοῦ E: ἐνεστηκότων πρότερον ἢ codd.

might result therefrom, or if it was to some extent suspected to exist, it was outweighed by the immediate pleasure that was expected by them from taking vengeance on those whom they most hated. Many persons were sent by Archelaus to speak to them, and some, while they were there at his instance, appeared to come of their own volition in order to bring them to a milder frame of mind, but the people did not permit any of them to speak. Angry as they were, there was a move among them to stone (the messengers), and it was evident that they would cause the revolt to become much more serious as a great crowd streamed to join them.

(3) At this time there came round the festival<sup>a</sup> during which it is the ancestral custom of the Jews to serve unleavened bread. It is called Passover, being a commemoration of their departure from Egypt. They celebrate it with gladness, and it is their custom to slaughter a greater number of sacrifices at this festival than at any other, and an innumerable multitude of people come down from the country and even from abroad to worship God. Now the fomentors of disorder, who were mourning for Judas and Matthias, the interpreters of the laws,<sup>b</sup> stood together in the temple and provided the dissidents with plenty of food,<sup>c</sup> for they were not ashamed to beg for it. And Archelaus, fearing that something dangerous might grow out of their fanaticism, sent a cohort of legionaries under a tribune to suppress the violence of the rebels before they should infect the whole crowd with their madness. And, he said,

<sup>a</sup> On the Passover incident cf. *B.J.* ii. 10-13.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. above, § 149.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *B.J.* ii. 10 and note on the meaning of τροφή, evidently misunderstood by Josephus' assistant.



εἴ τινες διάδηλοι πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καθίσταντο  
 216 προθυμίᾳ τοῦ στασιάζειν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν. ἐπὶ  
 τούτῳ<sup>1</sup> οἱ στασιῶται τῶν ἐξηγητῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος  
 ἐξηγρίωσαν,<sup>2</sup> βοῆ καὶ διακελευσμῶ χρώμενοι,  
 ὠρμησάν τε ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ περιστάν-  
 τες<sup>3</sup> καταλεύουσι τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν. ὀλίγοι δέ  
 τινες καὶ ὁ χιλιάρχος τραυματῖαι διέφυγον. καὶ  
 τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα πράξασι διὰ χειρῶν<sup>4</sup> αἰθῆς ἢ θυσία  
 217 ἦν· Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ ἄπορον εἶδοκει σώζεσθαι τὰ πάντα  
 μὴ οὐκ ἀνακόψαντι<sup>5</sup> τὴν ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ὄρμην τῆς  
 πληθύος, ἐκπέμπει δὲ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τοὺς  
 ἵππεῖς<sup>6</sup> οἱ τοὺς τε αὐτόθι<sup>7</sup> ἐσκηνωκότας κωλύοιεν  
 τοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν βοηθεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας  
 ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν δέχοιντο ἀντειλήφθαι τὰσφαλοῦς  
 218 ἤδη πεπιστευκότας. καὶ εἰς μὲν τρισχιλίους ἄνδρας  
 ἔκτειναν οἱ ἵππεῖς· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὤχετο ἐπὶ ὄρη τὰ  
 πλησιότατα ἰόντες. ἐκήρυσσε δ' Ἀρχελάος ἀναχωρεῖν  
 ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν πᾶσιν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήεσαν τὴν ἑορτὴν  
 καταλιπόντες, φόβῳ κακοῦ μείζονος καίπερ θρασεῖς  
 ὄντες διὰ τὸ ἀπαίδευτον.  
 219 Ἀρχελάος δ' ἐπὶ θαλάσσης κατῆει μετὰ τῆς μη-  
 τρός, Νικόλαον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Πτόλλαν<sup>8</sup> τῶν  
 φίλων ἐπαγόμενος, Φιλίππῳ τὰδελεφῶ τὰ πάντα  
 220 ἐφέει καθίστασθαι τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. συν-  
 ἐξῆει δ' αὐτῶ καὶ Σαλώμη ἢ Ἑρώδου ἀδελφή, τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Niese: τούτων P: τούτους AM: τούτους E.

<sup>2</sup> Hudson: ἐξηγρίωσε P: ἐξαγρίωσε AME.

<sup>3</sup> Bekker: παραστάντες codd.

<sup>4</sup> διὰ χειρῶν E: διαχωρεῖν codd.

<sup>5</sup> Bekker: ἀνακόψαντες codd.: ἀνακόψει E.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς om. PM.

<sup>7</sup> αἰθῆς AME.

if there were any who clearly stood out from the rest in their eagerness to rebel, they were to be brought to him. By this act the rebellious followers of the interpreters (of the laws) and the crowd were infuriated, and uttering cries and exhortations, they rushed upon the soldiers and after surrounding them stoned most of them to death, but a few of them and the tribune escaped with wounds. When they had done these things the rebels began to busy themselves with their sacrifices again. Archelaus, however, thought it impossible to save the situation unless he checked the impetuosity of the multitude in its present state, and so he sent out his whole army, including the cavalry, in order that they might prevent the people encamped there<sup>a</sup> from helping those in the Temple, and might catch any who evaded the infantry and believed themselves to have reached a safe place. His cavalry killed some three thousand men but the rest got away by making for the neighbouring hills. Then Archelaus issued a proclamation that everyone should return to his own home. So they left the scene of the festival and went away in fear of a greater evil to come even though they had the rash temper that is due to lack of discipline.

Archelaus then went down to the sea-coast with his mother, taking along Nicolas, Ptolemy<sup>b</sup> and Ptollos<sup>c</sup> from among his friends, and leaving his brother Philip in charge of all the affairs of the household and the realm. With him also went Salome, the sister of

Archelaus sails for Rome.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. on the plain; cf. B.J. ii. 12 and note.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Ant. xvi. 191 note d. On the audiences with Caesar cf. §§ 229-249, 300-316; Abel, HP i. 409 n. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Called Poplas in B.J. ii. 14.

<sup>8</sup> P: πολλοὺς AME Lat.: cf. B.J. ii. 14.

γενεὰν ἀγομένη τὴν αὐτῆς, πολλοὶ τε τῶν συγγενῶν, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς συναγωνιούμενοι τῷ Ἀρχελαῷ ἐπὶ κτήσει τῆς βασιλείας, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀντιπράξοντες καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ποιησόμενοι καταβοάς ὑπαντιάζει δ' ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον Σαβίνος, Καίσαρος ἐπιτροπος τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ πραγμάτων, εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὠρμημένος ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὀρμῆς ἔσχεν<sup>1</sup> ὁ Οὐάρως παρελθὼν· διὰ γὰρ Πτολεμαίου μετὰπεμπτος ὑπ' Ἀρχελαίου παρῆν. καὶ Οὐάρῳ Σαβίνος χαρίζομενος οὔτε τὰς ἄκρας ὄσαι γε ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίους ἦσαν παρέλαβεν οὔτε τοὺς θησαυροὺς κατεσημήνατο, εἶα δ' ἔχειν Ἀρχέλαον μέχρι Καισαρι δόξειεν τι περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔμενεν ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ τοῦθ' ὑποσχόμενος ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκπλεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀρχέλαος, Οὐάρῳ δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἐγένοντο κομιδαί, Σαβίνος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων χωρήσας παραλαμβάνει τὰ βασιλεία. μεταπέμψας δὲ τοὺς φρουράρχους καὶ ὅποσοι διοικηταὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἦσαν, λόγους τε ἀπαιτῶν πρόδηλος ἦν, καὶ τὰς ἄκρας καθίστατο ἢ αὐτῷ δοκοῖ. οὐ μὴν οἱ φύλακες ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὰς Ἀρχελαίου ἐπιστολάς<sup>2</sup> ἐποιούντο, ἀλλ' ἔμενον σώζοντες τὰ πάντα ἢ προσετέτακτο αὐτοῖς. Καίσαρι δὲ φυλάσσειν ἕκαστα ἦν προσποίησις αὐτοῖς.

224 (4) Πλεῖ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ Ἀντίπας Ἡρώδου μὲν παῖς ἐπὶ ἀντιποιήσει τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὑποσχέσει Σαλώμης ἡρμένος ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρξειν καὶ πολὺ<sup>3</sup> δικαιοτέρον Ἀρχελαίου παραλήψε-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπέσχεν ex B.J. con. Lowthius: revocavit Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐντολάς ME.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς Naber.

Herod, who took her family, and many of his relatives, who ostensibly meant to help Archelaus in his attempt to obtain the throne but in reality meant to work against him and in particular to protest against the things that he had done in the Temple. At Caesarea Archelaus met with Sabinus, the imperial procurator for the province of Syria, who had set out for Judaea in order to take charge of Herod's property. But Varus,<sup>a</sup> coming on the scene, prevented him from carrying out this attempt, for he had come in answer to the appeal made by Archelaus through Ptolemy. And Sabinus in deference to Varus refrained from taking over all the citadels that there were in Judaea and from sealing up their treasures but permitted Archelaus to hold them until Caesar should decide what was to be done with them, and having promised this, he remained in Caesarea. But after Archelaus had sailed for Rome and Varus had returned to Antioch, Sabinus moved on to Jerusalem and took possession of the palace. Then he summoned the commanders of the fortresses and the various treasury-officials, and made it plain that he would demand an accounting from them. He also began to dispose of the citadels as he pleased. However, the men guarding these did not disregard Archelaus' instructions but continued to keep everything secure just as they had been ordered to do, their pretext being that they were guarding all these things for Caesar.

(4) At this time Herod's son Antipas also sailed for Rome to claim the throne, for he was encouraged by Salome's promises to believe that he would rule, and considered that he would be taking over the government with greater right than Archelaus be-

Antipas  
also sails  
for Rome.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 89 note b.

σθαι τὰ πράγματα ἤξιωκῶς τῷ κατὰ τὰς προτέρας  
 διαθήκας βασιλεὺς ἀποπεφάνθαι, ἄς ἀσφαλεστέρας  
 225 εἶναι τῶν ἐπιγραφεισῶν.<sup>1</sup> ἐπήγετο δὲ οὗτος τὴν  
 τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Νικολάου Πτολε-  
 μαῖον φίλον τε Ἡρώδη τιμιώτατον γεγεννημένον  
 226 καὶ αὐτῷ προσκειμένον. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνήγεον  
 ἐπ' ἀντιποιήσει τῆς βασιλείας φρονεῖν Εἰρηναῖος,  
 ῥήτωρ ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξη δεινότητος τῆς περὶ αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup>  
 τὴν βασιλείαν<sup>3</sup> πεπιστευμένος. διὸ δὴ καὶ τῶν  
 κελυόντων εἶκειν Ἀρχελάω πρεσβυτέρῳ τε ὄντι  
 κὰν ταῖς ἐπιδιαθήκαις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγγεγραμ-  
 227 μένῳ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἠνείχετο. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην  
 ἀφίκετο, καὶ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπόστασις ἦν  
 πρὸς αὐτόν,<sup>4</sup> οὐκ εὐνοία τῇ ἐκείνου μίσει δὲ τῷ  
 πρὸς Ἀρχελάω, μάλιστα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες<sup>5</sup> ἐλευ-  
 θερίας καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ τετάχθαι· εἰ δ'  
 ἄρα τι<sup>6</sup> ἀντισταίῃ, λυσιτελέστερον Ἀρχελάου τὸν  
 Ἀντίπαν λογιζόμενοι, συνέπραττον Ἀντίπα τὴν  
 βασιλείαν. καὶ Σαβίνος κατηγορεῖ παρὰ Καίσαρι  
 τοῦ Ἀρχελάου διὰ γραμμάτων.

228 (5) Καίσαρι δ' Ἀρχελαὸς εἰσπέμφας<sup>7</sup> γράμματα  
 ἐν οἷς τὰ δικαιώματα προὔτιθει<sup>8</sup> τὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν  
 διαθήκην τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς τῶν  
 Ἡρώδου χρημάτων σὺν τῷ σημαντῆρι κομίζοντα  
 229 Πτολεμαῖον, ἐκαρὰδόκει τὸ μέλλον. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἀναγνοὺς τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὰς Οὐάρου καὶ Σαβίνου  
 ἐπιστολάς, ὅποσα τε χρήματα ἦν καὶ τί<sup>9</sup> ἐπ' ἔτος

<sup>1</sup> + siquidem illud sana mente fecisset Herodes, hoc autem iam sensu prae validudine diminuto conscripserat Lat., cf. § 238.

<sup>2</sup> περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ A marg.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν βασιλείαν secl. Herwerden.

<sup>4</sup> post αὐτὸν lacunam stat. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπιθυμοῦντων E.

<sup>6</sup> τίς AME.

cause he had been designated as king in Herod's earlier will, which he held to be more binding than the one written later. Antipas took with him his mother and Nicolas' brother Ptolemy, who had been one of Herod's most honoured friends and was devoted to Antipas himself. But the one who most strongly insisted that he think of claiming the throne was Irenaeus, an advocate, because of whose reputation for skilfulness Antipas was confident of (obtaining) the throne. Accordingly, when the others told him to yield to Archelaus on the ground that he was his elder and had been named king by their father in the codicil to his will, he would not listen to them. When he arrived in Rome, however, all his relatives went over to his side, not out of goodwill to him but because of their hatred of Archelaus. What they most wanted was to have their freedom and to be under the rule of a Roman governor, but since they calculated that, if there were some obstacle to this, Antipas would serve their interests better than Archelaus, they worked to obtain the throne for Antipas. Moreover, Sabinus brought charges against Archelaus in a letter to Caesar.

(5) Archelaus then sent letters to Caesar in which he set forth his claims and the testament of his father; he also sent Ptolemy to bring the accounts of Herod's property together with his seal, and proceeded to await developments. When Caesar had read these letters and also the reports of Varus and Sabinus concerning the amount of the property and the size of the annual revenue, and had looked at the

The accusations made against Archelaus before Caesar Augustus.

<sup>7</sup> Καίσαρι . . . εἰσπέμφας E: Καίσαρ δὲ Ἀρχελάου τε εἰσπέμφαντος ὡς αὐτὸν codd. <sup>8</sup> ex Lat. edd.: προσετίθει codd. E. <sup>9</sup> E Lat.: τὸ codd.

ἐφοίτα, καὶ ὅσα<sup>1</sup> Ἀντίπας ἐπ' οἰκειώσει τῆς βασι-  
 λείας ἐπεπόμφει γράμματα, συνήγεν ἐπὶ παροικωχῆ  
 γνωμῶν τοὺς φίλους, σὺν οἷς καὶ Γάιον τὸν  
 Ἀγρίππου μὲν καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς  
 υἱόν, ποιητὸν δὲ αὐτῷ γεγονότα πρῶτόν τε καθεδού-  
 μενον παρέλαβε, καὶ κελεύει λέγειν τοῖς βουλομένοις  
 230 περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων. καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Σαλώμης  
 υἱὸς Ἀντίπατρος, δεινότητός τε ὢν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῷ  
 Ἀρχελάῳ ἐναντιώτατος, ἔλεγεν Ἀρχελάῳ παιδιᾶν  
 τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι λόγον, ἔργῳ τὴν δύναμιν  
 αὐτῆς πρότερον ἢ Καίσαρα συγχωρῆσαι παρειλη-  
 φότι, ἐπικαλῶν τὰ τετολημμένα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολω-  
 231 λόσι κατὰ τὴν ἐορτήν· ὢν καὶ ἀδικούντων καλῶς<sup>2</sup>  
 ἔσχεν τὴν τιμωρίαν εἰς τοὺς ἐξουσία<sup>3</sup> χρῆσθαι δυνα-  
 μένους ἀνακειμένην εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς πεπρα-  
 χθαι, εἰ μὲν βασιλέως, ἀδικούντος τὸ Καίσαρος δια-  
 γνοῖα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔτι χρώμενον, εἰ δὲ ιδιώτου,  
 πολὺ χειρόνως διὰ τὸ μὴ<sup>4</sup> βασιλείας ἀντιποιουμένῳ  
 καλῶς ἂν τι<sup>5</sup> συγκεχωρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ Καίσαρα τῆς  
 232 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. καθήπετο δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ ἡγεμόνων τινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ μετα-  
 στάσει ἐπικαλῶν, καὶ προκάθισιν ἐπὶ θρόνου βα-  
 σιλείου, καὶ δικῶν διαλύσεις ὡς ὑπὸ βασιλέως  
 γενομένας, κατανεύσεις τε αἰτήσεων τοῖς δημοσίᾳ  
 αἰτουμένοις, καὶ πάντων διάπραξιν ὢν οὐδὲν ἂν  
 μειζόνως ἐπινοῆσαι καθεσταμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Καί-  
 233 σαρος εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνετίθει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> ὡς AME: quas Lat.      <sup>2</sup> Niese: ἄλλως codd.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson (ex Lat. vid.): ἔξω codd.

<sup>4</sup> μηδεμῆς A: μηδὲ M.      <sup>5</sup> τι om. P.

<sup>a</sup> At this time he was about sixteen years old and favoured to succeed Augustus. He was given the proconsular im-  
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various letters sent by Antipas in an effort to obtain the kingship for himself, he called together his friends to give their opinions. Among them he gave first place at his side to Gaius,<sup>a</sup> the son of Agrippa and of his daughter Julia, whom he had adopted, and he bade those who wished to speak about the matter before them to do so. The first one was Salome's son Antipater, the most skilful speaker among them and the one most hostile to Archelaus. He said that Archelaus' bid for the kingship was like playing a game since he had in fact taken over the royal power before Caesar granted it. He also reproached him for his ruthlessness toward those who had perished during the festival, for even if they had done something wrong, their punishment should properly have been entrusted to those who had the authority for this, and it should not have been exercised by one who, if on the one hand he had acted as a king, had wronged Caesar, who was still deliberating about his claim, and, if on the other hand he had acted as a private citizen, had done something much worse, since it was not proper that any grant of power should be made to one who claimed the throne after he had already deprived Caesar of his authority over these men. He also assailed him with reproaches for the changes that he had made among the officers of the army, for publicly seating himself upon the royal throne, for deciding lawsuits as if he were king, for assenting to the requests of those who publicly petitioned him, and for his entire performance, which could not have been more ambitious in conception if he had really been appointed by Caesar to rule. He

Speech of  
Antipater,  
son of  
Salome.

perium in the East in 1 B.C., but died in A.D. 4. Cf. R. Getty in *CP* 51 (1956), 104 n. 4.



τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου δεσμωτῶν τὴν ἄφεσιν, καὶ πολλὰ  
 τὰ μὲν γεγονότα, τὰ δὲ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι δυνάμενα  
 διὰ τὸ φύσιν ἔχειν γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τε νεωτέρων καὶ  
 φιλοτιμία τοῦ ἄρχειν προλαμβανόντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν,  
 234 μούσ<sup>1</sup> αὐτοφυκτὶ τῇ ἐκείνου τελευτῇ γεγονότας<sup>2</sup>. ἐφ'  
 οἷς δὴ καὶ τὴν πληθὺν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στασιάζειν λαβεῖν,  
 εἰ τοιαῦτα εὐεργετήσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ  
 οὕτως μεγάλων ἡξιοκότος τοιοῦδε ἀμείβεσθαι τὸν  
 νέκυν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δακρύνει μὲν προσποιού-  
 μενον τὰς ἡμέρας, ἀπολαύοντα<sup>3</sup> δὲ ἡδονῆς τῆς<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ  
 235 τῇ ἀρχῇ<sup>5</sup> ὅσαι νύκτες. φανεῖσθαι τε καὶ περὶ τὸν  
 Καίσαρα τοιόνδε ὄντα Ἀρχέλαον συγχωροῦντα τὴν  
 βασιλείαν ὅποιος γένοιτο καὶ περὶ τὸν πατέρα·  
 χορεύειν γὰρ καὶ ἄδειν ὥσπερ ἐχθροῦ πεσόντος ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ ἀνδρὸς οὕτως μὲν συγγενοῦς, τηλικαῦτα δ'  
 236 εὐεργετῆν ἐξηγμένον. δεινότατόν τε πάντων ἀπ-  
 ἔφηγε τὸ νῦν ἦκειν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα,<sup>6</sup> κατανεύσει τῇ  
 ἐκείνου χρησόμενον τῇ βασιλείᾳ, πάντων αὐτῷ  
 προπεποιημένων ὅποσα γένοιτο ἂν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ<sup>7</sup> καὶ<sup>8</sup>  
 βεβαίως ἤδη τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παρεσχηκότος  
 237 πρασσόμενα. μάλιστα δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ  
 ἱερὸν ἐδεινὸν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν δυσσέβειαν, ὡς  
 ἑορτῆς τε ἐνεστηκυίας καὶ ἱερείων ἐν τρόπῳ<sup>9</sup> σφα-  
 χθεῖεν ἔνιοι μὲν ξένοι οἱ δὲ ἐγχώριοι· πλησθεῖη  
 δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν νεκρῶν οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλοφύλου ἀλλὰ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> κάμους A<sup>2</sup>ME.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ κωμασμούς . . . γεγονότας] prohibitos quoque omnes  
 a rege cum moreretur videndo Lat. <sup>3</sup> ἀπολαβόντα Hudson.

<sup>4</sup> ἡδονῆς τῆς Cocceji: ἡδονῆ τῇ codd.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς ἀρχῆς Niese: τῇ ἀρχῇ codd.

<sup>6</sup> edd.: Καίσαρος codd. (vid.).

<sup>7</sup> ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ed. pr.: ὑπὸ σοῦ codd.

also attributed to him the release of the prisoners  
 from the hippodrome and many other things, some  
 of which had actually been done by him, others such  
 as might credibly have been charged to him because  
 they were the kind of things that would naturally  
 be done by young men who in their ambition to rule  
 seize authority prematurely. He also spoke of his  
 negligence about the mourning for his father and the  
 revels that had been held the very night on which  
 Herod died. Indeed, it was because of this, he said,  
 that the crowd had shown the first signs of rebellion,  
 seeing the way in which he was requiting the dead  
 father who had heaped such great benefits on him  
 and had thought him worthy of such great honours.  
 For by day he had, like an actor, pretended to weep  
 but every night had indulged himself in the pleasures  
 of a king. And, he continued, Archelaus would show  
 himself as ruler the same toward Caesar as he had  
 toward his father, for he had danced and sung as if  
 over a fallen enemy instead of one who was so closely  
 related to him and one who had been induced to  
 benefit him so greatly. But what he pointed to as  
 the worst thing of all was that Archelaus now came to  
 Caesar in order to obtain the kingship with his consent  
 when he had already done the very same things that  
 he would have done if the emperor had confirmed to  
 him the power to do them. But it was especially the  
 slaughter in the Temple and the impiety of Archelaus  
 that he made seem so terrible in his speech, for this  
 had happened during the festival, and the people had  
 been slaughtered just like sacrificial victims, though  
 some were foreigners and others natives. And the  
 Temple had been filled with corpses, not indeed by

<sup>8</sup> edd.: om. codd. (vid.).

<sup>9</sup> τροπῇ P: τόπω ME.

καὶ μετὰ νομίμων ὀνομάτων τῆς βασιλείας ἐφι-  
 μένου τῆς πράξεως ὅπως δυνηθεῖη πληρῶσαι τῆς  
 φύσει τυραννίδος τὴν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μεμισομένην  
 238 ἀδικίαν.<sup>1</sup> δι' ἣν μηδὲ ὄναρ ποτὲ ἐωρᾶσθαι βασιλείας  
 αὐτῷ τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀρετῆ τοῦ πατρός· ἐπίστασθαι  
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, καὶ τὸν<sup>2</sup> ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ ἐκ  
 τῶν διαθηκῶν ἰσχυρότερον Ἀντίπαν<sup>3</sup> καθίστασθαι.<sup>4</sup>  
 κληθῆναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 οὐχὶ νοσοῦντος πρὸς τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν  
 ἀλλὰ ἀκραιφνεῖ μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ χρωμένον, ἀλικῆ  
 239 δὲ σώματος τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφεστηκότος. εἰ δὲ  
 καὶ πρότερον εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίσης τοῖς νῦν διατεθεῖσθαι  
 τὸν πατέρα, ἀποπεφάνθαι ποταπὸς ἂν γένοιτο  
 βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν κύριον παρασχεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν  
 Καίσαρα ἀφηρημένον τοῦ δοῦνα τὴν ἔξουσίαν, τοὺς  
 δὲ πολίτας ἰδιώτην ὄντα ἀκμὴν σφάζειν ἐν ἱερῷ μὴ  
 ἀποτετραμμένον.

240 (6) Καὶ Ἀντίπατρος μὲν τοιαύδε εἰπὼν καὶ μαρ-  
 τύρων παραστάσει τὰ εἰρημένα κρατυνάμενος πολ-  
 λοῖς τῶν συγγενῶν, παύεται τοῦ λέγειν. ἀνίσταται  
 δὲ Νικόλαος ὑπὲρ Ἀρχελάου καὶ ἔλεγε τὰ μὲν  
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γνώμη τῶν πεπονθότων ἀνατιθείσθαι<sup>5</sup>  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἔξουσίᾳ τῇ Ἀρχελάου· τοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 τοιοῦσδε ἀρχοντας οὐ μόνον τῷ καθ' αὐτοὺς<sup>6</sup> ὑβρί-  
 ζοντι εἶναι πονηροὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀναγκάζοντι εἰς  
 241 τὴν ἄμνην τῶν εὐγνωμονεῖν προαιρουμένων. ὡς

<sup>1</sup> τυραννίδος . . . ἀδικίαν] ἀδικίας . . . τυραννίδα con. Richards et Shutt. <sup>2</sup> ed. pr.: τοι PA: τὸ M.

<sup>3</sup> Hudson: Ἀντιπάτρω codd.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν . . . καθίστασθαι] προσετίθει δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπαν ἐκ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι E.

an alien but by one who had sought to undertake the act with the lawful title of king in order that he might fulfil his tyrannical nature in an act of injustice abhorrent to all mankind. This was the reason why no one had ever dreamed that he would succeed to the throne by virtue of his father, for Herod had understood his character and in his will had recognized the stronger claim of Archelaus' adversary Antipas, for the latter had been named king by his father when Herod was not yet ill in body and mind but was in possession of an unimpaired reasoning power and was presiding over affairs of state in robust health. And even if his father had felt toward him in the same way as at present,<sup>a</sup> Archelaus had shown what sort of king he would be, for he had deprived Caesar, who alone could lawfully grant the kingship, of his authority to bestow it, and he had not hesitated to slaughter his fellow-citizens in the Temple although he was still a mere commoner.

(6) Having spoken to this effect and produced many of his relatives as witnesses to support his statements, Antipater brought his speech to an end. Then Nicolas arose in defence of Archelaus and said that what had happened in the Temple should be attributed to the intent of the victims rather than to the authority of Archelaus. For those who had begun to act in such a (lawless) manner were wicked men not only because they themselves were men of violence<sup>b</sup> but also because they compelled men of conciliatory spirit to defend themselves by fighting.

Nicolas of  
Damascus  
speaks in  
defence of  
Archelaus.

<sup>a</sup> i. e. in accordance with the disposition of his last will.

<sup>b</sup> Marcus' conjecture (see critical note) seems unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> Hudson: ἀναθεῖς P: ἀνατιθεῖς AME.

<sup>6</sup> καθ' αὐτοὺς (ἐάντους M) codd.: καθαρὸς scribere volueram.

δὲ πολέμια ἔδρων λόγῳ μὲν κατ' Ἀρχελαίου τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς εἰς Καίσαρα φανερόν εἶναι· τοὺς γὰρ τοῦ ὑβριοῦντος<sup>1</sup> κωλυτὰς παραγενομένους καὶ ὑπ' Ἀρχελαίου πεπομφότας<sup>2</sup> κτείνειν ἐπιθεμένους, οὔτε τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐν φροντίδι γενομένων, ὧν Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐκδικητὴν καθιστάμενον ἐπὶ θεραπεία ἔχθρας τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀρχελαίου ἢ μίσει<sup>3</sup> τοῦ ἀρετῆ δικαίου. οἱ γὰρ ἐλθόντες<sup>4</sup> καὶ μὴ πρὸς διανοουμένους ἄρχοντες ἀδικῶν ἔργων, οἷδε εἰσὶν οἱ βιαζόμενοι καὶ μὴ θέλοντας<sup>5</sup> τοὺς ἀμυνομένους ἐφ' ὄπλα χωρεῖν. ἀντίθει δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα<sup>6</sup> τοῖς ἐν βουλῇ τῶν κατηγορῶν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι μὴ οὐ μετὰ γνώμης τῆς αὐτῶν γεγενημένον αἰτία τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ὑπάγεσθαι. οὐ τῆ<sup>7</sup> φύσει δὲ οὕτως<sup>8</sup> τὰ<sup>9</sup> γεγονότα πονηρὰ εἶναι ἀλλὰ τὸ<sup>10</sup> βλάβειν<sup>11</sup> ἂν δοκεῖν Ἀρχελαίου· τοσὴνδε αὐτοῖς εἶναι βουλήν τοῦ ὑβριοῦντος εἰς ἄνδρα συγγενῆ<sup>12</sup> καὶ πατρὸς μὲν εὐεργέτην,<sup>13</sup> συνήθη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ διαπαντός οἰκείως πεπολιτευμένον.<sup>14</sup> τὰς γε μὴν διαθήκας ὑπὸ τε σωφρονοῦντος γεγράφθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κυριωτέρας εἶναι τῶν γεγραμμένων

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ὑβριοῦντος Bekker: ὑβριοῦντας codd.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr.: οἱ A<sup>1</sup>M: ἢ A<sup>2</sup>P: pro ἢ ὑπ' con. καιρίως Bekker.

<sup>3</sup> ed. pr.: πεπομφότος PA: πεπονθότες M.

<sup>4</sup> ex Lat. Hudson: φύσει codd.: καὶ μίσει μᾶλλον ἢ φύσει con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>5</sup> γὰρ ἐλθόντες Niese: παρελθόντες codd.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: πᾶσι codd.

<sup>7</sup> τῷ con. Niese.

<sup>8</sup> δὲ οὕτως Bekker: τῆ οὕτως PAM: δὲ ὅπως E: τοιούτως ed. pr.

<sup>9</sup> Niese: αὐτὰ codd.

<sup>10</sup> τῷ AM.

<sup>11</sup> Niese: βλάβειν codd.

And, he said, it was clear that though they professed to wage war against Archelaus, it was actually against Caesar, for when they attacked and killed the men sent by Archelaus, who had come to prevent their excesses, they had shown contempt both for God and for the law of the festival. And, he continued, it was of men like these that Antipater was not ashamed to make himself the avenger either because he was indulging his enmity towards Archelaus or because he hated what was right according to virtue.<sup>a</sup> For those who are the first to commit unjust acts against unsuspecting persons are the very ones who force such persons even unwillingly to resort to arms in self-defence. He also attributed all the other things (charged to Archelaus) to those who were in the counsel of the accusers, for no single act that had been subjected to the charge of wrongdoing had been committed without the consent of these accusers. Nor, he said, were the things that had been done so bad by their own nature, but they had been made to seem so in order to harm Archelaus,<sup>b</sup> so great was their desire to do outrage to a man who was their own kin and the benefactor of their father, one, moreover, who had been familiar with them and had always behaved dutifully toward them. As for Herod's will, it had been written by the king when he was of sound mind, and it was more valid than the will written

<sup>a</sup> Cf. critical note. Read perhaps ". . . the avenger because he was indulging his enmity for Archelaus rather than a natural-virtue of righteousness."

<sup>b</sup> On the Greek in this phrase cf. Schmidt, p. 416.

<sup>12</sup> E: ἄνδρας συγγενεῖς codd.

<sup>13</sup> ed. pr.: εὐεργέτου codd.

<sup>14</sup> ed. pr. et ut vid. Lat.: πεπολιτευμένου codd. E.

πρότερον διὰ τὸ Καίσαρι ὡς δεσπότη<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὅλων καταλελείφθαι τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς γεγραμ-  
 245 μένων. μιμήσεσθαι τε οὐδαμῶς Καίσαρα τὴν ὕβριν αὐτῶν οἱ τῆς Ἡρώδου παντοίως ἀπολαύ-  
 σαντες παρ' ὃν ἕξι καιρὸν δυνάμεως, τὰ πάντα ἐφ' ὕβριν γνώμης ἐπέειγοντο αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' αὐτῶν περι  
 246 τὸν συγγενῆ τοιοῦτων γεγονότων.<sup>2</sup> οὐκ οὖν Καίσαρά γε<sup>3</sup> ἀνδρὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιημένου τὰ πάντα καὶ φίλου καὶ συμμάχου καταλύσειν τὰς διαθήκας, ἐπιπίστει τῇ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένας. οὐδὲ μιμήσεσθαι<sup>4</sup> κακίαν τὴν ἐκεῖνων τὴν Καίσαρος ἀρετὴν καὶ πίστιν, πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνευδοίαστον  
 247 γενομένην, ὡς<sup>5</sup> μανίαν καὶ λογισμῶν ἕκστασιν κατακρίνειν ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως, υἱεὶ μὲν ἀγαθῷ τὴν διαδοχὴν καταλειποτός, πίστει δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ προσπεφυγός· οὔτε ἀμαρτάνειν Ἡρώδη πότε περὶ κρίσιν τοῦ διαδόχου, σωφροσύνη κεχρημένον ἐπὶ τῇ Καίσαρος γνώμῃ τὰ πάντα ποιῆσθαι.  
 248 (7) Καὶ Νικόλαος μὲν τοιαύδε διελθὼν καταπαύει τὸν λόγον, Καίσαρ δὲ Ἀρχέλαον προσπεσόντα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα φιλοφρόνως τε ἀνίστη, φάμενος ἀξιώτατον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας, πολλὴν τε ἀπέφαινε τροπὴν γνώμης τῆς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἄλλα πράξειν ἀλλ' ὅποσα αἱ τε διαθήκαι ὑπηγόρευον καὶ Ἀρχελάω  
 249 συνέφερον. οὐ μὲντοι γε ἐκεκύρωτο οὐδέν, ὡς ἂν<sup>6</sup> ἐχεγγύω παραδείγματι χρώμενον ἐπ' ἀδείας Ἀρχέλαον εἶναι· καὶ διαλύσεως τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένης

<sup>1</sup> Καίσαρι ὡς δεσπότη E: Καίσαρα δεσπότην codd.  
<sup>2</sup> περὶ . . . γεγονότων] τὸ περὶ τὸν συγγενῆ τοιοῦτο γεγονός con. Niese: οὐδ' αὐτῶν . . . γεγονότων om. Lat.: οὐδ' αὐτῶν . . . con. Post. <sup>3</sup> Bekker: τε codd.: om. E.

earlier since it left to Caesar as supreme master of all the decision about the provisions contained in it. Nor, he added, would Caesar in any way imitate the insolence of these men, who after fully benefiting from Herod's power while he was still alive, now made all haste to flout his will, nor that of men either who had behaved in such a manner towards their kinsman. At any rate Caesar would certainly not annul the will of a man who had left everything to his decision, who had been his friend and ally, and who had put his trust in Caesar in making that will. Nor would the virtue and good faith of Caesar, which were unquestioned throughout the entire civilized world, so far imitate the malice of these men as to condemn a person of kingly rank, who had left the succession to his worthy son and had taken refuge in Caesar's good faith, on the grounds of madness and loss of reason. Nor could Herod have been wrong in deciding upon his successor when he showed enough prudence to leave everything to the judgment of Caesar.

(7) Having argued in this fashion, Nicolas brought his speech to an end. Thereupon Caesar in a friendly manner raised up Archelaus, who had thrown himself at his feet, and said that he was most worthy to be king, thus showing his strong inclination not to do anything but what Herod's will had suggested and what would be of advantage to Archelaus. He did not, however, sanction any provision so as to leave Archelaus without anxiety by giving him a sure indication (of his intention). And when the council had broken up, Caesar considered by himself whether

Augustus postpones his decision about Archelaus.

<sup>4</sup> ed. pr., Lat.: μιμήσεσθαι codd.  
<sup>5</sup> ὡς Niese: καὶ codd.  
<sup>6</sup> ὡς ἂν A marg.: ὡς codd. E.



ἐσκοπεῖτο καθ' αὐτὸν εἶπε Ἀρχελάω τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπικυρωτέον εἶτε νομῆν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι παντὶ τῷ Ἡρώδου γένει, καὶ ταῦτα πάντων πολλῆς ἐπικουρίας δεομένων.

250 (x. 1) Πρῶτερον δὲ ἢ κύρωσίν τινα τούτων γενέσθαι, Μαλθάκη<sup>1</sup> τε ἢ Ἀρχελάου μήτηρ νόσῳ τελευτᾷ, καὶ παρὰ Οὐάρου τοῦ Συρίας στρατηγοῦ παρῆν γράμματα τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀπόστασιν διασαφούντα, τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρχελάου μετὰ τὸν ἔκπλουν  
251 ἔθουρβήθη τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος. καὶ Οὐάρος αὐτός, ἐπεὶ παρῆν,<sup>2</sup> τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς κινήσεως τιμωρίᾳ περιβαλὼν καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ<sup>3</sup> τῆς στάσεως ἐπίσχεσιν ποιησάμενος πολλῆς γενομένης, ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας τὴν ἀναζυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο, τάγμα ἐν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις λειπόμενος, τὴν Ἰουδαίων νεωτερο-  
252 ποίαν ἐπιστομοῦντας. οὐ μὴν ἐπεραίνετό γε οὐδὲν ἐπὶ παύλῃ τοῦ μὴ στασιάζοντος αὐτῶν. ὅτε γὰρ Οὐάρος ἀπήει, καὶ Σαβίνος ὁ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομείνας αὐτόθι μεγάλως τοὺς στασιώτας<sup>4</sup> κατεπόνει, στρατιᾷ τε τῇ καταλελειμμένη πιστεύων ὡς καὶ περιέσειτο αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει  
253 δούλων ἰδίων.<sup>5</sup> πολλοὺς δὲ ὄντας ὀπλίσας δορυφόροις ἐχρήτο αὐτοῖς, ἐπέειγαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἐκταράσσων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει. τὰς τε γὰρ ἄκρας ἐβιάζετο παραλαμβάνειν, καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ἐπ' ἐρευνῇ προθύμως ὤρμητο<sup>6</sup> διὰ κέρδη καὶ πλεονεξιῶν ἐπιθυμίας.

<sup>1</sup> Μάρθα ME, om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπεὶ παρῆν E : ἐπεὶ παρῶν M : ἐπιπαρῶν A : ἐπεὶ παρῶν ωs P : ἐπι παρῶν Post: adveniēns Lat.

<sup>3</sup> πλείστου E.

Archelaus should be confirmed as (sole) ruler of the kingdom or whether this should be apportioned among the whole family of Herod, especially as they were all in need of much assistance.

(x. 1)<sup>a</sup> But before any of these steps could be sanctioned, Archelaus' mother Malthace fell ill and died, and a letter came from Varus, the governor of Syria, announcing a revolt of the Jews, for after Archelaus had sailed, the whole nation became unruly. Varus himself, being on the scene, inflicted punishment upon those responsible for the uprising, and after suppressing the rebellion, which was a serious one, for the greater part, he departed for Antioch, leaving one legion of his army in Jerusalem to curb the revolutionary activity of the Jews. He did not, however, succeed at all in putting a stop to their rebellion. For when Varus had gone, Sabinus, the procurator of Caesar, who had remained there, greatly harassed the rebels,<sup>b</sup> being confident that he would overcome them with the army that had been left behind and with a large number of his own slaves,<sup>c</sup> for he had armed many of these and used them as terrorists,<sup>d</sup> thereby goading and disturbing the Jews to the point of revolting. He also tried to take over the citadels by force and undertook a search for the royal treasures, being eager for gain and greedy in his desire.

<sup>a</sup> Chap. x = B.J. ii. 39-78.

<sup>b</sup> Epitome; mss. "soldiers," probably a corruption.

<sup>c</sup> "of his own slaves" is from B.J. ii. 41.

<sup>d</sup> Greek "spearmen." The usual meaning of "bodyguards" hardly fits the context here.

<sup>e</sup> E: στρατιώτας codd.: Iudaeos Lat.

<sup>f</sup> δούλων ἰδίων ex B.J. addidi.

<sup>g</sup> + βία codd., secl. Bekker.

254 (2) Ἐνοστάσης δὲ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς (ἑορτὴ δὲ ἡμῶν ἔστιν πάτριος τοῦτο κεκλημένη) οὐτι κατὰ τὴν θρησκείαν μόνον παρήσαν ἀλλ' ὄργῃ φέροντες τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς Σαβίνου ὕβρεως μυριάδες συνηθροίσθησαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάνυ πολλαί, Γαλιλαίων τε καὶ Ἰδουμαίων, Ἰεριχουντίων τε ἦν πληθὺς καὶ ὅποσοι περάσαντες Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσιν, αὐτῶν τε Ἰουδαίων πληθὺς ἦν οἱ πρὸς πάντας συνειλέχато καὶ πολὺ προθυμότεροι τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ  
 255 τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ Σαβίνου ὠρμήκεσαν. καὶ τρία μέρη νεμηθέντες ἐπὶ τοσῶνδε<sup>1</sup> στρατοπεδεύονται χωρίων, οἱ μὲν τὸν ἵππόδρομον ἀπολαβόντες, καὶ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο μερῶν οἱ μὲν τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένοι τὴν<sup>2</sup> ἐῶαν μοῖραν εἶχον,<sup>3</sup> μοῖρα δ' αὐτῶν ἢ τρίτη τὰ πρὸς δυόμενον ἥλιον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον ἦν. ἐπράσσετο δὲ τὰ πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπανταχόθεν  
 256 αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλεισμένων.<sup>4</sup> καὶ Σαβίνος (ἔδεισε γὰρ τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ἀνδρῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸ θανεῖν ποιουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἠττᾶσθαι μὴ ἐθέλειν ἐφ' οἷς ἀρετὴν κρίνειαν<sup>5</sup> τὸ νικᾶν) παραχρημά τε ὡς τὸν Οὐάρον ἔπεμπε<sup>6</sup> γράμματα, καὶ τὸ σύνηθες, οὐκ ἀνίει κελεύων ἐκ τοῦ δέξεος βοηθεῖν ὡς κινδύνου μεγίστου τὸ ἐγκαταλειφθῆν<sup>7</sup> στρατεύμα περιεσχηκότος, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς μακρὰν ἐλπίζειν κατα-  
 257 κοπήσεσθαι ληφθέντας αὐτούς. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ φρου-

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: τοῶνδε codd. E: diversa Lat.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν Hudson: οἱ δὲ τὴν codd. (om. τὴν P).

<sup>3</sup> οἱ μὲν τὸν ἵππόδρομον . . . εἶχον] οἱ μὲν τὸν ἵππόδρομον ἀπολαβόντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένοι, καὶ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο μερῶν οἱ μὲν τὸ βορειῶν εἶχον con. Niese, haud recte ut vid. <sup>4</sup> E Lat.: ἀποκεκλεισμένοι codd.

<sup>5</sup> ἀρετὴ κρίναιτο ἂν A marg.

(2) When Pentecost came round—this is how one of our ancestral festivals is called<sup>a</sup>—a great many The fight between Romans and Jews at Pentecost. tens of thousands of men gathered (in Jerusalem) who came not only for the religious observances but also because they resented the reckless insolence of Sabinus. There were Galilaeans and Idumaeans and a multitude from Jericho and from those who lived in Transjordan, and there was a multitude from Judaea itself who joined all these, and they were much more eager than the others in their desire to punish Sabinus. Being divided into three groups, they took their positions in three different places. The first group took possession of the hippodrome<sup>b</sup>; of the other two groups, one went to the north quarter of the Temple, and facing south, held the eastern part,<sup>c</sup> while the third group held the western part, where the palace was.<sup>d</sup> All this was done by the rebels in order to be able to besiege the Romans after they were invested by them on all sides. And Sabinus— for he was afraid of their numbers and of the spirit shown by men who thought little of death in their desire not to be defeated in a battle in which they counted it a virtue to be victorious—immediately began to send letters to Varus and, as was usual (in such circumstances), was insistent in telling him to come to his help quickly because a very great danger threatened the army that had been left there, for they expected to be captured and be cut to pieces in a short time. Then he himself seized the highest

<sup>a</sup> End of May, 4 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> See *Ant.* xv. 268 note b; cf. Perowne, pp. 109 f.

<sup>c</sup> The text is uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Perowne, pp. 116-119, and Plate facing p. 108.

<sup>e</sup> ἔπεμπε E sed cf. B.J.

<sup>f</sup> ἐγκαταληφθέν P.

ρίου τὸν ὑψηλότατον τῶν πύργων καταλαβόμενος  
 Φασάηλον, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ Φασαή-  
 λου ὑποδομημένον τε καὶ οὕτως εἰρημένον τελευ-  
 τῆς ὑπὸ Παρθυαίων αὐτῷ γενομένης, κατέσειε τοῖς  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεζῆναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδ'  
 εἰς τοὺς φίλους τολμῶν κατιέναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους  
 προαποθνήσκειν αὐτοῦ τῆς πλεονεξίας δικαίων.  
 258 τολμησάντων δ' εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων μάχῃ  
 συνήει καρτερά, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν πολεμίων ἔργων  
 ἐκράτουν.<sup>1</sup> οὐ μὴν τὰ φρονήματά γε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις  
 259 ἔκαμνε τῇ ὄψει τοῦ δεινοῦ, πολλῶν αὐτοῖς πεπτω-  
 κότων, περιοδεύσαντες δ' ἀνίασιν ἐπὶ τὰς στοάς, αἵ-  
 περ ἦσαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν ἔξω περίβολον περιέχουσαι,  
 καὶ πολλῆς μάχης<sup>2</sup> γενομένης λίθους τε ἠφίεσαν, τοὺς  
 μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν ὑπάραντες τοὺς δ' ἐκ<sup>3</sup> σφενδονῶν, ἀθ-  
 260 ληταὶ τρόπου τοιοῦτου<sup>4</sup> μάχης ὄντες. καὶ οἱ τοξόται  
 πάντες παρατεταγμένοι μεγάλα ἔβλαπτον τοὺς Ῥω-  
 μαίους διὰ τὸ ὑπερδέξιοι τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι  
 μὲν ἄποροι διὰ τὸ ἀνέφικτοι<sup>5</sup> τοῖς εἰσακοντίζειν πει-  
 ρωμένους εἶναι, ῥάους δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ἔχοντες. καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἡ μάχῃ συνέστη  
 261 τοιαύτ' οὕσα. ἔπειτα Ῥωμαῖοι δεινῶς φέροντες τοῖς  
 δρωμένοις πῦρ ἐνιάσιν ταῖς στοαῖς, λαθόντες  
 Ἰουδαίων τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπ' αὐτάς. καὶ τὸ  
 πῦρ ὑπὸ τε πολλῶν προστιθέμενον<sup>6</sup> καὶ μετὰ τῶν  
 ἐγείρειν φλόγα δυναμένων ἤπτετο τοῦ ὀρόφου ἢ  
 262 τάχος. ὁ δὲ ξύλωσιν παρέχων πίσσος τε καὶ κηροῦ

<sup>1</sup> τῶν . . . ἐκράτουν E: πολεμίων ἔργων MA marg.: πολλῶν μὲν ἔργων PA: et licet Romani opere bellico et experientia superiores existerent et plures ex Iudaeis occumberent Lat.

<sup>2</sup> πολλοῖς ἀμάχου P: multum proelium Lat.

<sup>3</sup> τοὺς δ' ἐκ con. Hudson: οὓς δὲ codd.: οὓς δὲ καὶ ἐκ E.

<sup>4</sup> con. Hudson: τοιαύτης codd. <sup>5</sup> E: ἀνέφικτον codd.

of the towers in the fortress, Phasael<sup>a</sup>—it had been built in honour of Herod's brother Phasael and had been given his name after he met death<sup>b</sup> at the hands of the Parthians—, and signalled to the Romans to attack the Jews, for he did not dare go down to his friends himself but thought it perfectly right for others to die for the sake of satisfying his greed. And when the Romans boldly sallied out, a fierce battle ensued, in which the Romans were superior to the enemy in effectiveness, but yet the Jews did not lose courage at the sight of the terrible loss of many men. Instead, by a roundabout way they mounted the porticoes that surrounded the outer court of the Temple, and while a heavy fight was going on, they threw down stones, hurling some with their hands and others from slings, for they were well trained in this kind of fighting. And all the archers, who were stationed beside them, inflicted severe losses on the Romans because they were on higher ground and not easy to attack since they were not within reach of those who tried to hurl javelins at them, and so they had the enemy in a position where he could easily be defeated. In this fashion the battle went on for a long time, but eventually the Romans became desperate at their situation and set fire to the porticoes without being noticed by the Jews who had mounted them. And the fire, being fed by many hands and with very combustible materials, very quickly reached the roof. This contained woodwork filled with pitch and wax, and also had gold smeared

Destruction  
of the  
porticoes of  
the Temple.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. v. 166-169 and note; ii. 46; i. 418.

<sup>b</sup> The accounts of his death differ; cf. B.J. i. 271 ff.; Ant. xiv. 367-369.

<sup>6</sup> προστεθειμένων PE: προστιθεμένων M.

πλέον, ἔτι δὲ κηρῶ<sup>1</sup> χρυσὸν ἐπαλλημιμένον εὐθέως εἶκεν<sup>2</sup>. ἔργα τε μεγάλα ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἠφανίζετο. καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν στοῶν ὄλεθρος οὗτος ἀπροσδόκητος κατέλαβεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ὀρόφου καταρραγέντος συγκατεφέροντο αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ  
 263 περισταδὸν ἔβαλλον οἱ πολέμιοι. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπορία σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐκπλήξει κακοῦ τοῦ περιεστηκότος οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἴεσαν<sup>3</sup> αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι χρώμενοι διάδρασιν αὐτοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. ὅποσοι δὲ εἰς τὸ κατόπιν χωρήσαντες ὀδῶ ἢ ἀναβεβήκεσαν ἐσώζοντο, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντας ἔκτειναν<sup>4</sup> γυμνοὺς τε ὄντας καὶ τὰ φρονήματα ἐκκελυμένους, οὐδὲν τῆς ἀπονοίας διὰ τὸ ἀνοπλον βοηθεῖν δυναμένης.  
 264 ἐσώθη δὲ τῶν ἀνελθόντων ἐπὶ τὸ τέγος οὐδ' ὄστισοῦν. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τοῦ πυρός ἢ παρεῖκοι ὡσθέντες ἐκράτουν τοῦ θησαυροῦ, καθ' ὃν ἱερά ἦν χρήματα. καὶ διεκλάπη μὲν πολλὰ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Σαβῖνος δὲ περιεποίησεν εἰς τὸ φανερόν τετρακόσια τάλαντα.

265 (3) Ἰουδαίους δὲ ἐλύπει μὲν τὸ πάθος τῶν φίλων οἱ ἐν τῆδε ἔπεσον τῇ μάχῃ, ἐλύπει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἢ ἀφαίσεις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅπερ αὐτῶν ἐτύγγχανε συνεστραμμένον καὶ μαχιμώτατον, τούτῳ<sup>5</sup> ἐμπεριέχοντες τὸ βασιλείον ἠπειλοῦν πῦρ τε ἐνήσειν αὐτῷ καὶ πάντας κτείνειν,<sup>6</sup> κελεύοντες ἢ τάχος ἀπιέναι καὶ πειθομένους ὑπισχνούμενοι ἄδειαν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> κηρῶ ins. E.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκάη con. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπαφείσαν A : εἰσήεσαν M : ἐνέεσαν E.

<sup>4</sup> ἔκτεινον P.M.

<sup>5</sup> ed. pr. : τοῦτο codd. E.

<sup>6</sup> κτείνειν E : κτενεῖν con. Niese haud recte.

<sup>a</sup> The Epitome actually adds "with both pitch and wax," an unconscious assimilation to the preceding. Similar uses of wax are described by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 49.

with wax,<sup>a</sup> and so it at once yielded (to the flames). This was how those great and most notable structures were completely destroyed. And those who were on the porticoes were caught in this unexpected destruction, for when the roof fell down, they were carried along with it, and others were struck down from all sides by the enemy. Many, in despair of being saved and in dismay at the awful fate that confronted them, either threw themselves into the fire or escaped it only by turning their swords on themselves. And all those who tried to save themselves by retreating along the passage by which they had climbed up were killed by the Romans, for they were unarmed and crushed in spirit, and not even desperation—since they lacked arms—was able to help them. And so not a single one of those who had gone up to the roof escaped death. And the Romans by pushing their way through the fire wherever it left room for them got possession of the treasury where the sacred funds were kept, and a great part of these was stolen by the soldiers, while Sabinus openly took four hundred talents for himself.<sup>b</sup>

(3) As for the Jews, they were grieved by the sad <sup>The</sup> fate of their friends who had fallen in this battle, <sup>Romans</sup> are and they were also grieved by the carrying off of <sup>besieged in</sup> the dedicatory offerings. However, the most compact <sup>the Temple.</sup> and valiant group among them surrounded the palace and threatened to set fire to it and kill all those inside. Then they told them to get out as quickly as possible, promising that they, and Sabinus along with them, would suffer no harm if they did as they were told.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *B.J.* ii. 50 and note (Sabinus' 400 talents was a part of the loot). Thackeray finds in the account a clear reminiscence of Thuc. vii. 85.



- 266 Σαβίνω σὺν αὐτοῖς. καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν τὸ πλεῖστον ἠὺτομολήκεσαν<sup>1</sup> πρὸς αὐτούς.<sup>2</sup> Ῥούφος δὲ καὶ Γράτος τρισχιλίους τὸ μαχιμώτατον τοῦ Ἡρώδου στρατεύματος ἔχοντες, ἀνδρας τοῖς σώμασι δραστηρίους, Ῥωμαίοις προστίθενται. καὶ τι καὶ ἵππικὸν ἦν τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ῥούφῳ τεταγμένων, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ
- 267 προσθήκη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγεγόνει. Ἰουδαίους δὲ οὐκ ἡμελείτο ἢ πολιορκία ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη μετήλλευον καὶ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις ἐκέλευον μὴ ἐμποδισταῖς εἶναι τοῦ ἀποληψομένου χρόνῳ<sup>3</sup> παροῦσαν
- 268 αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν τὴν πατριον. Σαβίνω μὲν οὖν εὐκτὸν ἀπιέναι μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πιστεύειν δ' οὐχ οἴος τε ἦν διὰ τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ τὸ λίαν εὐγνωμον<sup>4</sup> τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ' ἀποτροπῇ τοῦ κατασταθησομένου<sup>5</sup> εἶχεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Οὐάρων ἤξειν προσδοκῶν ὑπέμενε τὴν πολιορκίαν.
- 269 (4) Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα μυρία θορύβων ἐχόμενα τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατελάμβανε, πολλῶν πολλὰχόσε κατ'<sup>6</sup> οἰκείων ἐλπίδας κερδῶν καὶ Ἰουδαίων
- 270 ἔχθρας ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν ὠρμημένων. δισχιλιοὶ μὲν γάρ τῶν ὑφ' Ἡρώδῃ ποτὲ στρατεύσαμένων καὶ ἤδη καταλελυκότες ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ<sup>7</sup> συστάντες προσεπολέμου τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, ἀντιστατοῦντος αὐτοῖς Ἀχιάβου<sup>8</sup> τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀνεψιού, καὶ<sup>10</sup> τῶν μὲν πεδίον εἰς τὰ μετέωρα ἀνεωσμένου δι' ἐμπειρίαν τὴν εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ταῖς δὲ δυσχωρίαις σώζοντος ὅποσα δυνατά.

<sup>1</sup> ἠὺτομολήσαν ME.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς αὐτούς E: σὺν αὐτοῖς codd.: ad Iudeos Lat.

<sup>3</sup> E: χρόνου codd. <sup>4</sup> ἄγνωμον AME: infideli mente Lat.

<sup>5</sup> καταστησομένου AM. <sup>6</sup> ed. pr.: οἱ κατ' codd.

<sup>7</sup> γὰρ add. Bekker.

<sup>8</sup> P: ἰδίᾳ rell. E Lat.: κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν B.J.

Actually most of the royal troops had deserted to their side. But Rufus and Gratus together with three thousand of the best fighters in Herod's army,<sup>a</sup> men who could use their bodies effectively, adhered to the Romans. And there was a cavalry force under Rufus' command which had also been added to the Roman strength. The Jews, however, did not press the siege less vigorously but proceeded to undermine the walls, and they told the men ready to change sides not to interfere now that at last they had the opportunity to recover their country's liberty. And Sabinus would have liked nothing better than to get away with his troops, but he could not trust (the Jews) because of the things he had done (to them), and he held the enemy's too great generosity to be a reason for rejecting their offer. At the same time he was expecting Varus to come, and so he held out under the siege.

(4) Meanwhile continuous and countless new disturbances filled Judaea, and in many quarters many men rose in arms either in hope of personal gain or out of hatred for the Jews. For example, two thousand of the soldiers who had once campaigned with Herod and had been disbanded, now assembled in Judaea itself and fought against the king's troops. These were led against them by Achiab, a cousin of Herod,<sup>b</sup> but he was forced out of the plains into higher country by the enemy, who were very experienced in warfare, and by retreating to an inaccessible position, he saved what he could.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. B.J. ii. 52 (3000 Sebastenians, i.e. troops from the region of Sebaste).

<sup>b</sup> Cf. above, § 184.

<sup>9</sup> ed. pr.: Ἀλκιβιάδου codd. Lat.

<sup>10</sup> κακ Naber, sed cf. Ant. xix. 264.

- 271 (5) Ἰούδας δὲ ἦν Ἐζεκίου τοῦ ἀρχιληστοῦ υἱὸς ἐπὶ μέγα δυναθέντος, ὑφ' Ἡρώδου δὲ μεγάλους λεη-  
 φθέντος πόνοις. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἰούδας περὶ Σέπ-  
 φώρι τῆς Γαλιλαίας συστησάμενος πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν  
 ἀπονεομημένων ἐπιδρομῆν τῷ βασιλείῳ ποιεῖται, καὶ  
 ὅπλων κρατήσας ὅποσα αὐτόθι ἀπέκειτο, ὤπλιζε  
 τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν καθ' ἓνα,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀποφέρεται χρή-  
 272 ματα ὅποσα κατελήφθη<sup>2</sup> αὐτόθι, φοβερός τε ἅπασιν  
 ἦν ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας, ἐπι-  
 θυμία μειζόνων πραγμάτων καὶ ζηλώσει βασιλείου  
 τιμῆς, οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἐμπειρία τοῦ δὲ ὑβρίζειν περι-  
 ουσία κτήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν γέρας τὸ ἐντεῦθεν.
- 273 (6) Ἦν δὲ καὶ Σίμων δοῦλος μὲν Ἡρώδου τοῦ  
 βασιλέως, ἄλλως δὲ ἀνὴρ εὐπρεπῆς καὶ μεγέθει καὶ  
 ῥώμῃ σώματος ἐπὶ μέγα προὔχων τε καὶ πεπιστευ-  
 μένος. οὗτος ἀρθεὶς τῇ ἀκρισίᾳ<sup>3</sup> τῶν πραγμάτων  
 274 διαδάχημα τε ἐτόλμησε περιθέσθαι, καὶ τινος πλήθους  
 συστάντος καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀναγγελθεὶς μανία  
 τῇ ἐκείνων καὶ εἶναι ἄξιός ἐλπίσας παρ' ὄντιον, τὸ ἐν  
 Ἰεριχοῦντι βασιλεῖον πίμπρησι, δι' ἀρπα-  
 γῆς ἄγων τὰ ἐγκατελημμένα· πολλὰς τε καὶ ἄλλας  
 τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκήσεων πολλαχοῦ τῆς χώρας πῦρ  
 ἐνείει ἠφάνιζε, τοῖς συνησθηκόσι<sup>4</sup> λείαν ἄγειν τὰ ἐγ-

<sup>1</sup> καθ' ἓνα om. P: suos omnes Lat.

<sup>2</sup> κατελείφθη (εί in ras. A) AE Lat.

<sup>3</sup> Ernesti: ἀκρασία codd. E Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Ernesti: ἐνεστηκόσι codd.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xiv. 159 (= *B.J.* i. 204). The followers of Judas, later called a "fourth philosophy" by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 23), are not necessarily connected with the Zealot

(5) Then there was Judas,<sup>a</sup> the son of the brigand <sup>The</sup> chief Ezekias, who had been a man of great power <sup>brigand</sup> and had been captured by Herod only with great <sup>Judas, son</sup> difficulty. This Judas got together a large number <sup>of Ezekias.</sup> of desperate men at Sepphoris in Galilee and there made an assault on the royal palace, and having seized all the arms that were stored there, he armed every single one of his men and made off with all the property that had been seized there. He became an object of terror to all men by plundering those he came across in his desire for great possessions and his ambition for royal rank, a prize that he expected to obtain not through the practice of virtue but through excessive ill-treatment of others.

(6) There was also Simon,<sup>b</sup> a slave of King Herod <sup>The</sup> but a handsome man, who took pre-eminence by size <sup>pretender</sup> and bodily strength, and was expected to go farther. <sup>Simon.</sup> Elated by the unsettled conditions of affairs, he was bold enough to place the diadem on his head, and having got together a body of men, he was himself also proclaimed king by them in their madness, and he rated himself worthy of this beyond anyone else. After burning the royal palace in Jericho, he plundered and carried off the things that had been seized there. He also set fire to many other royal residences in many parts of the country and utterly destroyed them after permitting his fellow-rebels to take as booty whatever

movement; see Foakes Jackson and Lake (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. i, Appendix A. The reference in Acts v. 37 to Judas as following Theudas is involved in the question whether the author of Acts knew and used Josephus as a source; cf. Schürer, *GJV* i. 566; C. S. C. Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles* (New York, 1957), pp. 19-22.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *B.J.* ii. 57-59; mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9).

- 275 καταλελειμμένα<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτρέπων. ἐπέπρακτο δ' ἂν τι μείζον ὑπ'<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ μὴ ταχείας ἐπιστροφῆς γενομένης· ὁ γὰρ Γράτος ὁ τῶν βασιλικῶν στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίοις προστεθειμένος μεθ' ἧς εἶχε δυνάμειος
- 276 ὑπαντιάζει τὸν Σίμωνα, καὶ μάχης αὐτοῖς μεγάλης ἐπὶ πολὺ γενομένης τό τε πολὺ<sup>3</sup> τῶν Περαιῶν ἀσύντακτοι ὄντες καὶ τόλμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ μαχόμενοι ἐφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ Σίμωνος φυγῆ διὰ τινος φάραγγος σώζοντος αὐτόν, Γράτος ἐντυ-
- 277 χὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνει. κατεπρήσθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπ' Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῶ ἐν Ἀμμαθοῖς<sup>4</sup> βασιλεία ὑπὸ τινων συστάντων ἀνδρῶν Σίμωνι παραπλησίων. οὕτως πολλῇ ἀφροσύνῃ ἐνεπολίτευσε τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τὸ βασιλεῖα μὲν οἰκείον οὐκ εἶναι τὸν καθέξοντα τὸ πλήθος ἀρετῆς, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλοφύλους ἐπελθόντας σωφρονιστὰς τοῦ μὴ<sup>5</sup> στασιάζοντος<sup>6</sup> τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπέκκαυμα αὐτῶν διὰ τε τοῦ ὑβρίζειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν γενέσθαι.
- 278 (7) Ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀθρόγγης<sup>7</sup> ἀνὴρ οὔτε προγόνων ἐπιφανῆς ἀξιώματι οὔτε ἀρετῆς περιουσία ἢ τινων πλήθει χρημάτων, ποιμὴν δὲ καὶ ἀνεπιφανῆς τοῖς πᾶσιν εἰς τὰ πάντα ὢν, ἄλλως δὲ μεγέθει σώματος καὶ τῆ κατα χεῖρας ἀλκῇ διαπρέπων, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἐγκαταλελειμμένα secl. Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: ἀπ' ΡΑΕ: om. M.

<sup>3</sup> τότε πολλοὶ cod. Busb. ap. Hudson.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀμάθους Α: Ἀμαθοῖς Ε: Βηθαραμάθου B.J. ii. 59.

<sup>5</sup> μὴ om. ME.

<sup>6</sup> Hudson: στασιάζωντος codd. E: συστασιάζωντος ed. pr.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀθρόγγης P: Ἀβρόγγης ME: Athonges Lat.: Ἀθρογγαῖος B.J.

had been left in them. And he would have done something still more serious if attention had not quickly been turned to him. For Gratus, the officer of the royal troops, joined the Romans and with what forces he had went to meet Simon. A long and heavy battle was fought between them, and most of the Peraeans, who were disorganized and fighting with more recklessness than science, were destroyed. As for Simon, he tried to save himself by fleeing through a ravine, but Gratus intercepted him and cut off his head. The royal palace at Ammatha<sup>a</sup> on the river Jordan was also burnt down by some rebels, who resembled those under Simon. Such was the great madness that settled upon the nation because they had no king of their own to restrain the populace by his pre-eminence, and because the foreigners who came among them to suppress the rebellion were themselves a cause of provocation through their arrogance and their greed.

(7) Then there was a certain Athronges, a man distinguished neither for the position of his ancestors nor by the excellence of his character, nor for any abundance of means but merely a shepherd completely unknown to everybody although he was remarkable for his great stature and feats of strength. This man had the temerity to aspire to the kingship,

<sup>a</sup> The text is uncertain (see critical note); cf. B.J. ii. 59; Ant. xviii. 27 (Βηθαραμῶθᾶ); Eusebius, *Onom.* xlix. 12 (called Beth-ramtha by the Syrians). So the Talmud; Yerus. *Shebit* ix. 2; *Tosephta* (Zuckermann, p. 71, line 23). This is the OT Beth-haram, modern *El-Rame*, two and a half miles W. of *El-Haman* and about six miles N. of the head of the Dead Sea on the E. side of the Jordan. Cf. Abel, *GP* ii. 273; *RB* 40 (1931), 217-223; Alexis Mallon in *Biblica* 14 (1933), 401-405; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT*, pp. 121 f.

βασιλεία φρονῆσαι τῷ κτώμενος<sup>1</sup> αὐτὴν ἡδονῆ<sup>2</sup>  
 πλέον ὑβρίσαι καὶ θνήσκων οὐκ ἐν μεγάλοις τίθε-  
 σθαι τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐπὶ τοιοῦσδε ἀνάλωμα<sup>3</sup> γενησό-  
 279 μενον. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τέσσαρες,  
 μεγάλοι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προὔχων τῇ  
 κατὰ χεῖρας ἀρετῇ πεπιστευμένοι, πρόεχμα<sup>4</sup> εἶναι  
 τῆς καθέξεως τῆς βασιλείας δοκοῦντες. λόγου τε  
 280 αὐτῶν ἦρχεν ἕκαστος· συλλέγεται γὰρ μεγάλη πλη-  
 θὺς πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ οἶδε μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν καὶ  
 ὑπεστράτευν<sup>5</sup> αὐτῷ ὅποσα εἰς τὰς μάχας φουτῶν-  
 τες δι' αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ διάδημα περιθέμενος βουλευτή-  
 ριον τε ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιητέοις<sup>6</sup> καὶ τὰ πάντα  
 281 γνώμη ἀνακείμενα εἶχε τῇ αὐτοῦ. διέμενέ τε ἐπὶ  
 πολὺ τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἢ ἰσχύς βασιλεῖ τε κεκλημένω  
 καὶ ἂ πράσσειν ἐθέλοι μὴ ἀποστερουμένω, φόνω τε  
 καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν ἐπὶ μέγα προσκεί-  
 μενοι Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ βασιλικῶν μίσει πολιτευόν-  
 τες ὁμοίως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, τούτους<sup>7</sup> μὲν ὑβρεῖ ἢ  
 χρήσαιτο ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου ἀρχῆς, Ῥωμαίους δὲ  
 282 ὧν εἰς<sup>8</sup> τὸ παρὸν ἔδοξαν ἀδικεῖν. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ  
 χρόνου καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ὁμοίως ἐξηγγίωσαν.<sup>9</sup> διά-  
 φευξίς τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν πᾶσι,<sup>10</sup> τὰ μὲν  
 κέρδους ἐλπίδι, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνηθεία τοῦ φονεῦν.  
 ἐπιτίθενται δὲ ποτε καὶ Ῥωμαίων λόχῳ κατὰ Ἐμ-

<sup>1</sup> Cocceji: κτώμενον τε P: κτωμένω δὲ AME.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὴν ἡδονῆ codd.: δι' αὐτῆς ἡδονῆ Cocceji: αὐτὴν ἡδονῆς  
 codd.: pro τῷ κτώμενος . . . ἡδονῆ hab. ed. pr. καὶ διὰ τὴν  
 ἡδονῆν τοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> ed. pr.: ἀναλώμασι codd. E.

<sup>4</sup> A marg.: πρόεχμα P: πρόλημα AM: πρόβλημα ed. pr.

<sup>5</sup> ὑπεστρατήγουν E. <sup>6</sup> προσποιητέοις AME.

<sup>7</sup> Hudson: τοῦτο codd. (vid.).

<sup>8</sup> εἰς ins. ed. pr. vid.

<sup>9</sup> ἐξηγγιώθησαν P.

<sup>10</sup> ἐν πᾶσι(ν) A marg. ME: ἐμπεσεῖν P.

thinking that if he obtained it he would enjoy freedom  
 to act more outrageously; as for meeting death, he  
 did not attach much importance to the loss of his life  
 under such circumstances. He also had four brothers,  
 and they too were tall men and confident of being  
 very successful through their feats of strength, and  
 he believed them to be a strong point<sup>a</sup> in his bid for  
 the kingdom. Each of them commanded an armed  
 band, for a large number of people had gathered  
 round them. Though they were commanders, they  
 acted under his orders whenever they went on raids  
 and fought by themselves. Athronges himself put  
 on the diadem and held a council to discuss what  
 things were to be done, but everything depended  
 upon his own decision. This man kept his power  
 for a long while, for he had the title of king and  
 nothing to prevent him from doing as he wished. He  
 and his brothers also applied themselves vigorously  
 to slaughtering the Romans and the king's men, to-  
 ward both of whom they acted with a similar hatred,  
 toward the latter because of the arrogance that they  
 had shown during the reign of Herod, and toward the  
 Romans because of the injuries that they were held  
 to have inflicted at the present time. But as time  
 went on they became more and more savage (toward  
 all) alike. And there was no escape for any in any  
 way, for sometimes the rebels killed in hope of gain  
 and at other times from the habit of killing. On one  
 occasion near Emmaus<sup>b</sup> they even attacked a com-

<sup>a</sup> The repetition of roots, characteristic of the "source,"  
 would also support the reading (cf. προὔχων . . . πρόεχμα).

<sup>b</sup> Twenty miles W.N.W. of Jerusalem; later Nicopolis,  
 modern *Amwas*. Cf. *B.J.* ii. 63 and 71 note; *Ant.* xiii. 15  
 note; Abel, *GP* ii. 314-316; Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs, sa  
 basilique et son histoire* (Paris, 1932).



μαούνητα, οἱ σίτον τε καὶ ὄπλα τῇ στρατιᾷ ἔφερον· καὶ περιστάντες Ἄρειον μὲν τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον, ὃς ἠγείτο τοῦ τάγματος,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῶν περι  
 283 αὐτὸν πεζῶν τοὺς κρατίστους κατηκόντισαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δέισαντες πρὸς τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν, Γράτου σὺν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν σκέπης αὐτοῖς γενομένης, σώζονται τοὺς νεκροὺς καταλιπόντες. καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον τοιουτοτρόποις<sup>2</sup> χρώμενοι μάχαις Ῥωμαίους τε παρελύπησαν οὐκ εἰς ὀλίγα  
 284 καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐκάκωσαν ἐπὶ μέγα. χειροῦνται δὲ αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> χρόνῳ ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Γράτῳ συμβαλὼν ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ· καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἀρχελαίου λαβόντος ὁ τελευταῖος πάθει τε τῷ ἐκείνου λελυπημένος καὶ ἄπορον ἐπὶ πλέον ὄρων τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπὸ μονώσεως καὶ καμάτου πολλοῦ, φιλωθεὶς τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ δεξιαῖς καὶ πίστει τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀρχελαίῳ παραδίδωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὕστερον γίνεται.  
 285 (8) Ληστηρίων δὲ ἡ Ἰουδαία ἔμπλεως ἦν, καὶ ὡς ἂν παρατύχοιέν τιμι οἱ συστασιάσαντες αὐτῷ, βασιλεὺς προϊστάμενος ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἠπέιγετο, ὀλίγα μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγοις Ῥωμαίοις λυπηροὶ καθιστάμενοι, τοῦ δὲ ὁμοφύλου φόνον ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐμποιοῦντες.  
 286 (9) Οὐάρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρῶτον πυνθάνεται τὰ πεπραγμένα Σαβίνου γράψαντος πρὸς αὐτόν, δέισας περὶ τοῦ τάγματος, δύο τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναλαβὼν (τρία γὰρ ἐπὶ Συρίας τὰ πάντα ἦν) καὶ ἵλας ἵππέων τέσσαρας ὅποσα τε ἐπικουρικὰ ἢ<sup>4</sup> βασιλεῖς ἢ τινες

<sup>1</sup> παντὸς P. <sup>2</sup> Cocceji: τοιοῦτοις τρόποις codd. E.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ αὐτῶν] δ' οὖν AME.

<sup>4</sup> ed. pr.: καὶ οἱ codd.: οἱ E.

pany of Romans, who were bringing grain and weapons to their army. Surrounding the centurion Arius, who commanded the detachment, and forty of the bravest of his foot-soldiers, they shot them down. The rest were terrified at their fate but with the protection given them by Gratus and the royal troops that were with him they made their escape, leaving their dead behind. This kind of warfare they kept up for a long time and caused the Romans no little trouble while also inflicting much damage on their own nation. But the brothers were eventually subdued, one of them in an engagement with Gratus, the other in one with Ptolemy. And when Archelaus captured the eldest, the last brother, grieving at the other's fate and seeing that he could no longer find a way to save himself now that he was all alone and utterly exhausted, stripped of his force, surrendered to Archelaus on receiving a pledge sworn by his faith in God (that he would not be harmed). But this happened later.

(8) And so Judaea was filled with brigandage. Any-one might make himself king as the head of a band of rebels whom he fell in with, and then would press on to the destruction of the community, causing trouble to few Romans and then only to a small degree but bringing the greatest slaughter upon their own people.

(9)<sup>a</sup> As soon as he learned what was happening through the letter written to him by Sabinus, Varus, being concerned for the legion (left in Judaea), took the other two legions—three in all were stationed in Syria—, four troops of cavalry and whatever auxiliaries were then furnished by the kings and some of the

Brigandage  
in Judaea.

Varus  
intervenes.

<sup>a</sup> On §§ 286-298 cf. Abel, *HP* i. 414, n. 1.

<sup>b</sup> E: οἱ codd.

287 τετράρχαι τότε παρέιχον, ἠπειγέτο βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἐν  
 Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πολιορκουμένοις. εἶρητο δὲ πᾶσιν  
 εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα ἐπείγεσθαι ὅσοι προεξεπέμποντο.  
 διδοάσι τε αὐτῷ καὶ Βηρύτιοι, διόντι αὐτῶν τὴν  
 πόλιν, ἐπικούρους πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. πέμ-  
 πει δὲ καὶ Ἀρέτας ὁ Πετραῖος, ἔχθει τῷ Ἡρώδου  
 288 φίλιαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων κτώμενος, οὐκ ὀλίγην χεῖρα<sup>1</sup>  
 πεζῶν τε καὶ ἰππέων. συναχθείσης<sup>2</sup> δ' ἐν Πτολε-  
 μαίδι πάσης ἤδη τῆς δυνάμεως, μέρος τι ταύτης τῷ  
 υἱῷ παραδούς καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἐνὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων<sup>4</sup> Γαλιλαίους  
 ἐξέπεμπε πολεμῆν οἷ<sup>5</sup> τὰ Πτολεμαίδος ἐχόμενα<sup>6</sup>  
 289 κατοικοῦσιν ὃς ἐμβαλὼν τοὺς τε ἀντικαταστάντας  
 εἰς μάχην τρέπεται, καὶ Σέπφωριν ἐλὼν τοὺς μὲν  
 οἰκήτορας ἠνδραποδίσατο τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνέπρησεν.  
 αὐτὸς δὲ Οὐάρος ἐπὶ Σαμαρείας τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ  
 προῖων<sup>7</sup> τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀπέσχετο<sup>8</sup> διὰ τὸ ἀν-  
 ἐγκλητον ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωτερισμοῖς εἶναι, στρατοπεδεύ-  
 εται δὲ ἐν τινι κώμῃ Πτολεμαίου κτήματι, Ἄρου<sup>9</sup>  
 290 ὄνομα αὐτῇ. καὶ οἱ Ἀραβες μίσει τῷ Ἡρώδου  
 ἐμπιμπράσιν αὐτήν, ἐχθρῶς καὶ πρὸς φίλους τοὺς  
 ἐκείνου ἔχοντες. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ προῖόντες Σαμφῶ<sup>9</sup> κώ-  
 μην ἐτέραν διήρπασάν τε οἱ Ἀραβες καὶ ἔκαυσαν,

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ὀλίγη χεῖρα] συμμαχίαν οὐκ ὀλίγην χωρὶς Hudson (cum ed. pr. vid.).

<sup>2</sup> E: σταθείσης AM: σταθῆσης P: congregato Lat.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ om. AM Lat.

<sup>4</sup> τῷ υἱῷ . . . φίλων] Γάιον ἡγεμόνα τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων (Galli filio etc. Lat.) B.J.

<sup>5</sup> E: οἱ ὑπὲρ codd.: οἷπερ Herwerden.

<sup>6</sup> ἐχόμενοι PA<sup>1</sup>M.

<sup>7</sup> Ernesti: προσῖων codd. E: ingreditur Lat.

tetrarchs, and hastened to assist the men who were  
 being besieged at that time in Judaea. Orders were  
 then given to all those who had been sent ahead to  
 hasten to Ptolemais. The people of Berytus<sup>a</sup> gave  
 him fifteen hundred auxiliary troops as he passed  
 through their city. And Aretas of Petra, who in his  
 hatred of Herod had formed a friendship with the  
 Romans, also sent a considerable force of infantry and  
 cavalry. When, therefore, his whole army had as-  
 sembled in Ptolemais, Varus turned over part of it to  
 his son and to one of his friends,<sup>b</sup> and sent them out  
 to fight against the Galilaeans who inhabit the region  
 adjoining Ptolemais. His son attacked all who  
 opposed him and routed them, and after capturing  
 Sepphoris, he reduced its inhabitants to slavery and  
 burnt the city. Varus himself went on to Samaria  
 with his whole army, but he spared the city because it  
 could not be charged with participating in the rebel-  
 lion, and he encamped in a village belonging to  
 Ptolemy, of which the name was Arous.<sup>c</sup> This village  
 the Arabs burned because of their hatred of Herod  
 and their enmity toward his friends as well. From  
 there the Arabs went on and plundered another  
 village named Sampho<sup>d</sup> and burned it though it was

<sup>a</sup> See *Ant.* xvi. 344 note.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *B.J.* ii. 68, "Gaius, one of his friends."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *B.J.* ii. 69. It is now identified as modern *Haris*, eleven miles S.W. of Neapolis. See Albright, *BASOR* 11 (1923), 10, 13; Abel, *GP* ii. 251; *JPOS* 7 (1927), 92; Avi-Yonah, *MP*, p. 24.

<sup>d</sup> Seven miles N.E. of Emmaus; modern *Saffa*. It was in a strong position between two rivers. Cf. Abel, *GP* ii. 448; *JPOS* *ibid.*; Avi-Yonah, *MP*, p. 16.

<sup>e</sup> Niese: ἀπέσχε(ν) codd. E.

<sup>9</sup> Σαμφῶ AME (ut in B.J.): Saffo Lat.

πάνυ ἐρυμνήν οὖσαν, καὶ ἔφυγεν<sup>1</sup> ἐν<sup>2</sup> τῇ προόδῳ  
οὐδὲν αὐτούς,<sup>3</sup> ἀλλὰ πυρὸς καὶ φόνου τὰ πάντα  
291 μεστὰ ἦν. πύμπραται δὲ καὶ Ἐμμαοῦς, Οὐάρου κε-  
λεύσαντος ἐπ' ἐκδικία τῶν συντετελευτηκότων,<sup>4</sup>  
292 προεκλειφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων. ἐντεῦθεν  
δὲ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἤδη συνήπτε, καὶ Ἰουδαίων  
οἱ κατὰ πολιορκίαν τοῦ τάγματος τῆδε στρατοπεδεύ-  
όμενοι τὴν ὄψιν τῆς προσόδου τῶν στρατευμάτων  
οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ὤχοντο, ἡμίεργον τὴν πολιορ-  
293 κίαν καταλιπόντες. οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις  
Ἰουδαῖοι, δεινῶς τοῦ Οὐάρου σφίσιν ἐγκαλοῦντος,  
ἀπελύοντο τὰς αἰτίας ὡς τῆς μὲν συνόδου τῆς  
πληθύος διὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν γενομένης, τοῦ δὲ πολέ-  
μου μηδαμὰ γνώμη τῇ αὐτῶν τόλμη δὲ τῶν ἐπη-  
λύδων συνελθόντες<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῖς καὶ συμπολιορκηθέντες  
Ῥωμαίοις μᾶλλον ἢ πολιορκεῖν προθυμίαν ἔχοντες.  
294 προαπηγητήκασι δὲ τῷ Οὐάρῳ Ἰώσηπος τε ἀνεψιὸς  
Ἡρώδου βασιλέως, Γράτος τε καὶ Ροῦφος τοὺς  
ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄγοντες, καὶ τῶν Ῥω-  
μαίων οἱ πολιορκούμενοι. Σαβίνος δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκετο  
Οὐάρῳ εἰς ὄψιν ἀλλ' ὑπέξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θά-  
λασσαν.  
295 (10) Οὐάρος δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πέμψας τοῦ  
στρατοῦ μέρος ἐπέζητει τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστά-  
σεως, καὶ σημαιομένων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασεν ὡς  
αἰτιωτάτους, εἰσὶ δ' οὓς καὶ ἀφήκεν. ἐγίνοντο δὲ  
οἱ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν σταυρωθέντες δισχίλιοι.  
296 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν<sup>6</sup> μὲν Ἀρέτου<sup>7</sup> στρατιὰν ἀποπέμ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐχυρὰν AME.<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦς διέφυγεν AME.<sup>3</sup> συνελθόντος Holwerda.<sup>4</sup> ἐντετελευτηκότων Bekker.<sup>5</sup> hic rursus inc. cod. W.<sup>6</sup> Ἀρέτου con. T. Reinach: αὐτοῦ aut ἐαυτοῦ codd.<sup>7</sup> ἐν δὲ AME.

very strong, and as they advanced nothing escaped their hands but there was fire and slaughter wherever they went. Emmaus too, after being abandoned by its inhabitants, was burnt at the order of Varus in revenge for those who had been killed there. From there they came on to the very outskirts of Jerusalem, and the Jews who were encamped there while besieging the legion, scattered and fled at the first sight of the advancing army, leaving the siege-work half finished. As for the Jews inside Jerusalem, when they were bitterly reproached by Varus, they refuted his accusations by saying that the populace had come together because of the festival and that they had been involved in the war not of their own will but through the recklessness of the newcomers, for they had been under siege with the Romans rather than having the desire to besiege them. Now there had already come out to meet Varus both Joseph,<sup>a</sup> the cousin of King Herod, and Gratus and Rufus at the head of their troops, and also the Romans who had been under siege. Sabinus, however, did not come into Varus' sight but secretly left the city for the sea-coast.

(10) Varus then sent part of his army through the country to search for those who were responsible for the revolt, and when they were discovered he punished those who were most guilty but some he released. The number of those who were crucified on this charge was two thousand. After that he dismissed Aretas' <sup>b</sup> army, seeing that it was no longer

Varus ends  
the revolt.

<sup>a</sup> Son of Herod's brother Joseph, who was killed in battle at Jericho in 38 B.C. (cf. *B.J.* i. 323-325; *Ant.* xiv. 448-449; xviii. 134).

<sup>b</sup> Conjectured by Reinach in *REJ* 56 (1908), 124 f., but overlooked in the French translation. Cf. §§ 287. 290 f.; *B.J.* ii. 76.

πεται, χρήσιμον μὲν ὄρων ἐπ' οὐδαμνοῖς οὖσαν  
 πράγμασι· πολλά δὲ ἠτάκτητο αὐτοῖς καὶ παρή-  
 κουστο τῶν δογμάτων καὶ ὧν ἡξίου Οὐάρου, ἐφέσει  
 κερδῶν ἃ ἐκ τοῦ κακουργεῖν περιεγένοντο αὐτοῖς.  
 297 αὐτὸς δὲ μυρίουσ' Ἰουδαίους συνεστηκέναι πυνθανό-  
 μενος ἠπείγετο εἰς κατάληψιν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ οὐχ  
 ἦγον εἰς χεῖρας ἀλλὰ παρέδοσαν αὐτοὺς γνώμη τῇ  
 Ἀχιάβου συνελθόντες. καὶ Οὐάρου τῷ πλήθει συγ-  
 χωρῶν τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ  
 298 Καίσαρα ὅποσοι ἠγεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτῶν. Καῖσαρ δὲ  
 τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν πολλοὺς διήκεν, ὅποσοι δὲ συγγενεῖς  
 ὄντες Ἡρώδου συνεστράτευον αὐτοῖς τούτου ἐκό-  
 λασε μόνους οἱ<sup>1</sup> μηδὲν φροντίσαντες τοῦ δικαίου  
 κατὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐστράτευον.  
 299 (xi. 1) Οὐάρου μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καταστησάμενος καὶ  
 φρουρὰν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ καὶ πρότερον καταλιπὼν  
 τάγμα, ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἠπείγετο. Ἀρχελάω δ' ἐπὶ  
 Ῥώμης ἐτέρων πραγμάτων ἐφύοντο ἀρχαὶ κατὰ τοι-  
 300 αὐτὰς αἰτίας. ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβεία  
 Ἰουδαίων, Οὐάρου τὸν ἀπόστολον αὐτῶν τῷ ἔθνει  
 ἐπικεχωρηκότος, ὑπὲρ αἰτήσεως αὐτονομίας. καὶ  
 ἦσαν οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις οἱ ἀποσταλέντες γνώμη τοῦ  
 ἔθνους πεντήκοντα, συνίσταντο δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ  
 301 Ῥώμης Ἰουδαίων ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχίλιοι. Καίσαρός  
 τε συνέδριον φίλων τε τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν  
 πρώτων συναγαγόντος ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀπόλλωνος μεγά-  
 λους τέλεσεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἰδρυμένω, οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις  
 μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν αὐτόθι<sup>2</sup> Ἰουδαίων ἀφ-  
 302 κινούνται, Ἀρχελαος δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων. ὅποσοι  
 δὲ συγγενεῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἦσαν Ἀρχελάω μὲν  
 συντετάχθαι διὰ μίσος τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑστέρον,  
 τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσιν ὁμοψηφεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ δεινὸν  
 510

useful for any purpose, for they had often been dis-  
 orderly and had disobeyed Varus' orders and requests  
 out of desire for the gain that their misbehaviour  
 brought them. He himself, on learning that ten  
 thousand Jews had risen in arms, hastened to capture  
 them. They did not, however, face him in battle but  
 following the advice of Achiab surrendered to him.  
 Varus then pardoned the great majority of those  
 guilty of revolting but sent to Caesar any who had  
 been their leaders. Caesar let most of them go and  
 punished only those relatives of Herod who had  
 joined them in fighting, because they had shown con-  
 tempt for justice in fighting against their own kin.

(xi. 1)<sup>a</sup> Having in this way regulated affairs, Varus A Jewish delegation in Rome asks Augustus to end the rule of the Herodians.  
 left as a garrison in Jerusalem the legion formerly  
 there, and hastened to Antioch. Meanwhile Archelaus  
 in Rome saw new troubles beginning for him for  
 the following reasons. There arrived at Rome a  
 delegation of Jews, which Varus had permitted the  
 nation to send, for the purpose of asking autonomy.  
 The number of the envoys, who had been sent with  
 the consent of the nation, was fifty, and they were  
 joined by more than eight thousand of the Jews in  
 Rome. When Caesar had assembled a council of his  
 own friends and the leading Romans in the temple of  
 Apollo, which had been built by him at great expense,  
 the envoys presented themselves together with the  
 crowd of local Jews, as did Archelaus with his friends.  
 But all those who were relatives of the king because  
 of their hatred of him held back from ranging them-  
 selves on his side, and yet they considered it repre-

<sup>a</sup> Chap. xi = B.J. ii. 79-100.

<sup>1</sup> M: εἰ rell. E.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτόθεν A.



ἡγούντο, ἐν αἰσχύνῃ τῇ αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι γενήσεσθαι  
 303 παρὰ Καίσαρι κατ' ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου τοιάδε πράσσειν  
 προθυμείσθαι. παρῆν δὲ ἤδη καὶ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Συ-  
 ρίας, ἐξοτρύναντος αὐτὸν Οὐάρου, τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον  
 ἐπὶ συνηγορία τὰδελοφου (πάνυ γὰρ εὐνόει Οὐάρος  
 αὐτῷ), γενομένης δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μεταπτώσεως (καὶ  
 τὰδε ὑπώπτευν Οὐάρος νέμῃσιν αὐτῆς γενήσεσθαι  
 διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς αὐτονομίας γλιχομένους)  
 οὐχ ὑστεριῶν τοῦ κἂν αὐτὸς μοῖραν αὐτῆς τινὰ φέρε-  
 σθαι.

304 (2) Λόγου οὖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίων πρέσβεσι δοθέντος,  
 οἱ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς βασιλείας ἠλπίζον λέγειν, ἐπὶ  
 κατηγορίαν<sup>1</sup> τῶν Ἡρώδου παρανομιῶν τρέπονται,  
 βασιλέα μὲν ὀνόματι ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτὸν, τῶν δ'  
 ἐν ταῖς τυραννίσιν ἐκάσταις<sup>2</sup> τὸ ἀνήκεστον ἀναδεξά-  
 μενον εἰς αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συν-  
 θέντα κεχρησθαι,<sup>4</sup> τοῦ<sup>5</sup> πολλὰ καὶ φύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ  
 305 προσκαινουργεῖν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένον. πολλῶν γοῦν  
 ὄντων οἱ ὀλέθροις ἀπολώλοισιν οἷους οὐχ<sup>6</sup> ἱστορη-  
 σθαί<sup>7</sup> πω πρότερον, πολλῶ δυστυχεστέρους τοῦ πά-  
 θους ἐκείνων τοὺς ζώντας εἶναι, οὐ μόνον ὦν ὄψει  
 καὶ διανοίᾳ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνιαθεῖεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὦν ταῖς  
 308 οὐσίαις. πόλεις μὲν γε<sup>8</sup> τὰς μὲν περιουκίδας καὶ  
 ὑπὸ ἄλλοφύλων οἰκουμένας κοσμοῦντα μὴ<sup>9</sup> παύσα-  
 σθαι, καταλύσει τε<sup>10</sup> καὶ ἀφανισμῷ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ  
 307 αὐτοῦ κατρωκῆμένων. πενίας δὲ ἀπόρου τὸ ἐθ-

<sup>1</sup> E: κατηγορία codd.

<sup>2</sup> cod. Gall. teste Hudson: ἐκάστης rell.

<sup>3</sup> edd.: αὐτὸν MW: ταῦτόν rell.

<sup>4</sup> Ernesti: χρῆσθαι codd. E. <sup>6</sup> Bekker: τὰ codd. E.

<sup>6</sup> οἷους οὐχ Bekker: ὄσους οὐχ ex Lat. Hudson: οὐχ codd.

<sup>7</sup> Cobet, Herwerden: ἱστορησά Bekker: ἱστορήσειν codd.

<sup>8</sup> μὲν γε AMW Lat.: τε P.

hensible to cast their vote against him with the envoys,  
 for they believed that they would be disgraced in the  
 eyes of Caesar if they were willing to act in this way  
 toward a man who was their own kin. Present also  
 was Philip, who had come from Syria at the urging of  
 Varus, principally to aid the cause of Archelaus,<sup>a</sup> to  
 whom Varus was very friendly, and also to be sure to  
 obtain a share of the royal power for himself in the  
 shift of rulers, for Varus saw a partition coming due  
 to the many who desired autonomy.

(2) Accordingly, when permission to speak was  
 given to the Jewish envoys, who were waiting to ask  
 for the dissolution of the kingdom, they applied them-  
 selves to accusing Herod of lawless acts. They argued  
 that while he had been a king in name, he had brought  
 together in his own person the most ruthless cruelties  
 of all the various tyrants and had used their devices  
 for the destruction of the Jews and had not been  
 averse to adding many new forms of his own natural  
 invention. Indeed, while many had perished through  
 forms of destruction that had never been witnessed  
 before, those who still lived were much more un-  
 fortunate in their suffering than these others because  
 they were not only distressed by the wrongs that  
 they witnessed and reflected upon, but also by the  
 loss of their property. To be precise, he had not  
 ceased to adorn neighbouring cities that were in-  
 habited by foreigners although this led to the ruin  
 and disappearance of cities located in his own king-  
 dom. He had indeed reduced the entire nation to

The Jewish  
 delegates  
 recall  
 Herod's  
 misrule.

<sup>a</sup> Greek "his brother."

<sup>9</sup> in ras. A: ὦν ἐκ rell.: ornare et locupletare Lat.

<sup>10</sup> καταλύσει τε ed. pr. (vid.): καταλύσεώς τε A<sup>2</sup> (vid.):  
 καταλύσαι ὥστε A<sup>1</sup> rell.

νος ἀναπεπληκέναι, σὺν ὀλίγοις εὐδαίμων παρειλη-  
 φότα, τῶν τε εὐπατριδῶν, ὅποτε κτείνειεν αὐτοὺς  
 ἐπ' ἀλόγοις αἰτίαις, τὰς οὐσίας ἀποφερόμενον, καὶ  
 οἷς συγχωρήσειε τὴν ἀγρίαν<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ζῆν ψίλωσιν χρη-  
 308 μάτων καταδικάζοντα. καὶ χωρὶς μὲν πράσσεσθαι  
 φόρους ἐπιβαλλομένους ἐκάστοις τὸ ἐπ' ἔτος, χωρὶς  
 δὲ εὐπορίας εἶναι παρακαταβολὰς αὐτῷ τε καὶ  
 οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις καὶ τῶν δούλων οἱ ἐπ' ἐκπράξει  
 τῶν φόρων ἐξίοιεν,<sup>2</sup> διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι κτήσιν<sup>3</sup> τοῦ  
 ἀνυβρίστου<sup>4</sup> μηδ' ὅπως<sup>5</sup> μηδ' ἀργυρίων διδομένων.  
 309 παρθένων μέντοι φθορὰς καὶ γυναικῶν αἰσχύνας,  
 ὅποσας ἐπὶ παροιμία καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου δρω-  
 μένας, σιγᾶν διὰ τὸ ἡδονὴν ἴσῃν εἶναι τοῖς πεπον-  
 θόσι τῷ<sup>6</sup> μὴ γεγονέναι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνέκπυστα αὐτὰ  
 εἶναι. τοσήνδε Ἡρώδην ἐπεισάγεσθαι τὴν ἕβριν  
 αὐτοῖς ὅποσῃν οὐδ' ἂν θηρίον, ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστα-  
 310 τεῖν δυνάμειος αὐτῷ παραγενομένης. πολλῶν γοῦν  
 ἀναστάσεων καὶ μεταστάσεων<sup>7</sup> παραλαβουσῶν τὸ  
 ἔθνος, οὐδεμίαν ἱστορησθαι πώποτε τοιάνδε δυστυ-  
 χίαν ἐπελθοῦσαν αὐτῷ, παράδειγμά τε κακώσεως<sup>8</sup>  
 311 ἦν αὐτὸς Ἡρώδης ἐπετίθει τῷ ἔθνει. καὶ διὰ  
 ταῦτ'<sup>9</sup> εἰκότως ἂν γενέσθαι τὸ ἀσμένως Ἀρχέλαον  
 βασιλέα προσειπεῖν, οἰομένους πάντα ὄντιναοῦν τὸν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν<sup>10</sup> ἐρχόμενον<sup>11</sup> Ἡρώδου μετριώ-  
 τερον φανεῖσθαι,<sup>12</sup> καὶ τὸν τε πατέρα συνολοφύρα-

<sup>1</sup> ἄδειαν AMW.

<sup>2</sup> ἀξιοῖεν AMW.

<sup>3</sup> κτήσιν MWA marg.: κτήσει rell. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> ἀνυβρίστως P: ἀνυβρίστου ὡς MW.

<sup>5</sup> οὕτως ex ὅπως corr. A: χρυσοῦ ex Lat. Hudson.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: τοῦ codd.

<sup>7</sup> καὶ μεταστάσεων om. AMWE.

<sup>8</sup> παράδειγμά τε κακώσεως del. Naber.

<sup>9</sup> διὰ ταῦτ' ed. pr.: ταῦτ' P: ταύτη rell. E.

helpless poverty after taking it over in as flourishing  
 a condition as few ever know, and he was wont to kill  
 members of the nobility upon absurd pretexts and  
 then take their property for himself; and if he did  
 permit any of them to have the doubtful pleasure<sup>a</sup> of  
 living, he would condemn them to be stripped of  
 their possessions. In addition to the collecting of the  
 tribute that was imposed on everyone each year,  
 lavish extra contributions had to be made to him and  
 his household and friends and those of his slaves who  
 were sent out to collect the tribute because there  
 was no immunity at all from outrage unless bribes  
 were paid. Moreover, about the corrupting of their  
 virgin daughters and the debauching of their wives,  
 victims of drunken violence and bestiality, they  
 were silent only because those who suffer such in-  
 dignities are just as pleased to have them remain  
 undisclosed as they are not to have had them happen  
 at all. For Herod had inflicted such outrages upon  
 them as not even a beast could have done if it pos-  
 sessed the power to rule over men. Indeed, though  
 many forced expulsions and deportations had come  
 upon the nation, never had such a misfortune over-  
 taken it as Herod himself had inflicted upon it as an  
 exemplar of wickedness. It was with good reason,  
 therefore, that they had gladly welcomed Archelaus  
 as their king, for they had thought that whoever  
 should succeed to the throne would show himself to  
 be more moderate than Herod. And they had joined

Charges  
 against  
 Archelaus.

<sup>a</sup> Or "security"; cf. critical note and Niese, vol. iii, Praef., p. xxiii.

<sup>10</sup> ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ PA.

<sup>11</sup> Naber: ἐσόμενον codd.

<sup>12</sup> E: φαίνεσθαι codd.

σθαι αὐτῷ θεραπεύοντας, εἴ γε μετρίου τυγχάνειν  
 312 δυνηθεῖεν, καὶ τὰλλα οἰκειουμένους. τὸν δὲ δεί-  
 σαντα μὴ οὐχ Ἡρώδου γνήσιος πιστεύοιτο υἱός,  
 οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἐπιδειξάι'  
 τῷ ἔθνει τὴν διάνοιαν<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα μηδέπω  
 τέλεον κρατυνάμενον ἡγεμονίαν διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Καίσαρι  
 313 δοῦναι καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι. παράδειγμά τε  
 τῆς εἰς αὐθις ἀρετῆς τιθέναι τοῖς ἀρχησομένοις  
 μετριότητα καὶ εὐνομίαν,<sup>3</sup> ἣν χρήσαιτο ἂν πρὸς  
 αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν πρώτοις ἀποδειχθείσης πράξεως  
 ἐπὶ τε τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τῷ θεῷ, τρισχιλίων ὁμο-  
 φύλων ἀνδρῶν σφαγὴν ἐν τῷ τεμένει ποιησάμενον.  
 πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἤδη καὶ δικαίῳ μίσει χρήσασθαι κατ'  
 αὐτῶν, πρὸς τῇ λοιπῇ ὠμότητι καὶ ἐγκλημα τῆς  
 ἀντιστάσεως καὶ ἀντιλογίας ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσφε-  
 314 ρόμενον; ἦν δὲ κεφάλαιον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀξιώσεως  
 βασιλείας μὲν καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀρχῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι, προσ-  
 θήκη δὲ Συρίας γεγονότας ὑποτάσσεσθαι τοῖς ἐκείσε  
 πεμπομένοις στρατηγοῖς· φανερωθήσεσθαι γὰρ οὐ-  
 τως εἴτε ἀληθῶς στασιώδεις εἴεν καὶ νεωτερισμοῖς  
 τὰ πολλὰ προσηρημένοι εἴτε καὶ εὐτακτοὶ<sup>4</sup> με-  
 τριωτέρων τυχόντες οἱ ἐπιστήσονται αὐτοῖς.  
 315 (3) Τοιαῦτα δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰρηκότων Νικό-  
 λαος τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς ἀπήλασσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων,  
 Ἡρώδην μὲν διὰ τὸ παρ' ὃν ἔζη χρόνον τυχεῖν

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: ἐπάξειν ἂν (ἂν om. E) codd. E: aperuit Lat.: ἐπανοίξει Ernesti: ἐπαγαγεῖν Naber.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπόνοιαν E.

<sup>3</sup> E: μετριότητος καὶ εὐνομίας codd.

<sup>4</sup> οὐ P.

<sup>a</sup> The reading of the Epitome (ἀπόνοιαν, "madness") was  
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in mourning his father out of consideration for him  
 and had tried to conform to his wishes in other re-  
 spects in the hope of being able to obtain reasonable  
 treatment. But Archelaus, fearful that he might  
 not be considered a legitimate son of Herod, without  
 any delay and with great promptness showed the  
 nation what his real intention<sup>a</sup> was, and this he did  
 before he obtained complete possession of the sove-  
 reignty, which only Caesar had the authority to give  
 or to withhold. Archelaus had also given his future  
 subjects an example of the kind of virtue to be ex-  
 pected of him in the way of moderation and respect  
 for law to be used toward them, and did this in one  
 of the first acts he performed in the sight of his  
 fellow-citizens and of God, namely in causing the  
 slaughter of three thousand of his countrymen in the  
 Temple precinct. How could he then now fail to find  
 good reason to hate them when to his other cruelties  
 he could add the charge that they were opposed to  
 his rule and were speaking against him? The sum  
 and substance of their request was that they be de-  
 livered from kingship and such forms of rule, be  
 joined to (the province of) Syria, and be made subject  
 to the governors sent there, for in this way it would  
 be made clear whether they were seditious and mostly  
 bent on revolution or else were well behaved when  
 once they had found more moderate men to rule over  
 them.

(3)<sup>b</sup> When the Jews had spoken to this effect, <sup>Nicolas</sup>  
 Nicolas proceeded to clear the kings of their charges. <sup>defends</sup>  
 Herod, he said, had never been subjected to such <sup>Herod and</sup>  
 Archelaus.

regarded favourably by Schmidt (p. 352) and adopted by  
 Reinach's edition.

<sup>b</sup> § 315: cf. Nicolas of Damascus in Jacoby, *FGH* II A,  
 p. 326 (T. 9).

ἀκατηγόρητον, οὐ γὰρ δεῖν<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντας ἐπὶ μετρίοις καὶ παρὰ<sup>2</sup> ζῶντος τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν  
 316 δυναμένους ἐπὶ νεκρῷ κατηγορίαν συντιθέναι· τὰ δὲ ὑπ' Ἀρχελαοῦ πραχθέντα ὕβρει τῇ ἐκείνων ἀνετίθει, οἱ ὀριγνώμενοι πραγμάτων παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ σφαγῆς ἄρξαντες τῶν κωλύειν ὑβρίζοντας προμηθουμένων ἀμύνης γενομένης ἐγκαλοῖεν. ἐνεκάλει δὲ νεωτεροποιίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ στασιάζειν ἡδονὴν ἀπαιδευσίᾳ<sup>3</sup> τοῦ πείθεσθαι<sup>4</sup> δίκῃ καὶ νομίμοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θέλειν τὰ πάντα νικᾶν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Νικόλαος.

317 (4) Καῖσαρ δ' ἀκούσας διαλύει μὲν τὸ συνέδριον, ὀλίγων δ' ἡμερῶν ὕστερον Ἀρχελαοῦ βασιλέα μὲν οὐκ ἀποφαίνεται, τοῦ δ' ἡμίσεος τῆς χώρας ἦπερ Ἡρώδῃ ὑπετέλει ἐθνάρχῃ καθίσταται, τιμῆσειν ἀξιώματι βασιλείας ὑπισχνούμενος εἶπερ τὴν εἰς  
 318 αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν προσφέροιτο. τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἡμίσειαν νεῖμας διχῆ, δυσὶν Ἡρώδου παισὶν ἑτέροις παρεδίδου, Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀντίπῳ<sup>5</sup> τῷ πρὸς Ἀρχελαοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀμφισβητήσαντι περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἀρχῆς. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἦ τε Περαιὰ καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ὑπετέλουν, φορὰ τε ἦν τάλαντα διακόσια τὸ ἐπ'  
 319 ἔτος. Βαταναιὰ δὲ σὺν Τραχωνίτιδι καὶ Αὐρανίτις σὺν τινὶ μέρει οἴκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου λεγομένου Φιλίππῳ τάλαντα ἑκατὸν προσέφερον· τὰ δ' Ἀρχελάῳ συντελοῦντα Ἰδουμαία τε καὶ Ἰουδαία τό τε

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: δὲ P: δεῖ (εἰ in ras. A) AMW.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ παρὰ ed. pr.: τοῦ παρὰ AMW: παρὰ τοῦ P.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπαιδευσίαν τὴν Α. <sup>4</sup> πείσεσθαι MWE: μὴ ἔπσεσθαι Α.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀντιπάρῳ PA Lat.

<sup>a</sup> §§ 317-320: cf. Momigliano, *Ricerche*, 379-384. The B.J. parallel to §§ 318-323 differs in various details.

accusations while he was alive, and it was hardly proper for those who might have brought charges against him before fair-minded (judges) and could have inflicted punishment upon him during his lifetime to concoct an accusation against him now that he was dead. As for the actions taken by Archelaus, he laid responsibility for them to the outrageous behaviour of those men who in their attempt to do what was in violation of the laws had begun by slaughtering those who had been concerned to prevent them from committing such outrages, and were now complaining because reprisals had been made. He also complained of their revolutionary activity and their delight in sedition that was due to their not having been trained to submit to justice and law and to their desire to have their own way in all things. Thus did Nicolas speak.

(4)<sup>a</sup> After hearing (both sides) Caesar dismissed the council, and a few days later appointed Archelaus not king indeed but ethnarch of half the territory that had been subject to Herod, and promised to reward him with the title of king if he really proved able to act in that capacity. The rest of the territory he divided into two parts and assigned them to Herod's other two sons, Philip and Antipas, the latter of whom had disputed the right to the whole realm with his brother Archelaus. Antipas received the revenue of Peraea and Galilee, which yielded an annual tribute of two hundred talents. Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis and a certain portion of what was called the domain of Zenodorus brought an income of a hundred talents to Philip.<sup>b</sup> To Archelaus both Idumaea and Judaea were made subject and also the district of the

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xv. 344 note e; *B.J.* i. 398-400.



Σαμαρειτικόν, τετάρτου μέρους<sup>1</sup> οὔτοι τῶν φόρων παραλέλυτο, Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς κούφισιν ψηφισαμένου διὰ τὸ μὴ συναποστῆναι τῇ λοιπῇ πληθύνι. καὶ ἦσαν πόλεις αἱ Ἀρχελάω ὑπετέλουν Στράτωνός τε πύργος καὶ Σεβαστή σὺν Ἰόππῃ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις· Γάζα<sup>2</sup> γὰρ καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἴππος Ἑλληνίδες εἰσὶ πόλεις ἄς<sup>3</sup> ἀπορρήξας αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup> τῆς ἀκροάσεως,<sup>5</sup> Συρίας προσθήκην ποιεῖται.<sup>6</sup> προσήει δὲ Ἀρχελάω φορὰ χρημάτων τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τάλαντα ἑξακόσια ἐξ ἧς παρέλαβεν ἀρχῆς.

321 (5) Καὶ τάδε μὲν τοῖς Ἡρώδου υἱέσι τῶν πατρῶων παρῆν. Σαλώμη δὲ πρὸς οἷς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἀπονέμει (Ἰάμνεια δὲ ἦν ταῦτα καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ Φασαηλὶς καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου μυριάδες πενήκοντα) Καίσαρ χαρίζεται καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι βασιλείον οἴκησιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ταύτη πρόσσδος ἐκ πάντων τάλαντα ἑξήκοντα ἐπ' ἔτος, 322 καὶ αὐτῆς ὁ οἶκος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀρχελάου ἀρχῇ. κομίζονται δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενεῖς ὅποσα αἱ διαθήκαι διηγόρευον. δυοῖ δ' αὐτοῦ θυγατράσι παρθένοις χωρὶς ὧν ὁ πατὴρ κατέλιπε Καίσαρ ἑκατέρᾳ δωρεὰν ἐπέτιθει μυριάδων ἀνὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου, καὶ συνώκι- 323 σεν αὐτὰς τοῖς Φερώρου υἱέσι. χαρίζεται δὲ καὶ ὅποσα αὐτῷ καταλείπειτο τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντα πεντακόσιων τάλαντων καὶ χιλίων, ὀλίγα τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Hudson: τετάρτη μοῖρα PA: τετάρτη μερὶς MW: τετάρτου μερὶς E: τέταρτον μέρος ed. pr.

<sup>2</sup> Γέρασα con. Reland ap. Hudson.

Samaritans, who had a fourth of their tribute remitted by Caesar; this alleviation he decreed because they had not joined the rest of the people in revolting. Some cities were also made subject to Archelaus, namely Strato's Tower and Sebaste, along with Joppa and Jerusalem. As for Gaza, Gadara and Hippus, they were among the Greek cities which Caesar detached from (the territory) obedient to him (Archelaus) and added to Syria.<sup>a</sup> The money that came to Archelaus as yearly tribute from the territory given him to rule amounted to six hundred talents.

(5) This was what came to Herod's sons from their father's possessions. As for Salome, in addition to what her brother assigned to her in his will—that is, Jamneia, Azotus and Phasaelis, and five hundred thousand pieces of coined silver—, Caesar made her a present of the royal palace in Ascalon. Altogether, then, she had a revenue of sixty talents yearly. And her residence was in the territory ruled by Archelaus. The other relatives of the king received whatever sums were stated in his will.<sup>b</sup> To each of his two unmarried daughters, beside what their father left them, Caesar made an additional gift of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of coined silver, and gave them in marriage to the sons of Pheroras. He also gave to the children of the king the sum of fifteen hundred talents<sup>c</sup> out of the amount left to him, and

Herod's  
legacy to  
Salome.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xv. 217; *B.J.* i. 396 f.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. §§ 189-190.

<sup>c</sup> One thousand talents in *B.J.* ii. 100.

<sup>3</sup> ἄς add. E.

<sup>4</sup> Hudson: αὐτοῖς codd.

<sup>5</sup> διοικήσεως ed. pr.

<sup>6</sup> ἄς . . . ποιεῖται] quas abscindens a dispensatione Syriae additamento Judaeae regioni coniunxerat Lat.

σκευῶν ὑπεξελόμενος οὐχ οὕτως μεγέθει τέλους  
 ὡς μνήμη τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα.  
 324 (xii. 1) Τούτων δὲ ταύτη διατεταγμένων<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ  
 Καίσαρος, εανίας Ἰουδαίος μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τῆς Σιδωνίων πόλεως ἀναθεραμμένος<sup>2</sup> παρὰ τινι  
 τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἀπελευθέρων, εἰσώκισεν αὐτὸν εἰς  
 τὴν Ἡρώδου συγγένειαν ὁμοιότητι μορφῆς ἢ πρὸς  
 Ἄλέξανδρον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀνηρημένον Ἡρώδου υἱὸν  
 325 ἐμαρτυρεῖτο παρὰ τοῖς θεωροῦσιν. καὶ τοῦτο παρ-  
 ὄρημα ἦν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἡγε-  
 μονίας. καὶ ὁμοπράγματα παραλαβὼν ὁμόφυλον  
 ἄνδρα, ἔμπειρον δὲ<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον πονηρὸν  
 τε<sup>4</sup> ἄλλως καὶ ταραξάι μεγάλα πράγματα φύσει  
 ἔχοντα καὶ τοιαύτης κακίας διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ γενό-  
 326 μενον, ἀπέφαινε αὐτὸν Ἄλεξανδρον καὶ Ἡρώδου  
 παῖδα ὄντα διακεκλεμμένον ὑπὸ τινος<sup>5</sup> τῶν ἀνελεῖν  
 αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένων· κτείναντα γὰρ ἑτέρους, οἳ ἀπα-  
 τήσειν ἔμελλον τοὺς θεωροῦντας, αὐτὸν τε περι-  
 327 ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀριστόβουλον. καὶ τού-  
 τοις αὐτὸς τε ἀνεπτέρωτο καὶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας  
 οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο ἀπατᾶν, ἀλλὰ Κρήτην προσεγεχθεῖς  
 Ἰουδαίων ὁπόσοις εἰς ὁμίλιαν ἀφίκετο ἐπηγάγετο  
 εἰς πίστιν, καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορηθεῖς δόσει τῇ  
 ἐκείνων ἐπὶ Μήλου διήρην. πολὺ πλείονα<sup>6</sup> δ' ἦν  
 ἐντεῦθεν ὁπόσ' αὐτῷ προσήει χρήματα πιστεῖ τῆς  
 βασιλικῆς συγγενείας καὶ ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν  
 328 πατριὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς εὐεργέτας. ἐπὶ  
 Ῥώμης οὖν<sup>7</sup> ἠπείγετο παραπομπῇ τῶν ἰδιοξένων,

<sup>1</sup> διατεταγμένων PA: dispositis Lat.      <sup>2</sup> τεθραμμένος PA.  
<sup>3</sup> μὲν Bekker.      <sup>4</sup> δὲ MW.      <sup>5</sup> τινος om. PA.  
<sup>6</sup> πλείονα om. AMWE: πλέον suppl. in marg. A.  
<sup>7</sup> οὖν add. E Lat.

chose for himself only a few of the vessels that had been given to him as a gift. This he did not so much because of their great value as because they were regarded by him as memorials of the king.

(xii. 1) <sup>a</sup> After these matters had been disposed of by Caesar, there appeared a young man, Jewish by birth but brought up in the city of Sidon by a Roman freedman, who represented himself as related to Herod on the strength of his physical resemblance to Alexander, the son of Herod who had been executed by him, — a resemblance that was acknowledged by those who had seen Alexander. And this was an inducement for him to strive for the ruling power. Taking as his accomplice a fellow-Jew well acquainted with what went on at court and otherwise a rascal naturally gifted for creating great disturbances, who became his mentor in such wicked arts, he declared himself to be Alexander the son of Herod, who had been stolen away by one of the men sent to kill him. This man, he said, had killed some others (instead), to deceive those who might see (the corpses), and had spared him and his brother Aristobulus. He was himself carried away by these tales and did not fail to deceive anyone he encountered, and when he landed in Crete he won the confidence of all the Jews with whom he came into contact. And being well supplied with money as a result of their gifts, he sailed across to Melos. Here he was the recipient of a much larger sum of money because of their belief that he was of the royal family and their hope that he would recover his father's throne and reward his benefactors. He then hastened on to Rome, escorted by some private sponsors. And when he landed at

<sup>a</sup> Chap. xii = B.J. ii. 101-110.

καὶ Δικαιαρχία προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἠτύχει καὶ τοὺς  
 τῆδε Ἰουδαίους ἀφ' ὁμοίας ἀπάτης προσαγαγέσθαι·  
 προσήεσάν τε ὡσπερ βασιλεῖ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὅπο-  
 329 σοις ξενία πρὸς Ἡρώδην καὶ εὖνοια ἦν. αἴτιον δὲ  
 ἦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἡδονῇ δεχόμενον τοὺς λόγους  
 σὺν τῷ φερεγγύῳ τῆς μορφῆς· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς πάνυ  
 ὠμιληκόσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολὺ τὸ πιστὸν ἐνετίθει  
 τοῦ μὴ οὐχ ἕτερος ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
 330 πλησίον καὶ ὠμνυσαν. ὡστε καὶ προελθόντος<sup>2</sup> εἰς  
 τὴν Ῥώμην λόγου τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶν τὸ τῆδε  
 Ἰουδαίων πλήθος<sup>3</sup> ὑπαντιάζοντες ἐξήεσαν, τῷ παρὰ  
 δόξαν τῆς σωτηρίας θειάζοντες<sup>4</sup> τὸ ἔργον, καὶ χάρ-  
 μα ποιούμενοι διὰ τὸ μητρῶον αὐτῶν γένος, ὅποτε  
 331 χωροῖη κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς<sup>5</sup> διφροφορούμενος. καὶ  
 πᾶν βασιλείου περὶ αὐτὸν σχῆμα ἦν ἀναλώμασι τῶν  
 ἰδιοξένων, μεγάλαι τε περιστάσεις ἐγίνοντο τῆς πλη-  
 θύος, ἐπιβόησεις τε εὐφημοὶ, καὶ ὅποσα εἰκὸς τοῖς  
 οὕτω παρ' ἐλπίδα σωθείσι συντυγχάνειν οὐδὲν ὅ  
 τι οὐκ ἐπράσσετο.  
 332 (2) Καίσαρι δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ἀγγελία ἡ περὶ αὐ-  
 τοῦ, ἠπίσται μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἂν ῥαδίως ἀπατηθῆναι  
 Ἡρώδην ἐν πράγμασιν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀνήκουσιν αὐτῷ·  
 διδούς δέ τι τῇ ἐλπίδι, Κελαδὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα  
 ἐξελευθέρων, ὠμιληκότα τοῖς μεираκίοις, πέμπει κε-  
 λέυσας ἀγαγεῖν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ  
 δὲ ἀνῆγεν, οὐδὲν τι βελτίων ἐπὶ τῇ κρίσει τῶν πολ-  
 333 λῶν γενόμενος. οὐ μὴν Καίσαρ γε ἠπατάτο, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> καὶ om. PE.<sup>2</sup> προσελθόντος PM: προσελθόν E.<sup>3</sup> ἔθνος P.<sup>4</sup> ἐκθειάζοντες A *haud recte vid.*<sup>5</sup> Niese: τοῦ στενωποῦ codd.<sup>6</sup> τι τῇ Niese (cf. B.J.): τι A<sup>1</sup>: τῇ A<sup>2</sup> rell.<sup>a</sup> The Greek name for Puteoli (cf. *Vita* 16).

Dicaearchia<sup>a</sup> he was lucky enough to win over the  
 Jews living there by the same kind of fraud. As  
 though he were a king, there rallied to him all sorts  
 of people, including those who had been the hosts  
 or well-wishers of Herod. The reason was that they  
 willingly believed his stories,<sup>b</sup> which were guaranteed  
 by his physical appearance, for even in those who had  
 been very intimate with Alexander he inspired full  
 confidence that he was no other than the very same  
 person, and they even swore to those around them  
 that this was so. So that when the report about him  
 reached as far as Rome, the whole Jewish population  
 there went out to meet him, regarding his extra-  
 ordinary escape from death as an act of God, and  
 giving him a joyful welcome because of their racial  
 tie with his mother whenever he went through the  
 narrow streets riding in a litter. And he had all the  
 trappings of a king, which were provided at their own  
 expense by his private sponsors. Great crowds  
 thronged about him, shouting their good wishes, and  
 nothing was omitted that would be appropriate for  
 those who are so unexpectedly saved from death.

(2) But when the news about him reached Caesar, Augustus  
 he refused to believe it, knowing that Herod could unmask  
 not easily have been deceived in a matter of such the false  
 great importance to him. Leaving some room for Alexander.  
 hope, however, he sent Celadus, one of his freedmen,  
 who had been familiar with the youths, with orders to  
 bring Alexander into his presence. And so Celadus  
 brought him, without showing himself to be a better  
 judge in this matter than the populace. Caesar,  
 however, was not deceived, for even though there

<sup>b</sup> On similar phraseology in the "Testimonium" passage  
 (*Ant.* xviii. 63 f.) cf. Laqueur, p. 277; Corssen, *ZNW* 15  
 (1914), 132 ff.

ἦν μὲν ἐμφορῆς, οὐ μὴν ὥστε ἀπατήσαι τοὺς σω-  
φρόνως ἐκλογίζεσθαι δυναμένους. αὐτουργία τε  
γὰρ ἐτέτρυτο<sup>1</sup> ὁ Ψευδαλέξανδρος, καὶ παρὰ τὸ  
ἐκείνῳ ῥαδινὸν<sup>2</sup> τοῦ σώματος ὑπὸ τρυφῆς<sup>3</sup> καὶ γεν-  
ναιότητος συνερχόμενον, διὰ τὰ ἐναντία τῷδε ἐπὶ  
334 σκληρότερον<sup>4</sup> ἐξεβεβήκει τὸ σῶμα. θεασάμενος  
ὄν συμπνευσμὸν ἐπὶ ψευδολογία διδασκάλου καὶ  
μαθητοῦ καὶ λόγων τολμηρῶν συγκρότησιν, ἐξή-  
ταξε περὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τί καὶ γεγόνοι συνεκ-  
κλαπείς αὐτῷ καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐ παραγεγόνοι  
μεταποιούμενος τῆς ἀξίας ἧς προσῆκε τυγχάνειν  
335 τοὺς οὕτω γεγονότας. φαιμένου δ' ἐπὶ νήσου τῆς  
Κυπρίων καταλελειφθαι κινδύνων ὑφοράσει τῶν  
κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἢ εἰ περὶ αὐτὸν συσταίη τι δεινόν,  
μὴ παντελὲς ἐξαλείφουτο τὸ Μαριάμμης γένος ἀλλὰ  
περιῶν Ἀριστόβουλος μένοι τοὺς ἐπιβεβουλευκό-  
336 τας, ταῦτα δισχυριζομένου καὶ συνεστῶτος αὐτῷ  
τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τῆς πράξεως, Καίσαρ καταμόκας  
ἀπολαβὼν τὸ μειράκιον, "ἀλλὰ σοὶ μισθός," εἶπε,  
"προκίεσεται τοῦ μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπάτη χρησο-  
μένου τὸ μὴ ἀπολούμενον τῆς σωτηρίας. φάθι δὴ  
μοι αὐτὸν τε ὅς ὢν τυγχάνεις, καὶ ὅς σε τοιάδε ἦξε  
τολμηῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι· μείζον γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα  
κακίας ἢς ἐγκεχειρήκας χρόνων οὓς γεγονῶς τυγ-  
337 χάνεις." καὶ δὴ (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως πράττειν)  
φράζει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα, ὃν τε  
τρόπον καὶ ὑφ' οὗ τυγχάνει συγκείμενον. καὶ ὁ  
Καίσαρ τὸν μὲν Ψευδαλέξανδρον (οὐ γὰρ ἐψεύσατο

<sup>1</sup> ἐτετράχωτο MW: ἐτετρήχωτο E: attritus Lat.

<sup>2</sup> E et in marg. A: ῥαδαλόν P: ῥαδαρόν MW: ῥοδαρόν cod. Gen. ap. Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> E Lat.: τρυφῆς codd.

was some resemblance (to Alexander), it was not great enough to deceive those who are able to reflect prudently. For the false Alexander had been roughened by manual labour, and in contrast to the softness of the real Alexander's body, resulting from luxury and noble birth, his body, on the contrary, had grown excessively hard. Having therefore observed the conspiracy of master and pupil in this falsehood and their contrivance of this audacious story, he questioned him about Aristobulus, asking what had become of him, since he had (they said) been stolen away together with him, and for what reason he had not come along with him to claim the rank that such well-born persons were entitled to have. He replied that Aristobulus had been left on the island of Cyprus out of fear of what might happen at sea and in order that, if some misfortune should befall himself, the posterity of Mariamme might not be completely wiped out but Aristobulus might survive and remain to deal with those who had plotted against them. As the youth persisted in his story and was supported by the man who had engineered the plot, Caesar took him aside and said, "Look here, there is a reward waiting for you if you don't practise this deceit on me too, the reward being that you will not lose your life but be spared. Just tell me who you really are, and who pushed you into this daring scheme, for the imposture that you have tried to bring off is too villainous for one of your years to have thought of." And so—for there was nothing else to do—he told Caesar about the plot, how it was devised and by whom. Thereupon Caesar, seeing that the false Alexander was physically fit for hard work, sent him

<sup>4</sup> πρὸς σκληρότερον E: ἐπισκληρότερον Bekker.



ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν) δραστήριον ὄρων αὐτουρ-  
 γῆσαι τῷ σώματι ἐρέσσειν ἐν τοῖς ναύταις κατα-  
 338 λέγει, τὸν δὲ ἀναπέισαντα κτείνει. καταδίκη δ'  
 ἤρκει Μηλίοις ὅποσα ἐτετελέκεσαν εἰς τὸν Ψευδ-  
 αλέξανδρον διακενῆς ἀναλωκέναί. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ  
 τὸν Ψευδαλέξανδρον τολμηρῶς συντεθέντα οὕτως  
 ἀκλεῶς εἶχεν.<sup>1</sup>

339 (xiii. 1) Ἀρχέλαος δὲ τὴν ἐθναρχίαν παραλαβὼν  
 ἐπεὶ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικνεῖται, Ἰωάζαρον τὸν Βοηθοῦ  
 ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, ἐπικαλῶν αὐτῷ ὡς<sup>2</sup>  
 συστάντι τοῖς στασιώταις, Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἐκείνου  
 340 ἐπικαθίσταται ἀδελφόν. ἀνοικοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν  
 Ἰεριχοῦντι βασιλεῖον ἐκπρεπῶς, τῶν τε ὑδάτων  
 ὅποσα Νεαράν τὴν κώμην ὠφελεῖ ἐπιρρέοντα ἐξ  
 ἡμισείας ἀπέστρεψεν, ἐπαγωγὴν αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> ποιού-  
 μενος τῷ πεδίῳ φοίνιξιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεφυτευμένῳ,  
 κώμην δὲ κτίσας Ἀρχελαΐδα ὄνομα αὐτῇ τίθεται.  
 341 καὶ τοῦ πατρίου<sup>4</sup> παράβασιν ποιησάμενος, Γλαφύραν  
 τὴν Ἀρχελάου μὲν θυγατέρα, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ γαμετὴν γενομένην, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τέκνα ἦν  
 αὐτῇ, ἀπώμοτον ὄν Ἰουδαίους γαμετὰς ἀδελφῶν  
 ἀγροσθαι, γαμεῖ. διατρίβει δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ἔσχεν PA: ἔσχεν τέλος ex Lat. con. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ ὡς Λ (teste Herwerden): αὐτῷ ed. pr.: αειτω P:  
om. MW: ἐπὶ τῷ con. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Ernesti: αὐτῷ codd.

<sup>4</sup> πατρίου νόμου F.

<sup>a</sup> With the account of Archelaus (§§ 339-355) cf. *B.J.* ii. 114-118.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 164 note b.

<sup>c</sup> Avi-Yonah (*MP*, p. 27) locates it two and a half miles

to row with his sailors—for he would not go back on the agreement he had made with him—, but he put to death the man who had induced the youth (to practise the fraud). And it was sufficient punishment for the Melians that they had spent such large sums on the false Alexander all for nothing. Such, then, was the inglorious affair of the daring plot involving the false Alexander.

(xiii. 1)<sup>a</sup> When Archelaus came to Judaea and took possession of his ethnarchy, he removed Joazar, the son of Boethus, from the high priesthood, blaming him for having supported the rebels, and in his place appointed Joazar's brother Eleazar.<sup>b</sup> He also rebuilt the royal palace in Jericho in splendid fashion, and diverted half the water that served to irrigate the village of Neara,<sup>c</sup> leading it into a plain that had been planted by him with palm-trees. He also created a village and gave it the name of Archelais.<sup>d</sup> And he transgressed ancestral law in marrying Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, who had been the wife of his brother Alexander and had borne him children, for it is abhorrent to the Jews to marry the wife of a brother.<sup>e</sup> Nor did Eleazar long remain in the (high)

Archelaus  
as ethnarch.

Eleazar  
high priest.

N. of N.T. Jericho, modern *Duyuk*. Cf. Vincent, *RB* 16 (1919), 532 f.; Abel, *GP* ii. 249.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 31; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 4. 44; Peutinger Table (a Roman road map of c. A.D. 240); Madaba Mosaic (Avi-Yonah, Item 4). It is located some seven miles N. of Jericho (modern *Khirbet 'Aḡā Et-Taḥṭani*) by Avi-Yonah, *MP*, p. 27, and Alt, *PJB* 27 (1931), 46. Abel, *GP* ii. 249, suggests several possible locations in this area but favours none.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. §§ 12, 352, and *B.J.* ii. 114-116. Levirate law prohibits such marriages (Lev. xviii. 16; xx. 21) unless the previous union is childless. Then they are obligatory (Deut. xxv. 5 f.; cf. Mark xii. 19; Strack-Billerbeck, i. 886 f.).

τῆ ἱερωσύνη, ἐπικατασταθέντος αὐτῷ ζῶντι Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σεε<sup>1</sup> παιδός.

- 342 (2) Δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρχελάου οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν<sup>2</sup> ἐν τε Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρείταις μὴ φέροντες τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ τυραννίδα κατηγοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἐγνώσαν αὐτὸν παραβεβηκότα τὰς ἐντολάς
- 343 αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐπιεικῶς ἀναστρέφῃται πρὸς αὐτούς. ὁ τοίνυν Καίσαρ ὡς ἤκουσεν, ὀργῇ φέρων, τὸν ἐπίτροπον τὸν Ἀρχελάου τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πραγμάτων (Ἀρχελαὸς δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν) μετακαλέσας, γράφειν μὲν γὰρ<sup>3</sup> Ἀρχελάῳ ταπεινὸν ἠγεῖται, "σὺ δὲ παραχρῆμα," φησί, "πλέον μηδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἐπι
- 344 ἀνάγειν αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς." καὶ ὃς ἔκπλουν ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ποιησάμενος καὶ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἰουδαίαν καταλαμβάνει<sup>4</sup> τὸν Ἀρχελάου ἐν εὐωχίαις ὄντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, τὴν τε διάνοιαν ἀποσημαίνει τὴν Καίσαρος, καὶ ὤρμησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀφικομένου ἐπὶ τῶν κατηγορῶν ἀκροᾶται καὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, καὶ<sup>5</sup> ἐκείνον μὲν φυγάδα ἐλαύνει, δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Βιένναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας,<sup>6</sup> τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀπηνέγκατο.
- 345 (3) Πρῶτερον δὲ ἢ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνελθεῖν Ἀρχελαὸς ὄναρ τοιοῦδε ἐκδιηγέται τοῖς φίλοις θεα-

<sup>1</sup> Σε MW: om. A: See Lat. (ut vid.): Σε ed. pr.

<sup>2</sup> ἀδελφῶν ἀνδρῶν MW.

<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ins. Naber.

<sup>4</sup> E: λαμβάνει codd.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ ins. ed. pr.: sed ubi se parum expurgat Archelaus ante ἐκείνον add. Lat.

<sup>6</sup> Γαλιλαίας MW.

<sup>a</sup> B.J. ii. 111 says "ninth year," which appears from

priesthood, for while he was still alive he was replaced by Jesus, the son of Seë.

(2) In the tenth year of Archelaus' rule<sup>a</sup> the leading men among the Jews and Samaritans, finding his cruelty and tyranny intolerable, brought charges against him before Caesar the moment they learned that Archelaus had disobeyed his instructions to show moderation in dealing with them. Accordingly, when Caesar heard the charges, he became angry, and summoning the man who looked after Archelaus' affairs at Rome—he was also named Archelaus—for he thought it beneath him to write to Archelaus (the ethnarch), he said to him, "Go, sail at once and bring him here to us without delay." So this man immediately set sail, and on arriving in Judaea and finding Archelaus feasting with his friends, he revealed to him the will of Caesar and speeded his departure. And when Archelaus arrived, Caesar gave a hearing to some of his accusers, and also let him speak, and then sent him into exile, assigning him a residence in Vienna, a city in Gaul, and confiscating his property.<sup>b</sup>

Augustus banishes Archelaus to Gaul.

(3)<sup>c</sup> Now before he was summoned to go up to Rome, Archelaus related to his friends the following

Archelaus' dream.

other evidence to be wrong (see note in B.J.). The difference is carried out in the symbolism of the dream (§ 347 = B.J. ii. 112).

<sup>b</sup> A summary statement of these facts is given by Strabo (xvi. 2. 46) and an enigmatic reference by Dion Cassius (lv. 27). Archelaus probably died in exile before A.D. 18; but if Jerome is correct (*Onom.*, s.v. "Bethlehem") he returned to Palestine and was buried near Bethlehem. Vienna was in Gallia Narbonensis, on the E. bank of the Rhône; modern Vienne.

<sup>c</sup> §§ 345-353 = B.J. ii. 112-116. On Josephus' interest in dreams cf. B.J. iii. 351-354.

σάμενος. ἀστάχνας δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν πλέους πυροῦ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀκμὴν ἀπειληφότας δόξα ἦν αὐτῷ βιβρωσκομένους ὑπὸ βοῶν θεωρεῖν. καὶ περιεργρόμενος (φέρειν γὰρ<sup>1</sup> εἰς μέγα δόξα ἦν τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ) μεταστέλλεται τοὺς μάντις οἷς περὶ ὀνειράτα<sup>2</sup> ἦσαν αἱ  
 346 ἀναστροφαί. σκιδναμένων δὲ ἑτέρων ἔφ' ἑτέροις, οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἓν ἀνέκειτο<sup>3</sup> πᾶσιν ἀφήγησις, Σίμων ἀνὴρ γένος Ἐσσαίος ἀσφάλειαν αἰτησάμενος, μεταβολὴν πραγμάτων ἔλεγεν Ἀρχελάω φέρειν τὴν  
 347 ὄψιν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν.<sup>4</sup> βόας μὲν γὰρ κακοπαθείας τε ἀποσαφεῖν διὰ τὸ ἔργοις ἐπιταλαιπυρεῖν τὸ ζῶον μεταβολάς τε αὐτῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν πόνω τῷ ἐκείνων ἀρουμένην ἐν ταύτῳ μένειν οὐ δύνασθαι. τοὺς δὲ ἀστάχνας δέκα ὄντας τοσῶνδε ἀριθμὸν ἐνιαυτῶν ὀρίζειν, περιόδῳ γὰρ ἑνὸς παραγίνεσθαι θέρος, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐξήκειν Ἀρχελάω τῆς ἡγεμονίας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτη ἐξηγή-  
 348 σατο τὸ ὄνειρον. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα μεθ' ἧς τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ ἢ ὄψις Ἀρχελάω συνήλθεν, ὁ ἀνακαλούμενος Ἀρχελάος πεμπτὸς εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἀφίκετο.  
 349 (4) Παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ Γλαφύρα τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει, βασιλέως Ἀρχελάου θυγατρὶ οὖση, ἧ, ὡς<sup>5</sup> πρότερον εἶπον, συνώκει παρθένον λαβῶν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἡρώδου μὲν υἱὸς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἀδελφός. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβαίνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆσαι, Ἰόβα τῷ Λιβύων βασιλεῖ γα-  
 350 μείται, μεταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Λίβυος χηρεύουσιν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ add. ed. pr.<sup>2</sup> E: ὀνειράτων codd.

dream that he had had. It seemed to him that he saw ten thick ears of wheat that had reached their full growth and were being eaten by oxen. And when he awoke, believing that the vision was of great import to him, he sent for those who were skilled in interpreting dreams. But they were in disagreement with one another, and their interpretations did not come to the same result. Thereupon a certain Simon, who belonged to the Essene sect, asked for a guarantee of safety and said that the vision portended a change in the situation of Archelaus and one that was not for the better. For the oxen signified suffering, since this animal is subject to painful labour, and they also signified a change in his situation, since the earth, when ploughed by their labour, cannot remain in the same state as before. The ears (of grain), of which there were ten, denoted the same number of years, since there is a harvest in the course of each year, and this meant that the term of Archelaus' rule had come to an end. This was how Simon interpreted the dream. And not more than five days after this vision appeared to Archelaus the other Archelaus, who had been sent by Caesar, arrived in Judaea.

(4) A similar thing happened also to his wife Glaphyra, the daughter of King Archelaus, to whom, as I said before, Alexander, the son of Herod and the brother of Archelaus, had been married when she was still a virgin. For when Alexander was put to death by his father, she married Juba, the king of Libya, and when, after the death of the Libyan king,

Glaphyra's dream.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν ἀνέκειτο Niese: ἓνα ἔκειτο codd.<sup>4</sup> πράγμασιν secl. Niese.<sup>5</sup> ἧ ὡς E: ἧ καὶ PA: καὶ WM.

Καππαδοκία παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἀρχέλαος ἄγεται, τὴν  
 συνοικοῦσαν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ Μαριάμμην ἐκβαλὼν· τοσόδε  
 αὐτὸν τῆς Γλαφύρας ἀνέστρεψεν<sup>2</sup> ἔρως. καὶ συν-  
 351 οικοῦσα<sup>3</sup> τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ τοιόνδε ὄναρ θεᾶται. ἐδό-  
 κει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιστάντα θεασαμένη χαίρειν  
 καὶ περιβάλλειν προθύμως, τὸν δὲ κατάμεμψίν  
 352 τε αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ φάναι, “Γλαφύρα, συνη-  
 γορεῖς ἄρα λόγῳ ὃς ἄπιστα ἔλεγεν εἶναι γυναιξίν, ἣ<sup>4</sup>  
 συνομολογήσασά<sup>5</sup> μοι καὶ συγκατοικισθεῖσα παρ-  
 θένος, παίδων ἡμῖν γεγονότων, λήθη παραδίδως  
 ἔρωτας τοὺς ἐμούς δευτέρων ἐπιθυμία γάμων. πλη-  
 θύρα δέ σοι οὐδ’ οὕτως ὕβρεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον  
 ἐτόλμησας σαυτῇ παρακατακλίνειν νυμφίον, ἀπρε-  
 πῶς καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐπεισιούσα οἴκῳ τῷ ἐμῷ,  
 καὶ γάμον συντιθεμένη πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον δαέρα<sup>6</sup> μὲν  
 353 σεαυτῆς ἀδελφὸν δὲ ἡμέτερον. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔγωγε λή-  
 θην ποιήσομαι εὐνοίας τῆς σῆς, ἀπαλλάξω δέ σε  
 παντὸς τοῦ ὄνειδιούντος, ἐμήν, ὥσπερ ἦς,<sup>7</sup> κατα-  
 σκευασάμενος.” ταῦτα διηγησαμένη πρὸς τὰς  
 συνήθεις τῶν γυναικῶν, μετ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τελευτᾶ  
 τὸν βίον.  
 354 (5) Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀλλότρια νομίσας αὐτὰ τῷδε τῷ  
 λόγῳ εἶναι διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτὸν ἐνεστη-  
 κέναι καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ παραδείγματι φέρειν τοῦ τε  
 ἀμφὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀθανασία ἐμφεροῦς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 προμηθεία τὰ ἀνθρώπεια περιειληφότος τῇ αὐτοῦ,  
 καλῶς ἔχειν ἐνομίσα εἰπεῖν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖται τὰ

she was living as a widow with her father in Cappa-  
 docia,<sup>a</sup> Archelaus divorced his wife Mariamme<sup>b</sup> to  
 marry her, so overwhelming was his love for Glaphyra.  
 And while she was the wife of Archelaus, she had  
 the following dream. She seemed to see Alexander  
 standing before her, and in her joy she embraced  
 him warmly. But he reproached her and said,  
 “Glaphyra, you certainly confirm the saying that  
 women are not to be trusted. For though you were  
 betrothed and married to me as a virgin, and children  
 were born to us, you let yourself forget my love in  
 your desire to marry again. But not content even  
 with this outrage, you had the temerity to take still  
 a third bridegroom to your bed, and in an indecent  
 and shameless manner you again became a member  
 of my family by entering into marriage with Arche-  
 laus, your own brother-in-law and my own brother.  
 However, I will not forget my affection for you but  
 will free you of all reproach by making you my own,  
 as you were (before).”<sup>c</sup> A few days after she had  
 related these things to her women friends she died.

(5) I do not consider such stories extraneous to  
 my history, since they concern these royal persons  
 and, in addition, they provide instances of something  
 bearing on the immortality of the soul and of the  
 way in which God’s providence embraces the affairs of  
 man; therefore I have thought it well to speak of  
 this. Anyone to whom such things seem incredible

Judaea,  
 Samaria  
 and  
 Idumaea  
 are added  
 to province  
 of Syria.

<sup>a</sup> On Juba II cf. *B.J.* ii. 115. The statement is in error in that numismatic evidence and a reference by Strabo (xvii. 3. 7) indicate that he lived until A.D. 23, and therefore apparently divorced Glaphyra.

<sup>b</sup> Mentioned only here and in the *B.J.* parallel (ii. 115); possibly a daughter of Aristobulus (*B.J.* i. 552).

<sup>c</sup> Variant “as it was before.”

<sup>1</sup> συνοῦσαν PA.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπέσχεν E (vel P teste Hudson): incenderat Lat. unde ἀνέκαυσεν con. Richards et Shutt.

<sup>3</sup> συνοῦσα MWE.

<sup>4</sup> εἰ P.

<sup>5</sup> συνομόσασα P: iure iurando constricta es Lat.

<sup>6</sup> Naber: ἀνδρα codd.

<sup>7</sup> E Lat.: ἦν codd.



τοιιάδε, γνώμης δυνάμενος<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κώλυμα οὐκ  
 355 ἂν γένοιτο τῷ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν αὐτὰ<sup>2</sup> προστιθεμένῳ. τῆς  
 δ' Ἀρχελαίου χώρας ὑποτελοῦς προσνεμηθείσης τῇ  
 Σύρων, πέμπεται Κυρίνιος<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ἀνὴρ  
 ὑπατικός, ἀποτιμησόμενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ  
 Ἀρχελαίου ἀποδωσόμενος οἶκον.

<sup>1</sup> Niese: δνεμάμενος AMW: δνάμενος ed. pr. (verba δτω  
 . . . προστιθεμένῳ om. P).

<sup>2</sup> Ernesti: αὐτῷ codd.

<sup>3</sup> P: Κυρήνιος rell. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> The *B.J.* parallel (ii. 117; cf. 167 f.) mentions the pro-

is welcome to his own opinion but should not interfere with one who adds them to the evidence for virtue. Now the territory subject to Archelaus was added to (the province of) Syria, and Quirinius, a man of consular rank, was sent by Caesar to take a census of property in Syria and to sell the estate of Archelaus.<sup>a</sup>

curator Coponius. For a fuller account, including Quirinius and the census, see *Ant.* xviii. 1 ff. This is presumably the census of Luke ii. 1 f. (cf. Acts v. 37), but it took place in A.D. 6 or 7 and not within the lifetime of Herod. On this problem see A. R. C. Leaney, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (New York, 1958), pp. 44-48, and the bibliography in vol. ix, App. B.

APPENDIX A  
AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

BIBAION IE

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πεντεκαδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου  
ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας.

α'. Ὡς ληφθείσης τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως  
ὑπὸ Σοσσίου καὶ Ἡρώδου Ἀντώνιος μὲν Ἀντί-  
γονον ἐπελέκισεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, Ἡρώδης δὲ  
τεσσαρακονταπέντε τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων πρώτους  
Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐπανείλετο<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠργυρο-  
λόγησεν.

β'. Ὅν τρόπον Ἰρκανὸς ὁ πρῶτος βασιλεὺς  
Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀφεθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν  
Πάρθων βασιλέως Ἀρσάκου πρὸς Ἡρώδην ὑπέ-  
στρεψεν.

γ'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς

<sup>1</sup> numeros capitibus addunt α-η W, I-XIII Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπανείλατο PL: ἐπανεθῶν ἀνείλετο AMW: reuersus ex-  
tinxerit Lat.

APPENDIX A  
AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS  
BOOK XV

These are the contents of the fifteenth book of  
Josephus' account of the Jewish antiquities

In this edition  
SECTION PAGE

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |   |         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---------|
| (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 | 3, 5, 7 |
| (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 | 7-12    |
| (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 βασιλείᾳ 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' Ἀκτιονικᾶται 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: ὁ. ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀριστοβούλου κλεοπάτρα ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλεξάνδρας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ γραμμάτων παρακληθεῖσα ἐπέισε τὸν ἀντώνιον μετακαλεσάμενον ἠρώδην ἀνακρίνας τοῦτον περὶ τοῦ φόνου ὃ δὲ παραγενόμενος διελύσατο τὰ ἐγκλήματα. ε'. ὡς ἠρώδης καταλιπὼν ἀντώνιον καὶ εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα ἐλθὼν, ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς ἀναπεισθεὶς τὴν γυναῖκα μαριάμμην ἀνελεῖν ἤβουλήθη καὶ τέως μὲν τῇ ἐκείνης κρατούμενος φιλοστοργία τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπέσχετο φόνου ἰώσηπον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα σαλώμης αὐτῇ μαριάμμη συνδιαβληθέντα παραχρήμα ἀπέκτευνεν.

<sup>2</sup> Κλεοπάτρας . . . παρουσία] et ad iudaeum pervenit Lat. caput praecedens continuans: καὶ ὡς κλεοπάτρα εἰς τὴν ἰουδαίαν παρεγένετο ἦντινα παρολίγον ἠρώδης ἀνήρει 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.

|                                                                                                                                         | SECTION | PAGE                       |
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| wife Mariamme, as high priest, contrived not long afterwards to destroy him. <sup>a</sup>                                               | 3       | 19 f., 25-29               |
| (iv) How Cleopatra plotted against the kingdoms of the Jews and the Arabs and obtained authority from Antony to take over parts of them | 3-4     | 31-33, 37-39, 43-47, 51 f. |
| (v) The visit of Cleopatra to Judaea <sup>b</sup>                                                                                       | 4       | 47-51                      |
| (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       | 53-77                      |
| (vii) Concerning the earthquake which occurred in Judaea, and the destruction of men and cattle <sup>d</sup>                            | 5       | 59                         |

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."

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| <sup>a</sup> One ms. adds here: "(iv) How, after the death of Aristobulus, Cleopatra at the | 3       | 31-35, 37-39 |

η'. Λόγος<sup>1</sup> Ἡρώδου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀθυμοῦντας πρὸς τὰ πάθη καὶ τὴν ἤτταν 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 ἀποκτείνειν.<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. διαλαλίαν) ἠρώδης συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἄραβιν ἐνίκησε.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf: ἀπιέναι codd.

<sup>4</sup> Αἰγυπτον LAMW: + πολλὰ τιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ FL.

<sup>5</sup> πολλὰ φιλοφρονηθεὶς ἐτιμήθη P: οἱ. ὡς . . . ἐτιμήθη L.

<sup>6</sup> ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπ' αἰγύπτου P.

<sup>7</sup> + ιγ'. ὡς μετὰ τὸν μαριάμμης θάνατον λοιμώδης νόσος ἐν-σκήψασα καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεῖα κατέσχευ. ιδ'. ὡς τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ βασιλέως σαλώμης κοστόβαρον τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς διαβαλλούσης πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα ἠρώδης καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλλους τινας διέφθειρεν L.

<sup>8</sup> ἀνεκταίου λιμοῦ P.

<sup>9</sup> καὶ Συρίαν] πᾶσαν ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν συρίαν P.

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| (viii) The speech <sup>a</sup> of Herod to the Jews when they were dispirited over their sufferings and the defeat that had occurred <sup>b</sup> . | 5       | 61-71   |
| (ix) How Herod, when he found it necessary to leave for a visit with the victorious Caesar, destroyed Hyrcanus                                      | 6       | 77-87   |
| (x) How he received the kingdom from Caesar and escorted him to Egypt <sup>c</sup>                                                                  | 6       | 93-95   |
| (xi) How Herod, when he arrived in Alexandria, was honoured by Caesar <sup>d</sup>                                                                  | 6       | 93      |
| (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       | 97-113  |
| (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       | 143-151 |

<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."

<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."

<sup>g</sup> One ms. "the abominable famine."

<sup>h</sup> One ms. "all Judaea and also even Syria."

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|  | 7       | 115-117 |
|  | 7       | 123-127 |



JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XV

ιδ'. Κτίσεις<sup>1</sup> πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων ἄς Ἡρώδης<sup>2</sup>  
ἐποιήσατο.<sup>3</sup>

ιε'. Ὡς<sup>4</sup> καθελών ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις<sup>5</sup> τὸν ἀρχαίον  
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 περιβλέπτου P.

<sup>3</sup> + ιζ'. ὡς καίσαρ προσέθετο τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἡρώδου τὸν λυσανίου  
οἶκον ὃν τινα ξηρόδωρος τις μεμίσθωτο· διόπερ Ἡρώδης χαριζόμενος  
καίσαρι ναὸν αὐτῷ φιλοτιμώτατα κοσμήσας ἀφίερον. 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] παρολιγὴν ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων P.

<sup>9</sup> + ὑπάρχοντα P.

SECTION PAGE

<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

10 | 167-  
175

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|                                                                                                                                                                              | SECTION | PAGE        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| (xiv) The founding of Greek cities <sup>a</sup><br>which Herod accomplished <sup>b</sup>                                                                                     | 8       | 139-<br>143 |
|                                                                                                                                                                              | 9       | 155-<br>165 |
| (xv) How <sup>c</sup> after <sup>d</sup> six hundred years<br>he raised the ancient Temple <sup>e</sup> in Jeru-<br>salem and erected another <sup>f</sup> twice the<br>size | 11      | 185-<br>207 |

This book covers a period of eighteen years.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | SECTION | PAGE        |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| Lysanias which a certain Zenodorus had<br>leased. Wherefore Herod out of gratitude<br>to Caesar consecrated a very lavishly orna-<br>mented temple to him. And how the Jews<br>were vexed over this. How in violation of<br>Jewish law many men were put to death by<br>Herod." |         | 175-<br>177 |
| <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."                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |         | 177-<br>179 |
| <sup>f</sup> One ms. "another in its stead."                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |         |             |

BIBAIION ΙΖ

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐξκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου  
ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας.

α'.<sup>1</sup> "Ὀν τρόπον Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος  
ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὑπέστρεψαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

β'. Ὡς<sup>2</sup> Σαλώμη καὶ Φερώρας οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως  
ἀδελφοὶ ταῖς κατ' αὐτῶν διαβολαῖς ἐχρῶντο.

γ'. Ὡς γυναῖκας δοὺς τοῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον  
Ἡρώδης πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἐξέπλευσεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην  
κἀκεῖθεν αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν παραγενέσθαι.

δ'. Ἀφοδος<sup>3</sup> Ἀγρίππα εἰς Ἰωνίαν καὶ ὡς<sup>4</sup>  
Ἡρώδης τὸ δεύτερον ἐξέπλευσεν πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν  
εἰς τὸν Βόσπορον.

ε'. Ἐντευξίς τῶν κατ' Ἰωνίαν Ἰουδαίων Ἀ-  
γρίππα παρόντος Ἡρώδου περὶ ὧν ἠτιῶντο τοὺς  
Ἕλληνας.

<sup>1</sup> numeros capitibus add. α'-κα' W, I-XX Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς] καὶ ὡς AMW Lat. priori capiti adiungentes.

<sup>3</sup> ἀφοδος] ἔφοδος W: et profectio Lat.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ὡς] ὡς AMW Lat. novum caput incipientes.

<sup>a</sup> Lat. "Alexander or Aristobulus."

BOOK XVI

These are the contents of the sixteenth book of  
Josephus' account of the Jewish antiquities

|                                                                                                                                                                                           | SECTION | PAGE    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| (i) In what manner Alexander and Aristobulus returned from Rome to their father . . . . .                                                                                                 | 1       | 211-213 |
| (ii) How Salome and Pheroras, sister and brother of the king, made use of slanders against them . . . . .                                                                                 | 1       | 211-213 |
| (iii) How Herod, after he had given wives to Alexander and his brother, <sup>a</sup> sailed to Mitylene to meet Agrippa, and persuaded him to make a visit from there to Judaea . . . . . | 1-2     | 213-215 |
| (iv) The departure of Agrippa for Ionia, and how Herod a second time sailed out to meet Agrippa in the Bosphorus. . . . .                                                                 | 2       | 215-219 |
| (v) The petition of the Jews in Ionia to Agrippa on the occasion of Herod's visit, concerning the offences of which they accused the Greeks . . . . .                                     | 2       | 219-231 |

ς'. 'Ὡς Ἀγρίππας ἐβεβαίωσε μὲν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους, Ἡρώδης δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν<sup>1</sup> ὑπέστρεψεν.

ζ'. 'Ὡς διελέξατο<sup>2</sup> τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις Ἡρώδης<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸ τέταρτον αὐτοῖς ἀφήκεν τῶν φόρων τοῦ παρεληλυθότος ἔτους.

η'. 'Ὡς ἐστασιάσθη τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Ἡρώδη προτιμώντι μὲν Ἀντίπατρον τὸν πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν χαλεπῶς δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον φερόντων τὴν ὄβριν.

θ'. 'Ὡς Ἀντιπάτρου διατρίβοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἡρώδης ἄγων ἐπὶ Καίσαρος αὐτῶν κατηγορήσεν.

ι'. Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπολογία ἐπὶ Καίσαρος καὶ διαλλαγὰι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

ια'. 'Ὡς ἀγῶνας ἤγαγε πεντετηρικοὺς Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ Καισαρείᾳ κτίσει.

ιβ'. Πρεσβεία τῶν ἀπὸ Κυρήνης καὶ Ἀσίας Ἰουδαίων ὡς Καίσαρα περὶ ὧν ἤτιῶντο τοὺς Ἑλλήνας πραγμάτων.<sup>4</sup>

ιγ'. Ἀντίγραφα ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς Καίσαρ καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἔγραψαν<sup>5</sup> ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ἰουδαίαν] ad propria Lat.

<sup>2</sup> διελέξατο PW: ἐπανελεθῶν M: in marg. γρ. ὡς ἐπανελεθῶν Ἡρώδης ἀφήκε A.

<sup>3</sup> τε. Ἡρώδης τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις M: om. Ἡρώδης A<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> om. AMW Lat.

<sup>5</sup> ἔγραψεν PAW.

<sup>a</sup> The Greek equivalent of the Latin might easily have been confused with the present reading.

<sup>b</sup> Or "a festival to be celebrated every fourth year."

|                                                                                                                                                                    | SECTION | PAGE    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| (vi) How Agrippa confirmed their rights to them, and Herod returned to Judaea <sup>a</sup>                                                                         | 2       | 231-233 |
| (vii) How Herod addressed the Jerusalemites and remitted to them a fourth part of the taxes of the preceding year                                                  | 2       | 233     |
| (viii) How dissensions arose in Herod's household when he gave preference to his eldest son Antipater, and how Alexander and the others were angry at the affront. | 3       | 233-241 |
| (ix) How, when Antipater was sojourning in Rome, Herod brought Alexander and the others before Caesar and made charges against them                                | 4       | 241-247 |
| (x) Alexander's defence before Caesar and the reconciliations with his father                                                                                      | 4       | 247-257 |
| (xi) How Herod instituted a four-year festival <sup>b</sup> in honour of the founding of Caesarea                                                                  | 5       | 261-263 |
| (xii) An embassy to Caesar of Jews from Cyrene and Asia concerning the accusations which they brought against the Greeks                                           | 6       | 271     |
| (xiii) Copies of the letters which Caesar and Agrippa wrote to the cities on their behalf                                                                          | 6       | 271-281 |

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XVI

ιδ'. Ὡς ἀπορῶν χρημάτων Ἡρώδης κατήλθεν εἰς τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον καὶ δειμάτων αὐτὸν ταραξάντων μνημεῖον ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου.

ιε'. Ὡς Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Καππαδόκων βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ πατρὶ διήλλαξεν δεθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὡς ὁ μὲν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, Ἡρώδης δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνήλθεν.

ισ'. Ἀπόστασις<sup>3</sup> τῶν τὸν Τράχωνα οἰκούντων καὶ παράληψις διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῆς χώρας.<sup>4</sup>

ιζ'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης<sup>5</sup> τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν διαφυγόντας τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἐξήρτητο καὶ μὴ τυγχάνων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντος Σατορινίου.<sup>6</sup>

ιη'. Ὡς κατηγόρησε Σύλλαιος Ἄραψ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος περὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς<sup>7</sup> Ἡρώδου καὶ ὡς διὰ Νικολάου ἀπελύσατο τὰς αἰτίας<sup>8</sup> ὀργιζομένου Καίσαρος.

ιθ'. Διαβολαὶ Εὐρυκλέους κατὰ τῶν παίδων

<sup>1</sup> καππαδοκῶν AMW.

<sup>2</sup> om. MW Lat.

<sup>3</sup> + τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας AMW Lat.

<sup>4</sup> om. AMW Lat.

<sup>5</sup> + a roma reuersus Lat.

<sup>6</sup> + τοῦ ἡγεμόνος AMW Lat.

<sup>7</sup> ὑπὲρ AMW.

<sup>8</sup> + τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀραβίαν τοῦ AMW Lat.

<sup>9</sup> + Ἡρώδης AMW.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "defection from King Herod."

<sup>b</sup> Variant omits "of the country."

<sup>c</sup> Variant "Saturninus the governor."

<sup>d</sup> Variant "the invasion of Arabia."

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| (xiv) How Herod, when he was in need of funds, went down into David's tomb and, after being shaken with terror, erected a memorial over the tomb . . . . .                                                     | 7       | 281-283          |
| (xv) How Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, won for Alexander a reconciliation with his father, who had earlier imprisoned him, and how he returned to Cappadocia and Herod went to Rome . . . . .                 | 8       | 301-319          |
| (xvi) The revolt <sup>a</sup> of the inhabitants of Trachonitis and the subjugation of the country <sup>b</sup> by the generals . . . . .                                                                      | 9       | 319-325          |
| (xvii) How Herod asked for surrender of the revolutionaries who had escaped to Arabia, and how, when this was refused, he made war upon them with the permission of Saturninus <sup>c</sup> . . . . .          | 9       | 323-325          |
| (xviii) How Syllaesus the Arab brought charges before Caesar concerning the invasion <sup>d</sup> by Herod, and how the latter through Nicolas was cleared of the charges in spite of Caesar's anger . . . . . | 9-10    | 325-331, 345-351 |
| (xix) The slanders before Herod against his sons made by Eurycles, and                                                                                                                                         |         |                  |



## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, XVI

πρὸς Ἡρώδην, καὶ ὡς<sup>1</sup> ἔδησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ πατήρ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ αὐτῶν ἔγραψεν.

κ'. Ὡς Καίσαρος ἐξουσίαν δόντος ἐν Βηρυτῷ παρὰ τῷ συνεδρίῳ κατηγορήσε τῶν παίδων<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὡς θανόντες ἐτάφησαν<sup>3</sup> ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείῳ.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ιβ'.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὡς] ὡς AMW novum caput incipientes.

<sup>2</sup> + Ἡρώδης AMW.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὡς . . . ἐτάφησαν] θάνατος τῶν νεανίσκων καὶ ταφή τῶν σωματίων AMW Lat., novum cap. AM Lat.

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|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| how their father imprisoned them and wrote to Caesar concerning them . . .                                                                                                               | 10      | 331-343 |
| (xx) How Herod by authority of Caesar brought charges against his sons before the sanhedrin at Berytus, and how they were put to death and buried in Alexandreion <sup>a</sup> . . . . . | 11      | 353-371 |

This book covers a period of twelve years.

<sup>a</sup> Variant (after "sons") "The death of the youths and the burial of their remains . . ."

## BIBAION IZ

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ<sup>1</sup> ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἰωσήπου  
ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας.

α'.<sup>2</sup> Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἐμισήθη ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς διὰ ταῦτα ἐθεράπευεν τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς χρημασιν καὶ τὸν πεπιστευμένον τὴν Συρίαν Σατορνίνον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνας.

β'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τὴν Τραχωνίτιν χώραν μὴ δυναμένην εὐσταθεῖν διὰ τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς τῶν Ἀράβων, Ζάμαριν Ἰουδαῖον ἐκ Βαβυλώνας ὑποχωρήσαντα καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διαιτώμενον μεταπειψάμενος ἐγκατώκισεν<sup>3</sup> αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐχρήτη αὐτῷ προβλήματι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβας.

γ'. Ὡς Ἡρώδου τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ παῖδας προσποιησαμένου καὶ τὰς Φερώρα θυγατέρας μνηστεύσαντος αὐτοῖς, Ἀντίπατρος ἔπεισεν τὸν πατέρα τὴν μνηστείαν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> τῷ AM.

<sup>2</sup> numeros capitibus add. α'-κ' W, I-XVIII Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐγκατώκισεν PA<sup>1</sup>MW.

## BOOK XVII

These are the contents of the seventeenth book  
of Josephus' account of the Jewish antiquities

(i) How Antipater incurred the hatred of the whole nation because of the murder of his brothers, and how on account of this he used large sums of money to curry favour with those in Rome and with Saturninus, who was entrusted with Syria, and the governors associated with him . . . .

(ii) How King Herod, when he saw that the territory of Trachonitis could not be at peace because of the attacks of the Arabs, sent for Zamaris, a Jew who had moved from his home in Babylon and resided in Antioch, and how he settled him there and used him as a buffer against the Arabs . . . .

(iii) How when Herod had attached to himself his grandsons by Alexander and Aristobulus and had promised the daughters of Pheroras to them in marriage, Antipater persuaded his father to change the betrothal to his own

SECTION PAGE

1 373-377

2 383-387

τοὺς παῖδας μεταθέσθαι τοὺς<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὡς ἐθερά-  
πευσεν<sup>2</sup> Ἀντίπατρος τοὺς περὶ Φερώραν βουλόμε-  
νος ἤδη δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ πατρί.

δ'. Ὡς<sup>3</sup> γνοῦσα ἡ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ βασιλέως Σαλώ-  
μη κρυφαίως ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

ε'. Ὡς Ἡρώδης παρήγγειλεν Ἀντιπάτρῳ μὴ  
φοιτᾶν πρὸς Φερώραν μηδὲ ἀπόρητον μηδὲν ἀπ-  
αγγέλλειν<sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ φανερώς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐποίει,  
ἀλλὰ κρυπτῶς, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν τὸν  
Ἡρώδην.

ς'. Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἔγραψεν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φί-  
λοις παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς γράψαι τῷ πατρί αὐτοῦ  
πειθοντας ἵνα πέμψῃ αὐτὸν πρὸς Καίσαρα μετὰ  
πολλῶν χρημάτων, καὶ πεισθεὶς Ἡρώδης ἐξέπεμψε  
τὸν υἱόν.

ζ'. Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἔπεισεν Φερώραν ἵνα ἀνέλθῃ  
τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδην φαρμάκῳ δοὺς αὐτὸς τὸ  
φάρμακον τῷ Φερώρᾳ. καὶ ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης  
παρήγγειλεν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Φερώρᾳ ἐκβαλεῖν  
τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας.  
ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως ἤκουσεν καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν  
τετραρχίαν κακεῖ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τελευτᾷ.

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ PMW.

<sup>2</sup> ἐθεράπευεν AM.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὡς AMW Lat. priori capiti adiungentes.

<sup>4</sup> παραγγέλλειν AM.

<sup>a</sup> The summary inaccurately represents the account as given in §§ 14 and 17 f.

<sup>b</sup> The variant (" And how ") joins this section to the preceding one.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | SECTION | PAGE         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------------|
| sons instead; and how Antipater courted the family of Pheroras, desiring now through them to plot against his father <sup>a</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                        | 1       | 379-383      |
| (iv) How <sup>b</sup> Salome the king's sister learned of this and secretly reported it to her brother                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 2       | 387-393      |
| (v) How Herod enjoined Antipater to have no meetings with Pheroras and to report nothing of confidential matters to him. He, however, did nothing openly, but acted secretly; yet this did not escape Herod's notice                                                                                                     | 3       | 393-397      |
| (vi) How Antipater wrote to his friends in Rome urging them to write and persuade his father to send him to Caesar with a large sum of money; and how Herod, thus persuaded, sent off his son.                                                                                                                           | 3       | 397-399      |
| (vii) How Antipater persuaded Pheroras to kill his father Herod by poisoning, and himself supplied Pheroras with the poison. And how King Herod enjoined his brother Pheroras to divorce his wife or to leave the kingdom. And he readily obeyed him and withdrew to his own tetrarchy; and there not much later he died | 3-4     | 405-407, 399 |

η'. Κατηγορία τῆς γυναικὸς Φερώρα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν<sup>1</sup> Φερώρα ὡς ἀναιρεθέντος φαρμάκῳ. καὶ ὡς<sup>2</sup> Ἡρώδης ἐκζητήσας εἶρε τὸ φάρμακον κατασκευασμένον ἐπ' αὐτῷ<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου, καὶ βασανίσας ἔγνω τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπιβουλὰς.

θ'. Κατάπλους Ἀντιπάτρου ἐκ Ῥώμης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. καὶ ὡς κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ καὶ καταγνώσθεις θάνατον ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ Κυντιλλίου Οὐάρου τοῦ τότε πεπιστευμένου<sup>4</sup> τὴν Συρίαν ἐδέθη μέχρι τῆς ἐσομένης διαγνώσεως ὑπὸ Καίσαρος.

ι'. Πρεσβεία πεμφθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου πρὸς Καίσαρα περὶ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ ὡς Καίσαρ ἀκούσας τὰς κατηγορίας κατέγνω αὐτοῦ θάνατον.

ια'. Περὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου νόσου καὶ στάσεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων δι' αὐτήν,<sup>5</sup> καὶ κόλασις τῶν στασιαστῶν.

ιβ'. Ὡς δόξαντος Ἀντιπάτρου Ἡρώδην τετελευτηκέναι Ἀντίπατρος διαλεχθείη<sup>6</sup> τῷ σωματοφύλακι περὶ ἀφέσεως, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα Ἀντιπάτρου ἀναίρεσις.

<sup>1</sup> ἀπελευθέρων ed. pr. (cf. § 61).

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὡς] ὡς P Lat. : novum cap. AM.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸν AM.

<sup>4</sup> ἐμπειπιστευμένου AM.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτὸν PW.

<sup>6</sup> Ἀντιπάτρου . . . διαλεχθείη] Ἡρώδην τετελευτηκέναι ἀντιπάτρου διαλεχθείη AM.

<sup>a</sup> Read "freedmen" with the text of § 61 and the *editio princeps*.

<sup>b</sup> One ms. (A) attaches this section to the previous one.

<sup>c</sup> Two mss. (AM) omit "and" and begin a new section here.

<sup>d</sup> Variant "him."

(viii) The accusation against the wife of Pheroras by the brothers<sup>a</sup> of Pheroras, alleging that he was killed by poison.<sup>b</sup> And<sup>c</sup> how Herod when he investigated found that the poison had been prepared for use against him by his son Antipater; and how by torture he discovered the plots of Antipater

4 401-411

(ix) The return voyage of Antipater to his father from Rome. And how after he was charged by Nicolas of Damascus and condemned to death by his father and by Quintilius Varus, who was then entrusted with the rule of Syria, he was imprisoned pending a future decision by Caesar

5 411-439

(x) The embassy sent by Herod to Caesar concerning Antipater; and how Caesar, after hearing the charges, condemned him to death

6-7 439, 455

(xi) Concerning Herod's illness, the revolt of the Jews occasioned by it,<sup>d</sup> and the punishment of the insurgents

6 439-449

(xii) How when he thought that Herod was dead Antipater talked with the prison guard about releasing him; and the execution of Antipater because of this

7 457-459



ιγ'. Ἡρώδου τελευταία καὶ διαθήκη<sup>1</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ μερισμὸς πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὡς Ἀρχέλαον βασιλέα ποιεῖ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

ιδ'. Ἐπιστολή Ἡρώδου πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ἐκάστῳ<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν δωρεὰ καὶ παράκλησις πίστεως πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρχέλαον.

ιε'. Ταφή Ἡρώδου ἐν Ἡρωδίῳ τῷ φρουρίῳ. καὶ ὡς ὁ λαὸς ἐστασίασεν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀρχέλαον ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ.

ις'. Ὡς Ἀρχέλαος τρισχιλίουσ αὐτῶν ἀνείλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπλευσε πρὸς Καίσαρα σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδῃ εἰς Ῥώμην πιστεύσας τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Φιλίππῳ.

ιζ'. Ὡς Σαβίνος ὁ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Καίσαρος ἐπίτροπος ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα βία αἰτῶν τὰ Ἡρώδου χρήματα καὶ φρούρια παρὰ τῶν Ἀρχελάου ἐπιμελητῶν.

ιη'. Ὡς ἔπεισαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου<sup>3</sup> ἐπιμεληταὶ τὸν λαὸν χωρεῖν ἐπὶ ὄπλα καὶ πολιορκῆσαι τὸν Σαβίνον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ. καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Οὐάρου μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ῥυσάμενος τὸν Σαβίνον ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς στάσεως ἐκόλα-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ διαθήκη] διαθήκη Ἡρώδου AMW, novum cap. indicantes AM.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκάστου AM.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Ἀρχελάου om. AMW Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Variant "Herod's."

<sup>b</sup> Variant "How the caretakers."

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | SECTION | PAGE    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| (xiii) The death of Herod; his <sup>a</sup> will addressed to Caesar and the division (of the kingdom) among his three sons; and how he made Archelaus king of Judaea . . . . .                                                                                                                                     | 8       | 459-461 |
| (xiv) The letter of Herod to the soldiers, his gifts to each of them and his appeal for loyalty to his son Archelaus                                                                                                                                                                                                | 8       | 461     |
| (xv) The burial of Herod in the fortress of Herodeion; and how the people revolted against his son Archelaus at the (Passover) festival . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                   | 8-9     | 463-473 |
| (xvi) How Archelaus put to death three thousand of them, and how he sailed to Caesar at Rome with his brother Herod (Antipas), after entrusting his kingdom to his brother Philip . . . . .                                                                                                                         | 9       | 473-477 |
| (xvii) How Sabinus, Caesar's procurator in Syria, went up to Jerusalem forcibly demanding Herod's property and citadels from Archelaus' caretakers                                                                                                                                                                  | 10      | 489     |
| (xviii) How Archelaus' caretakers <sup>b</sup> persuaded the people to resort to arms and to besiege Sabinus and his army in the Antonia; and how Varus when he heard of these events went up to Jerusalem with a large force and after delivering Sabinus from the siege punished the instigators of the uprising, |         |         |

σεν καὶ καλῶς διαθεῖς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἔγραψε  
Καίσαρι δηλῶν αὐτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα.<sup>1</sup>

ιβ'. Ὡς Καίσαρ τὰς Ἡρώδου διαθήκας βεβαίως  
ἐποίησεν φυλάξας τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ τὴν διαδοχὴν.<sup>2</sup>  
καὶ ὡς κατηγορεῖται Ἀρχέλαος ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν  
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος καὶ νικήσας ἔλαβεν τὴν βα-  
σιλείαν, καὶ βασιλεύσας μοχθηρῶς δεκαετίαν πάλιν  
κατηγορηθεὶς ἐξωρίσθη εἰς Βιένναν, τὴν δὲ βα-  
σιλείαν αὐτοῦ μετέθηκεν Καίσαρ εἰς ἐπαρχίαν.<sup>3</sup>

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος<sup>4</sup> χρόνον ἐτῶν ιδ'.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα om. AMW.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὡς | novum cap. indicant codd.

<sup>3</sup> + κ'. Ἡρώδης γεννᾷ ἀλέξανδρον ἀριστόβουλον ἀντίπατρον  
ἀρχέλαον φίλιππον W. <sup>4</sup> ἡ βίβλος | ὁ παρῶν λόγος W.

<sup>a</sup> Variant omits "to him . . . happened."

<sup>b</sup> Following this the mss. begin a new section.

<sup>c</sup> Or "eparchy," i.e. part of the province of Syria. ms. W

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | SECTION | PAGE        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|
| effectively restored order in Judaea,<br>and wrote to Caesar explaining to him<br>what had happened. <sup>a</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 10      | 491-<br>511 |
| (xix) How Caesar ratified the pro-<br>visions of Herod's will, confirming the<br>succession for his sons. <sup>b</sup> And how<br>Archelaus was accused before Caesar<br>by his relatives, but won out and re-<br>ceived the kingdom; and how after<br>he had ruled badly for ten years he<br>again was accused and was banished<br>to Vienna, and Caesar converted his<br>kingdom into a province. <sup>c</sup> | 11-13   | 511-<br>537 |

This book <sup>a</sup> covers a period of fourteen years.

adds here: "Herod was the father of Alexander, Aristobulus,  
Antipater, Archelaus, Philip."

<sup>a</sup> One ms. "The present account."

APPENDIX B  
ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR = *Annual of the American Society of Oriental Research.*  
 Abel, GP = F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine.*  
 Abel, HP = F.-M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine . . .*  
 AJP = *American Journal of Philology.*  
 Ant. = *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus.  
 ASNP = *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia.*  
 Assumpt. Mos. = *The Assumption of Moses.*  
 Avi-Yonah, MP = M. Avi-Yonah, *Map of Roman Palestine.*  
 BA = *Biblical Archeologist.*  
 Bamberger, *Proselytism* = B. J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period.*  
 BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*  
 BIES = *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society.*  
 B.J. = *Bellum Judaicum* (Josephus' *Jewish War*).  
 BJPES = *Bulletin, Jewish Palestine Exploration Society.*  
 CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History.*  
 CIJ = *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum.*  
 Clermont-Ganneau = C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine.*  
 Cook, RAP = S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology.*  
 CP = *Classical Philology.*  
 CQ = *Classical Quarterly.*

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C-RAIBL = *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.*  
 Dalman, SSW = G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways.*  
 Dittenberger, OGIS : see OGIS.  
 Eos = *Eos, Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum.*  
 ESAR = Tenney Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome.*  
 Exp. T. = *Expository Times.*  
 FGH = Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.*  
 GJV : see Schürer, GJV.  
 GP : see Abel, GP.  
 HBŠ : see Klausner, HBŠ.  
 HHW : see Rostovtzeff, HHW.  
 HP : see Abel, HP.  
 HTR = *Harvard Theological Review.*  
 HUCA = *Hebrew Union College Annual.*  
 IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal.*  
 IGRR = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.*  
 Jacoby, FGH : see FGH.  
 JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature.*  
 JCP = *Jahrbuch für classische Philologie.*  
 JDA = *Jahrbuch des (kaiserlich) deutschen archäologischen Instituts.*  
 JE = *Jewish Encyclopedia.*  
 JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archeology.*  
 JKDA : see JDA.  
 JPOS = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.*  
 JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review.*  
 JR = *Journal of Religion.*  
 JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies.*  
 Klausner, HBŠ = Joseph Klausner, *History of Israel* (Hebrew).

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

- Klio* = *Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.*  
*MP* : see Avi-Yonah, *MP*.  
*NSI* = G. A. Cooke, *Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions.*  
*OGIS* = W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.*  
*PAAJR* = *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research.*  
*PEF (QS)* = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement.*  
*PEQ* = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly.*  
*PJB* = *Palästinajahrbuch.*  
*PW* = Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.*  
*QDAP* = *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.*  
*QS* : see *PEF (QS)*.  
*RB* = *Revue Biblique.*  
*REG* = *Revue des Études grecques.*  
 Reinach = Theodore Reinach, *Œuvres complètes de Flavius Josèphe . . .*  
*REJ* = *Revue des Études juives.*  
*Rev. Arch.* = *Revue Archéologique.*  
*Rostovtzeff, HHW* = M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World.*  
*Schürer, GJV* = E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.*  
*Simons* = J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament.*  
*SSW* : see Dalman, *SSW*.  
*SWP* : see p. 580.  
*TAPA* = *Transactions of the American Philological Association.*  
*ZDPV* = *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins.*  
*ZNW* = *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

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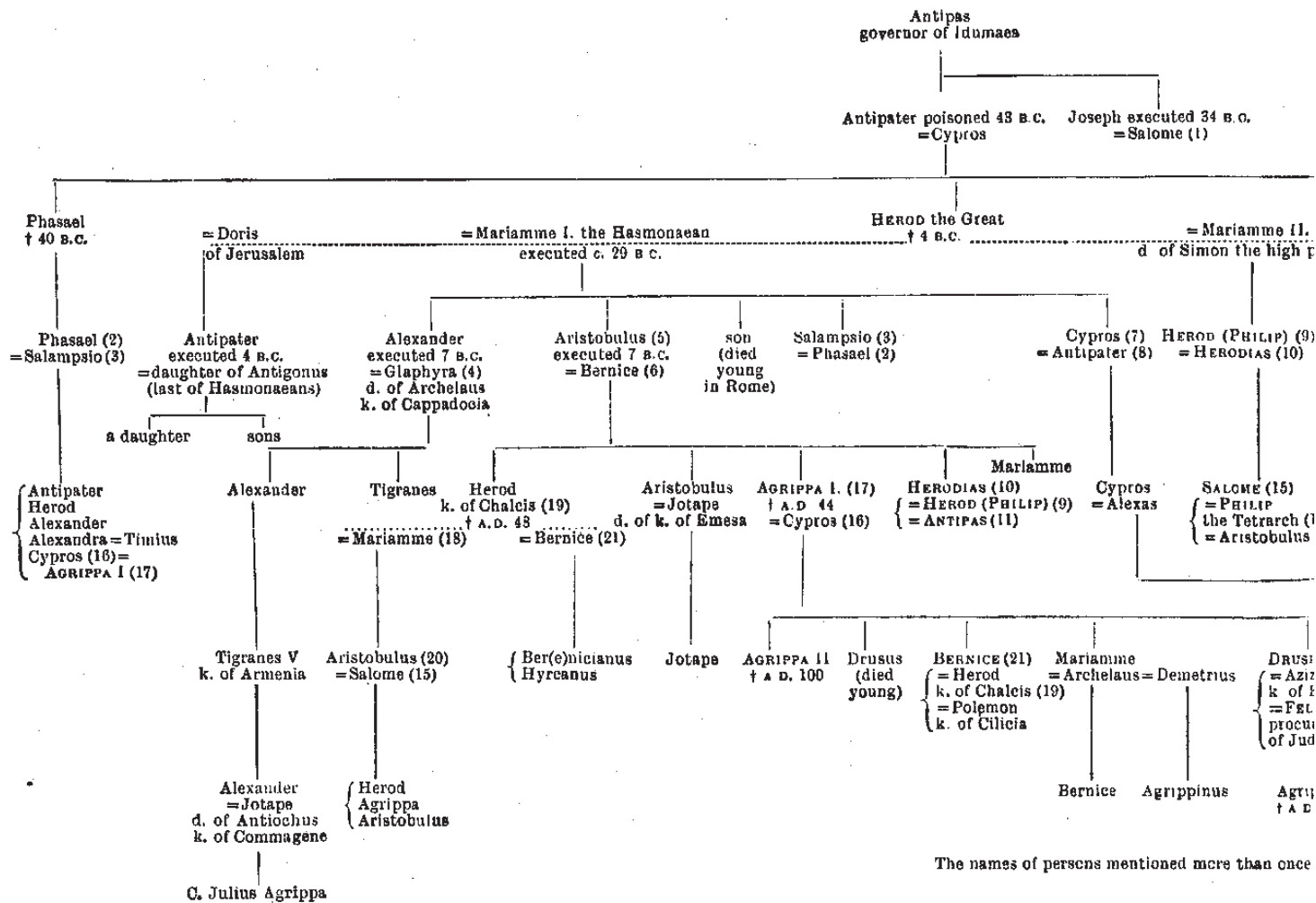
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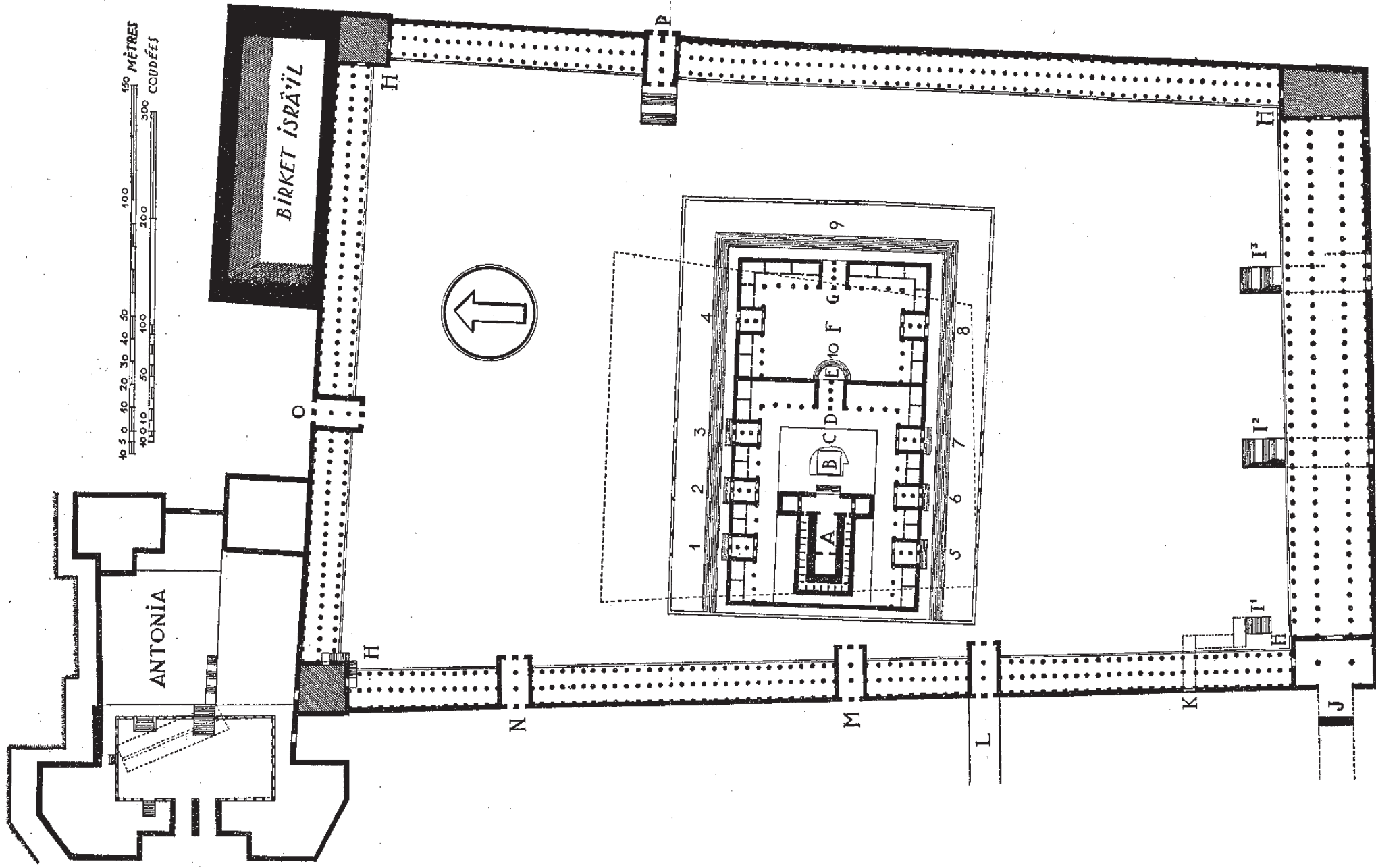
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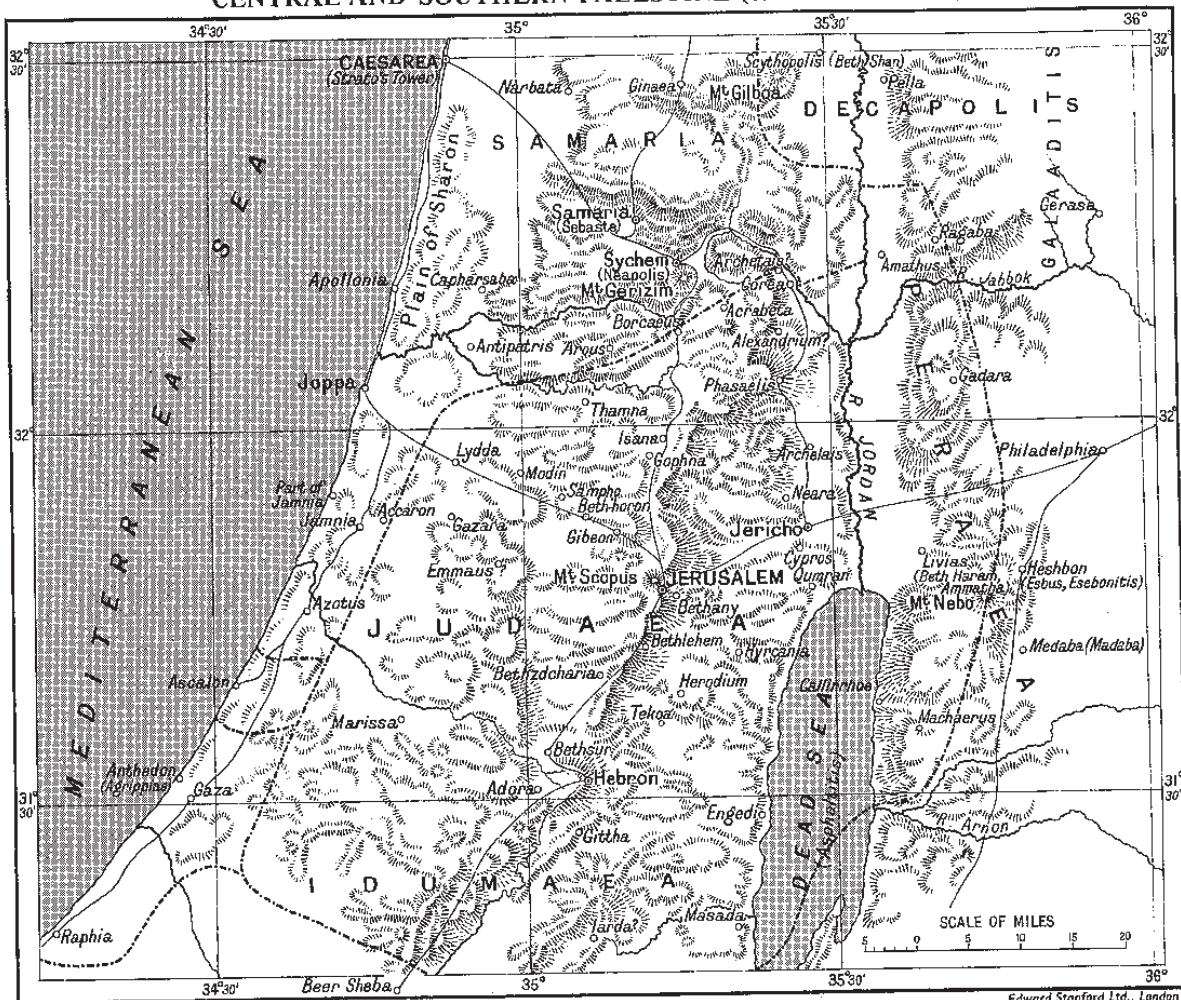




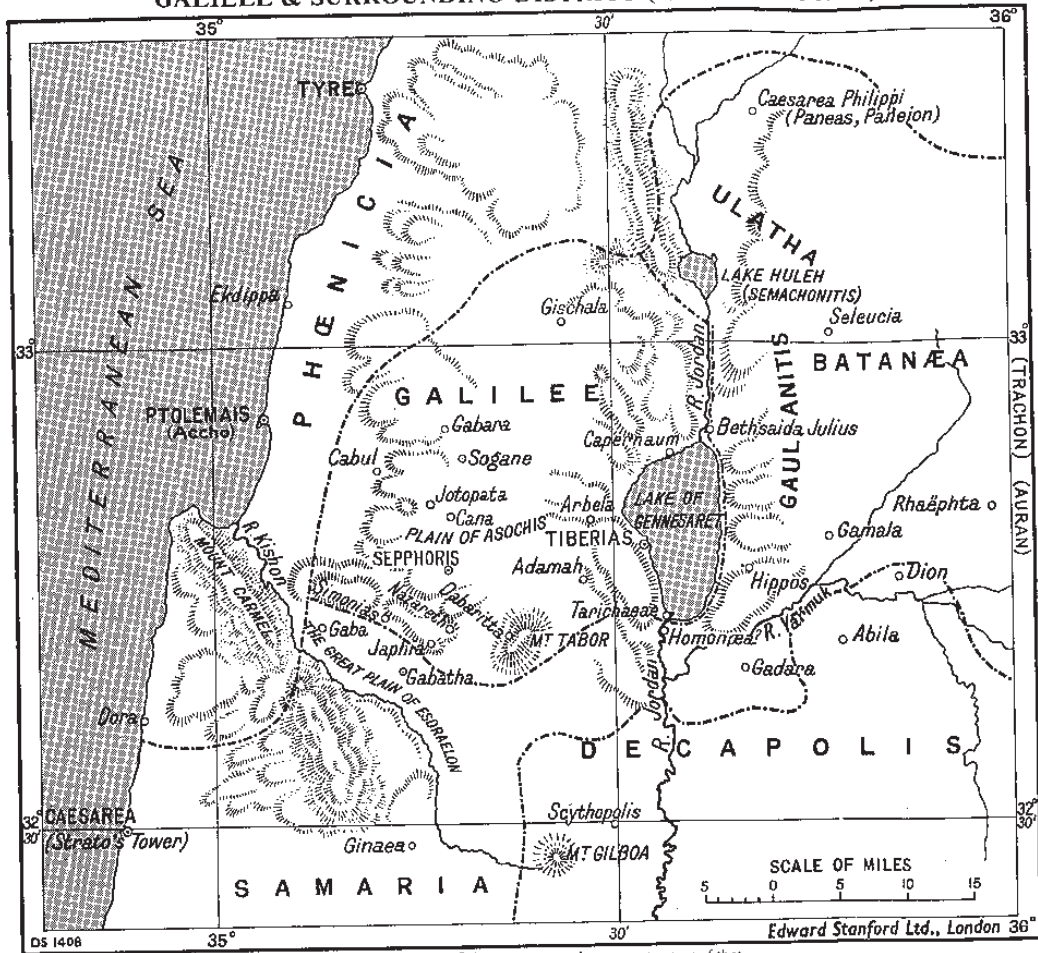
A, Temple.—B, Altar.—C, Court of priests.—D, Court of Israel.—E, Nicanor gate.—F, Court of women.—G, Corinthian gate.—H-H, Court of Gentiles.—I, Outlet of west gate.—J, Triple gate.—K, Robinson's arch.—L, M, N, Western gates.—O, Northern gate.—P, Golden gate.—1-10, Gates of the interior courts.

This plan is reproduced from Plate 102 in *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, Tome II, by L. H. Vincent and M.-A. Stevc.

# CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PALESTINE (c. 40 B.C.-70 A.D.)



# GALILEE & SURROUNDING DISTRICT (c. 40 B.C. - 70 A.D.)



The boundaries of Galilee represent the greatest extent of that territory during the reign of Herod the Great.