

HISTORY OF JUDAH

CHAPTER 1 [Ant13:215-217, 171-173, 297-298 / War1:50a]

Now after Simon (*the* brother of Judah the Makabi and Jonathan, and the benefactor and nation-chief of the Judeans) had cleansed the citadel in Jerusalem of impurities, he eventually cast it down to the ground, so that it might no longer be a base of operations for his enemies to occupy in order to cause them distress, as they had even been doing. And having done this, he thought it would be in their best interest, and to his *own* advantage, to also level the very mountain upon which the citadel stood, in order that the temple might remain higher than it.

2 And he called the multitude to an assembly in order to persuade them to have this done, reminding them how they had suffered at the hands of its garrison and the Judean fugitives. He also warned them about what miseries they might suffer if a foreigner would again obtain the kingdom and would put a garrison within *the citadel*.

3 With these words, he persuaded the multitude, because his recommendations were only for their advantage. So all of them set to work to begin leveling the mountain. And working both night and day, without intermission, it took them three entire years to bring it down to the ground and level it with the surface of the plain. And afterwards, once the citadel and the mountain on which it stood had been demolished, the temple stood as the highest of all the buildings.

4 Now about this time, there were three parties among the Judeans which had different opinions concerning human affairs: Indeed, *the first party* was called the Pharisees (*when translated, this word means 'Separatist'*), but *the second* the Zadokim,¹ but *the third* the Essenes.

5 Therefore, the Pharisees indeed say that certain events, but not all, are the work of *God's* foresight. But as to other events, it depends upon our *own will* whether they shall take place or not.

6 They have also passed on to the people many regulations handed down by succession from their fathers which are not recorded in the laws of Moses; and for this reason, they are rejected by the Zadokim.

7 Now the Zadokim indeed do away with foresight, holding that there is no such thing, and that human affairs are not achieved in accordance with its decree, but that all things lie within our own power, so that we ourselves are responsible for the good, while we suffer misfortune through our own lack-of-counsel.

8 The Zadokim say that the only regulations which should be considered obligatory are those which were written down, but that those handed down by our fathers are not to be observed.

9 Instead, the party of the Essenes declares that foresight governs all things, and that nothing befalls men unless it is in accordance with its decree.

10 And concerning these things, serious disputes and differences have arisen among the parties. Indeed, the Zadokim are able to persuade only the rich, while having no following among the overall populace; but the Pharisees have the alliance of the multitude.

CHAPTER 2 [Ant13:218-230a / War1:50b-56a / Livy 52]

Now not long after Démétrios had been taken captive, Diodotos, surnamed Truphōn (which means 'the Magnificent'), was acting as the guardian of Alexandros' son Antiochos, also surnamed *the* God. Having reigned four years, Antiochos, at the age of 10, was put to death by Truphōn. For Truphōn collaborated with the treachery of corrupt healers, who falsely pretended to the people that he was suffering severely from a stone. And, indeed, as they cut him for it, they killed him. Truphōn then sent a message that Antiochos had died under the hands of the surgeons.

2 Now *Truphōn* sent his friends and intimates to go among the soldiers, announcing² that he would give them large sums of money if they would make him king. He indeed pointed out *to them*, that Démétrios had been made a captive by the Parthians, but, that if *Démétrios'* brother Antiochos came to the government, he would make them suffer severely, in way of revenge for their secession. 3 Now the soldiers, in expectation of an easy living if the kingdom was given to Truphōn, made him their chief.

But on becoming the master of the *state* affairs, Truphōn revealed his wicked disposition; for, indeed, while he had been a private person, he had courted the multitude and assumed a character of great mildness, thereby artfully leading them on to do whatever he pleased. But once he had obtained the kingdom, he stripped off all pretext and became the Truphōn he truly was.³ 4 Therefore, by this

course, he strengthened his enemies; for, indeed, the army hated him, and revolted from him to Démétrios' wife Kleopatra, who was shut up in Seleukeia with her children.

5 Now Démétrios' brother Antiochos, surnamed The Savior, was also wandering about, and no city admitted him on account of Truphōn. So Kleopatra sent to him, inviting him to come both to marry her and to take *the* kingdom. But the reason why she invited Antiochos on these terms was partly that her friends persuaded her to do so, but also that she feared that some of the Seleukians might deliver up the city to Truphōn.

6 Now Antiochos came to Seleukeia. And as his strength daily increased, he marched out to make war on Truphōn. And having defeated him in battle, Antiochos drove him out of Upper Syria into Phoiniké, where he pursued him. But when *Truphōn* had taken refuge in Dor, a fortress which was difficult to take, he besieged him there.

Now Antiochos also sent elders to Simon, the Judean chief-priest, to propose a friendship and alliance. 7 Now Simon gladly accepted his offer, and lavishly provided the soldiers who were besieging Dor both with great sums of money and provisions. Because *Simon* sent these to Antiochos, he was, for a short while, considered one of his most intimate friends. For Truphōn indeed had fled from Dor to Apameia. And there he was captured during the siege, and *then* utterly destroyed, after having reigned three years.

8 Instead, Simon's contribution to Truphōn's fall failed to shame the king out of his ambition. But Antiochos, through covetousness and dishonesty, forgot the services which Simon had rendered him in his necessity. And⁴ it was not long before Antiochos gave a force of soldiers to one of his friends, Kendebaios, who was also his general. And he sent him at the head of an army to ravage and plunder Judah, and to seize Simon.

9 But although Simon was yet an elder, when he heard of Antiochos' lawless conduct, he was provoked by the not righteous treatment he had received from Antiochos. And being filled with a mind mightier than his years, he became a general in the war with juvenile energy like a youth.

10 And,⁵ indeed, he sent his sons on ahead⁶ *against Antiochos* along with the most able-bodied of his soldiers who were the best fighters, while he himself advanced⁷ with a division of his army in another direction in order to attack on a different front. And posting many of his men in numerous ambushes in the mountains which were full of chasms, he was successful, indeed, without losing a single *one* of the attacks. 11 So after being brilliantly victorious, he was appointed chief-priest and liberated the Judeans from the Makedonian supremacy which had lasted for 170 years. And having defeated the enemy everywhere, he passed the rest of his life in peace. And he also made an alliance with the Romans.

12 Therefore, Simon indeed ruled over the Judeans for eight years in all, but he too fell a victim to treachery, being murdered at a banquet. *For this murder* was the result of the plot formed against him by his son-in-law Ptolemaios. After imprisoning *Simon's* wife and two of his boys, Ptolemaios sent a body of men to kill the third, Johanan, but who was also called Hyrkanos. 13 But the youth, being informed of their coming beforehand, escaped danger at their hands. He hastened to the city of *Jerusalem*, trusting in the people with full confidence to help him, due both to their recollection of his father's achievements and good deeds, as well as to the crowd's hatred of Ptolemaios' transgression. 14 Now Ptolemaios also made an effort to enter through a different gate, yet the populace drove him away, *for* they had already admitted Hyrkanos. And, indeed, Ptolemaios withdrew to one of the fortifications above Jericho, which was called Dagon.

CHAPTER 3 [Ant13:230b-253; 7:393 / War1:56b-61]

But *Johanan* Hyrkanos, assumed the office of the chief-priest, which had previously been held by his father, and first propitiated God by sacrifices. Then, in order to bring aid to his mother and brothers, he indeed marched out in great haste against Ptolemaios and attacked his fortress. 2 And indeed, although Hyrkanos was superior to Ptolemaios in all other respects, in one thing he was at a disadvantage, that is, being overcome by his righteous feelings of pity for his mother and brothers.

3 For when Ptolemaios was hard pressed, he brought forward both *Hyrkanos'* mother and brothers onto the walls and tormented them within full sight of everyone, and threatened, "I will hurl them over *the battlements* if you do not instantly retire from the siege of the city!"

4 But at this spectacle, the anger in Hyrkanos' breast gave way to pity and anxiety. And so, reflecting, that if he relaxed his efforts to capture the place, it would be showing greater kindness to those most dear to him by sparing their suffering, Hyrkanos' eagerness cooled.

5 However,⁸ his mother, unshaken by the torments which she received or the menace of death, stretched out her hands, and implored her boy, "Do not grow

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "For"

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "However"

⁶ Variant "sons out"

⁷ Variant "himself came near"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "But/Now"

¹ usually translated into English as "Saducees"

² literally "messaging"

³ literally "became the unconcealed Truphōn"

remiss on my account; instead, give way to your anger even more, and make every effort to take the place quickly, in order to get your enemy into your power and avenge those dearest to you.” **6** She also beseeched him, “Do not be moved by the outrageous-treatment which I am suffering to spare the wretch, since it is better for me to die in torment at the hands of Ptolemaios than to have immortality. For tormenting death will be more pleasant for me, if our enemy pays the penalty for the crimes and unrighteousness which he has done to our house.”

7 Now when Johanan Hyrkanos indeed took his mother’s unflinching courage to heart, and gave ear to her entreaties, he was seized with a powerful desire to capture the fortress immediately and was impelled to the assault. But when he saw her beaten and torn to pieces and mangled, his courage failed him and he grew feeble. And sympathizing with his mother’s sufferings in this way, he was overcome by his emotions.

8 But as the siege was being drawn out into length in this manner, the seventh year came around on which the Judeans were accustomed to rest as they do on every seventh day of the week. **9** And for this reason, Ptolemaios was relieved from the war on this year and was freed from the siege. Therefore, he killed¹ the mother and brothers of Johanan Hyrkanos. And once he had done this, he fled to Zénōn, surnamed *the Hollow*, who was then a tyrant of the city of Philadelphiea.

10 But Antiochos, being resentful and angry at the injuries which he had received from Simon, advanced with an army against Judah, indeed, in the fourth year of his reign, which was indeed the first year of the government of Hyrkanos, and the 162nd Olympiad. **11** And after ravaging the country, Antiochos sat down before Jerusalem and besieged Hyrkanos. Indeed, he shut Hyrkanos up in the city itself, which he encompassed with seven encampments. But at first, he accomplished nothing due to the strength of the walls and the valor of the besieged *Judeans*; and also, indeed, due to the lack of water (although they were relieved by a great downpour of rain which fell with the setting of the Pleiades).

12 Now on the north side of the wall, where the ground also happened to be level, he erected 100 towers, each three stories high, on which he mounted legions of soldiers. **13** And every day as he made an attack, he cut a double² ditch, which was both deep and broad, and walled off the inhabitants. But *the Judeans* contrived to make frequent sallies against the enemy; indeed, whenever they took *the enemy* off guard, they inflicted much damage on them; but if *the enemy* sensed them, they easily retired *into the city*.

14 Now when Hyrkanos discerned both the inconvenience of having such a great number of men *in the city* due to their rapid consumption of provisions, and that the work was being accomplished regardless of the number of hands, he indeed separated the useless ones, driving them out *of the city*. But he retained only those who were in the prime of life and fit for war. **15** Therefore, indeed, Antiochos, on his side, prevented those who were rejected from going out; and so, wandering about the walls between the lines, they were the first to be exhausted by their cruel sufferings and were on the point of perishing miserably. Yet, truly, when the Festival of Booths was at hand, those within the city took pity on them and readmitted them *into the city*.

16 Now Hyrkanos sent to Antiochos, and requested that a truce for seven days be granted on account of the festival. So Antiochos, deferring to his piety toward the Deity, granted the truce. And moreover, he sent a magnificent sacrifice, consisting of bulls with gilded horns and cups of gold, but also of silver, filled with all kinds of spices. **17** So, indeed, those who were at the gates received the sacrifice from the *men* who brought it, and took it to the holy-place. But in the meantime, Antiochos feasted his army—this conduct was quite different from Antiochos the Illustrious, who, when he had captured the city, sacrificed swine upon the altars, but also spattered the inner-sanctum with their grease, thereby perverting the laws of the Judeans and *the piety* of their fathers, causing the nation to be involved in a war against him, and to be irreconcilable. **18** However, this Antiochos, because of his surpassing-zeal about religion, was called *The Pious* by everyone.

19 Now Hyrkanos, being favorably impressed by his affability, and learning how religious he was about the Deity, sent elders to him, requesting that he withdraw this army and restore to *the Judeans* the civil-polity which they had received from their fathers.

20 Now Antiochos did not thrust *his letter* aside, indeed, he did not take note of those who advised him to extirpate this nation because of the separateness of their way of life. **21** But, being persuaded that they had acted with piety in everything, he answered the elders, “Indeed, these besieged *men* should hand over their weapons; and pay tribute to me for Japho, along with the other cities bordering on Judah; and also receive a garrison *of mine*.” It was on these terms that he would halt the war against them.

22 But indeed, *the Judeans*, although ready to accept the other terms, would not agree to receive the garrison, since they did not associate with other peoples because of their separateness. However, in place of a garrison, they were yet

willing to give him hostages and 500 talents of silver. **23** Now having no other resource, Hyrkanos opened the tomb of David, who surpassed all other kings in wealth, and took out of it about 3,000 talents. But he did not come upon the coffins of the kings themselves, for these had been artfully buried under the earth so that they could not be seen by anyone entering the tomb. **24** So 300 talents of this silver they sent at once, along with the hostages; one of these was even Hyrkanos’ own brother. Now the king accepted these, and pulled down the *walls* encompassing the city. **25** Therefore, on these conditions, Antiochos indeed broke up the siege and withdrew.

26 Now drawing on the surplus *which he had taken from David’s tomb*, he even became the first Judean *who had enough money* to maintain mercenary soldiers. But he also made a friendship and alliance with Antiochos; and admitting him into the city, he ambitiously³ supplied his army with whatever they needed.

27 And when Antiochos undertook an expedition against the Parthians, Hyrkanos set out with him. **28** Now after being victorious over Sindad,⁴ the Parthian general, and setting up a trophy at the Lukos River, Antiochos remained there two days at the request of Hyrkanos. For the Festival of the Fiftieth *Day* had come around, following the sabbaths. But on that day, the Judeans are not permitted to travel, either on the sabbath or on the festival.

29 But when Antiochos engaged Arshak the Parthian in battle, *Antiochos* both lost a great part of his army and was himself slain. Now after Arshak had released Antiochos’ brother Démétrios from captivity, at the same time that Antiochos had invaded Parthia, Démétrios succeeded to the kingdom of Syria.

CHAPTER 4 [Ant13:254-269 / War1:62-63]

But truly, Antiochos’ expedition against the Medes at least gave Hyrkanos an opportunity for revenge. For as soon as he was informed of the death of Antiochos, he immediately marched out and attacked the cities of Syria, hoping to find them, as it proved to be, empty of efficient fighting men and of any able to defend them. **2** Therefore, he indeed captured Medeba after six months, during which his army suffered great hardships. And next, he captured Samakh⁵ along with the neighboring places. But in addition to these, *he took* both Shechem and Gerizim, along with the race of the Cutheans, **3** who live near the temple built after the model of the inner-sanctum at Jerusalem, which Alexandros had permitted their general Sanballat to build for the sake of his father-in-law Manasseh, brother of the chief-priest Jaddua.

4 Now Hyrkanos also captured the other Edomite cities of Adoraim and Mareshah (which were not small). And after subduing all the Edomites, he permitted them to remain in their country only if they had themselves circumcised and were willing to observe the laws⁶ of the Judeans. **5** But since they were so attached to the land of their fathers, the Edomites even submitted to circumcision and to making their manner of life conform in all other respects to that of the Judeans. So from that time on, they have continued to be Judeans.

6 Now as the chief-priest Hyrkanos was desirous to renew the friendship with the Romans, he sent a body of elders to them. And when the senate had received his letter, they made a friendship with him in the following way:

7 Fannius, son of Marcus, general, convened the council on the eighth day before the Ides of February in the Comitium in the presence of Lucius Mannius, son of Lucius, of Mentina, and of Gaius Sempronius, son of Gaius, of Falema, to discuss the matters presented by the elders sent by the Judean people: Simon Dositheos, and Apollōnios Alexandros, and Diodōros Jason, who are worthy and excellent men.

8 These *men* also spoke about the friendship and alliance existing between their people and the Romans, and about *other* public affairs, such as their request to restore to them both Japho and its harbors, and Gezer and Pégai, and whatever other cities and countries Antiochos took from them in the war, contrary to the decree of the senate.

9 *They also requested* that the royal soldiers not be permitted to march through their country, as well as *the countries* subject to them; and that the laws made⁷ by Antiochos during this same war, contrary to the decree of the senate, be annulled; **10** also, that *the Romans* send elders both: to bring about the restitution of the places taken from *the Judeans* by Antiochos, who should estimate the value of the countries laid waste during the war; and also, that they would give the *Judean elders* documents to the kings and free populaces, in order to assure their safe return home.

11 It has therefore been decreed concerning these matters, that a friendship and alliance be renewed with these men, who are good and have been sent by a good and friendly populace.

³ literally “love-of-honorly”

⁴ [Ant] Parthian equivalent (for PFV “Sindates”, supported by Syncellos / others “Indad” (Gk “Indates”)

⁵ Hebrew emendation (Gk. “Samoga” // Gk Variant “Samega”

⁶ Variant “customs” or “ordinances”

⁷ Variant “the things attempted”

¹ [Ant] // [War] “he did away with”

² Variant omit “double”

12 Concerning the documents,¹ however, they answered, “The senate will take counsel about the matter when our own affairs present us leave. Also, we will endeavor to ensure that no similar unrighteousness might be done to you in the future. Also, the general Fannius shall give you money from the public treasury for your return home.”

13 Therefore, this was indeed how Fannius sent off the Judean elders, giving them both money from the public treasury, and a decree of the senate to the men who were to conduct them on their way and furnish them a safe return home. Therefore, these were indeed the circumstances concerning Hyrkanos the chief-priest.

14 But as for King Démétrios, who was eager to march against Hyrkanos, he found neither the time nor the opportunity for doing so while both the Syrians and his own soldiers were hostile toward him—for he was a scoundrel. So they sent elders to Ptolemaios, surnamed The Pot-bellied, asking him to send them someone from the race of Seleukos to take the kingdom. 15 Now Ptolemaios sent Alexandros, also called Zebina, with an army. Indeed, a battle took place between them, in which Démétrios was defeated, and he fled to his wife Kleopatra who was at Ptolemais. And his wife would not receive him. So he went from there to Zor, where he was captured and put to death after suffering severely at the hands of those who hated him. 16 Now Alexandros took the kingdom and made friends with the chief-priest Hyrkanos. Later, in a battle with Démétrios’ boy Antiochos, surnamed The Hook-nosed, he was defeated and utterly-destroyed.

CHAPTER 5 [Ant13:270-300 / War1:64-69]

But when Antiochos had taken the kingdom of Syria, he was indeed wary of advancing with his army upon Judah, because he had been informed that his brother on his mother’s side (he too was called Antiochos) was mustering a force against him out of Kuzikos. 2 Now he decided to remain in his own country, resolving to prepare himself to meet the expected incursion from his brother, who was indeed surnamed Kuzikénos (because he had been brought up in the city of Kuzikos). Now his father was Antiochos, surnamed the Savior, who had died in Parthia. But this Antiochos the Savior was a brother of the Hook-nosed’s father Démétrios. However, it so happened that Kleopatra had been married to the two brothers. 3 Now when Antiochos Kuzikénos came into Syria, he waged continuous war upon his brother for many years.

But during all this time, Hyrkanos lived in peace. 4 For even after the end of Antiochos from Side, he revolted from the Makedonians, and no longer furnished them any aid, either as a subject or as a friend. Instead, his affairs progressed and flourished greatly during the times of Alexandros the Zebina and especially under these brothers. For the war between them gave Hyrkanos the opportunity to exploit Judah undisturbed, with the result that he gathered a multitude of money.

5 However, when Antiochos Kuzikénos yet ravaged his land, he openly showed his intention. And seeing that Antiochos had been deserted by his Egyptian auxiliaries, and that both he and his brother were faring badly in their struggle with each other, he showed contempt for both of them.

6 And, indeed, Hyrkanos advanced with his army, going as far as Samaria, which was a very strong city (whose present name is Sebasté). But he made his attack against it, besieging it vigorously. For he hated the Samaritan scoundrels for the injuries they had done to the people of Mareshah (who were colonists and auxiliaries of the Judeans), and this, in compliance with the kings of Syria. 7 Therefore, he drew a trench around the city on all sides, and built a double wall eighty stadia long which encompassed the entire city. Then he entrusted the siege to his sons Aristoboulos and Antigonos, who pressed it so vigorously that a famine prevailed within the city to such an extreme that its inhabitants were indeed forced even to cook things which they were unused to eating. 8 But at the same time, the Samaritans summoned Antiochos Kuzikénos to come to their assistance. And he readily complied and came to their assistance.

9 Now on this very day, when Aristoboulos and Antigonos then fought with Kuzikénos, Hyrkanos, who was alone in the inner-sanctum, burning incense as chief-priest, the Deity brought accounts to him. For he heard a voice saying that his boys had presently been victorious over Antiochos. And on coming out of the inner-sanctum, he openly revealed this to the entire multitude. 10 And so it happened, Antiochos was defeated by Aristoboulos and Antigonos. But² indeed, being pursued by the brothers as far as Skythopolis (this is what the Hellenes call the city of Beth-Shan), he made his escape. But they returned back to Samaria, and once more shut up the multitude of Samaritans within the wall, so that they had to call upon this same Antiochos for aid a second time.

11 At this, Antiochos procured about 6,000 men from Ptolemaios the Chickpea, which were sent to him without his mother’s consent (she all but drove him from the kingdom when she heard of it). Indeed, with these Egyptians, Antiochos at first invaded and ravaged Hyrkanos’ country like a brigand; indeed, he dared not meet him face to face in a battle, for his force was not sufficient for

that purpose. But he supposed that by damaging the land he would compel Hyrkanos to break the siege of Samaria. 12 Now after losing his men by falling into ambushes, he went off to Tripolis, leaving Kallimandros and Epikratés to prosecute the war against the Judeans.

13 Therefore, Kallimandros indeed waged war too audaciously, and was routed and utterly-destroyed on the spot. But as for Epikratés, he was such a lover-of-money, that he openly betrayed both Skythopolis, and the other places near it, to the Judeans, but he was unable to bring the siege of Samaria to an end.

14 Therefore, after besieging the city for a year, Hyrkanos indeed took it. Instead, not even being content with doing that alone, he effaced it entirely, leaving it to be flooded by rain and melted snow; for he excavated so that the mountain-torrents³ fell differently, thereby removing the very marks that there had ever been a city there. He also reduced its inhabitants to utter-slavery. 15 But they did not allow the successes of their undertakings to cool their ardor; instead, they proceeded with their army to Skythopolis, both overrunning that district, and laying waste to the whole country south of Mount Carmel.

16 Now at this time, it was not only the Judeans in Jerusalem and in the country who were in a flourishing condition; instead, it was also those who lived in Alexandria and in Egypt and Kypros. 17 For Queen Kleopatra, who was at variance with her son Ptolemaios, surnamed the Chickpea, appointed as her leaders Hilkiah and Hananiah (they were both sons of the Honijah who had built the inner-sanctum in the district of Héliopolis which was similar to the one at Jerusalem). 18 For the majority of the Judeans, both those who had come back from exile, and those who had later been sent to Kypros by Kleopatra, had immediately revolted to Ptolemaios; but only the Judeans of the district named for Honijah had remained faithful to her, because Hilkiah and Hananiah were held in special favor by the queen. 19 Now Kleopatra entrusted her army to them, doing nothing without their approval.

20 But as for Johanan Hyrkanos, his prosperous fortunes, and the successes of he and his boys, moved the Judeans to envy them. Particularly troublesome to him were the Pharisees. But so great is their influence with the multitude, that even when they speak against a king or chief-priest, they immediately gain credence.

21 Now Hyrkanos was a disciple of theirs, and was greatly loved by them. And on one occasion, he invited them to a feast and entertained them affectionately. When he saw them having a very good time, he began to say to them, “You indeed know that I desire to be a righteous man; and that in everything I do, I try to please God, and you too.” (For Pharisees profess such beliefs.) 22 “And I truly request, if you observe me doing anything sinful, or straying from the right path, please lead me back to it, and correct me.”

But when they testified that he indeed had full excellence, he was delighted with their praise.

23 But one of the guests named Eleazar, who had an evil nature, and who delighted in dissension, declared, “Since you have asked to be told the truth: now if you want to be righteous, give up the chief-priesthood, and be content with governing the people.”

24 But Hyrkanos asked him, “For what reason should I give up the chief-priesthood?”

Now he declared, “Because we have heard it from our elders that your mother was a captive in the reign of Antiochos the Illustrious.”

This account was false. And Hyrkanos was furious with the man, while all the Pharisees were also vehemently irritated at him.

25 Now there was a certain Jonathan,⁴ one of Hyrkanos’ close friends, who belonged to the Zadokim (whose opinions are quite opposed to those of the Pharisees). He said, “It was with the common approval of all the Pharisees that Eleazar spoke his revilements. And these things will be made clear to you, if you ask them what chastisement he deserves for his words.”

26 Now Hyrkanos asked the Pharisees, “What retributions do you think he deserves? For, I will only be convinced that⁵ the revilements were not made with your approval, if you fix a rightful-punishment deserving of his crime.”

They declared, “Eleazar deserves blows and chains.” For the Pharisees did not think it proper to sentence a man to death on account of railing; but even upon other occasions, they are naturally lenient in the matter of chastisements.

27 At this gentle sentence, Hyrkanos was provoked to anger, and began to believe that this man had reviled him with their approval. But it was this Jonathan in particular who stimulated him, and influenced him so far 28 so that he made him desert the Pharisees and join the sect of the Zadokim, and both to abolish the regulations which the Pharisees had established for the populace, and to chastise those who observed them.

29 Therefore, out of this grew the hatred of the multitude for him and his sons. Large numbers of them continued to gather together to oppose them and would not be at rest, until the smoldering flames burst out in open war and the rebels were defeated.

¹ Variant “matters”

² [Ant] // [War] “And”

³ Variant “by a mountain-torrent”

⁴ Variant “Johanan”

⁵ Variant “would test whether”

30 Now when Johanan Hyrkanos had put an end to this sedition, he lived the rest of his days in prosperity. And after administering the government beautifully for 31¹ full years, he came-to-his-end, leaving behind him five sons. He was truly a happy *individual* and one who left no occasion for complaint against fortune on his account. He was accounted by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges: the chief of the nation, and *the* honor of the chief-priesthood, and prophecy—31 for the Deity² was with him and conversed with him, enabling him to both know and foretell the future, so that he foresaw and predicted that his two oldest boys would not remain lords of the *state* affairs for long.

CHAPTER 6 [Ant13:301-319; 3:218 / War1:70-84]

Now after the end of their father Hyrkanos, the oldest son Aristoboulos saw fit to transform the government into a kingdom, which he judged to be the best form. For from the time the people were released from the Babelian slavery and had returned home to their country, he was the first to place a diadem *on his head*. 2 And about this time, because God was displeased with the transgressions of the laws, the breastplate of decision³ worn by the chief-priest, and sardonyx alike, ceased to shine.

3 Now the only one of his brothers whom he seemed to love was Antigonos, who was next to him *in age*; indeed, he considered him worthy of a position like his own. In this manner, he conferred upon him honors equal to his own, making him his associate in the kingdom. 4 But as for the rest of his brothers, he bound them in chains and cast them into prison. But he even imprisoned his mother, because she had disputed the government with him (for Johanan Hyrkanos had left her lady over everything). And he proceeded to such a degree of barbarity, as to even utterly-destroy her in prison by starvation.

5 Now certain evil courtiers contrived against Antigonos, spreading slanders about him to Aristoboulos. At first, Aristoboulos did not believe their reports regarding what was being said against him; indeed, he disregarded them, partly because he loved his brother, but mostly because he also believed that these reports were fabricated, being derived from the courtiers' envy.

6 But on one occasion, when the season of the Festival of Booths was at hand, Antigonos had gloriously returned from an expedition to celebrate the festival. It indeed happened that Aristoboulos fell ill. Now at the close of the festival, Antigonos, arrayed in great splendor, went up to the temple with his heavy-armed *soldiers* around him, to pray much for his brother's salvation.

7 Now at this very time, these wicked *men*, who were bent on disrupting the harmonious relation between the two brothers, made use of this opportunity, *namely*, both Antigonos' pompous appearance as well as the successes which he had achieved, as a pretext to go to the king. And they maliciously exaggerated the pomp of his appearance at the festival, and that of his military escort, 8 and how insolently Antigonos marched, *and they said to Aristoboulos*, "All these things are not in keeping with the behavior of a commoner; instead, his actions have the indications of someone who imagines himself to be a king. And Antigonos has also come with a band⁴ of heavy-armed *soldiers* with the intention of killing⁵ you. For his rationalization is that it is absurd for him to believe that he has won any great distinction by simply having a share in *this* honor, when he might as well be a king himself."

9 Now gradually by degrees, and reluctantly, Aristoboulos began to be persuaded to believe these charges and insinuations. And taking precautions at once to conceal his suspicions from his brother, and at the same time to secure himself against any risks, he stationed his bodyguards at intervals in an unlit subterranean-passage. For at the time, he was lying *sick* in the place which was formerly called 'the castle' (but afterwards its name was changed to Antōnia). And *Aristoboulos* ordered, "If Antigonos comes unarmed, you are indeed not to touch him, but let him pass. But if he approaches under arms, kill him." However, he even sent *instructions beforehand* asking for Antigonos to come to *him* unarmed.

10 But upon this occasion, the queen joined with the conspirators in a very crafty plot against Antigonos. For they persuaded the ones who were being sent, "Keep the king's orders to yourselves, *and* tell him the opposite *message*. Now tell Antigonos that his brother has been informed that, 'you have procured for yourself a suit of very fine armor and war equipment in Galilee. Indeed, my present illness has prevented me from paying *you* a visit to inspect each of them. But now that you are on the point of departure, I would be very pleased to see you in your armor.'"

11 Now there was nothing in Aristoboulos' disposition to arouse suspicions of foul play; instead, Antigonos was confident of his brother's goodwill toward him. So as soon as Antigonos heard this *message*, he went off wearing his full suit of armor as for a parade to show it to his brother. But when he reached Stratōn's

Tower, where the passage was exceedingly unlit and dark, he was killed⁶ by the bodyguards.⁷

12 Now there was a certain Judah; indeed, he was of the race of the Essenes, but his predictions had never once proved erroneous or false. For on this occasion, a no small number of his companions and acquaintances were seated beside him, who were together with him for the purpose of learning the skill of foretelling things to come. But when he saw Antigonos passing by the temple, he, being convinced that he had spoken falsely about Antigonos, shouted-out to them, declaring, 13 "O me! It would be better if I were to die, since truth has died before me, and one of my predictions has proven false! For over there Antigonos is alive,⁸ who should have been slain this day. But, indeed, the place predestined for his murder is Stratōn's Tower; and, indeed, that is 600 stadia from here; but it is already the fourth hour of the day. Now time makes it impossible for this oracle to be fulfilled!"

14 Now, therefore, having said this, the old man remained plunged in gloomy meditation. For the place where he had foretold that Antigonos would be murdered was some 600 stadia from where he now was, but the greater part of the day had already passed, so that he was in danger of proving this to be a false oracle. 15 And a little later, while he was saying this and lamenting, a message arrived *stating* that Antigonos had died in the subterranean place, which was also called Stratōn's Tower—it had the same name as Caesarea-by-the-Sea. Therefore, it was indeed this ambiguity which had confused the soothsayer.

16 But Aristoboulos was straightaway seized by a change-of-mind and a change-of-purpose for the murder of his brother, and it had the instant effect of aggravating his sickness. And his mind and his soul were so troubled with thoughts of the murder, that he grew worse and worse, until his very bowels were torn to pieces by the intolerable pain, and he vomited up a great quantity of blood. 17 As one of the boys who attended him was carrying this blood away, a demon caused him to slip and fall down at the very place where Antigonos had been slaughtered, spilling some of the murderer's blood on the *very* stains made by the blood of the one who had been killed *by him*, which still remained.

18 But an instantaneous cry arose from those who had seen this, as if the boy had spilled the blood there deliberately. But when King Aristoboulos had also heard the cry, and had inquired what its cause was, no one ventured to tell him. But he became still more determined to find out. 19 So under pressure of his threats and the constraint of fear, they told him the truth. And being so stricken in mind by his guilty consciousness, his eyes filled with many tears.

20 But groaning and wailing-aloud as deeply as his remaining power permitted, *Aristoboulos* spoke, "Therefore, I see that I was not destined to escape God's all-seeing eye in committing such impious and horrid crimes. Instead, swift rightful-punishment pursues me, and punishment has overtaken me for the murder of my kinsman. 21 How long, then, O most ruthless body, will you detain a soul that is sentenced to die in order to appease the demons⁹ of my brother and mother? 22 Why, instead of merely giving this up to them at one stroke, do I merely offer my blood drop by drop as a libation to those who have been so foully murdered? Let them take it in heaps, and let the demons cease to be mocked with these dribbling offerings from my entrails."

23 As soon as he had spoken these words, he died, having reigned no more than a year. Indeed, he had the title of 'Hellenes-Lover'; but he had conferred many benefits on his own fatherland, for he made war on the Itouraians and acquired a good part of their country for Judah. If any of the Itouraians desired to remain in their country, he compelled them to be circumcised and to live in accordance with the laws of the Judeans. 24 By nature he was kind, and was wholly given to modesty.

CHAPTER 7 [Ant13:320-347 / War1:85-86a]

Now after Aristoboulos had passed away, his wife Shelome¹⁰ (who is called Alexandra by the Hellenes), released his brothers from prison, for Aristoboulos had imprisoned them. And she appointed Jannai (also known as Alexandros) as king; he was *the best fit for this office, being* superior in age and having a more moderate temper than the others.

2 And this *child*, from the time he was born, was straightaway hated by his father Hyrkanos; and until the end of his father, he was never permitted to come into his sight. *For* of all his boys, Hyrkanos had loved his two eldest *ones* the best, Antigonos and Aristoboulos. 3 Once when God had appeared to him in his sleep, he had asked him, "Which of my boys is destined to be my successor?" And when God had shown *Alexandros'* countenance to him, *Hyrkanos* was grieved that this one would be heir of all his possessions. *So Hyrkanos* had permitted him to be brought up in Galilee from birth. 4 However, God had not

¹ [Ant] // [War] "33" (which is incorrect)

² [Ant] // [War] "Demon"

³ Traditional Hebrew Renders / Josephus, LXX "the oracle"

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "contingent"

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "of doing away with"

⁶ [Ant] // [War] "was done away with"

⁷ Deleted remark "Now this clearly demonstrates the tremendous power of envy and slander, and that there is nothing that more easily disrupts friendship and severs all ties of goodwill and natural affection than these influences, and how none of our good affections are strong enough to hold out perpetually against envy."

⁸ [Ant] some, [War] // [Ant] variant "present"

⁹ [War] // [Ant] "appease some demon"

¹⁰ Variant "Salina"

deceived Hyrkanos. But after the end of Aristoboulos, *Alexandros* certainly took over the kingdom.

5 Now when *Alexandros* came into power, he indeed put to death one of his brothers, who had aspirations to the kingdom. But he held the other brother in honor, who had preferred to live a private and quiet life without partaking in *state* affairs.

6 Now when *Alexandros* had established the government in a condition which he thought was more advantageous to himself, he marched against Ptolemais. But after defeating its humans in a battle, he shut them up in the city, and surrounding it, besieged it. For of all the cities on the coast, there remained only Ptolemais and Gaza to be subdued, as well as Stratōn's Tower and Dor, which were held by the tyrant Zōilos.

7 Now Antiochos the Mother-Lover and his brother Antiochos, surnamed Kuzikēnos, were waging war against each other and utterly-destroying their own forces; so they could not provide any assistance to the Ptolemeans. 8 Instead, while they were being hard pressed in the siege, Zōilos, who held Stratōn's Tower and Dor,¹ arrived with a contingent of soldiers which he maintained; and because he had ambitions to make it into a tyranny (since there was a contest for superiority between the two kings), he provided some slight assistance to the Ptolemeans. 9 For neither of the kings were so friendly to them that they could hope to receive any assistance from them. For both of them were in a position like wrestlers: whose strength is exhausted, and yet being ashamed to yield, continue to prolong the conflict by periods of inactivity and rest. 10 Now the only hope remaining was in the kings of Egypt and in Ptolemaios the Chickpea, who was now the chief of Kypros, and who had been driven from his realm to Kypros by his mother Kleopatra.

Therefore, the Ptolemeans sent to *this Ptolemaios the Chickpea*, begging him to come as an auxiliary and deliver them out of the hands of *Alexandros*, by whom they were endangered. 11 Now the elders led him to hope that, if he crossed over to Syria, he would have the Gazaeans on the *same* side as the Ptolemeans, as well as Zōilos. Yet, they told him further that the Zidonians and many others would join him. Elevated with *this hope*, he made haste to set sail.

12 Now meanwhile, the Ptolemeans had been persuaded to change their plans by Dēmainetos, who had acquired their confidence at that time and had influenced the populace. And he said, "It would be better for us to risk a contest with the Judeans, although the outcome is uncertain, than to accept open slavery by delivering ourselves up to an absolute master; and, in addition, to not only have a present war on our hands, *but* instead, to also have a much more serious one arising from Egypt. 13 For Kleopatra will not overlook Ptolemaios' attempt to furnish a force for himself from the neighboring cities; instead, she will come against us with a great army of her own. For she is also eager to drive her son out of Kypros. But indeed, if Ptolemaios becomes disappointed in his expectations, he can again find a refuge in Kypros, whereas we ourselves would be left in the greatest danger possible."

14 Therefore, although Ptolemaios indeed learned on the way that the Ptolemeans had changed their mind, he nevertheless continued his voyage. And landing at Shikmona, he disembarked his force on shore. 15 Now this army with him, both infantry and cavalry together, numbered about 30,000 in all. He led these to the vicinity of Ptolemais and encamped there. But when *the Ptolemeans* refused to receive his elders, or listen to his proposals, he was beset by great concern.

16 But both Zōilos and the Gazaeans came to him, and requested him to be an auxiliary (since their country was being ravaged by the Judeans and by *Alexandros*). Indeed, *Alexandros*, in fear of Ptolemaios, raised the siege. But when *Alexandros* had brought his army back home, he resorted to a stratagem. Indeed, he secretly sent for Kleopatra to attack Ptolemaios, while he publicly pretended to propose a friendship and alliance with him. 17 But he also promised to give him 400 talents of silver, asking him in return to put the tyrant Zōilos out of the way and to assign his country to the Judeans.

Therefore, indeed, at that time, Ptolemaios gladly formed a friendship with *Alexandros*, and subdued Zōilos. 18 But later, when he was informed that *Alexandros* had secretly sent to his mother Kleopatra, he broke the agreements he had made with him on oath, and assaulted him. And because Ptolemais refused to receive him, he besieged it. But he left his generals and a part of his army to carry on the siege, and he immediately set out with a part of his force to subdue Judah.

19 But when *Alexandros* learned of Ptolemaios' intention, he also gathered together an army, consisting of about 50,000 (or 80,000 as some writers state). And taking this force, he went out to meet Ptolemaios. But Ptolemaios suddenly fell upon the Galilean city of Shikhin. And taking it by force on a sabbath, he captured about 10,000 bodies and a great deal of other plunder.

20 Now Ptolemaios also made an attempt on Tzippori (a city not far from Shikhin), but lost many of his men. Yet, he went on to fight *Alexandros*. But *Alexandros* met him in the vicinity of the Jordan River, at a place called Saphoth (not far from the Jordan River), and pitched his encampment close to his foes. 21

However, he had 8,000 fighters in the front-line (whom he called 'hundred-fighters'), who carried oblong-shields covered with bronze. Now Ptolemaios' front-line fighters also had round-shields covered with bronze. However, Ptolemaios' soldiers were still inferior to those of *Alexandros* in other respects: for they were more cautious about the danger of meeting *in battle*. 22 However, the tactician Philostephanos instilled them with great courage, directing them to cross the river, which was between both encampments.

23 Now *Alexandros* decided not to hinder their crossing, for he thought that he would take *the enemy* more easily if the river was behind them preventing their flight. 24 Therefore, indeed, in the beginning of the battle, both sides equally performed deeds through their hands and their eagernesses, and a great murder was made by both armies. But as *Alexandros* was gaining the upper hand, Philostephanos divided his force, and skillfully came to the relief of those who were losing ground. 25 But there was no one to assist the part of the Judeans which was falling back; indeed, they were forced to flee. *Even* those near them did not assist them; instead, they joined in their flight.

26 But Ptolemaios' soldiers acted otherwise. For they followed the Judeans and killed them, until finally, when they were completely routed, *Ptolemaios' soldiers* tracked them down to murder them until their iron weapons became blunted from killing, and their hands were quite weary. 27 It was reported that 30,000 men (or 50,000 as Timagenus says), died. But as for the rest, some were indeed taken captive, while others escaped to their own countries.

28 Now after this victory, Ptolemaios overran² other countries. When evening fell, he halted in some villages of Judah, which he found full of women and infants. He directed his soldiers to cut their throats and to cut them in pieces; then to cast the limbs into boiling cauldrons in order to begin a sacrifice. 29 Now this order was given, so that those who had fled from the battle and had returned to their homes, might presume that their foes were cannibals, and so might be even more struck with terror by such a sight. 30 But Ptolemaios' men also took Ptolemais by force.

CHAPTER 8 [Ant13:348-371 / War1:86b-87]

Now Kleopatra saw her son growing in power and that he was both ravaging Judah with impunity, and holding the city of Gaza subject to him. So she decided not to remain idle any longer, while he, having grown greater, was almost at her gates and coveted the dominion over the Egyptians. 2 Instead, she immediately marched out against him with a naval and land force, appointing the Judeans Hilkiah and Hananiah as leaders of her entire army. But at the same time, she sent the greatest part of her wealth, along with her grandsons and her will, to the Kosians for safekeeping. 3 Now she directed her son *Alexandros* to sail toward Phoinikē³ with a great fleet, while she herself came to Ptolemais with her entire force. But when the Ptolemeans refused to receive her, she besieged the city.

4 Now Ptolemaios, presuming that he would find Egypt left without an army, immediately left Syria and hastened there to take possession of the country. Instead, his hope failed him. At this time, one of Kleopatra's two leaders, Hilkiah, died in Coelesyria while in pursuit of Ptolemaios.

5 Now when Kleopatra was informed of her son's attempt, and learned that his Egyptian expedition had not succeeded as he had expected, she sent a portion of her army against him, driving him out of the country. And, indeed, he left Egypt once more, spending the winter at Gaza.

6 Now meanwhile, Kleopatra besieged the garrison in Ptolemais, taking it, as well as the city itself. But *Alexandros Jannai* came to her,⁴ bringing gifts and such marks of service as were to be expected; indeed, due to the harsh treatment which he had suffered at the hands of Ptolemaios, he had had no other refuge but her.

Indeed, some of her friends counseled her to take these things, and, at the same time, to invade his country and occupy it, and not to allow such a multitude of resources to belong to one man, who was a Judean.⁵

7 But Hananiah gave the opposite counsel, saying, "You would be committing an unrighteous-act if you were to deprive a human who is an ally of his own authority, and especially one who is our kinsman. For I will let you know, that an unrighteous-act done to *this man* will make all of us Judeans your enemies."

8 Now Hananiah's exhortation persuaded Kleopatra not to do anything unrighteous to *Alexandros*. Instead, she made an alliance with him at Skythopolis in Coelesyria.

9 Now that *Alexandros* was delivered from his fear of Ptolemaios, he indeed immediately advanced with his army against Coelesyria. Now after besieging the city for ten months, he took Gader. But he also took Hamath, which was indeed the greatest of all the fortifications beyond the Jordan; but this is where Theodōros son of Zēnōn kept his most beautiful and valuable and honorable possessions. 10 However, Theodōros immediately came upon the Judeans and fell unexpectedly upon them, killing 10,000 of the Judeans. But he also plundered *Alexandros'* baggage, and recaptured his own possessions.

² Variant "seized"

³ Variant "sail if flight should take place"

⁴ Variant "got round her"

⁵ Emendation / Manuscript "such an abundance of good Judeans to belong to one man"

¹ Variant omit "and Dor"

11 Therefore, indeed, these misfortunes did not astonish Alexandros. Instead, he recovered from this blow, and turned toward the coastal cities of Raphiah and Anthédōn (its name was later changed to Agrippias¹ by King Hérōdés), and even took this *country* by force.

12 Now *Alexandros* was angry with the Gazaeans for having summoned Ptolemaios to their assistance. So when he saw that Ptolemaios had withdrawn from Gaza to Kypros, while his mother Kleopatra *had gone* to Egypt, he besieged their city and plundered their country.

13 But Apollodotos, the general of the Gazaeen army, fell upon the Judean encampment by night with 2,000 mercenaries and 10,000 slaves.² Indeed, while the night lasted, the Gazaeans were victorious, because they had made their foes believe that it was Ptolemaios who had attacked them. But when day came, and this belief proved false, the Judeans learned the truth of the matter. So they reformed their ranks and attacked the Gazaeans, killing about 1,000³ of them.

14 But the Gazaeans held their ground and did not yield, either through lack of supplies or because of the multitude who were done away with (for they were ready to suffer any fate rather than fall into the hands of their foes). But their courage⁴ was heightened by the expectation that Harthah, king of the Arabians, would come as an auxiliary as he had promised.⁵ 15 Instead, before he arrived, Apollodotos was utterly-destroyed. For his brother Lusimachos, who was envious of his prestige which he had gained among the citizens, killed him; and he united the army and delivered up the city to Alexandros.

16 Now, indeed, when he entered, *Alexandros* straightaway acted peacefully, but afterward he loosed his force upon the Gazaeans, letting *his men* avenge themselves on them. Now they went off, some in one direction and others in another, killing the Gazaeans. But these *Gazaeans* did not have cowardly souls, instead, they also defended themselves against *the Judeans* with whatever weapons they could find, thereby utterly-destroying the same amount of Judeans as they themselves *had lost*. 17 But some of them, once deserted, set fire to their own houses in order that nothing might remain for their foes to take as spoil. But others even *killed* their own children and women with their own hands, having no other way than this to deliver themselves from being forced into slavery by their enemies. 18 But the councilors, who were 500 in all, took refuge in the temple of Apollo (for the attack had come at the moment when they were sitting in congress). But Alexandros did away with them there. And having overthrown the city upon them, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year besieging the city.

18 Now about this same time, Antiochos, surnamed The Hook-nosed, indeed died at the age of forty-five, having been the victim of a plot formed against him by Hérakleōn; but he had reigned twenty-nine *years*. 19 Now his boy Seleukos succeeded him in the kingdom. Indeed, he waged war with his father's brother, Antiochos, surnamed Kuzikénos. But after being victorious over him, he also captured and killed him.

20 But not long afterward, Antiochos, the boy of Kuzikénos, who was called *the Pious*, came to Arvad and he placed the diadem on his own *head*. Then he waged war with Seleukos. And after defeating him, he drove him out of all of Syria. 21 But *Seleukos* fled to Kilikia, and then returned to Mopsouestia.⁶ There he tried to exact money from its inhabitants, but the populace of Mopsouestia were indignant at *his attempt*. So they set fire to his royal *palace* from underneath, and utterly-destroyed them together with his friends.

22 Now while Antiochos, the boy of Kuzikénos, was reigning over Syria, Antiochos, brother of Seleukos, made war on him, and was defeated, being utterly-destroyed with his army.

Now after *his death*, his brother Philippos put on the diadem and began to reign over a part of Syria. 23 But at this, Ptolemaios the Chickpea sent for his fourth⁷ brother, Démétrios, who was called *the Untimely*, from Knidos and made him king at Damasek. 24 Now these two brothers were vehemently opposed by Antiochos, but he soon died. For he had gone as an auxiliary to Queen Laodiké of the Samenians,⁸ who was waging war with the Parthians; he fell while fighting manfully. Now Syria was occupied by the two brothers Démétrios and Philippos.

CHAPTER 9 [Ant13:372-386 / War1:88-98]

Now as for Alexandros, his own people made a sedition against him. For at the celebration of a festival,⁹ the Judean nation was aroused against him. It was a law among the Judeans, that at the Festival of Booths, everyone holds rods made of palm-branches and citrons. So as he stood beside the altar and was about to sacrifice, they pelted him with citrons. But they railed at him, saying that he was

descended from captives, and, because of this, was unworthy of the honor and to sacrifice. 2 At this, he was angered.

And it appeared that the plot formed against him would prevail, but it was quelled when his foreign auxiliaries came to his aid. These were natives of Pisidia and Kilikia. (As for the Syrians, he did not admit them among his mercenaries on account of their innate hatred of the *Judean* nation, and because he was *now* at war with them.) 3 But he indeed killed about 6,000 of the insurgents. But he also threw up a wooden-barrier around the altar and the inner-sanctum as far as the cornice which the priests alone were permitted to enter; by this means, he obstructed the multitude from coming to him.

4 Now afterward, he attacked Arab. And he subdued the Arabian Moabites and Gileadites, and forced them to pay tribute. Then he returned to Hamath. But¹⁰ Theodōros, overawed by Alexandros' success, dared not collide with him *in battle*, but abandoned the fortress. So Alexandros' took Hamath and demolished it.

5 Now when *Alexandros* engaged in a battle with Obedath, king of the Arabians, the Arabian king had laid an ambushade near Garada,¹¹ a village of Golan,¹² in regions which were rough and difficult to *traverse*. And *Alexandros* fell into the trap and his entire army was pushed into a deep ravine by a multitude of camels. And crowded together, they were crushed under the camels. Now Alexandros lost his entire army, and he himself barely survived. But fleeing from there, he came to Jerusalem.

6 But the magnitude of his misfortunate disaster provoked the nation, which had long hated him, to insurrection, and they attacked him. But once again, he also made war on them and proved to be a match for them. And throughout successive battles for six years, he did away with no less than 50,000 Judeans. 7 Yet he had no reason to rejoice in his victories, since all he did was waste his own kingdom. Therefore, desisting from hostilities, he endeavored to conciliate his subjects by persuasion. Now he urged them to make an end of their hostility toward him.

8 But *Alexandros'* change-of-mind and inconsistency of character only caused their hatred for him to increase on account of what had already happened. But when he asked them what he ought to do to appease them, they all cried out, "To die yourself! For even death would hardly reconcile us to one guilty of your enormities!" But they also simultaneously sent an appeal to Démétrios the Untimely, asking him to come as an auxiliary.

9 Now hopes of great advantages procured from him a prompt response. Now Démétrios also arrived with his army, and the Judeans joined these auxiliaries in the vicinity of the city of Shechem, where he encamped. Now their combined forces indeed amounted to 3,000 cavalry and 14,000¹³ infantry. But Alexandros, indeed taking 1,000 cavalry, and 8,000¹⁴ mercenaries on foot, along with about 10,000¹⁵ Judeans of his party who were still loyal to him, went out to meet Démétrios.

10 And therefore, before they came to *hand-to-hand combat*, the two kings indeed endeavored to draw off each other's soldiers to themselves by proclamations. Indeed, Démétrios hoped to win over Alexandros' mercenaries by attempting to induce them to desertion because they were Hellenes, while Alexandros made the same appeal to the Judeans who were with Démétrios. 11 But since the Judeans would not be persuaded to abate their furies, nor the Hellenes put an end to their faithfulness, they instead engaged in a battle, clashing together with their weapons. 12 Now Démétrios prevailed in the battle, gaining the victory, while, indeed, all of Alexandros' mercenaries died, although they demonstrated their faithfulness and manliness, both in soul and hand. But a great number of Démétrios' soldiers were also *killed*.

13 But the outcome of this battle proved contrary to the expectations of both *combatants*. For Démétrios, who was the victor, found himself abandoned by those who had invited him; but Alexandros, who had taken refuge in the mountains, 6,000 Judeans gathered together to him; for *they*, because of his reverse of fortune, had been moved out of pity for him. 14 Démétrios was not able to bear this tipping of the scale. Instead, supposing that Alexandros was indeed once more his match, but also that the entire nation was streaming back to him, he withdrew in anxiety.

15 But when the *foreign* auxiliaries had withdrawn, the remaining multitude of Judeans truly still did not lay aside their quarrels with Alexandros, but they waged continuous war with *him* and were defeated, many¹⁶ of them being killed¹⁷ in the battles. 16 But he drove the most powerful of them in the city of Beth-Omi¹⁸ where he shut them up and besieged them. And after taking and subduing

¹ [Ant] // [War] "Agrippeion"

² Lat "citizens"

³ one "2,000"

⁴ Variant "zeal"

⁵ most add

⁶ This is the correct spelling/ Manuscript "Mopsesteis"

⁷ most / one "third"

⁸ others "Galieni" / others "Galilaeans" / others "Galaadenians" / others "Gamini"

⁹ [Ant] variant "of the festival" / Lat variant "of the Festival of Booths" // [War] "of a festival"

¹⁰ [War] // [Ant] "And"

¹¹ [Ant] others "Gader" (Gk "Gadara" / others "Charadra")

¹² [War] // [Ant] one "Iudanis" / most "Gileaditis"

¹³ [War] // [Ant] "40,000"

¹⁴ [War] // [Ant] "6,200"

¹⁵ [War] // [Ant] "20,000"

¹⁶ [Ant] // [War] ", the majority"

¹⁷ [War] // [Ant] "them died"

¹⁸ [Ant] // [War] "Beth-Mesullah" (NOTE: 'Omi' is Hebrew for 'shade' / 'Mesullah' is Hebrew for 'shady-place')

the city and getting these humans into his power, he carried them as prisoners to Jerusalem.

17 But his anger advanced to such an extravagant *height*, that his savagery extended to impiety, and he committed one of the most savage acts possible. For when he was feasting with his concubines in a conspicuous place, he ordered about 800 of the *Judeans* to be crucified in the middle of the city. And while they were still alive, he slaughtered both their children and their women before their eyes; and he himself looked on, drinking, and with his concubines reclining beside him. **18** This was indeed the revenge he took for the unrighteous *deeds* which they had done to him; but this punishment *which he decided* was right to exact was far from being humane. Therefore, instead, as a result of this unnecessary¹ excessive cruelty, he was nicknamed Thrakidas by the Judeans. **19** But such a great consternation seized the people that on the following night, the opposing faction, a multitude of about 8,000 in all, fled out of Judah. And they remained in exile as long as Alexandros lived, even until his death. And he, indeed finally being rid of the trouble they had caused him, with difficulty secured complete tranquility for the kingdom, and reigned the rest of his time without taking up weapons.

20 Now when Démétrios departed from Judah, he went to Beroia, besieging his brother Philippos, indeed with 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry. But Stratōn, the tyrant of Beroia who was allied with Philippos, summoned Aziz, the tribal-chief of the Arabians, and Mithredath the Sinakes, the subordinate-chief of the Parthians. **21** So they came with a large force and besieged Démétrios in his palisaded-camp. And under the pressure of both arrows and thirst, they compelled the men inside to surrender. But they carried off a large amount of that country's spoils. And taking Démétrios with them, they indeed sent him to Mithredath, who was then king of the Parthians. But the captives, who happened to be citizens of the Antiocheians, they restored to the Antiocheians without ransom. **22** Now Mithredath, the Parthian king, held Démétrios in great honor until Démétrios' life was ruined by a sickness. But straightaway after the battle, Philippos came to Antiocheia; and after seizing it, he reigned over Syria.

CHAPTER 10 [Ant13:387-404 / War1:99-106]

Now a fresh cause of disturbance arose in the person of Antiochos, surnamed Dionysos,² who was indeed the brother of Démétrios, but *one of the* last of the Seleukids. Aspiring to the government, he came to Damasek; and taking control of the *city* affairs, he became king. But when he set out on an expedition against the Arabians, his brother Philippos heard of it *and* marched on Damasek. **2** Now there, Milésios, who had been left to guard the citadel and the Damasekians themselves, delivered up the city to him.

Yet Philippos showed himself unthankful to *Milésios* and gave him none of the things which he had hoped for when he had admitted him; instead, he tried to make it seem as if he had taken the city by means of the fear he himself had inspired, *rather* than by the services of Milésios, whom he ought to have rewarded in exchange. So *Philippos* became an object of suspicions and was again driven out of Damasek. **3** For once when he had set out for the hippodrome, Milésios shut the gates on him and kept Damasek safe for Antiochos.

When *Antiochos* had heard about Philippos' experience, he returned from Arab, but straightaway advanced with his army, coming through³ Judah with 8,000 heavy-armed *infantry* and 800 cavalry. **4** While he was advancing with his army against the Arabians, Alexandros was anxious of an invasion by him. Indeed, he excavated a deep ditch,⁴ extending from the mountainside above Kefar-Saba, which is now called Antipatris, to the seacoast of Japho, *the only location* where a possibility for an attack lay. Now he erected a high wall in front of the ditch, and set up wooden towers with intermediate spaces between them for a distance of 150⁵ stadia, in order to bar the routes where an attack could be easily made. Then he awaited Antiochos' attack.

5 But *Alexandros* was truly still unable to restrain him. For Antiochos burned all the towers, and filled up the ditch, marching across with his force. But deferring his vengeance from *Alexandros*, *who was* the author of this obstruction, he straightaway marched on directly against the Arabians.

6 At first, the Arabian king Harthah retreated to the country which was more favorable for the battle. But wheeling his 10,000 cavalry around, he turned back and suddenly appeared. They fell upon Antiochos' party while they were in disorder; but Antiochos met them *and* a fierce battle ensued.

7 Indeed, as long as Antiochos was alive, his force battled fiercely, although the Arabians made a merciless murder among them. And at the moment he was gaining the victory, he, at the front, exposed himself to danger while coming to the aid of part of his army that was in distress;⁶ and he was killed. **8** But when Antiochos had fallen, everyone gave way, and the greatest part of his army was

utterly-destroyed either on the field or in the flight. But as for the rest, they fled to the village of Kanah, where all but a few were wasted and destroyed by dearth and famine, coming to their end.

9 Now after *Antiochos' death*, the Damasekians, out of the hatred which they bore toward Ptolemaios the Mennaiois, brought in Harthah to take the government, and made him king of Coelesyria. Now from there, this man advanced with his army against Judah, and was victorious over Alexandros in a battle near the place called Haditha. After making a treaty with him, he withdrew from Judah.

10 But Alexandros again marched on the city of Dion⁷ *and* captured it. And then, coveting the possessions of Zénōn,⁸ he advanced with his army against Gerasa,⁹ where the best part of the treasures were. Indeed, he blockaded the garrison by encompassing the place with a triple line of walls, but he took the city without a battle.¹⁰ Then he even set out to Golan and Seleukeia. **11** Now after taking and subduing these cities as well, he even took the place called the Ravine of Antiochos, and he captured the strong fortress of Gamala. But in consequences of numerous charges against its chief, Démétrios, *Alexandros* brought charges against him for these crimes and released him from office. **12** So after spending three full years in the expedition, he returned back to his own country of Judah, where the Judeans of the nation eagerly and cordially welcomed him because of his good-successes.

13 Now at this time, the Judeans were in possession of the following cities of Syria and Edom and Phoiniké:

Indeed, on the seacoast:

Stratōn's Tower, Apollōnia, Japho, Jabneh, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthédōn, Raphiah, Rhinocouroua.

14 Now in the interior, toward Edom:

Adoraim and Mareshah; and the whole of Edom, Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Skythopolis, Gader.¹¹

In Golan: Seleukeia, Gebal.

15 *In* Moab: Heshbon, Medeba, Lemba, Horonaim, Eglaim, Theniyeh, Zoar, the Valley of the Kilikians, Pehel (this last *city* was demolished by them because its inhabitants would not bear to exchange the customs of their fathers for those of the Judeans).

They also possessed others of the principal cities of Syria which had been subdued.

16 But after these things, while he was at rest from the war, the king, Alexandros, fell into a sickness from intoxication. So for three years he was afflicted with a quartan fever. And supposing that he would get rid of this illness by returning to *military* affairs, he refused to be absent from expeditions, but made them unseasonably. And forcing himself to undergo greater tasks than his strength was able to bear, he became greatly exhausted and quickly died. Accordingly, he came-to-his-end within the borders of the Geraseans while besieging Regev, a fortress beyond the Jordan.

17 But when his queen saw that he was on the point of coming-to-his-end and no longer held¹² any hopes of salvation, she wept and beat *her breast*, bitterly-lamenting the destitution which was about to befall both her and her boys. *And* she said to him, "To whom are you going to leave both me and your children like this? *We*, who are in need of help from others, especially when you know how hostile the nation feels toward you!"

18 But he presented her with the following counsel, "You indeed only need to follow my suggestions in order to keep the kingdom secure for yourself and your children. But conceal my death from the soldiers until you have captured the place. **19** Then return to Jerusalem as from a splendid victory, *and* hand over a certain amount of authority to the Pharisees; for if they praise you in return for this honor, they will favorably dispose the nation toward you.

"But these *men* have so much influence among the Judeans, that they are able to injure those whom they hate, but to also help those whom they are friendly toward. **20** For when they speak harshly of any person, even when done so out of envy, the entire multitude puts faith in them." Then he said, "Because I committed outrages against these *men*, I myself collided with the nation.

21 "Moreover," he said, "when you come to Jerusalem, indeed send for their soldiers, but show my body to them. With every sign of sincerity, permit them to treat me as they please, whether they wish to dishonor my corpse by leaving it unburied due to the many injuries which they have suffered at my hands, or *whether* in their anger they wish to offer my body any other form of indignity. But also promise them that, while you are the queen, you will not take any action without their consent.

¹ other "deliberate"

² other "Dionysios"

³ possible emendation / text "on"

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "ravine"

⁵ Variant (One manuscript) "60"

⁶ Variant (one manuscript) "was victorious"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "Pehel"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "Theodōros"

⁹ [War] // [Ant] "Essa"

¹⁰ [Ant] some // [Ant] variant "the city in a battle" / [War] "the place in a battle"

¹¹ [Ant] V, Lat (Hebrew / Gk "Gadara" / P (Hebrew "Adurium" / Gk "Adara" / others (Hebrew "Gezer" / Gk "Gazara")

¹² Variant "and did not hold"

22 “If you speak to them in this manner, I shall receive from them a more glorious burial than I would from you. For once they have the power to do so, they will not choose to maltreat my corpse; also, at the same time, you will govern in security.”

23 When he had given this exhortation to his wife, he came-to-his-end amid stress and turmoil at the age of forty-nine, after having reigned 27 years.

CHAPTER 11 [Ant13:405-426a, 427-429, 426b, 430-432 / War1:107-119]

Now Alexandros bequeathed the kingdom to his wife Alexandra, convinced that the Judeans would obey her more *than anyone else* in this way, because, due to falling far short of his brutality and by her opposition to his crimes, she had *already* won the goodwill of the populace. And he was not mistaken in these expectations.

2 For after Alexandra had taken the fortress, she conferred with the Pharisees as her husband had suggested. And by placing into their hands everything concerning both his corpse and the kingdom, she indeed pacified their anger against Alexandros, while making them well-disposed and friendly to him.

3 Now they in turn went to the multitude and made public-speeches in which they were describing Alexandros’ activities, and *told them* that they had lost a righteous king. And through their eulogies they moved the populace to mourn and lament so greatly, that they even gave him a more splendid burial than any of the kings before him.

4 However, Alexandros still left behind him two sons, Hyrkanos and Aristoboulos, but he bequeathed the kingdom to their mother Alexandra. Now of these boys, the eldest, Hyrkanos, was indeed totally incompetent to manage the *state* affairs, and in addition, he preferred a quiet life. But the younger, Aristoboulos, was both an active and an audacious man.

5 Therefore, this women was indeed loved by the multitude due to her apparent disapproval of the sins committed by her husband. And due to her public reputation for piety, she firmly held the government. For she was the very strictest observer of the laws of the fathers, and cast out of the government anyone who made any offenses against the consecrated laws.

6 Now she indeed appointed Hyrkanos as chief-priest, not only because of his age, but especially because of his disposition, which was too lethargic to be troubled about all *the* public-affairs. But because the younger, Aristoboulos, had a hot-temper, she confined him as a commoner.

7 Now as she grew, the Pharisees grew up beside her into her authority. These are a company of Judeans who seem to be excelling the others in being pious, and to interpret the laws more exactly. 8 Now Alexandra, being herself intensely excited about the Deity, listened to them to an extraordinary degree. But these men, little by little, took advantage of the ingenuous woman and finally became the real administrators of everything. And she permitted the Pharisees to do whatever they desired in all matters, and also directed the multitude to obey them. 9 But any of the regulations which the Pharisees had introduced according to the traditions of their fathers, and which had been abolished by her father-in-law Hyrkanos, she also restored again.

10 Therefore, she indeed had the title of the queen, but the Pharisees had the power. For example, they even both banished *men* and recalled fugitives; they freed prisoners, both loosing and binding whomever they pleased. But indeed, in general, they had the enjoyments of the kingdom, differing in absolutely nothing from masters, while its expenses and difficulties fell to Alexandra.

11 However, she was a clever woman in the administration of great *affairs*, having foresight for the kingdom. And, by continual recruiting, she gathered together a large force of mercenaries, and doubled her own army, and also procured no small body of foreign troops. The result was that she not only strengthened her own nation, but even became a fearsome *foe* to foreign potentates, striking terror into the neighboring tyrants, and took hostages of them.

12 Now throughout the entire country there was peace, with an exception of the Pharisees. Now she ruled the other *people*, but the Pharisees ruled her. For they worked upon the queen’s feelings, and tried to persuade her to kill those who had *previously* advised Alexandros to crucify¹ the 800 *men*. 13 Accordingly, they slaughtered² one of them, Diogneses, a distinguished man who had been a friend of Alexandros, whom they had brought charges against of having been the king’s counselor in these matters. 14 But also after him, they further urged Alexandra to lay hands on the rest of those who had instigated Alexandros to prosecute those men. But due to her motives, which were born out of a terror-of-demons, she always gave way, and they did away with whomever they wanted, *killing* one after another.

15 Now the most powerful and eminent *citizens* who were in danger sought refuge with Aristoboulos. So these *men* came into the royal *palace*, and Aristoboulos was with them. For he was obviously resentful of what was taking place, and let it plainly be seen that, if he had an opportunity, he would not leave his mother with any power at all.

16 So *these men* reminded *Queen Alexandra* of everything which they had achieved in the face of danger, by which they had demonstrated the firmness of their faithfulness toward their master, and, therefore, he had deemed them worthy of the greatest dignities. 17 And they begged her not to crush their hopes completely, “For after escaping the danger of war, we are now being struck at home by our enemies like fattened-animals, without anyone to avenge us.” They also said, “Indeed, if our opponents will be content with those who have already been done away with, we will patiently bear what has *already* taken place, out of genuine devotion to our masters. 18 But if, on the other hand, these men are allowed to continue in the same course, we beg you to at least set us free *from your service*. For we will never bring ourselves to seek any means of salvation except what comes from you; instead, we would welcome death in your royal *palace* as long as we might not have unfaithfulness on our conscience.

19 “For it would be disgraceful, both for ourselves and for you, who rule as queen, if we, being abandoned by you, should be given shelter by your husband’s enemies. For both Harthah the Arabian and the other monarchs would consider it of the utmost value to enlist such men *as ourselves* as mercenaries, whose very name, we might say, had caused these *princes* to shudder even before they had heard it.

20 “But if this cannot be *granted*, and you have determined to favor the Pharisees above all others, then we insist, as the next best thing, to station each of us in one of the fortresses. For if some evil demon is wroth with Alexandros’ house, we will yet show ourselves *faithful*, despite living in humble circumstances.”

21 Speaking in this way at great length, these men called upon Alexandros’ demon to take pity on those who had died, and upon those who were in danger. At this, all the bystanders burst into tears.

22 And Aristoboulos, in particular, manifested his sentiments by bitterly denouncing his mother. 23 “For instead, they themselves are indeed to blame for their own misfortunes, in allowing a woman to reign over them, who is madly ambitious to do so in her unreasonable love of power, while her offspring were in the prime of life.”

24 Now the queen was persuaded by Aristoboulos to spare the men in consideration of their dignity, *but he added*, “But if you are not satisfied of their innocence, expel them from the city.”

25 And she, not knowing what to do consistent with her dignity, entrusted the guarding of the places to them, with the exception of Hyrkania, and Alexandreion, and Machairous, where her most valuable possessions were. Therefore, indeed, once their security was guaranteed, they were dispersed throughout the country.

26 And not long afterward, she sent out her son Aristoboulos with an army to Damasek against Ptolemaios, who was called the Mennaios, who was a troublesome neighbor, but on the pretext that Ptolemaios was always causing the city to suffer tribulation. Instead, they³ indeed returned without having accomplished anything considerable.

27 Now about this time, a message arrived *stating* that Tigran, king of Armenia,⁴ had invaded Syria with an army of 300,000⁵ men and was coming against Judah. This naturally frightened the queen and the nation. So they sent many valuable gifts as well as elders to him while he was settled before Ptolemais, besieging Queen Selene, also called Kleopatra. 28 For this queen was, at that time, ruling over Syria; and she had induced the inhabitants to shut their gates against Tigran.

So the *Judean elders* met with him, asking him to grant favorable terms to the queen and her nation. And by means of treaties and gifts, *Alexandra* won over Tigran. 29 But in response, *Tigran* commended them for coming such a great distance to give homage to him, giving them reason to hope for the best. But as soon as Ptolemais had been captured, the news reached Tigran about Lucullus’ invasion into Armenia. 30 For Lucullus, who was in pursuit of Mithredath, had indeed failed to catch him, because he had fled to the Ibérians, but was now ravaging Armenia *and* besieging its cities. But when Tigran also learned of these domestic troubles, he withdrew *from the siege* to his own *homeland*.

31 Now some time after this, Queen Alexandra was stricken by a serious sickness. At this, her younger boy, Aristoboulos, seized his opportunity, and decided to make an attempt to seize the *state* affairs. But taking one of his servants, he slipped away by night *and* went to the fortresses where his father’s friends had been stationed. 32 For a long time, he had resented what his mother was doing; and now, he was especially fearful that on her death, their whole family might come under the rule of the Pharisees. For he saw the inability of his brother, who was destined to succeed to the government. 33 Now the only one conscious of his deed was his wife, whom he had left behind in the *city* with their offspring. And he first came to Hagab,⁶ where he found Palestés,⁷ one of the previously-mentioned powerful *men*, who welcomed him.

³ [Ant] some, [War] // [Ant] variant “he”

⁴ [Ant] variant omits “king of Armenia”

⁵ [Ant] variant “500,000”

⁶ [Ant] Hebrew equivalent / Gk, most Lat “Agaba” / other Lat “Gabatha” (which is Gibeah)

⁷ [Ant] some / others, Lat “Galaestes”

¹ [War] // [Ant] “to do away with”

² [Ant] // [War] “killed”

34 Now on the following day, the queen perceived that Aristoboulos had fled; and for some time, she believed that his departure was not for the purpose of beginning a revolt. However, successive messages arrived *stating* that he had captured the first place, and *after that* the second, and *after that* all of them; for once the first had begun, they all hastened to submit to his purpose. It was then that, finally, both the queen and the nation fell into the greatest disorders. 35 For they knew that Aristoboulos was not far from being able to seize the government for himself. What they were chiefly afraid of, was that he might inflict punishment upon them for the mad excesses which they had practiced on his house.

36 Now Aristoboulos received such large contributions from many sources, that there was already even an order of royal *attendants* around him. Now with the aid of his followers, a numerous body, all of them devoted to him due to his fiery-nature, he took possession of all of the fortifications. For in barely fifteen days, he occupied twenty-two powerful places. 37 And obtaining the resources he found in these, he recruited an army of mercenaries from Lebanon and Trachōn and the monarchs. For these humans readily submitted to him, being easily drawn to the stronger side. But at the same time, they believed that if they aided Aristoboulos, they could exploit his kingdom in the same manner as his close relatives,¹ due to the fact that it was by their means that he had conquered it. Then he proclaimed himself king.

38 Now the Judean elders and Hyrkanos went to the queen and begged her, “Take counsel with us about the present situation. For Aristoboulos, having occupied so many strongholds, is already lord of almost everything. But it is not our place, however seriously ill you might be, to make plans by ourselves while you remain alive. But yet, it will not be long before the danger is upon us.”

39 Hyrkanos’ complaints moved his mother’s compassion. Now she directed them to do whatever they thought expedient, *saying*, “There are many resources left for you, namely the nation in good-health, and the force of the army, and the money in the various treasuries. As for myself, I, indeed, am no longer greatly concerned about the *state* affairs, for there is *little strength* left remaining in my body.”

40 Therefore, she, along with them, decided to shut up both Aristoboulos’ wife and offspring² in Antōnia Fortress overlooking the temple. (Now this fortress, adjoining the north side of the temple, was formerly called ‘the castle’, but afterwards took this new name under Antonius’ supremacy, in the same way that the August-One and Agrippa gave their *own* names to the cities of Sebasté and Agrippias.)

41 But not long after Alexandra had said these things to them, she came-to-her-end before she was able to take action against Aristoboulos for his deposition of his brother. Now she came-to-her-end at the age of 73, after having reigned for nine years. She was a woman who showed no signs of the weakness of her gender, for she was clever to the greatest degree in her love of governing. By her deeds, she both demonstrated the ability to carry out her plans, and at the same time, she exposed the folly of those men who continually stumble when in power. 42 For she valued the present more than the future; and making everything else secondary to absolute chiefhood, she still had, on this account, no consideration for either what was decent or righteous.

43 Accordingly, matters turned out so unfortunate for her house, that the domination which she³ had acquired in the face of the greatest dangers and difficulties was not long afterward taken from it. This was due to her yearning for things unfit for a woman. Indeed, she expressed the same opinions as those who were hostile toward her family; but *also* because she left the government destitute of anyone to take care of it. 44 But even after her end, she caused the royal *palace* to be filled with misfortunes and disturbances which arose from the public measures taken during her lifetime. Truly, despite her method of governing, she had preserved the nation in peace and calmness. Therefore, this was indeed the end of the kingdom of Alexandra.

CHAPTER 12 [Ant14:1-28 / War1:120-126]

Now Hyrkanos indeed became heir to the kingdom⁴ (which his mother had entrusted to him even while she was alive), in the third year of the 177th Olympiad. At this time, the Roman consuls were Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus, who was surnamed Creticus.

2 But Aristoboulos, who was superior to him in power and mind, promptly declared war against him. And⁵ in the battle fought between them near Jericho to determine who would rule the entire kingdom, the majority of Hyrkanos’ soldiers deserted him and went over to his brother Aristoboulos.

3 But Hyrkanos, along with those who remained with him, hastily took refuge in the summit-city of Antōnia and took authority over the hostages *in order to*

procure his salvation. Now these were Aristoboulos’ wife and his boys⁶ who had been previously confined by his mother. Then he attacked and seized those *belonging to the* opposing faction who had taken refuge within the temple enclosures.

4 And before any irreparable harm was committed, Hyrkanos made a proposition to his brother that they *both* come to an agreement. He would end hostilities on the following terms: that Aristoboulos should indeed be king, but that he himself would resign, living *both* without meddling in public-affairs, and without anxiety in the enjoyment of the possessions he had acquired, as well as in all his other honors as the king’s brother.

5 The reconciliation on these terms took place in the temple. And after confirming their agreement by oaths and each giving *their* right hand to the other *in pledge*, and kindly embracing one another in the sight of the multitude while the people stood around them, they withdrew. Then they exchanged houses: For Aristoboulos indeed went to the royal *palace*, while Hyrkanos, who was now a commoner, retired to Aristoboulos’ house.

6 Now Aristoboulos’ unexpected triumph alarmed his adversaries. And one of these in particular was a certain friend of Hyrkanos, called Antipatros. Now he was an Edomite by birth; indeed, due both to his ancestry and great wealth, along with other advantages, he was one of the principal *men* of that nation. Now in his nature, he was an active and seditious man, who was at enmity with Aristoboulos and had quarreled with him due to his goodwill toward Hyrkanos. Therefore, he was a foe, having been bitterly-hated by Aristoboulos for a long time.

7 Accordingly, this Antipatros was originally called Antipas, which was also the name of his father, whom King Alexandros and his wife had appointed general of all of Edom. He made a friendship with the bordering Arabians and Gazites and Ashkelonites, completely winning them over by many and great gifts.

8 Therefore, this younger Antipatros looked upon Aristoboulos’ power with jealousy. And anxious that he might suffer harm due to his hatred of him, he stirred up the *most* powerful Judeans against him in secret conversations, saying to them, 9 “It is unrighteous to ignore the fact that Aristoboulos is unrighteously holding the government, and has indeed thrown his *own* brother out of it, although he is the eldest. But *now* he occupies it, *even* though it belongs to *Hyrkanos* by prerogative of birth.”

10 These were the rationalizations which he unceasingly addressed Hyrkanos with, adding, “You are risking your own life, unless you guard yourself by getting *Aristoboulos* out of your way. For Aristoboulos’ friends are losing no opportunity of counseling him to do away with *you*, Hyrkanos. This will result in *them* holding the government securely.”

11 But Hyrkanos put no faith in these accounts, since he had a gentle nature, and was one who did not readily listen to slander. But his refusal to meddle in public-affairs and his relaxed disposition made him seem to be ignoble and unmanly to those who observed him. But Aristoboulos was of the opposite nature, one who was active and had an alert mind.

12 Accordingly, when Antipatros saw that Hyrkanos did not pay any attention to his rationalizations, he did not let a day pass without bringing false charges against Aristoboulos before him, and to slander him by saying that he wanted to kill Hyrkanos. And so, by constant pressure, with an objective to recover the kingdom, he persuaded him to take his counsel and flee to Harthah, the Arabian king. For he promised, “If you will follow my advice, you too will be his auxiliary.”

13 Now when Hyrkanos heard that this would be to his advantage, he was ready to flee to Harthah for refuge. Now Arab shares borders with Judah. So Hyrkanos first sent Antipatros to the Arabian king in order to receive assurances from him, that if he came to him as a supplicant, Harthah would not deliver him up to his enemies.

14 So Antipatros urged Harthah both to receive *Hyrkanos* and to reinstate him in his government. Indeed, he slandered Aristoboulos’ character, but donned Hyrkanos with great commendations. And *Antipatros* represented how fitting it would be for the foremost *man* of such a brilliant kingdom to extend a protecting hand to one who had been unrighteously treated. “The one who has been unrighteously treated is Hyrkanos, who has been robbed of a government which is his by prerogative of birth.” 15 Now Antipatros received sworn assurances *from Harthah*.

So now that *Antipatros* had prepared both parties for action, he returned to Hyrkanos at Jerusalem. And not long afterward, he slipped out of the city by night, taking Hyrkanos with him. And after traveling on a long road in hasty flight, he came and brought him to the *capital city* of the Arabian kingdom, called Petra, where the royal *palace* of Harthah was. 16 There he committed Hyrkanos into the hands of Harthah.

Now being a good friend of the king, *Antipatros* indeed discoursed with him, entreating him to bring Hyrkanos back to Judah; and this continued every day

¹ [Ant] emendation / manuscripts “as those not expected”

² [Ant] // [War] “boys”

³ [Ant] (may also be translated “it” / variant “they”)

⁴ [Ant] some, [War] // [Ant] variant “became chief-priest”

⁵ [Ant] // [War] “But/Now”

⁶ [Ant] // [War] “children”

without intermission. But after offering him many gifts in addition, he was finally able to persuade Harthah to furnish him with a force in order to reinstate him.

17 Hyrkanos truly promised him, that if he were reinstated and received back his kingdom, he would both return to him the country and the twelve cities which his father Alexandros had taken from the Arabians. Now these were Medeba, Libb,¹ Nabaloth,² Ar-Rabbah,³ Eglaim,⁴ Theniyeh,⁵ Zoar, Horonaim,⁶ Gobolis,⁷ Arud,⁸ Haluzah,⁹ Orubda.¹⁰

18 On account of these promises made to him, Harthah advanced with his army against Aristoboulos. This army consisted of 50,000 cavalry and infantry as well.¹¹ And unable to resist them, Aristoboulos was instead defeated by him in the battle in the first engagement. But after the victory, many deserted to Hyrkanos. Aristoboulos, being left desolate, was driven to flee to Jerusalem.

19 Now at this, the Arabian king took his whole army and assaulted the temple, where he besieged Aristoboulos. And the populace supported Hyrkanos and joined him in the siege, while only the priests remained loyal to Aristoboulos. 20 Therefore, Harthah indeed pitched the encampments of the Arabians and Judeans¹² next to one another, and pressed the siege vigorously. But because this happened during the time of the celebration of the Festival of the Unleavened, which we call the Passover, the most approved of the Judeans left the country, fleeing into Egypt.

21 Now there was a man named Honijah, who, being righteous and God-loved, had once during a rainless period, prayed to God to end the drought, and God, hearing his prayers, sent a heavy-rain. 22 This man, when he had seen that the sedition continued to rage, hid himself. However, he was led up to the Judean encampment and was asked to place a curse on Aristoboulos and his fellow-rioters in the same way that he, by praying, had put an end to the lack of rain.

23 But despite his refusals and excuses, Honijah was compelled by the multitude to speak. Standing up in their midst, he said, 24 "O God, the king of everything, since these men standing beside me are your populace, and those who are besieged are also your priests, I beseech you not to listen to them when they plead against these men, nor to bring to pass what these men ask you to do to those others." And, indeed, after he prayed in this manner, the wicked men among the Judeans who stood around him stoned him to death.

25 But God immediately punished them for this savagery, and brought a rightful-punishment upon them for the murder of Honijah in the following manner: While the priests and Aristoboulos were being besieged, the festival called the Passover arrived, at which it is our custom to offer numerous sacrifices to God. 26 But since Aristoboulos' party lacked victims, they asked their fellow-tribesmen to furnish these for them, and to take as much money in exchange for the victims as they desired. But when they wished for them to pay 1,000 drachmas for each head of livestock they desired, both Aristoboulos and the priests willingly accepted this price and gave them the money, which they let down from the walls by a rope.

27 Their kinsmen, after having received the money, did not deliver the victims; instead, went to such lengths of wickedness that they broke their pledges and acted impiously toward God by not furnishing the sacrifices to those who were in need of them.

28 But when the priests found that they had been cheated and their agreements broken, they prayed to God to bring a rightful-punishment upon their fellow-tribesmen. And he did not delay throwing retribution upon them; instead, he sent a mighty and violent spirit to utterly-destroy the fruits of the entire country, so that at that time, one had to pay 11 drachmas for a modius of grain.

CHAPTER 13 [Ant14:29-53 / War1:127-138a]

Meanwhile, while Pompeius the Great was in Armenia still making war on Tigran, Pompeius indeed also¹³ sent the Roman general Scaurus into Syria from Armenia. But when Scaurus came to Damasek, he found that Lollius and indeed¹⁴ Metellus had recently taken the city; so he superseded those leaders. After hearing how the affairs in Judah stood, he hastened there to snatch the opportunity as if it was plunder.

2 Now, accordingly, as soon as he arrived in the country of Judah, elders came to him from both of the brothers, Aristoboulos and Hyrkanos, each one imploring him to come to his own assistance. Now Aristoboulos offered to give

him 400¹⁵ talents, but Hyrkanos no less. But the talents offered by Aristoboulos outweighed the righteousness of the cause; so he accepted his promise. 3 For Aristoboulos was also wealthy and magnanimous and asked for more moderate terms, while Hyrkanos was poor and tenacious and held out untrustworthy professed-things for great concessions. For it was not as easy to take a city by force which was among the most strongly fortified and powerful, as it was to drive out some fugitives together with the multitude of Nabateans, who were not well-fitted for a war.

4 Moreover, once Scaurus had sided with Aristoboulos and obtained his money, he dispatched a herald to both Hyrkanos and the Arabians, telling them to release the siege by directing Harthah to withdraw; and if they did not release the siege, that they would be declared a foe of the Romans, and would be threatened with a visitation from the Romans and Pompeius. 5 But Harthah was struck with terror, and retired from Judah to Philadelpheia. Now if Scaurus had not intervened at this critical moment, Aristoboulos would have been hastily captured.

6 So Scaurus indeed returned back to Damasek. But, Aristoboulos, not content with merely having escaped capture, mustered all his forces for a pursuit, and advanced with this great army against both of his foes: Harthah and Hyrkanos. And on engaging them around a place called Papyron, he was victorious over them in the battle and killed about 6,000 of his foes. Also among the fallen was Phallion,¹⁶ the brother of Antipatros.

7 But not long afterward, Pompeius came to Damasek and was advancing into Coelesyria. At this time, elders from all of Syria and Egypt and from out Judah came to him. Now for example, from Egypt, a body of elders even came along with a crown worth 4,000 pieces of gold. 8 Aristoboulos sent him a fine gift from out of Judah, which was a golden grapevine, or an orchard ('delight' is what this work of art was called) worth 500 talents. 9 However, it was set up in the temple of Zeus Capitolinus at Roma, and had an inscription of Aristoboulos son of Alexandros,¹⁷ the king of the Judeans.

10 But not long afterward, elders came to Pompeius again. Indeed, the first was Antipatros, on behalf of Hyrkanos; for deprived of their Arabian allies, Hyrkanos and Antipatros had turned their hopes to the opposite party and had fled to Pompeius for assistance. But the latter was Nikodemos,¹⁸ who was sent on behalf of Aristoboulos. Indeed, this man also accused Gabinius and Scaurus, of taking money from him; indeed, Gabinius first, for having taken 300 talents; but later, Scaurus for taking 400 talents. So Aristoboulos made these men his enemies in addition to the others which he already had.

11 Now when Pompeius directed the disputants to come to him¹⁹ at the beginning of the spring, he took his force from their winter quarters, and set out for the Damasekians. 12 And on the way, he both demolished the citadel at Apameia, which Antiochos Kuzikénos had built, and took full-view the country of Ptolemaios the Mennaiois, a man no less wicked than Dionysios of the Tri-cities, who was a relative of his by marriage, and was beheaded with an axe. However, Ptolemaios bought off punishment for his sins by paying 1,000 talents, with which Pompeius paid his soldiers' wages.

13 Now he also destroyed the place of Lusias, of which Silas the Judean was a tyrant. But after passing the cities of Héliopolis and Chalkis, he crossed the mountain which divides Coelesyria from the rest of Syria,²⁰ and came to Damasek.

14 And here he heard the case of the Judeans and both of their leaders, Hyrkanos and Aristoboulos, who were quarreling with one another. Also the Judean nation itself was against both of them. Indeed, they asked that they no longer be ruled over by a king, saying, "For it is the custom of our fathers to obey the priests of the God who is honored by us. But these two, who are descended from the priests, are seeking to change our form of government in order that we might even become a nation of slaves."

15 And coming without any bribes,²¹ Hyrkanos and Antipatros resorted to the same pleas which they had used with Harthah, and implored him to show his detestation of Aristoboulos' violence. Now Hyrkanos accused him, saying, "Although I am the eldest brother, I have been deprived of my prerogative of birth by Aristoboulos. And I have but a small part of the country under my rule, while Aristoboulos has the rest, which he has taken away from me by force. Now I implore you to have the kingdom restored to the man whose character and seniority entitle him to it." 16 He also slandered him with the charge of being the instigator of the incursions against neighboring peoples and the acts of piracy in the sea. And he added, "The nation would not have rebelled against him, had he not been a man given to violence and disorder."

Now the things which he spoke were advocated by more than 1,000 of the most approved Judeans, whom Antipatros had prepared for that very purpose.

¹ [Ant] Hebrew equivalent (P "Libba" / F "Libbanthra" / LAMVW "Libias")

² [Ant] P / FLAMVW "Nabaloth" / possible emendation "Dabaloth"

³ [Ant] Hebrew equivalent (Gk "Arabatha" / F "Rabatha" (similar to LXX "Rabbath" for MT "Rabbah" / L "Barbatha" / AMW "Tharabbath" / V "Tharabasa")

⁴ [Ant] Hebrew equivalent (Gk "Agalla" / P "Galan")

⁵ [Ant] Hebrew equivalent (Gk "Thone" / others "Athone" [F has "Galanthon" for "Eglaim Theniyeh"])

⁶ [Ant] Hebrew equivalent / P defective / F "Horonai" / L, others "Horon"

⁷ [Ant] F / P "Gobasilis" / L "Ligmon" / others "Ligmw(n)"

⁸ [Ant] Hebrew equivalent (Gk Emendation "Arudda" / PF "Sarudda" / L "Rudda" / others "Maresha")

⁹ [Ant] Hebrew equivalent (Gk "Alusa" / LAW "Lusa" / V "Lussa" / M omits altogether)

¹⁰ [Ant] LAMVW "Oruba"

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] "50,000, both cavalry and infantry"

¹² [Ant] P "Edomites"

¹³ [Ant] P / most add

¹⁴ [Ant] P / others add

¹⁵ [Ant] // [War] "300"

¹⁶ [Ant] some, [War] // [Ant] variant "Cephalion"

¹⁷ [Ant] variant "Aristobulus" / Lat "Aristobulus son of Alexandrus"

¹⁸ [Ant] Lat "Nikomédés"

¹⁹ [Ant] Lat "Damasek"

²⁰ [Ant] variant "Pehel" (in error)

²¹ [War] Lat "and, with bribes"

17 But truly, neither was Aristoboulos lacking in his case. Indeed, he blamed Hyrkanos' deprivation of the government on his own character, which was ineffectual, and on that account, invited contempt. But for himself, he said, "I was necessitated to take the government out of fear¹ that it might pass into the hands of others. But my title is even exactly the same as that of *my* father Alexandros."

18 Now although he relied on the fact that Scourus had been open to bribery, he also appeared, ornamented in the most royal style imaginable. And for testifiers to his statements, he summoned some *individuals* who were young and haughty, who offensively displayed their purple garments, and their fine hair, and their metal-bosses, and their other ornamentation, which they wore as if they were marching in a pompous procession instead of pleading their cause in a court-of-justice.

19 Now when Pompeius had heard these claims, he condemned Aristoboulos for his violence. Then he indeed dismissed the claimants with a courteous speech, saying, "Now I will settle all these matters *satisfactorily*² when I come to your country, after I have first seen how the affairs are with the Nabateans. But in the meantime, I direct all of you to keep your peace."

At the same time, he did service to Aristoboulos, lest he might direct the country to revolt and block his passage through it. 20 However, this was exactly what Aristoboulos did. For he, feeling it beneath his dignity to play the courtier, and scorning to further his ends by becoming enslaved, which would humiliate his magnificence, decided not to wait for any of the things to be done which Pompeius had promised him. So he came to the city of Delion;³ and from there, set out for Judah.

21 But Pompeius was angered at this behavior, and he yielded to the urgent entreaties of Hyrkanos' party. So taking with him the Roman legions⁴ which he had prepared against the Nabateans, and both a large *force* of allied-troops from Damasek, and auxiliaries from the other regions of Syria, he advanced with his army against Aristoboulos.

22 Now after passing through Pehel and Skythopolis, he came to Corea, which is the beginning of the country of Judah as one passes into it through the inland. There he heard that Aristoboulos had taken refuge in Alexandreion. Now this is one of the most beautiful and magnificently equipped fortifications⁵ and which is situated on the summit of a high mountain. And Pompeius sent to him, directing him to come down to him.

23 Now at this imperious summons, Aristoboulos was inclined to brave the danger than to obey. But he saw that the multitude dreaded *this*, and his friends urged him to consider the irresistible power of the Romans. Complying with the persuasions of many of his men who urged him not to make war on the Romans, he came down to Pompeius.

24 And after arguing with his brother about his right to the government, and making a long defense in support of his rightful claims about this, he returned up to the fortification, *that is*, the summit-city, with Pompeius' consent. 25 But when his brother invited him *again*, he descended and discussed the rightfulness of his case, and then withdrew unimpeded by Pompeius.

26 And torn between hope and anxiety, he did this a total of two or three times, indeed, flattering himself with a hope that he would obtain the kingdom from Pompeius. So when he came down, he feigned obedience to everything Pompeius directed, indeed, importuning him to deliver everything to him. 27 But at the same time, he retired to the fortification on the summit in order not to give the appearance that he was debasing himself too low, and to prepare supplies for himself for making war, as he was anxious that Pompeius might transfer the government to Hyrkanos.

28 However, Pompeius directed him to deliver up his fortifications. And knowing that the fortress-chiefs had transmitted-messages to obey only commissions sent to them in Aristoboulos' own hand, Pompeius insisted that he write each of them a letter to retire. Indeed, Aristoboulos did what was required of him; but indignantly and resentfully he withdrew to Jerusalem and prepared for war with Pompeius.

29 But Pompeius (for he did not allow him any time to prepare) straightaway followed him. And there was a further stimulus for his haste. For on the way, men from the Pontos arrived with a message regarding the death of Mithredath who had come to his end at the hands of his boy Parnakka. This information reached him near Jericho.

CHAPTER 14 [Ant14:54-79 / War1:138b-158]

Now the soil of Jericho is the most fertile in Judah, and produces an abundance of palm trees, and balsam (that most excellent of ointments) which are cultivated by its inhabitants. The stems of the balsam tree are cut with sharp stones, and the juice is collected at the incisions, where it oozes down like someone weeping.

¹ [Ant] Lat "not so much out of desire to reign as for fear"

² [Ant] LAMW adds

³ [Ant]// [War] "Dion"

⁴ [Ant]// [War] "force"

⁵ [Ant]// [War] "fortress"

2 Now Pompeius encamped near Jericho for a single night; and at daybreak, he advanced in haste for Jerusalem. But struck with terror at his approach, Aristoboulos changed his mind and ceased from his plan, and went as a suppliant to meet Pompeius. And promising to give him money, and that he would admit him into Jerusalem, and promising the surrender of both himself and the city, he begged him to stop the war and do as he liked peaceably. Now this entreaty pacified Pompeius' provocation, and he pardoned him.

3 So Gabinius was sent along with some soldiers to both receive the promised money and take over the city. Truly, none of Aristoboulos' conditions were fulfilled. For Aristoboulos' soldiers did not permit the agreement to be carried out, nor even to admit him into the city. So Gabinius returned after both being shut out of the city and failing to receive the money.

4 But angered and indignant at this treatment, Pompeius arrested Aristoboulos and indeed put him under guard. Now when he advanced to the city, he carefully considered the best method of assault. Indeed, the city was strongly fortified on all sides except for the north, where it was inefficient. He noted the solidity of the walls and how hard it would be to attack them. For the ravine in front of the walls, which was both broad and deep, was fearsome; and the temple within the ravine was also so strongly enwalled with a stone enclosure, that even if the town was taken, the temple would be a second place of refuge for his foes.

5 Now during his long period of indecision, a sedition broke out among the humans within the city, for they were not of one mind concerning their present situation. Instead, those of Hyrkanos' party indeed thought it best to open the gates and deliver the city to Pompeius. But indeed Aristoboulos' party, insisting both on waging war and rescuing their king who was held prisoner by Pompeius, urged them to shut the gates.

6 Now the spectacle of the perfect-order of the Romans inspired anxiety, which increased the numbers of Hyrkanos' party. Now Aristoboulos' party, finding themselves beaten, made their first move and retired into the temple; and cutting down the bridge which stretches from it to the city, they prepared to endure a siege to the end.

7 But those of the other faction admitted Pompeius' Roman army into the city and delivered up both the city and the royal palace to him. Now Pompeius indeed sent Piso, one of his subordinate-generals,⁶ with an army to occupy it. This general distributed garrisons both around the city and in the royal palace in order to secure them. He also fortified the houses adjoining the temple and the places surrounding the exterior of the temple. 8 And indeed, his first step was to offer reconciliatory terms to those within. But when none of the temple refugees complied with his induced proposals, he prepared the surrounding places for an assault by enwalling them all around. In this work, Hyrkanos' party eagerly assisted him in every way with both their advice and their services.

9 Now at dawn,⁷ Pompeius encamped on the north side of the temple, where it was easily open to attack. But even here great towers had been raised, and a ditch had been excavated, and the temple was surrounded by a deep ravine. For even after the bridge was ruined, there was a steep slope on the side toward the city. Now at this spot, Pompeius, day by day with great labor, raised earthworks to fill up the ditch and the entire ravine, for which the Roman force cut down the timber from the surrounding area.

10 Now it was a difficult task to fill it up, because of its immense depth, and especially considering that the Judeans used every possible impediment to repel them from above. 11 And the Romans would not have succeeded in their labors to finish the earthworks had Pompeius not taken advantage of the seventh day of the week, on which the Judeans, due to their religious observations, rest their hands. For it has been our custom from the days of our fathers to rest on the seventh day. Otherwise, the Judeans would have prevented the earthworks from being raised.

12 For indeed, the law permits us to defend ourselves against those who instigate a battle and strike us, but it does not allow us to do anything against our foes who do anything else on those days. 13 And the Romans were well aware of this fact. So on those days, which we call sabbaths, he proceeded to raise the earthworks, while forbidding his own soldiers from engaging them; they did not shoot at the Judeans or meet them in hand-to-hand combat.

14 Now as soon as the ditch and the ravine were filled up, he erected high towers on the earthworks. Then he moved up and set in place machines and implements which had been brought from Zor; and he began to batter the temple with his rock-launchers, and use them to beat off resistance from above. 15 But the towers, which in this sector were extraordinary in both magnitude and beauty, made a long resistance. So the machines were brought forward in order to be put to work the following day.

16 Now one may learn of the extreme piety which we exercise toward God, and of our strict observance of the laws from the following facts: For while the Romans were undergoing these severe hardships, even Pompeius was filled with admiration for the Judean's invariable fortitude, but especially, that during the siege, the priests were not hindered from performing any of their sacred religious

⁶ [Ant] / [war] "his generals"

⁷ [Ant] variant "And within the city"

ceremonies through fear, even when they were enveloped in a hail of missiles. **17** For instead, exactly as if the city had been wrapped in profound peace, twice a day, both during the morning and at the ninth hour, they performed both the daily altar sacrifices and the purifications; and all the religious worship was performed to the honor of God with utmost exactness, not omitting a single sacrifice despite the difficulty which arose due to the assaults.

18 For even when the city and temple were taken on the third month of the siege, on the Fast Day, in the 179th Olympiad, during the consulship of Gaius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, the Romans, having overthrown one of the towers with great difficulty, rushed into the temple and slaughtered the Judeans around the altar. **19** But those who offered sacrifices continued to perform the religious ceremonies. They were not compelled to run away, either by fear for their souls, or by the great number which were already murdered. But they thought it better to endure whatever they might have to suffer there beside the altars, than to neglect any of the religious-rites prescribed by the laws for the day.

20 Now when the machine was brought up near the wall, it attempted to batter it down. The largest of the towers was shaken and fell and made a breach. Indeed, the enemy hastily poured in. But the first to venture across the wall was Faustus Cornélius son of Sulla, who mounted the wall with his soldiers. But after him came Furius the centurion, with those who followed him; but between them, came Fabius, also a centurion, with a strong compact body of men.

21 Now *these men* encompassed the temple court, killing their victims everywhere, indeed, some as they were fleeing to the inner-sanctum, but others as they were offering a brief resistance. **22** There, many of the priests, even when they saw their foes advancing with short-swords in hand, calmly continued their divine worship, but had their throats cut in the act of pouring libations and burning incense, even putting the service of the Deity above their own salvation.

23 Now there was murder everywhere. Indeed, some of the Judeans were *killed* by the Romans, but the majority were done away with by their fellow-tribesmen from the opposite faction. But even countless numbers hurled themselves down the cliffs. And some, driven mad by their hopeless plight and unable to bear to accept their fate, set fire to their houses and *other* buildings around the walls, but were incinerated together within them. **24** Now, therefore, of the Judeans, 12,000 indeed fell.¹ But of the Romans, there were very few corpses indeed, but a considerable number more were wounded.

25 But of all the calamities of that time, none so deeply affected the nation as the exposure of the holy-place; *indeed*, it was no small sin committed against the inner-sanctum, which previous to that time had neither been entered nor seen by foreigners. **26** For Pompeius, along with not a few of his party, went into the inner-sanctum, where it was unlawful for any other human to enter except for the chief-priests, and saw everything it contained, which was *also* unlawful to see.

27 Now in it were a golden table, and a consecrated lampstand and lamps, and libation vessels, and censers, all made of solid gold, and a great quantity of spices. But besides these, in the treasury, there was the consecrated money amounting to 2,000 talents. But due to his piety, he touched neither these nor anything else stored there; and in this point also, he acted in a manner worthy of his excellence.

28 Now the very next day after the capture of the temple, he had a message transmitted to the inner-sanctum-keepers and inner-sanctum-custodians, ordering them to cleanse the temple and to resume offering the customary sacrifices to God. Now he restored the chief-priesthood to Hyrkanos, in exchange for his enthusiastic support, because he had been useful to him in various ways during the siege, and particularly, because he had prevented a multitude of the Judeans throughout the country from joining Aristoboulos in the war, who had been motivated to do so. Through these means, he, like the good general he was, reconciled the people to him more by benevolence than by terror.

27 Now among the prisoners was Absalom, who was both uncle and father-in-law of Aristoboulos. And those who were primarily responsible for the war, he had punished with an axe. Now he also bestowed radiant rewards on Faustus and the others, who had contended and mounted the wall, as a prize for their valor. **28** And indeed, he made the country, and Jerusalem itself, a tributary to the Romans. But he deprived the nation of the cities which the inhabitants of *Judah* had formerly taken in Coelesyria, and placed them under the authority of his own Roman general who was appointed for the purpose. *So* the entire nation, which had previously raised itself so high, he confined within its own borders.

29 Now in order to gratify Démétrios, a Gaderite and one of his own freedmen, he also rebuilt Gader, which had indeed been demolished a little while before by the Judeans. Now he also liberated from their rule all the cities in the interior which they had not already demolished, *namely*, Hippos, and Skythopolis, and also Pehel, and Dion,² and Samaria, but even Mareshah, and Ashdod, and Jabneh, and also Arethusa, restoring them to their *original* inhabitants. **30** But besides these cities in the interior, he indeed, in like manner, even restored those which had been demolished, along with the coastal cities of Gaza, and Japho, and Dor, and the place formerly called Stratôn's Tower (for it was later magnificently

rebuilt by King Hérôdés and ornamented with both harbors and inner-sanctums; and he later changed its name to Caesarea). All these Pompeius liberated and restored to their *legitimate* citizens, and annexed them to the province of Syria.

31 Those responsible for this misfortune which befell *those in*³ Jerusalem were Hyrkanos and Aristoboulos, due to their sedition. For we both lost our freedom and became subject to the Romans; and we were deprived of the country which we, by our own weapons, had gained from the Syrians, *and* were compelled to give it back to them. **32** And in addition, in a short space of time, *the* Romans exacted more than 10,000 talents from us. And the kingship, which had formerly been bestowed on those who were chief-priests by birth, became the privilege of commoners.

33 Now Pompeius committed Coelesyria, together with Judah, and⁴ the whole region extending as far as the Euphrates⁵ River and Egypt, along with two Roman legions, to the administration of Scaurus. And then he set out across Kilikia and made haste to reach Roma. Now with him he took Aristoboulos in chains, together with his family; **34** for he had two daughters and two sons. Indeed, one of *his sons*, Alexandros, ran away while on the journey; but the younger *son*, Antigonos, was carried off to Roma together with his sisters.

CHAPTER 15 [Ant14:80-91 / War1:159-170]

Now Scaurus also advanced with his army against Petra in Arab, but was prevented from accessing⁶ it due to the difficulties of its terrain. So he proceeded to ravage and lay waste the surrounding country. But here he also suffered severely, for his army was afflicted by famine. And in order to relieve his wants, Antipatros, at the injunction of Hyrkanos, was sent to furnish him with grain from Judah and whatever other provisions he was lacking.

2 Now since Antipatros also had friendly relations with Harthah and had lived with him, Scaurus dispatched him to the king as an elder with the intention to persuade him to purchase his peace with silver and money in order to prevent his country from being ravaged. Now the king of Arab consented, and himself became surety at the price of 300 talents. And on these terms, Scaurus ended the war and led his army out of Arab, being no less eager than Harthah to have this come about.

3 But some time later, Alexandros, the boy of Aristoboulos, the one who had escaped from Pompeius, mustered a considerable band of men and caused Hyrkanos serious annoyance by his raids upon Judah. And Hyrkanos was no longer able to hold out against Alexandros' strength; instead, since *Alexandros* had already advanced to Jerusalem, he was already attempting to rebuild its walls, which Pompeius had overthrown. **4** Instead, when the Romans indeed arrived there, they stopped him *from building them*. For Gabinius had been sent from Roma to Syria to succeed Scaurus as general; and after achieving many other noteworthy deeds, he also marched against Alexandros.

5 Now Alexandros, anxious of his approach, went throughout the entire country and armed many of the Judeans. Indeed, he soon had mustered a force of 10,000 heavy-armed *infantry*, but also 1,500 cavalry. And he also fortified and enwalled the strategic positions of Alexandreion (a fortification near Corea), but also Hyrkania, and Machairous (near the Arabian mountains).

6 Therefore, Gabinius went out against him, sending Marcus Antonius ahead of him along with a portion of the leaders. But these leaders armed the whole Roman force which followed them; and together with them, a legion of Judeans who were subject to them, who were under the leadership of Peitholaos and Melech; but also Antipatros' picked troops, who were his companions, and who accompanied him. And they went out to meet Alexandros, while also Gabinius with his phalanx soon followed afterward.

7 And because Alexandros was unable to withstand the combined forces of his foes, he retired to the vicinity of Jerusalem, but he was forced into a battle. Here the two forces fell upon each other. Indeed, in the engagement, he lost 6,000 of his men to the Romans: 3,000 were killed,⁷ and an equal number were taken prisoner. But he and the remnant fled to Alexandreion.

8 Now when Gabinius followed him there, he found many of their foes encamped outside in front of the fortification. Before it came to a battle, he endeavored, by promising to pardon their past offenses, to induce them to cease hostilities and come over to his side. But when they refused to be moderately minded toward all of his terms, the Romans attacked and killed a large number of them and confined the remainder of them in the fortification. **9** Now the honors of this battle fell upon the leader, Marcus Antonius; indeed, his valor, which was always conspicuous, was never so conspicuous as here. And contending bravely, he killed a great number of men.

10 Therefore, Gabinius indeed left a portion of his army to take the fortress by siege. But he himself went through the other parts of Judah, and restored order in the cities which had escaped devastation. But whenever he came also upon a

³ [Ant] variant adds

⁴ [Ant] P omits "and"

⁵ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

⁶ [Ant] variant "capturing"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "3,000 fell"

¹ [Ant] // [War] "12,000 were indeed done away with"

² [Ant], [War] A // [War] most omit "and Dion"

destroyed or demolished city, he gave orders for it to be rebuilt. **11** And accordingly, at this time, the following cities were rebuilt at his directing: Samaria, and Ashdod, and Skythopolis, and Anthédōn, and Apollōnia, and Jabneh, and Raphiah, and Adoraim, and both Mareshah and Gaza,¹ along with many others. But as the humans obeyed what Gabinius ordered, these cities, which had been desolate for a long time, had not been safely inhabited. So colonists gladly flocked to each of them.

12 Now after supervising these arrangements throughout the country, Gabinius returned to Alexandreion. And because he pressed the siege so vigorously, Alexandros, despairing of success, sent attendants to him both with a petition to have his offenses pardoned, as well as an offer to surrender the remaining fortifications² in his possession: Hyrkania and Machairous; but subsequently, he also handed over Alexandreion.

13 And being persuaded by Alexandros' mother, he indeed demolished these places in order to prevent them from becoming a base of operations for another war. Now since her husband and her other children were being held at Roma, she had sided with the Romans and had come there to propitiate him, and he had granted this request.

14 Now after Gabinius had settled matters with her, also he brought Hyrkanos to Jerusalem, and committed the administration and care of the temple to him. But he reconstituted the civil-polity under the form of an aristocracy. **15** Now he set up five congresses, dividing the nation into the same number of districts. So these were the centers of government: indeed, the first was assigned to Jerusalem, but the second to Gader,³ but the third belonged to Hamath, but the fourth to Jericho, and the fifth was allotted to Tzippori, a city of Galilee.⁴ **16** So the *people* indeed rejoiced at their release from sovereignty and from being a dominion; and from that time forward, they were governed by an aristocracy.

CHAPTER 16 [Ant14:92-104 / War1:171-178]

Now, truly, Aristoboulos yet afforded a fresh origin for new disturbances. He fled from Roma to Judah, and once more succeeded in mustering a large body of Judeans. Now, indeed, some of them flocked to Aristoboulos because they were eager for revolutionary movements, while others, on account of his former good-repute, had long been his devoted admirers. **2** Accordingly, among them was a certain Peitholaos, a subordinate-general at Jerusalem, who deserted to him with 1,000 men, although a great number⁵ of those who joined him were unarmed. And he indeed began by seizing the newly demolished Alexandreion and attempted to rebuild its walls.

3 But at this, Gabinius dispatched an army of soldiers against him, whose leaders were Sisenna, and Antonius, and Servilius,⁶ to prevent him from taking possession of the place and to recapture him. As soon as *Aristoboulos* was informed of this, he decided to retreat to Machairous. Therefore, as for the inefficient unarmed crowd *who had joined him* (for they were of no use to him in action), he indeed dismissed them, but retained only those who were armed, numbering 8,000, and marched on.

4 Now the Romans pursued him; and falling upon them valiantly, an engagement ensued. Indeed, Aristoboulos' party held their ground for a long time, contending manfully and⁷ valiantly, but their foes were too strong for them, and they were finally overpowered in the battle by the Romans. So they were put to flight. And indeed, about 5,000 of them were murdered; while the rest, about 2,000, were scattered and tried to save themselves as best as they were able by fleeing up a certain ridge.

5 However, Aristoboulos and the more than 1,000 *men* remaining with him, broke through the Roman phalanx; marching together, they escaped to Machairous. And there, as the king lodged among its ruins on that first night, he, despite his ill success, still entertained hopes of gathering together another force, if only he were given a respite from the war. So he proceeded to erect some weak fortresses around the place.

6 But when the Romans fell upon the place, he held out the siege, even beyond his strength, for two days. But then, after receiving many wounds, he was taken prisoner; and together with his boy Antigonos, who had escaped together with him from Roma, he was brought to Gabinius. **7** And indeed, having met with such *ill* fortune, Aristoboulos was sent from Gabinius, once more to Roma.

7 And, therefore, the senate indeed imprisoned *Aristoboulos*, and he was kept there in chains; indeed, he had been king and chief-priest for three years and six months. But he was a man who was radiant and magnanimous. However,⁸ the senate released his children, because Gabinius had written to him, informing them

by letters that he had promised this favor to their mother when she had surrendered the fortifications to him in return. And they indeed returned to Judah.⁹

8 Now Gabinius had been advancing with his army against the Parthians, and he was cut short after he had already crossed the Euphrates.¹⁰ For having changed his mind, he returned from the Euphrates to Egypt in order to reestablish Ptolemaios in his kingdom. (But these events have indeed been related elsewhere *by the secular historians*.)

9 However, on this expedition which he had undertaken, Hyrkanos and Antipatros put their services entirely at his disposal. For Antipatros even supplied his army with grain, and weapons, and money, and allied-troops; he also induced the local Judean guardians of the river-mouths above Pélousion to his side, and made them his auxiliaries to act as guards of the passes which led into Egypt; so they let them pass through.

10 But Gabinius' absence was the occasion for commotion in the other *part of* Syria. For¹¹ Alexandros, Aristoboulos' boy, seized the government a second time; indeed, he forced many of the Judeans to revolt. So at their head, he welded together a very great force and made an expedition throughout the country, proceeding to do away with all the Romans whom he met within the country. Then he proceeded to besiege Mount Gerizim, where they had retreated.

11 The news of these local disturbances hastened Gabinius' return from Egypt. Now when he returned to Syria, he found it prey to seditions and disorder, and its condition instilled him with anxiety. So he indeed sent Antipatros (for he was a prudent man) to the revolters, to see whether he could cure their mad behavior and persuade them to return to a better *state of* rationalization. **12** Now when he came, he indeed recalled many of them *to a sensible mind*, and induced them to do what was proper. But he was unable to restrain Alexandros, who was eager to make war. For he had an army of 30,000 Judeans and went to meet Gabinius. Accordingly, Gabinius went out to battle *him*. Now the Judeans came and engaged him near Mount Tabor. *Alexandros* was defeated; indeed 10,000 of his men were done away with, but the remainder of the multitude dispersed *and* fled.

13 Now Gabinius also proceeded to the city of the Jerusalemites, where he settled affairs by reorganizing the civil-polity in accordance with Antipatros' purpose. From there, he marched against the Nabateans, and he indeed overcame them in the battle. But as for two fugitives from Parthia, both Mithredath and Orsanos, who had come to him, he indeed privately dismissed, but rationalized with¹² his soldiers that they had escaped from him. **14** And indeed, having performed great and glorious deeds during his generalship,¹³ Gabinius returned to Roma, *and* delivered the government to Crassus. (Now the expeditions of Pompeius and Gabinius against the Judeans have been written about by Nikolaos of Damasek and Strabōn of Kappadokia, neither of which says anything different from the other.)

CHAPTER 17 [Ant14:105-109, 119-126 / War1:179-186]

So the government of Syria passed into the hands of Crassus, who came to succeed Gabinius. In order to provide for his expedition against the Parthians, he came to Judah and carried off the money which was within the inner-sanctum of Jerusalem, that is, the 2,000 talents which had been left untouched by Pompeius. He also stripped the temple of all its gold, which amounted to 8,000 talents. **2** But he also took a bar made of solid beaten gold, weighing 300 minas (each *mina* is equal to two and a half pounds).

Now this bar was given to him by the guardian of the money,¹⁴ a priest named Eleazar. *He* did not *do this* out of wicked intent. **3** For he was a good and righteous *man*. Instead, he had been entrusted with the keeping of the inner-sanctum veils. *These veils* were of admirable beauty and extravagant workmanship, but hung down from this bar. When he saw that Crassus was intent on gathering up the money, he was in anxiety about the whole ornamentation of the inner-sanctum. So he gave him the gold bar as a ransom for all the rest, **4** but not until he had received his oath that he would not remove anything else from the inner-sanctum, but would be content merely with what was given to him by *the priest* (an object worth many tens of thousands). Now this bar was contained within a hollow wooden bar; and *this fact* was indeed unknown to everyone else, but which Eleazar alone knew. **5** However, although Crassus also took this bar on the condition that he would not touch anything else in the temple, he violated his oath, carrying off all the gold in the inner-sanctum.

6 Now after Crassus had arranged everything the way he wished, he marched for Parthia. But after he had crossed the Euphrates,¹⁵ both he and all his army were utterly-destroyed. (*These events* have been related elsewhere *by the other historians*.)

¹ [Ant] // [War] some "Gamala" / some "Gebal" (Gk "Gabala" / some "Gader" (Gk. "Gadara")

² [Ant] // [War] "fortresses"

³ conjectural emendation "Gezer" (Gazara)

⁴ [Ant] some, [War] // [Ant] variant "Judah"

⁵ [Ant] variant "although most"

⁶ [Ant] variant "Servidius" // [War] variant "Servianus"

⁷ [Ant] most omit "manfully and"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "But"

⁹ [Ant] variant "Edom" (scribal error)

¹⁰ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] "And"

¹² [Ant] // [War] "said to"

¹³ [Ant] variant "during his expedition"

¹⁴ [Ant] variant "treasuries"

¹⁵ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

7 However, after their victory over Crassus, the Parthians marched across the river into Syria, where they made incursions into the country. But Cassius fled to the province of Syria and took possession of it, and became an impediment to the Parthians whom he repulsed. 8 Now having taken possession of it, he came to Zor, and then hastily went up into Judah. Therefore, he indeed fell upon Tarichea, which he quickly took, and reduced about 30,000 of the Judean men to slavery. But he also killed Peitholaos, who had continued the sedition led by Aristoboulos by rallying his seditious followers. But it was Antipatros who had been his counselor in all of this.

9 Now this Antipatros both had great influence with *Aristoboulos* at that time, and was then held in greatest esteem by the Edomites as well, from among whom he married a woman of an illustrious Arabian family named Kypros.¹ Indeed, by her, he had four boys: Fazael and Hérōdés (who later became king), but, in addition, Joseph and Ferorah, and a daughter named Shelome. 10 Now this Antipatros had, by his own friendship and hospitality, cultivated a friendship and hospitalities with other potentates everywhere, but especially through this marital alliance with the king of Arab; and it was this same king to whom he had sent and entrusted his children to when making war against Aristoboulos.

11 Therefore indeed, after Cassius had forced Alexandros to come to terms and to keep the peace, he decamped and hastened to the Euphrates,² in order to meet the Parthian enemy who was coming against him from that direction, and to prevent them from crossing it. (*These events* have been related elsewhere by other historians.)

12 Now some time later, when Pompeius and the senate fled across the Ionian Sea, Caesar took Roma and the empire into his power. He indeed released Aristoboulos from his chains, but decided to send him in haste to Syria, and put two legions at his disposal, hoping that by doing this, he might win support in that country along with Judah and its surrounding regions, now that he had the means to do so, and bring them over to himself.

13 But Aristoboulos could not enjoy what he hoped to obtain from the power which Caesar had given him; instead, Aristoboulos' eagerness and Caesar's hopes were thwarted by envy. Accordingly, Pompeius' party prevented him by utterly-destroying³ him with a drug. And for a long time, he did not even obtain a burial in his own country, but was buried by those of Caesar's party. And his corpse lay preserved in honey until Antonius finally sent it to the Judeans and had it buried in the royal tombs and memorials.

14 Now Pompeius sent Scipio to kill Alexandros son of Aristoboulos. And before his tribunal, he laid an accusation against the youth for the original sins which he had committed against the Romans, and was done away with by an axe.⁴ So this was indeed how he passed away at Antiocheia.

15 But *Alexandros'* brothers were taken by Ptolemaios the Mennaiois, who was ruler of Chalkis at the foot of Mount Lebanon. And he sent his son, Philippiōn to Ashkelon to Aristoboulos' wife, and told her to send back with him her son Antigonos and her daughters. So he took Antigonos and his sisters from Aristoboulos' wife and brought them to his father. 16 Then Philippiōn fell in love with the youngest daughter named Alexandra, and he married her. But afterwards, his father Ptolemaios did away with him on her account. And after he had killed the son, he married Alexandra himself. And this marriage allowed him to continue to provide for and to take care of her brother and sister.

CHAPTER 18 [Ant14:127-155 / War1:187-200]

Now after the death⁵ of Pompeius, and after Caesar had gained the victory over him, Antipatros, the curator of the Judeans, changed sides and cultivated a friendship with Caesar. Now under Hyrkanos' instructions, *Antipatros* proved himself useful to *Caesar* in many ways while he was making war against Egypt.

2 For Mithredath the Pergamonian had originally went out alone. But when he was bringing his force of auxiliaries against Egypt, he was unable to make his march through the Pélousion frontier, but was forced to stay at Ashkelon. So while he was delayed here, he called Antipatros, the curator of Judah, to come to him at Ashkelon.

Antipatros arrived at the head of 3,000 heavy-armed Judean soldiers, which he provided for *Mithredath*. And this man also managed to persuade the magistrates and powerful men of the Arabians, among whom he had previously lived, to come to his assistance. 3 But it was also because of him that all the powerful men of Syria were roused to assist him, not wanting to appear lacking in their eagerness for Caesar. Now among the settlers were the powerful Jambliki, and his son Ptolemaios, and another Ptolemaios son of Suhaym who lived on Mount Lebanon, through whose influence almost all the cities of that country readily took their share in the war. And Hyrkanos, the chief-priest of the Judeans, also took part in the expeditions in their invasion of Egypt.

4 And emboldened by the reinforcements which Antipatros had brought him, Mithredath now left Syria and marched on Pélousion. And when the humans within it refused to admit him passage through it, he besieged the city. Now in the assault, it was Antipatros again who won the greatest distinction: for he was the first to pull down a portion of the wall which faced him; and after opening this way for the others to pour into the city, he was the first to burst into the place at the head of his men. And this was indeed how Pélousion was taken.

5 But when Antipatros and Mithredath with their men were marching on their way to Caesar, the Egyptian⁶ Judeans who inhabited the country called Honijah prevented them from doing so. But Antipatros persuaded them also to side with his party since they were his fellow-tribesmen, and especially when he showed to them letters from the chief-priest Hyrkanos, in which he urged them to cultivate a friendship with Caesar, and to hospitably receive his army, and to supply it with everything necessary. 6 And indeed, when they saw that Antipatros and the chief-priest had the same desires, they complied, not only by refusing to stop them, but instead, by also supplying provisions for their force.

7 And when those in the vicinity of Memphis heard that these Judeans had joined *Caesar's* side, they refused to raise a hand against them and also invited Mithredath to come to them. Now he came to them; and when they wanted to voluntarily join his army, he received them.

8 Now when he had passed throughout the region called the Delta, he engaged the rest of his Egyptian foes at the place called the Judean Encampment. Now Mithredath indeed commanded the right wing, but Antipatros the left. 9 And when they clashed in a battle, Mithredath with his entire right wing gave way, and would have been in danger of suffering a very grave disaster, had not Antipatros, who had indeed already been victorious after overpowering the foes who had opposed him, wheeled around and come running to him with his own soldiers along the bank of the river and rescued him.

10 But after this, he also fell upon the Egyptians who had been defeated and who were pursuing Mithredath. And after killing a large number of them, he put them to flight. But he continued his pursuit of the remainder so far that he also captured their encampment. He also recalled Mithredath, who had been separated far from him during the flight. And during the pursuit, about 800 of Mithredath's men fell, while Antipatros lost only 50⁷ of his own men.

11 Now having been saved unexpectedly in this way, Mithredath became an irreproachable witness⁸ to Caesar of Antipatros' virtuous-actions by writing an account of this battle to Caesar. In it, he declared that Antipatros had been the one responsible both for their victory and for his own salvation.

12 But also as a result of this, Caesar indeed commended *Antipatros* on that occasion. But through these commendations and hopes of reward, he further encouraged Antipatros to undertake other ventures in his service, and so made use of him for the most dangerous tasks throughout the entire war. And although on every venture, he showed himself to be the most courageous warrior, the result was that Antipatros was even wounded in some of those struggles; almost every part of his body bore wounds as the marks of his excellence.

13 Now, however, in the course of time, after Caesar had concluded the war and settled affairs in Egypt, and had sailed back to Syria, he honored *Antipatros* greatly, and bestowed him with a citizenship in Roma⁹ and with exemption from taxation everywhere; and due to the honors and marks of friendship, he was made an enviable man. Now it was also on this account that Caesar would later confirm Hyrkanos in the chief-priesthood.

14 Now at that time,¹⁰ Antigonos son of Aristoboulos, also came to Caesar and lamented his father's fate,¹¹ and, contrary to his intentions, became responsible for Antipatros' further promotion. He complained, "It was on *Antipatros'* account that Aristoboulos and my brother died. For father was done away with by drugs. And my brother was cruelly killed by the axe by Scipio on account of his differences with Pompeius. But I beg you to take pity on him for having been thrown out of his government."

15 But apart from these things, *Antigonos* intermixed his pleas for pity with sentiments of jealousy; and in connection with them, he accused Hyrkanos and Antipatros. He said, "They indeed acted lawlessly toward me by altogether banishing me and my brothers from the land of our fathers. And they, in their insolence, have treated the nation with violence. And they have sent auxiliaries into Egypt, not from any goodwill to *Caesar*, but rather from terror of the consequences of previous quarrels and to be pardoned for their friendship to Pompeius."

16 But at this, Antipatros, who was present, indeed defended himself against the accusations brought against him. He stripped off his clothes and exposed his numerous wounds, saying, "And indeed, as for my goodwill to Caesar, I do not need to say a word. For if I were to remain silent, my body shouts it aloud." He

¹ [Ant] variant "Kypris"

² Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

³ [Ant] // [War] "by doing away with"

⁴ as in, he was beheaded with an axe

⁵ [Ant] / [War] "end"

⁶ [Ant] some omit "Egyptian" / [War] all include this word

⁷ [Ant] variant "40" // [War] "80"

⁸ literally "testifier"

⁹ [Ant] // [War] "a Roman citizenship"

¹⁰ [Ant] variant omits "at that time" // [War] "about this time"

¹¹ [Ant] variant "death"

also recalled how he had labored on behalf of the Romans and assisted them in their wars, and recounted things which his own *person* was a witness.¹

17 But Antigonos' audacity astounded him. *So* at the same time, he declared that *those of Antigonos'* party were revolutionaries and fomenters of sedition: "The son of a foe of the Romans, and of a fugitive of the Romans; and one who inherited from his father a passion for revolutions and seditions, presuming to accuse others in the presence of the Roman leader and endeavoring for favors, when he should be thankful to be alive! For even his present ambition for the *state* affairs is not on account of being in lack of it, *but* instead because he wanted it in order to stir up sedition among the Judeans, and to employ his resources against those who had provided them *to him*." **18** He also added, "Aristoboulos was rightly deported to Roma, as one who has always waged war against the Romans and has never been well-disposed toward them. But as for his brother, who was chastised² by Scipio for committing brigandage, he met the fate he deserved. Instead, he did not suffer this *punishment* due to any violence or unrighteousness on the part of the *man* who had inflicted it *upon him*."

19 After Antipatros had made this speech, Caesar³ indeed declared Hyrkanos most worthy of the chief-priesthood, and appointed him as the chief-priest; but he gave Antipatros power to rule in whatever form he preferred. But he answered, "The decision of such an honor rests with the man who bestowed the honor." And since the decision was left to *Caesar*, he appointed him procurator of Judah. **20** Now upon Hyrkanos' request, *Caesar* also permitted him to rebuild the walls of his own fatherland, for they had been lying in ruins ever since Pompeius had demolished them. **21** And *Caesar* sent decrees to the consuls at Roma to have these honorary grants engraved in the Capitolium, as a memorial of his own righteousness and of *Antipatros'* excellence.

22 And the following is the senate's decree:

Lucius Valerius son of Lucius, *the general*,⁴ counseled with the senate on the Ides of December in the Inner-Sanctum of Homonoia. At the writing of the decree, the *following* were present: Lucius Coponius son of Lucius of Collina, and Papirius of Quirina.

23 Alexandros son of Jason, and Nouménios son of Antiochos, and Alexandros son of Dorotheos, elders of the Judeans, worthy men and auxiliaries, have discussed the matter of renewing *the favor* and friendship which they have formerly maintained with the Romans. **24** And they brought, as a token of the alliance, a golden round-shield worth 50,000 gold pieces, and have asked that documents be given to them, directed both to the autonomous cities and to the kings, in order that their country and their harbors may be secure and may suffer no harm.

25 It has been resolved to form a *league of friendship* and favor with them, and to provide them with everything which they had requested, and to accept the round-shield which they have brought.

26 This took place in the ninth year of Hyrkanos, *the chief-priest* and nation-chief, in the month Panémos. **27** Now Hyrkanos also received honors from the Athénian populace, since he had been of great service to them. And they wrote and sent him the following voted-proposition:

While Dionysios son of Asklépiadés was supreme-president and priest, on the fifth day before the end of the month of Panémos, a voted-proposition of the Athénians was delivered to the generals. **28** When Agathoklés was chief, when Euklés son of Menandros of Alimousios was scribe, in the month Mounouchiōnos, on the eleventh day of the presidency, an assembly of the presiding leaders was held in the theater. Dorotheos *the chief-priest*⁵ and his joint-presidents supervised the voting of the populace. Dionysios son of Dionysios passed the following *motion*:

29 Hyrkanos son of Alexandros, *the chief-priest* and nation-chief of the Judeans, has continued to show goodwill toward our people as a whole as well as to every individual citizen, and to manifest the greatest eagerness on their behalf. And whenever any Athénians come to him, either as elders or on private matters, he receives them in a friendly manner and sends them on their way with precautions for their safe return, **30** as has indeed also been previously attested.

But because *of these things*, it has also now been *decreed* on the motion of Theodosios⁶ son of Theodoros of Sounion, who reminded the populace of the excellence of this man and of his readiness to do us whatever good he is able, **31** to honor this man with a gold crown as the

reward of merit fixed by the law, and to erect his statue in bronze within the sacred-precinct of Démos and the Graces, but to publicly announce the award of the crown in the theater at the Dionysian festival when the new tragedies are performed, as well as at the Panathénaion and Eleusinian festivals and at the naked-athletics.

32 But *it is* also *decreed*, that the generals shall take-care that, as long as he continues to maintain his goodwill toward us, everything which we can devise shall be done to show honor and favor to this man for his effort and love-of-honor, in order that, by these measures, the populace may see how it approves of the good, and holds them worthy of a fitting reward, and may rival those who are already honored in the zeal which they have shown toward us.

33 But *it is* also *decreed* that elders shall be chosen from among all the Athénians to convey this voted-proposal to him, and request him to accept these honors *and* to endeavor to always do good to our city.

34 Therefore, these were indeed the honors which were paid to Hyrkanos *the chief-priest*⁷ by the Romans and the populace of Athénai.

CHAPTER 19 [Ant14:156-184 / War1:201-215]

Now when *Caesar* had settled the affairs of Syria, he sailed away. But after escorting *Caesar* out of Syria, Antipatros returned to Judah. And, indeed, his first act was to straightaway raise up the wall of his own fatherland, which had been torn down and demolished by Pompeius. Then, traversing the country, he suppressed the tumult everywhere within by simultaneously⁸ threatening and counseling *the people* to remain quiet.

2 For *Antipatros* told them, "If, indeed, all of you side with Hyrkanos and support him, then you will be left in happiness and peace, and will be able to live undisturbed both in the enjoyment of your own possessions and in universal peace. But if you listen to those who cling to *the vain hopes* of achieving something by a revolution and are counting on any *personal* gains from it, then you will try him as a severe master in place of a protector, and Hyrkanos as a tyrant in place of a king; and yet, in the Romans and *Caesar*, bitter foes in place of leaders and friends. For *the Romans* will never allow any *man* to be removed from the government whom they themselves have established."

3 And at the same time, while *Antipatros* was speaking such things, he settled *the affairs* in the country by his own efforts, because he saw that Hyrkanos was both dull and sluggish, and without the energy necessary for a king. Indeed, he appointed his eldest boy Fazael general of Jerusalem and the surrounding region. Now with equal authority, he entrusted Galilee to his second son Hérōdés, who was still very young; for he was only fifteen years old. **4** But his youth in no way hindered him.

Instead,⁹ Hérōdés was an energetic man by nature; and being a youth of great mind, he quickly found an opportunity for showing his mind and excellence, along with materials to test them. **5** For¹⁰ when he discovered that Hezekiah, a chief-brigand, was overrunning the borders of Syria with a large compact-body of *men*, he seized him, killing him as well as many of the brigands who were with him. **6** Now this welcome achievement of his was greatly admired by the Syrians; for he had purged their country of the band of brigands of whom they had longed to be free. Accordingly, throughout both their villages and *their* cities, they sang, praising him for this deed, saying that he had given them peace and the secure enjoyment of their recovered possessions. Now on this account, he even became known to Sextus *Caesar*, who was a relative of the great *Caesar* and *the manager* and administrator of Syria.

7 Now at this, Hérōdés' brother Fazael was seized with a righteous desire to emulate his achievements. And being moved by the thought of the good-reputation which Hérōdés had won, he was ambitious not to be behind him in achieving similar fame. And so he procured great goodwill from the Jerusalemites. Indeed, he kept the city under his own rule, but he did not show any lack of discretion in dealing with the city's affairs, nor did he tastelessly abuse his authority.

8 In consequence, this situation made it possible for Antipatros to receive from the nation the respect due only to a king, and such honors as might be enjoyed by one who is an absolute master. However, despite all this splendor, he truly did not, as it so often happens, overstep or remove his goodwill and faithfulness toward Hyrkanos in any way.

9 But *Antipatros*, in his prosperity, found it impossible to escape envy. Accordingly, the fame of these youths had indeed already caused Hyrkanos a secret pang. Now in particular, he was vexed by Hérōdés' successes and by the runners who came one after another with news of each new good-repute which he had won.

¹ literally "testifier"

² [Ant] variant "seized"

³ [Ant] // [War] "After *Caesar* had heard this, he"

⁴ [Ant] Lat "consul"

⁵ [Ant] possible emendation "of Erchian"

⁶ [Ant] variant "Dionysius"

⁷ [Ant] P adds

⁸ [War] // [Ant] "both"

⁹ [Ant] // [War] "But/Now"

¹⁰ [Ant] // [War] "Therefore"

10 *Hyrkanos*' grudge was further provoked by many in the royal *palace*, who had taken offense at the temperance either of Antipatros or of his boys. And when the Judean magistrates saw them growing so great through both the goodwill of the nation and the revenues which they received from Judah and Hyrkanos' own money, they became malicious toward him.

11 For Antipatros had even formed a friendship with the Roman emperors. And after persuading Hyrkanos to send them money, *Antipatros* took this gift and appropriated it for himself. For he sent it as if it had come from him instead of being a gift from Hyrkanos. Hyrkanos heard about this, but gave the matter no thought; on the contrary, he was actually pleased with it.

12 But the principal *men* of the Judeans were in great anxiety when they saw how powerful and reckless Héródés was and how much he strived to have a tyranny. And so they came to Hyrkanos, and now openly accused Antipatros, and declared, "How long will you keep quiet in the face of what is happening? Or do you not see that by indeed abandoning the management of affairs to Antipatros and his boys,² they have seized the government? However, you are sitting content with but the mere name of king, without any of its authority!"

13 And they asked him, "How long will you be so mistaken as to rear up kings to your own undoing? Instead, do not let these things go unnoticed, nor consider yourself free of danger because you are careless of yourself and of the kingdom. For Antipatros and his boys are no longer merely masquerading as your procurators in your affairs. And do not deceive yourself with the belief that they are! But, instead, they are openly acknowledged to be *absolute* masters of the state, thrusting you aside.

14 "For even without either an oral or written command from you, his boy Héródés has yet killed Hezekiah and many of³ his men in violation of our⁴ law, which forbids us from doing away with a human, even a wicked *one*, unless he has first been condemned by the congress to suffer this fate. But he has dared to do these things without authority from you.

15 "Therefore, if he is not a king, *but* instead still a commoner, he ought to appear at a court-of-justice and answer for his conduct to his king and to the laws of his fathers, which do not permit anyone to be killed without having *first* been condemned."

16 Now having heard these *arguments*, Hyrkanos was persuaded. But his anger was further kindled by the mothers of the men who had been murdered by Héródés. For every day in the temple, *these women* kept begging the king and the populace to have Héródés brought to a court-of-justice before the congress for what he had done. 17 Therefore, the words of these *complaints* gradually continued to anger Hyrkanos; and finally, unable to bear it any longer, he was moved to summoned Héródés to come to a court-of-justice for what he was slandered of having done.

18 Now after Héródés had settled affairs in Galilee as he thought was to his best interests⁵ and had posted garrisons throughout Galilee, he went up. But also because his father had advised him not to enter the city as a commoner but with the security of a bodyguard, he arrived with a staunch compact-body of *men* sufficient for the purposes of the journey. For *his father had advised him* not to arrive at the court-of-justice with a larger legion, lest he might appear too formidable to Hyrkanos and appear to have the intent of overthrowing him; but not with so few as to be entirely unarmed⁶ and unprotected to those who envied him.

19 However,⁷ Sextus Caesar, leader of Syria, anxious that the youth might be isolated by his enemies and meet with misfortune, wrote and transmitted express messages to Hyrkanos, desiring for him to release Héródés *both* of the capital charge and from the court-of-justice; but he added threats as to what would happen if he disobeyed. Now although Hyrkanos was inclined to take that course due to other motives, Sextus' document gave him a pretext for acquitting and releasing Héródés without suffering any harm from the congress; for he had affection toward Héródés as his *own* son.

20 But when Héródés stood before the congress with his legion, he struck terror into them all; and not one of those who had formerly slandered him dared to accuse him further. Instead, there was silence and doubt about what was to be done.

21 While they were in this state, someone named Samaiah,⁸ a righteous man, and who, for that reason, was superior to terror, rose up and said, "Fellow congressmen, and you, our king; indeed, I myself do not know of, nor do I suppose that you can name, anyone, who, when summoned before you⁹ to a court-of-justice, has ever stood with such an appearance. Instead, no matter who it was that came before this congress for judgment, they presented themselves humble,

and assumed the form of one who is anxious and seeks mercy from you, by letting his hair grow long and wearing a black garment.

22 "But this most-excellent Héródés, who is struck with the charge of murder, and who has been summoned on an incrimination no less grave than this, stands here clothed in purple, and with the hair on his head carefully arranged, and with heavy-armed *soldiers* around him, indeed, to kill us if we condemn him by our law, but to save himself by forced righteousness.

23 "Instead, it is not Héródés whom I should indeed blame for this, or for putting his own interests above the laws. But *I blame* you and the king, for giving him such great indemnity to do so. However, be assured, that God is great. And this *man*, whom you are now going to release for Hyrkanos' sake, will one day chastise both you and the king."

24 Now not one of his statements failed. For when Héródés later received the kingdom, he killed Hyrkanos and all the members of the congress with the exception of Samaiah. 25 For he held him in great honor, on account of his righteousness, and because, when the city was later besieged by Héródés and Sossius, he advised the people to admit Héródés, and said, that on account of their sins, they would not be able to escape him. (And, indeed, these events will be related in their proper place.)

26 Now when Hyrkanos saw that the members of the congress were ready to do away with Héródés, he postponed the court-of-justice to another day. Then he secretly sent to Héródés, and counseled him to flee from the city. "For in this way, you might escape danger." 27 So Héródés, pretending that he had escaped contrary to the king's consent, indeed withdrew to Damasek, as if fleeing from the king. And coming to Sextus Caesar and making his position secure, he was determined not to obey if he were summoned to another court-of-justice before the congress.

28 But¹⁰ at this, the wicked members of the congress became indignant, and they continued to provoke Hyrkanos. And they attempted to teach him that all of these things were directed against him, saying, "Héródés has departed in anger and is prepared to attack." Now the king put faith in them, although these things had certainly not escaped his notice. But seeing that his *antagonist* was stronger than himself, he did not know what to do. And due to his unmanliness and folly, he was incompetent to do anything *regardless*.

29 Now Sextus Caesar proceeded to make Héródés general of Coelesyria and Samaria; for he gave him this position in return for money. And due to both the goodwill which the nation bore him and his own power, he was now doubly formidable, to the extent that Hyrkanos was reduced to the utmost fear; and *Hyrkanos* expected to see him at any moment advancing against him at the head of an army. 30 Nor was he mistaken in his terrifying conjecture.

For not before long, Héródés, angered at the threat which this court-of-justice had held over him and because he had been summoned to render an account of himself before the congress, mustered an army and advanced upon Jerusalem to overthrow Hyrkanos. 31 But he was prevented from assaulting Jerusalem by his father Antipatros and his brother, who went out to meet him.

So they put an end to¹¹ his anger, and urged him, "Indeed, do not undertake any violent action, but restrict your revenge merely to threats and tension.¹² But spare the king by not proceeding any further against the one who has made it possible for you to attain to your present dignity and to advance to such a *degree* of power."

32 Because he also expressed indignation at having been summoned to the court-of-justice, they begged him, "Remember your acquittal and be thankful for it. And indeed, after facing the black prospect of condemnation, consider the unpleasant side and do not remain unthankful for your salvation.

33 "But you should rationalize, that if the Deity is the judge of success in a war and tips its scales, the unrighteousness¹³ of your present expedition should be taken into consideration; for it might weigh more heavily than your military-skill.¹⁴ So you should not be entirely confident of the victory when you are planning to engage and make a war against your king and companion, and *the one* who has indeed frequently bestowed many benefits upon you and has never been severe to you. But this charge, which was brought against you under the influence of wicked counselors *and*, instead, not from his own accord, has menaced you with merely a suspicion of severe treatment and a *mere* shadow of unrighteousness."

34 Héródés was persuaded by these *arguments*, and believed that to have merely made an exhibition of his strength before the nation was sufficient enough for his future plans. And this indeed was how things were in Judah.

CHAPTER 20 [Ant14:185-267 (abridged)]

¹ [Ant] // [War] "said"

² [Ant] // [War] "sons"

³ [Ant] variant omits "many of"

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "Judean"

⁵ [Ant] variant "as he thought it to his best in to secure them in this way"

⁶ literally "naked"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "But/Now"

⁸ [Ant] variant "Samaias" / variant "Samaios" / Talmud "Simeon"

⁹ [Ant] variant "us"

¹⁰ [Ant] // [War] "And"

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] "they broke off"

¹² [War] C, Lat / PAMLR, Pseudo-Hegesippus "uprising"

¹³ [Ant] variant "uncertainty" // [War] "unrighteousness"

¹⁴ [Ant] variant "than your army"

Now when Caesar had arrived¹ in Roma, he was ready to sail for Africa to make war against Scipio and Cato. But Hyrkanos sent for him to confirm a friendship and alliance with him. **2** Now the following *are the documents* which contain the honors given to our nation and the alliance made with them by the Romans and their emperors. *First* are the decrees passed by both the senate and Julius Caesar concerning Hyrkanos and our nation:

3 Gaius Julius Caesar, emperor and chief-priest, dictator the second *time*, to the chiefs, council, *and* populace of the Zidonians, greetings.

If you are in good health, it is well. I also am in good health, as is the army.

4 I am sending you a copy of the decree, inscribed on tablets, concerning Hyrkanos son of Alexandros, chief-priest and nation-chief of the Judeans, in order that it may be deposited among the public documents. But I also wish that this be set up on a bronze tablet in both Hellenic and Latin. **5** It is as follows:

I, Julius Caesar, emperor the second *time*, and chief-priest,² have decided, under *the* resolution of *the* council, as follows:

Hyrkanos *son of* Alexandros *the* Judean, even now and in the former times, both in peace and in war, has demonstrated both faithfulness and earnestness toward our *state* affairs, as many of our emperors have attested. **6** And in the recent Alexandreian war, he came as our ally with 1,500 soldiers. And when he was sent off by me to Mithredath, he, in his manliness, surpassed all of those in the ranks.

7 For these reasons, it is my wish that Hyrkanos *son of* Alexandros, and his children, shall be nation-chiefs of *the* Judeans, as well as have *the* chief-priesthood for all *time*, according to the customs handed down by their fathers; also, that he and his boys shall be our auxiliaries, and yet be numbered among the men who are our friends. **8** Also, any chief-priestly *regulations* or humanities which are in accordance with their laws, I direct that he and his children shall possess. Also, if during this *time*, any question arises about the Judeans' methods, it is my pleasure to allow the decision to rest with *these individuals*. **9** But I do not approve of *our troops* wintering among *them*, or money to be demanded of *them*.

10 The following are the grants,³ concessions, *and* awards made by Gaius Caesar, emperor⁴ *and* consul:

That his children shall be chiefs over the Judean nation, and enjoy the fruits of the regions given to them. And that the chief-priest and nation-chief of the Judeans, shall be foremost over those who are unrighteously-treated. **11** But that elders be sent to Hyrkanos son of Alexandros, *the* chief-priest of the Judeans, to hold a discussion *with him* about a friendship and alliance. But also that a bronze tablet containing these *things*, be set up in the Capitolium, and Zidon, and Zor, and in Ashkelon, and in the inner-sanctum, engraved in Roman and Hellenic characters. **12** Also, that this decree shall be carried to all the quaestors and leaders of the several cities,⁵ and to our friends; and that hospitality shall be shown to the elders; and that these edicts shall be sent everywhere.

13 Gaius Caesar, emperor, dictator,⁶ *and* consul, has granted: That on account of honor, and excellence, and humaneness, and in the interest of the senate and the populace of the Romans, Hyrkanos son of Alexandros and his children, shall be both chief-priests and priests of the Jerusalemites and of their nation, with the same rights and under the same regulations by which their ancestors have held the chief-priesthood.⁷

14 Gaius Caesar, consul the fifth *time*, has decided: That *these men* shall receive and enwall *the* city of the Jerusalemites. And that Hyrkanos *son of* Alexandros, chief-priest and nation-chief of the Judeans, shall occupy it as he himself may choose. **15** Also, that in the second year of the lease, one kor shall be deducted from their

revenue, and that no one shall make profit out of them, nor shall they pay the same tribute.

16 Gaius Caesar, emperor the second *time*, has established: That they shall pay a tax for *the* city of the Jerusalemites (Japho excluded), every year except in the seventh year,⁸ which they term the sabbatical year, because during it, they neither take fruit from the trees, nor do they sow. **17** And that in the second year, they shall pay the tribute at Zidon, consisting of the fourth of what was sown; and yet, in addition to this, they are to pay the tenths to Hyrkanos and his children, *exactly* as they paid to their ancestors.

18 And that no one, neither chief, nor vice-chief, nor general, nor elder, shall raise up auxiliaries within the borders of Judah; and soldiers are not allowed to exact money from them, whether for wintering there, or on any other pretext; instead, they shall be free from every injury.

19 Also, that whatever they may hereafter acquire, or may buy and possess⁹ and distribute: all these they shall keep.

It is also our pleasure, that *the* city of Japho, which the Judeans originally had when they made a friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, even as it formerly did. **20** Also, that Hyrkanos son of Alexandros, and his boys, shall pay¹⁰ tribute, distributed by those who inhabit *the* country, as a tax on the land, *the* harbor and duty on exports annually, payable at Zidon: 20,675 modii, every year except in the seventh year, which they called the sabbatical, in which they neither plow, nor take fruit from the trees.

21 As for the villages in the Great Plain, which Hyrkanos and his ancestors formerly possessed: It is also the pleasure of the senate, that Hyrkanos and *the* Judeans shall retain them with the same rights as they also formerly had. **22** But also, that the original rights which *the* Judeans and their chief-priests and their priests¹¹ had in relation to each other should continue. Also, that they enjoy the humaneness which they received by vote of both the populace and the senate. Also, that they be permitted to enjoy these *same* rights at Lod.

23 As for the regions, and countries, and farmsteads, which bear fruits which *the* kings of Syria and Phoiniké, auxiliaries of the Romans, were permitted to enjoy as a gift: The senate also approves that Hyrkanos the nation-chief and the Judeans shall have these.

24 Now *it is also granted* that Hyrkanos and his boys, and the elders sent by him, shall sit among the senators as spectators of both the fights of gladiators and *the* beasts. That when they request permission of the dictator or horse-chief to enter the senate, they shall admit them and give them judicial-answers within ten days at the latest from the time when a decree is passed.

25 Gaius Caesar, emperor, dictator the fourth *time*, also consul the fifth *time*, appointed dictator for life, made the following account concerning the rights of Hyrkanos *son of* Alexandros, *the* chief-priest and nation-chief of the Judeans:

26 "Since those emperors in the provinces who were before me have testified on behalf of Hyrkanos, chief-priest of *the* Judeans, and to *the* Judeans themselves, before both *the* senate and *the* populace of *the* Romans; but also *since* the populace and the senate have returned thanks to them: it is well that we should also remember this, and that *the* senate and *the* populace of *the* Romans *should* provide to Hyrkanos, and to the nation of the Judeans, and to the boys of Hyrkanos, a requital of gratitude worthy of their goodwill toward us, and of the benefits which they have given us."

27 Julius Gaius, general, consul of *the* Romans, to the Parian chiefs, council, *and* populace, greetings.

The Judeans in Délos and some of the neighboring¹² Judeans, and some of your¹³ elders who were also present, petitioned me and made it clear to us that you, by a voted-proposal, are preventing them from observing the customs of their fathers and *their* consecrated *rites*.

28 Moreover, it does not please me that such voted-proposals such as this should be passed against our friends and auxiliaries; and that they should be prevented from living in accordance with their customs, and

¹ [Ant] FLVW "had passed through"

² [Ant] Lat "emperor and chief-priest, dictator the second time"

³ [Ant] P, Lat / FLAMV "decrees"

⁴ [Ant] Lat "dictator"

⁵ [Ant] P "leaders in the city"

⁶ [Ant] Lat omits "dictator"

⁷ [Ant] P / others "the priesthood" / FLAM "his priesthood"

⁸ [Ant] Lat "That the inhabitants of Japho shall pay tribute to the city of Jerusalem except in the seventh year"

⁹ [Ant] FLV omit "and possess"

¹⁰ [Ant] V "shall have"

¹¹ [Ant] FLV omit "and their priests"

¹² may also be translated to "sojourning"

¹³ [Ant] LV "our"

from contributing money to common-meals and consecrated *rites*; for they are not prevented from doing this even in Roma itself. **29** For even Gaius Caesar, our general and¹ consul, in the edict by which he prevented religious-societies to gather together in *the* city, did not prevent these *Judeans* alone from doing so, nor to bring money into their common stock, nor to hold common-meals. **30** Now, similarly, when I prevent the other religious-societies, I permit these *Judeans* alone to both gather together and feast in accordance with the customs and laws of their fathers.

31 Therefore, if you have passed any voted-proposals against our friends and auxiliaries, it would also be well for you to cancel them, due to their excellence and goodwill toward us.

32 Now after the death of Gaius, Hyrkanos the chief-priest sent these elders: Lusimachos *son of* Pausanias, Alexandros *son of* Theodōros, Patroklos *son of* Chaireos, and Jonathan² *son of* Honijah. So Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella, *the* consuls, both convened the senate, and introduced the elders which had been sent by Hyrkanos, to discuss what they claimed; and they made a friendship with them. And *the* senate convened, voting to grant them everything they wished.

33 Now Hyrkanos also sent one of these elders to Dolabella, who was the leader of Asia, entreating him to release the *Judeans* from the military-services,³ and to permit them to maintain the customs of their fathers and to live in accordance with them. **34** He easily obtained this request. For when Dolabella had received Hyrkanos' documents, he, without *even* taking counsel, sent a *letter* to all the Asians, *especially* writing to Ephesos, *the* principal city of Asia, about the *Judeans*. Now this is his letter:

35 When Artemōn was supreme-president, on the first *day* of Lēnaionos. Dolabella, emperor, to the chiefs, council *and* populace of Ephesos, greetings.

36 Alexandros *son of* Theodōros, *the* elder of Hyrkanos son of Alexandros *who is* chief-priest and nation-chief of the *Judeans*, had demonstrated to me that his fellow-citizens are not able to serve in the army, because they are not able to take up arms, nor to travel on the days of the sabbaths; nor are they able to procure foods for themselves, which *have been handed down to them by* their fathers and which they are accustomed to *eat*.

37 Therefore, I, even as the former leaders have done, grant them both an exemption from military-service, and permission to use the habits of their fathers by gathering together on account of their sacred and holy gatherings, as their law requires, and to make offerings for their sacrifices.

It is also my wish that you write these *things* to the various cities.

38 And these, indeed, were the favors which Dolabella made to us when Hyrkanos sent an elder to him.

Now these things were also affirmed by the decrees of Lucius Lentulus *the* consul, who enforced these things on behalf of the *Judeans* living in Ephesos and in all Asia, including exempting them from military-service.

39 Among those who passed a voted-proposal in confirmation of these things were: the Delians, and the Laodikeans, and the Pergamonians (who, in particular, remembered that their ancestors were friendly toward the *Judeans* even in the days of Abraham, who was the father of all the Hebrews, as it was found written in their public-records), and the Halikarnasians, and the Sardians, and the Ephesians, and many others. Indeed, all of these *decrees* demonstrate *the* friendship and alliance which we, in those times, had with the Romans.

CHAPTER 21 [Ant14:268-296 / War1:216-238a]

Now meanwhile, about this same time, disturbances broke out among the Romans near Apameia in Syria for the following reason: Bassus Caecilius, one of Pompeius' party, out of devotion to Pompeius, formed a plot against Sextus Caesar, indeed, killing him. Now taking *command of Caesar's* army,⁴ he made himself master of the *state* affairs. But at this, a great civil war began near Apameia; for the rest of Caesar's generals marched against *Bassus* and attacked him with their entire force of both cavalry and infantry in order to bring retribution upon him for the murder.

2 Now Antipatros was mindful of the benefits that *he and his sons* had received from his *two* friends: both the murdered and the surviving Caesar; and on that account, he thought it was righteous to avenge Sextus and bring about a

rightful-punishment for his murder. So he sent them auxiliaries together with his children.⁵

3 Now because the war was considerably prolonged, Murcus⁶ came from Roma in Italia to succeed Antistius⁷ government. But Caesar was deceitfully killed by Cassius and Brutus and their followers in the senate-house, after having held the government for three years and six⁸ months. (But this has been related elsewhere by *the secular historians*.)

4 But upon Caesar's death, a great war arose among the Romans. For this murder produced a tremendous upheaval, and the magistrates and powerful *men* split up into factions and dispersed into various regions in order to raise armies; and each person joined the party which he considered would best serve his personal ambitions.

Then Cassius also went from Roma to Syria in order to take *command of* the forces which he received at the encampment near Apameia. **5** There he procured a reconciliation between both Murcus and Bassus and the opposing legions. And indeed, he raised the siege of Apameia and brought both of them over to his party. Now taking *command of* the army, he went around the cities collecting both weapons and soldiers from them, as well as levying heavy tribute and exacting sums of *money* which was beyond their ability to pay. But he especially oppressed Judah, even extracting *money from them* by directing them to contribute 700 talents.

6 But Antipatros, seeing that affairs were in great fear and disorder, and being anxious at Cassius' threats, apportioned the task of money-collection and gave each of his sons a portion to collect; indeed, because necessity forced him to do so, he gave orders that a portion of it was to be exacted by Melech, who was malicious toward him, but *also* a portion by some of his acquaintances.

7 Now⁹ Hērōdēs was the first to exact his required quota from Galilee, which was 100 talents. And because of this, he appeased Cassius *and* was regarded as one of his best friends. For he thought it was prudent to cultivate friendship with the Romans and to secure their goodwill at the expense of others. **8** But Cassius reproached the rest of the cities for their slowness, venting his fury on them directly. So those who were curators over *these* cities along with their citizens, were sold as slaves. And accordingly, Cassius reduced four cities to slavery, of which the most important were both Gufnin and Hammat; but in addition to these, two other places of less importance: Lod and Timnah. **9** And¹⁰ because Melech did not make haste in levying the tribute, Cassius, indeed, was angered to the point of doing away with him (for he had started to march out against him). But Hyrkanos, by means of Antipatros, saved both him and the other cities from destruction by quickly propitiating Cassius with 100 talents of his own; and by this, he pacified his anger.

10 But when Cassius had departed from Judah *with much money*,¹¹ Melech truly forgot the favor which Antipatros had performed for him; but he often prepared to form plots against his savior, impatient to do away with one who was an obstacle to his unrighteous-practices, and also thinking that his end would be the preservation of Hyrkanos' government. Truly, these *plans* did not escape the notice of Antipatros. But¹² instead, when he learned about them, he so shrank in anxiety at both the strength and knavishness of *the* man, that he crossed beyond the Jordan and gathered together an army to defeat the treacherous plots formed against him. *This army consisted* partly of Arabians, and partly of his own countrymen.

11 But although Melech was detected, being a shrewd and shameless *individual*, he outwitted Antipatros' boys. For he both denied the plot, and defended himself under oath before both him and his boys and said, "Indeed, with Fazaal as *the* guardian of¹³ Jerusalem, but with Hērōdēs watching over the weapons, I would never have entertained such a notion, seeing how impossible it would be." And by these things and by many excuses, he persuaded them to act as mediators with their father. So he became reconciled with Antipatros. **12** And this agreement was made at the time when Murcus¹⁴ was general of Syria. Accordingly, Melech was once again saved by Antipatros, who dissuaded Murcus. For when Murcus had learned that Melech was stirring up a revolt in Judah, he had indeed come very near to doing away with him as a revolutionary, but at Antipatros' entreaty, had spared his life.

13 Now by saving Melech's life, Antipatros had unwittingly, as it turned out, saved his own murderer. For now at that time, both the youngest Caesar and Antonius declared war against Cassius and Brutus. Indeed, Cassius and Murcus collected an army in Syria; *and* because they regarded Hērōdēs' future assistance as a great asset, they entrusted its entire care to him. And they indeed made him

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "boys"

⁶ [War] // [Ant] "Marcus"

⁷ [War] Lat (confirmed by Dio Cass / many "Sextus" // [Ant] "Sextus")

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "seven"

⁹ [War] // [Ant] "And"

¹⁰ [War] // [Ant] "But/Now"

¹¹ [Ant] Lat adds

¹² [War] // [Ant] "For"

¹³ [War] // [Ant] "with Fazaal guarding over"

¹⁴ Emendation for "Marcus" (see above, and in all instances)

¹ [Ant] Lat omits "general and"

² [Ant] P.F1 "Johanah"

³ [Ant] may also be translated "from the expedition" // PAM "from the army"

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "force"

general and curator of Coelesyria,¹ and gave him boats and a force of both cavalry and infantry. Now Cassius also promised that, following the war, he would appoint *Hérōdēs* king of Judah.

14 But these powers and brilliant expectations of *Hérōdēs*² became the cause of his father's destruction. For Melech, now being more anxious than ever of Antipatros, sought to put him out of the way. And with monetary bribes, he persuaded a certain *one* of the royal wine-pourers of Hyrkanos, at whose house they were both feasting, to kill Antipatros³ by serving him a drug. So he indeed became a victim of Melech's transgression, and died after the drinking-party. **15** And this was how Antipatros came-to-his-end. He was indeed a man distinguished for piety and righteousness and devotion to his fatherland; a man efficacious in the leading of affairs, and one who both recovered and preserved the government for Hyrkanos. And having heavy-armed *soldiers* with him, *Melech* restored order in the city.

16 But when *Hérōdēs* and Fazael learned of the plot against their father, they were irked. But when Melech was suspected of the drugging, he appeased the angered multitude by denying everything, and professed to have no knowledge of the murder. *Melech* also strengthened his position by welding together a *group* of heavy-armed *soldiers*. For he never supposed that *Hérōdēs* would remain idle.

17 But *Antipatros*' boy, *Hérōdēs*, indeed resolved to immediately⁴ bring retributions upon Melech for his father's death by leading his army against him. But the eldest *boy*, Fazael, counseled his brother, "Do not proceed against this man openly. Otherwise it will appear that we are making the beginning of a civil war, and the multitude would form into separate factions. I think it would be better to get him into our hands by deceit."

18 Therefore, *Hérōdēs* indeed accepted Melech's defense, and pretended to believe him that he had had no hand in connection with Antipatros' evil death, and professed him to clear him from suspicion; but *Hérōdēs* celebrated a pompous funeral and burial for his father.

19 And as for *Hérōdēs*, he went to Samaria which was in a tumult. And finding it in great distress, he restored order in the city by repairing the damage and dissolved the quarrels among its humans. **20** But not long afterwards, when the festival took place at Jerusalem, he returned to the city with his heavy-armed *soldiers*.

And at his approach, Melech was anxious, and sought to persuade Hyrkanos not to permit him entrance. And Hyrkanos indeed let himself be persuaded, and prevented him from entering. But as an excuse for keeping *Hérōdēs* out, *Hyrkanos* alleged, "It is not proper to admit a crowd of foreigners *inside* to intrude upon the country-folk while the multitude is purifying themselves."

21 But *Hérōdēs*, scorning the pretext and the one who issued that order, paid little attention to his messengers,⁵ and entered the city by night and put Melech in fear, who had come to wait on him. But *Melech* did not remit his assumption of innocence; instead, he wept for Antipatros and loudly mourned his memory as a friend. But he secretly provided himself with a bodyguard. **22** Now *Hérōdēs* was scarce able to restrain his wrath, but his party still thought it best not to unmask his pretext; instead, they, in turn, even dissembled and treated Melech with friendliness in turn, in order to avoid suspicion.

23 However, at the same time, *Hérōdēs* also sent a letter to Cassius about the end of his father, deploring the murder;⁶ for Cassius also hated Melech for other reasons. Now *Cassius*, knowing what kind of *man* Melech was, wrote in reply, "Wreak vengeance on your father's murderer." And he secretly sent to the tribunes under his *command* at Zor, with orders to assist *Hérōdēs* in his plan to carry out this rightful-punishment.

24 Now when Cassius had taken Laodikeia, the powerful *men* flocked to him from every region and officially presented themselves by bringing him presents and crowns and money. Indeed, *Hérōdēs* had allotted this time to bring retributions upon Melech while he was there, and had expected to do so. **25** But being near Zor in Phoiniké, Melech suspected what was being done; and because his boy⁷ was a hostage in Zor, he came to the city, and determined to both secretly steal him away from the Zorites and set off in haste to Judah. **26** Now desperation for *Melech*'s own salvation stimulated him to conceive yet greater schemes. For he hoped that, while Cassius was preoccupied with the war against Antonius and marching in haste against him, he would both cause the nation to revolt, and easily depose Hyrkanos in order to seize the government and kingdom for himself.

27 But fate mocked his counsels, for these were opposed by a demon. And *Hérōdēs*, who was clever enough to perceive and foresee the intention which he was so motivated about, invited both him and Hyrkanos to a dinner festival prepared for them all. Then *Hérōdēs* indeed sent one of his servants, a domestic-slave, ahead of him, feigning to prepare the meal. But in reality, *this servant* was

sent to the tribunes, instructing them to come out for the ambushade. Remembering Cassius' orders, they were persuaded by him to go out against Melech with their short-swords and hand-knives. **28** So they went out; and meeting Melech on the seashore near the city, they encompassed him and stabbed him severely, doing away with him with many wounds.

Therefore, Hyrkanos was indeed struck on the spot with such consternation that he was rendered speechless; he instantly swooned and fell. But when he had recovered with some difficulty, he cross-questioned *Hérōdēs* about it, inquiring, "What does this mean? And who did away with⁸ Melech?"

29 But one of the tribunes⁹ answered, "It was done by Cassius' orders."

So Hyrkanos commended this deed, declaring, "Then Cassius has saved both me and my fatherland, by doing away with the *man* who plotted against both. For Melech was a very wicked *man*." So¹⁰ this was indeed how Melech paid for his transgression against Antipatros, being prosecuted with this rightful-punishment from *Hérōdēs*.

30 But when Cassius had left Syria, new disorders arose in Judah: a sedition in Jerusalem. For Helix,¹¹ who had been left behind with an army in Jerusalem, marched against Fazael, wanting to bring retributions upon *Hérōdēs* for Melech's death by attacking his brother. But the populace was in arms.

31 Now at the time, *Hérōdēs* was on his way to Fabius, the general of Damasek. And although he wished to rush to his brother's assistance, he was prevented and detained by a sickness. **32** Meanwhile, Fazael, by his own efforts, finally defeated Helix, and indeed shut him up in a tower; but later, under a truce, released him.

Fazael also reproached Hyrkanos on account of his unthankfulness, because, although he had indeed received many benefits from him, he still supported his enemies: both by assisting the rebel, and by allowing Melech's brother *Helix* to take possession of the fortresses. **33** For Melech's brother had stirred up a revolt in no few places, and was already guarding many *fortresses*, including Masada, the strongest of them all.

Therefore, truly, nothing could avail him against the might of *Hérōdēs*. For meanwhile, *Hérōdēs* had indeed recovered from his sickness. So he came against *Helix* and retook from him all the places which he held; and under a truce, he drove him out of Masada as a suppliant for mercy.

CHAPTER 22 [Ant14:297-323 / War1:238b-242, 432a]

Now Antigonos son of Aristoboulos collected an army and sought the favor of Fabius with bribes, a *man* who assisted him in his restoration. Then *Antigonos* was brought back to his *own* country by his kinsman Ptolemaios the Mennaios; this was done on account of their kinship. But it was Ptolemaios who supplied all of his expenses.

2 Now he was also aided by Marion, whom indeed Cassius had left as the tyrant of the Zorites; for *Cassius* was the man who had occupied Syria, and who had controlled it by cutting it into small monarchies.¹² But due to the hatred *Marion* bore toward *Hérōdēs*, he was an accomplice in bringing back the exiled *Antigonos*; and in this, he was influenced still more by Fabius. **3** Now Marion also invaded Galilee, which lay on his borders, and captured three fortifications, placing garrisons within them.

But *Hérōdēs* set out against him and took all these fortifications from Marion, the tyrant of Zor, and drove him out of Galilee. But as for the Zorites whom he took prisoners, he indeed saved all of them; and he humanely released the Zorian garrison, and, out of goodwill toward their city, gave gifts to some of them. But by these means, he also procured goodwill from the city for himself and their hatred for the tyrant.

4 After achieving these things, he went to meet Antigonos and joined in a battle with him at the entry to Judah. And he had *the* victory in the battle, and drove Antigonos out of Judah before he had time to penetrate further than its borders.

Now when *Hérōdēs* arrived in Jerusalem, he was beloved by everyone on account of his success. Both Hyrkanos and the populace wreathed his head with crowns. **5** For even those who had not previously favored him, were now reconciled by his *future* marriage; for *Hérōdēs* had already become connected with the family of Hyrkanos by an agreement of marriage. And for that reason, *Hérōdēs* was more protective of him.

6 For indeed his first wife, named Dōris, had been born at Jerusalem, and had been a distinguished commoner of the nation. She had been his spouse when he was a commoner; and by her, he begat his eldest son Antipatros. But now, in fact, he was about to marry Miriam, daughter of Alexandros son of Aristoboulos, but granddaughter of Hyrkanos. And through this *union*, he would become a relative

¹ [Ant] // [War] "of all Syria"

² literally "of the boy"

³ [War] // [Ant] "the man"

⁴ [War] // [Ant] "straightaway"

⁵ [Ant] Lat "to the purification laws"

⁶ literally "the doing-away"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "son"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "who killed"

⁹ [War] // [Ant] "And he" (implying *Hérōdēs*)

¹⁰ [Ant] // [War] "For"

¹¹ [Ant] Lat "Félix"

¹² [Ant], [War] (literally "tyrannies" // [Ant] variant "through tyranny")

of the king. Indeed, *this was the woman* by whom he would become the father of three males and two females. *So* he sent *Dōris* away.

7 Now therefore, both Antonius and Caesar indeed conquered and did away with Cassius at Philippi (which has been related elsewhere by *the secular historians*).¹ But after their victory, Caesar indeed proceeded to Italia,² but Antonius marched for Asia. But when Antonius arrived at Bithynia, he was met by elders who had been sent from every other city.

8 Now the powerful *men* and magistrates of the Judeans also came, who accused Fazel and Hērōdēs, saying, “They have indeed usurped the *state* affairs, but have left Hyrkanos no more than an honorable title; so that while Hyrkanos indeed has the appearance of the reign, it is these *men* who have all the authority.”

9 But Hērōdēs, who was held in great honor by Antonius, came to him to make his defense against those who were accusing him. And in this way, those of the opposing faction were not even able to obtain a hearing; *for* Hērōdēs had obtained this favor from Antonius with no little *quantity* of money. So for the time being, these enemies were dispersed.

10 Now when Antonius came to Ephesos, the chief-priest Hyrkanos and our nation sent a body of elders to him, who brought a golden crown, and the following request: that he would write to the province-chiefs to set free those Judeans who had been taken captive by Cassius in violation of the laws of war, and restore them to the country which had been taken from them during the days of Cassius.

11 Antonius decided that the Judeans were right in making these demands. *So* he immediately wrote to Hyrkanos and the Judeans. But he also sent a decree to the Zorites containing the following things:

12 Marcus Antonius, emperor, to Hyrkanos, chief-priest and nation-chief, and to the Judean nation,³ greetings.

If you are in good health, it is well. Now I also am in good health, as is the army.

13 *The elders Lusimachos son of Pausanias, and Joseph son of Mennaios, and Alexandros son of Theodōros, met me at Ephesos, and have renewed the decision of the body of elders which they had previously carried out in Roma, and have diligently discharged their present one on behalf of you and the nation, and have fully declared the goodwill which you have toward us.* 14 Therefore, being persuaded by both deeds and words that you are well-disposed toward us, and having perceived your obliging and God-revering conduct, I regard your interests as my own.

15 When those who were opponents, to both you and the Roman populace, overran all Asia, and who spared neither cities nor temples, and who disregarded the sworn agreements that they had made, it was not only our own contest; instead, it was *on account of* all men in common that we wreaked vengeance upon those who were responsible *both* of the transgressions against humans and the sins against the gods, from which it seems that even the very sun turned away, as if it too were loath to look upon odious defilement *committed* against Caesar.

16 Instead, their plots, which defied the gods themselves, which were received by Makedonia as though its climate was proper to their unsacred enterprises, we have overcome. And we have also overcome the confused *multitude* of half-crazed villains whom they welded together at Philippi in Makedonia, where they occupied places naturally favorable and walled-in by mountains as far as the sea, so that the *entire*⁴ passage could only be controlled through a single gate. We have accomplished this, because the gods had condemned them for their unrighteous undertakings. 17 And Brutus, who fled to Philippi, was hemmed in by us and shared the ruin of Cassius.

Now that these men have been chastised, we hope that, from now on, we shall enjoy peace and give Asia respite from the war. 18 Therefore, we are ready to let our auxiliaries also share in the peace which was given to us by God. Therefore, due to our victory, the body of Asia is now recovering, as it were, from a serious sickness. Moreover, also having in mind to promote the welfare of both you and your nation, I shall take care of your interests.

19 Now I have also sent documents throughout the cities, that if any persons, whether freemen or slaves were sold under the spear by Gaius Cassius, or by those appointed under him, they shall be dismissed. And it is my wish that you shall enjoy the humanities granted by me and Dolabella.

I also forbid the Zorites to use violence against you, and command that they restore whatever *places* they possess belonging to the Judeans.

But as for the crown which you have sent, I have accepted it.

* * * * *

20 Marcus Antonius, emperor, to the chiefs, council *and* populace of Zor, greetings.

The elders of Hyrkanos, the chief-priest and nation-chief, made known to me at Ephesos and told me that you are in possession of their country, which you invaded during the time when our opponents were in control. 21 Since we have undertaken a war for obtaining the leadership, and have in mind the cause of piety and righteousness, *and* have taken vengeance on those who neither remembered kindness nor kept their oaths, it is my wish that our auxiliaries shall have peace at your hands; and that whatever you have received from our opponents shall not be retained by you; instead, they shall be restored to those from whom they were taken. 22 For none of these *men* obtained his province or army by grant of the senate; instead, they seized them by force, *and* by an act of violence, presented them to those who had been useful to them in their unrighteous activities.

23 Therefore, since they have now paid a rightful-punishment, we also think it is right for our auxiliaries to remain in undisturbed possession of whatever they formerly possessed; and also that you, if you now hold any places which belonged to Hyrkanos, the nation-chief of the Judeans, that you restore them to him, even if they were gained but a single day before Gaius Cassius waged an unlawful war *and* invaded our province; nor are you allowed to use any force against them in order to make them incapable of managing their own *possessions*.

24 But if you have any justifiable plea against him, you will be permitted to make it when we come to these parts; *for* in giving judgment, we keep watch over the lawsuits of all our auxiliaries equally.

* * * * *

25 Marcus Antonius, emperor, to the chiefs, council, *and* populace of Zor, greetings.

I have sent you my edict, and it is my will that you take care to engrave it on the public tablets in Latin and Hellenic characters; and when it is written, to keep it in the most conspicuous place, in order that it may be read by everyone:

26 “Marcus Antonius, emperor, one of the three men appointed over the public affairs:

“In his rebellion, Gaius Cassius seized a province which did not belong to him. He occupied it with encampments, and he plundered it *and* our auxiliaries, and forced the surrender of the Judean nation, which was a friend of the Roman populace. 27 Having overcome his madness by our weapons, we now establish order by our edicts and decisions in the *countries* laid waste by him, so that they may be restored to our auxiliaries.

“And whatever was sold of the Judean possessions, whether they be Judean bodies or possessions, shall be dismissed: indeed, the bodies to be free, as they were originally; but the possessions to be returned to their former lords.

28 “Now it is my wish, that whoever disobeys my edict shall be brought to a court-of-justice; and if such a *person* is convicted, I shall take-care to prosecute the offender in accordance with the seriousness of his act.”

29 Now Antonius wrote in the same way to the Zidonians, and the Antiocheians, and the Aradians,⁵ showing the thoughtfulness which the Romans had for our nation.

CHAPTER 23 [Ant14:324-342a / War1:243-255]

Now afterwards, when Antonius came to Syria, Kleopatra met him in Kilikia, and enslaved him, taking him into her hand by *way of* his passionate-desire for her. And once again, a hundred of the most powerful Judean men indeed came before him at Dafneh beside Antiocheia to accuse Hērōdēs and his party. And putting forward their most powerful and eloquent speakers, they accused against the brothers. 2 But Messala defended the brothers, speaking against *these Judeans* on behalf of the youths in the presence of Hyrkanos, who had by then, become Hērōdēs’ kinsman by marriage.

Now¹ after Antonius had listened to both sides, he asked Hyrkanos, “Who are the best and most fit to be established as foremost *men* of the nation?”

¹ [Ant] variant omits “which...*historians*”

² [Ant] Lat / most “Galatia” // [War] “Italia”

³ [Ant] P / others “nation-chief of the Judeans”

⁴ [Ant] variant adds

⁵ [Ant] variant (in error) “Arabians”

But he answered, “Hérōdés’ party.”

3 Now Antonius was delighted with the answer; for he had been friendly with them from of old, due to the humane relations which he had formed with their father Antipatros while he accompanied Gabinus on his march into Judah. So *in answer to Hyrkanos’ reply*, he appointed both brothers, Hérōdés and Fazael, to be tetrarchs, and entrusted *the administration and the affairs of the Judeans*² to them. But he also wrote documents to this purpose.

4 But when the elders were additionally indignant *at this procedure*, Antonius arrested fifteen of *the brothers’* opponents³ and put them in chains, while he dismissed the rest in disgrace; but he was even about to kill⁴ those who were imprisoned, but the intercession of Hérōdés’ party *saved their lives*.

5 But his words when this body of elders returned did they remain quiet. Instead, *Antonius’* action intensified the tumult at Jerusalem. So again, a thousand elders were sent to meet Antonius at Zor, where he had decided to abide while on his march to Jerusalem. And because Antonius had already been heavily bribed by both Hérōdés and his brother, he dispatched the chief of Zor, ordering him to punish all of the Judean elders whom he could catch, who had been *both shouting and* were bent on revolution, and to establish in the government those whom he had appointed tetrarchs, *including Hérōdés*.

6 But before these orders were executed, Hérōdés, along with Hyrkanos, hastily went out to them (for they had taken up a position on the shore in front of the city). And he strongly urged these *elders* to go away, saying, “Great evil and ruin will befall you, and war upon your *own* fatherland, if you go on with your rash love-of-strife.”

7 But his words only increased their fury. And, indeed, because they were not persuaded by him, Antonius sent out heavy-armed Roman *soldiers*, who immediately rushed upon them with daggers in hand; they indeed killed some, but wounded a still greater number,⁵ but the rest escaped to their homes and remained there unmoving in great consternation. Entombing for the fallen and treatment for the wounded were provided by Hyrkanos.

8 But truly those who had escaped were not silenced; instead, they created such a disturbance in the city that the populace cried out against Hérōdés. And Antonius was so exasperated and enraged by this, that he killed those whom he had taken as prisoners.

9 Now two years later, Syria was occupied by Pakor, *the boy of the king of Parthia*, and by Barzafama,⁶ the Parthian satrap. But at the same time, Ptolemaios the Mennaïos also came-to-his-end; and his son Lusanius succeeded to the government, and made a friendship with Antigonos son of Aristoboulos; *and in order to obtain it*, he found the satrap useful, for he had great influence with him.

10 Now Lusanius, *by means of* Antigonos, persuaded the satrap by promising to give the Parthians 1,000 talents and 500 women if they would deprive Hyrkanos of the government and give the kingdom back to Antigonos, and do away with Hérōdés’ party. 11 Truly, Pakor was lured by this offer. And indeed, although he did not give them *what he had promised*, the Parthians nevertheless, for the sake of these rewards, marched against Judah and brought Antigonos back to his country. Indeed, Pakor went along the seacoast, while he ordered the satrap Barzafama to advance through the interior.

12 Now therefore, as for the coastal cities: the Zorites indeed excluded Pakor, but *the Zidonians and Ptolemeans* admitted him. However,⁷ Pakor entrusted a swarm of cavalry to a certain wine-pourer of the king and of *the rest of the royal persons*, who bore the same name as himself, and directed him both to march into Judah in order to reconnoiter the position of their foes in the country, and to assist Antigonos by any means he might require.

13 While these men were raiding Mount Carmel, some of the Judeans near the mountain flocked to Antigonos in large numbers and showed themselves ready to make an incursion with him. Now Antigonos, hoping to take some part of the country with their assistance, sent these men forward with orders to capture a place called The Forest. 14 And here, some opponents came and engaged them. And they drove their foes away, and pursued them, and ran after them as far as Jerusalem to where these humans escaped. And being joined by others, their numbers increased, forming a large body, and they proceeded as far as the royal *palace* where they came against it and besieged it.

15 But Fazael and Hérōdés⁸ came to be an ally of the besieged and received *their enemies* with a strong force; so a fierce battle broke out in the marketplace. The youths and Hérōdés’ party were victorious over their foes, and pursued them into the temple where they shut them up within. 16 Then they sent sixty heavy-armed *soldiers* to the adjacent houses to keep guard over them. But because the

soldiers were left without reinforcements, the populace,⁹ who were in league against the brothers, indeed rose up against this garrison and burned them to death in the houses. 17 Therefore, in consequence of this unrighteous-deed, Hérōdés was so angered, that soon afterwards, he indeed brought retributions upon his opponents; and utterly-destroying them by engaging them in a battle, he killed¹⁰ a great many of the populace. 18 But every day small companies sallied out against each other, and the murder was incessant.

Now during the daily firings of projectiles which took place, their foes waited for the arrival of the multitude who were coming from the country to the celebration of The Fiftieth Day, which is the name of one of our festivals. 19 And when this day came, the whole vicinity around the temple and the entire city were crowded with many tens of thousands of humans who had come from the country, most armed and some unarmed.

Now the newcomers held the temple and the city, with an exception of the royal *palace* and its environs; for these *places* were protected by Hérōdés along with a few of his heavy-armed *soldiers*. 20 Therefore, Fazael indeed guarded the wall, while Hérōdés along with a small company, guarded the royal *palace*. And with this, he descended upon their foes’ disorganized ranks in the suburbs; and fighting staunchly, he indeed did away with large numbers of them, but routed the rest who numbered many tens of thousands. And indeed, some of them fled to the city where they were shut up within, but others within the temple, but some within the palisaded-enclosures. But Fazael also gave *Hérōdés* assistance.

21 But at this, Antigonos petitioned for Pakor, the Parthian general, to be admitted as a mediator *between them*. And Fazael consented, receiving the Parthian into the city with 500 cavalry; and when he met him, he received and treated him with hospitality. Indeed, *this Parthian* had come feigning to put an end to the sedition; but in reality, he came to assist Antigonos in obtaining the government. 22 And accordingly, with this deception, Pakor insidiously persuaded Fazael to go himself as an elder to Barzafama in order to put an end to the hostilities.

And yet, Hérōdés still did not approve of what was being done, because of the natural faithlessness of the barbarians. Instead, he even strongly attempted to dissuade his brother, and directed him to do away with the schemer Pakor and the others who had come *with him*, and not to abandon himself to his schemes. 23 Now therefore, despite *these exhortations*, Fazael left the city and took Hyrkanos with him in the body of elders. But to allay suspicions, Pakor left with Hérōdés 200¹¹ of the cavalry and ten of the freemen, as they were called; and with the remainder, he escorted Fazael and Hyrkanos on the way.

CHAPTER 24 [Ant14:342b-369 / War1:256-273]

Now when *Fazael and Hyrkanos* arrived in *Galilee*, they indeed found that the Galileans had revolted; and their foes who were stationed in that region¹² met them in arms. 2 But the satrap Barzafama, with whom they had an audience, was a very crafty individual. And the *people of that country* petitioned him to conceal his plot under a show of benevolence. And although he at first received them cordially and gave them gifts accordingly, he afterward began to plot against them, and laid an ambush to catch them on their departure. 3 Now Fazael along with his cavalry were brought to one of the coastal cities named Achzib,¹³ where they discovered the plot.

For when they heard that Antigonos had promised the Parthians 1,000 talents, and that the 500 women whom Antigonos had devoted to the Parthians included most of their own, they now had suspicions about the barbarians. 4 Instead, someone truly brought a message *stating* that a plot was being laid for them to be carried out by night, and that the barbarians had placed a perpetual secret guard around them. And *Fazael and Hyrkanos* would have already been seized had it not been that the conspirators were waiting until the Parthians at Jerusalem had seized Hérōdés; lest upon doing away with them first, Hérōdés would learn about their capture and *either* put himself on guard or escape. And these were not mere reports; instead, they could even see the guards posted in the distance.

5 Therefore, some of the men indeed urged Fazael to mount his horse immediately and not to wait any longer. However, above all the rest, he was pressed to do this by a certain Ophellios; for *this man* had learned the whole scheme of the plot from Saramalla, who was at that time the wealthiest *man* in Syria, and who also promised him boats for his flight; for the sea was near.

6 But truly, despite these urgent exhortations, *Fazael* did not think it right to desert Hyrkanos, nor to endanger his brother. But he went to the satrap Barzafama and reproached him to his face, saying to him, “You are not acting righteously by taking such counsel¹⁴ against us, and, primarily, because you did it for money. For if it is money that you want, I truly promise that you will receive more from me in exchange for our salvation, than Antigonos promised *to give you* for a kingdom.

¹ [Ant] // [War] “And”

² [Ant] // [War] “of Judah”

³ [Ant] variant “of the rebels”

⁴ [Ant] // [War] “to do away with”

⁵ [Ant] variant “wounded some” // [War] “wounded a still greater number”

⁶ [Ant] Iranian emendation (from “Barzaphranes” / variant “Bazaphranes” / variant “Barzapharmanes”)

⁷ [Ant] // [War] “But/Now”

⁸ [Ant] // [War] “Hyrkanus”

⁹ [Ant] // [War] “people”

¹⁰ [Ant] // [War] “he did away with”

¹¹ [Ant] E “500”

¹² [Ant] variant “and those who were in command of the cities”

¹³ [War] // [Ant] “to the sea”

¹⁴ [Ant] variant “in desiring such things”

And, in any case, it was a terrible thing to kill elders who had come to you faithfully and were doing nothing unrighteous.”

7 But the sly Parthian barbarian, by defenses and oaths, endeavored to clear himself of suspicion, swearing that there was no truth in these suspicions, *but* instead that the suspicions which disturbed Fazael were false. Then he went off to join Pakor.

8 But when he had gone, some Parthians who had been left behind with orders to do so, immediately came and arrested both Fazael and Hyrkanos and put them in chains. The prisoners could do nothing else but curse and greatly reproach the Parthians for their perfidy and their faithlessness.

9 Now meanwhile, a plot to arrest Hérōdēs was also in progress. The wine-pourer, the eunuch, who had been sent to Hérōdēs had orders to delude him into coming outside the walls and seize him. But Hérōdēs had suspected the barbarians from the beginning. **10** Now messengers had been sent by Fazael to inform him of the perfidy of the Parthians. But *Hérōdēs* learned that the documents informing him of the conspiracy had been seized by their foes. And yet he *indignantly*¹ went to Pakor, and to the most powerful Parthians as masters of the others.

11 But they, although they knew everything, deceitfully pretended innocence and said that he should go with them before the wall in order to meet the letter-bearers;² for they had not yet been seized by their opponents, nor contained any mention of a plot; instead,³ they had come with a full report of everything which Fazael had accomplished.

12 However, despite Pakor’s highly plausible assertions, Hérōdēs did not believe them and refused to come out. For he had already heard about his brother’s capture from others. But Hyrkanos’ daughter *Alexandra*, to whose girl, Miriam, he was betrothed, came and implored him not to venture out or trust himself to the barbarians, who were now openly planning his ruin. So at this prompting, he became even more suspicious of the Parthians. Therefore, the others indeed paid no attention to her, but he himself had faith in her as being very sensible and *the* most sagacious of women.

13 Now Pakor and his party of Parthians continued to deliberate by what stealthy means they might achieve their plot. For they did think it was feasible to attack him, as it was impossible to openly triumph over such a powerful man. And while they postponed the matter to the next day, Hérōdēs was in a *state* of great disturbance. And giving more weight to what he had heard about his brother and the Parthian’s plot rather than the other side, he decided to take his opportunity to flee when evening came, and not to delay as if the dangers from his foes were uncertain.

14 Therefore, *Hérōdēs* set out by night with the heavy-armed *soldiers* whom he had there, and mounted the women on beasts. These were the closest and dearest *members* of his family, including both his mother and sister, as well as *Miriam* the girl of Alexandros son of Aristoboulos, whom he was going to marry, and *Miriam’s* mother, daughter of Hyrkanos. He also took his youngest brother, along with both all the servants, and the rest of the crowd which was with them. And unobserved by his foes, they followed the road to Edom. **15** The wretched women led their infants; and with tears and wailing, left their own fatherland behind, and their friends in chains; nor did they expect anything better for them.

16 Instead, Hérōdēs raised his mind above the blow caused by this terrible *incident*; and being himself of good-soul in the midst of the terrible *incident*, he went to the others along the road and also urged each of them to have courage, and not to give themselves wholly over to grief. “For this will hinder us in our flight, which is now our only hope of salvation.” **17** And indeed, at his exhortation, they tried to bear their troubles.

But once, when a wagon overturned and his mother was in danger of dying, he was almost going to take his own life, *both* due to the anguish he had on her account, and *due to* his fear, that as a result of this delay, their foes might overtake them in pursuit. **18** Accordingly, as he was drawing his short-sword and was about to strike himself with it, those near him restrained him; and due to their number, they prevailed upon him. And they also told him that it was not right for him to abandon them, leaving them as prey to their enemies; for it was not the role of a noble man to free himself from danger *and* disregard that of his friends.

19 Therefore, he was compelled to desist from his rash act against himself, due to both the shame brought by what they were saying, and *the* multitude of those who would not permit him to carry out his plan. So he revived his mother and procured for her as much care as was possible in the short time at his disposal, and proceeded on his way, hastily making the journey to the fortification of Masada.

20 But as soon as the Parthians discovered *his flight*, they started in pursuit. Indeed, *Hérōdēs* ordered his mother and sisters and the girl who was betrothed to him, along with her mother and his youngest brother, to continue their journey. And then, aided by his servants, he secured their retreat, holding the barbarians at bay. And although he fought many battles against the Parthians who sallied out

and pursued him, he was victorious in them all. So after killing large numbers of them, he pressed on to the fortress of Masada.

21 But during his flight, he was not safe from the Judeans either, whom he found by trial to be more burdensome for him than the Parthians. Indeed, they perpetually troubled him. But once his party had gone sixty⁴ stadia from the city, *the Judeans* drew up into battle-order, both assaulting them and coming to *hand-to-hand combat* along the road, which had been prolonged for a considerable time. **22** And he routed these *Judeans*, and defeated them, killing many of them. And he did this as if he were not in any helpless or difficult position, instead, as if he was finely prepared for war, and had a great advantage. **23** Later, when Hérōdēs became king, he commemorated this site where he had defeated the Judeans, by building a very strong *fortification* on it, which he called Hérōdeion after his own name; and by building a wonderful summit-city around it, which he called Hérōdia, and which he adorned with the most costly royal *palaces*.

24 Yet truly, from this time forward, *Hérōdēs’ party* was joined by many others daily. But when he also came to a place in Edom called Thresa,⁵ he was met by his brother Joseph. And *Hérōdēs* held a council to see what he was to do about all his affairs, since, in addition to his mercenaries, indeed a great multitude accompanied him; but the place of Masada, where he proposed to flee to, was too small to contain such a large crowd. So Joseph counseled him to disburden himself of a great number of his followers.

25 Now therefore, Hérōdēs, indeed complying with this *counsel*, sent away the most cumbersome part of them, which *numbered* at least 9,000, directing them to save themselves by fleeing to various places in Edom; and he gave them travel-supplies for their journey. But he retained only his most stalwart followers who were the least encumbered with equipment, and those who were his closest relatives. Now taking them with him, he safely reached the fortress.⁶ And there, he both deposited the women, and left 800 of his followers as a guard for the women. But in this place, there were both supplies of grain and water, and other necessities to stand a siege. Then he himself set out in haste for Petra in Arab.

26 But when it was day, the Parthians in Jerusalem broke into the houses of those who had fled, indeed plundering all the possessions of the Jerusalemmites,⁷ as well as the royal *palace*. Now they refrained only from Hyrkanos’ money, but it amounted to no more than 300⁸ talents. **27** But much of Hérōdēs’ *property* escaped, and primarily all of his most precious treasures which his usual foresight had succeeded in removing to Edom⁹ beforehand. For having long suspected the faithlessness of the barbarians, he had taken these precautions; and each of his companions had done likewise. Therefore, the Parthians, indeed having found less than they expected within the city, were certainly not satisfied. And their wanton-violence proceeded to such extremes, that, instead, they also went out, ravaging the country, filling it with the horrors of an undeclared war, and demolished the mighty city of Mareshah.

28 And this was indeed how Antigonos was brought back to Judah by the Parthians and their king, and was established as king; and *how he* took both Hyrkanos and Fazael as prisoners to be tortured. But *he* was very downcast because the women, whom he had planned to give to the enemy, had escaped; *for*, together with the money, this was the reward which he had promised *to give* them.

29 But fearing that the multitude might restore Hyrkanos to the kingdom, Antigonos went up to him where he was being guarded by the Parthians. But as Hyrkanos fell down on *his knees*, *Antigonos* maimed his ears,¹⁰ cutting them off with his own teeth. Since *Hyrkanos* was now mutilated in this way, *Antigonos* had made sure that the chief-priesthood would never again come to him, despite any change of circumstances. *For* the law required that this office of chief-priest should only belong to those *whose body* was complete.

30 But as for Fazael, although he knew that he would have his throat cut, he did not consider death to be a terrible thing in itself; but he thought that to suffer in this way at the hands of an enemy was a most bitter and shameful thing. Since, on account of his chains, his hands were not free, and he was deprived of using iron to do away with himself, he courageously forestalled *Antigonos’ malice* by dashing his head upon a rock, releasing himself *from this life*, which he thought was the finest he could do in his distress. Now this was how he deprived his foes of the power to kill him as they pleased; and how he, demonstrating himself to be a true brother of Hérōdēs and Hyrkanos *to be* the most ignoble of men, died with great manliness, making the end of his life resemble its deeds.

31 Now there is also an account that,¹¹ after he had incurred this serious wound, he recovered from the blow. But Antigonos, having quietly sent healers *as if* on the basis for a treatment, injected deadly drugs into his wound and utterly-destroyed him. **32** However, before he had completely released his soul *and* come-to-his-end, Fazael heard from a certain woman that his brother Hérōdēs had

⁴ [Ant] PE, [War] // [Ant] others “six”

⁵ [Ant] Greek “Thresa” / Latin “Risa” // [War] “Rhesa” [BIBLICAL ‘HORESHAH’]

⁶ [War] // [Ant] “fortification”

⁷ [Ant] P “Jerusalem”

⁸ [Ant] most, [War] // [Ant] PE “80”

⁹ [Ant] Lat, [War] // [Ant] Greek “Judah”

¹⁰ [Ant] most, Africanus, Syncellus / V “ear”

¹¹ [War] // [Ant] “Now it is said that”

¹ [Ant] Lat adds

² [War] // [Ant] “document-bearers”

³ [War] // [Ant] “however”

escaped his foes. At this, *Fazael* said, “Now I shall depart cheerfully, since I am leaving someone alive behind me who will avenge my enemies.” So he bore his coming-to-his-end cheerfully, having left behind one who would avenge his death, and who was able to wreak vengeance on his enemies.

32 Therefore, this was indeed how he came to his end. But the Parthians (although they had failed to obtain the women, which was what they coveted most) indeed further established Antigonos over the affairs in Jerusalem, but they imprisoned Hyrkanos, carrying him off to Parthia.

CHAPTER 25 [Ant14:370-389 / War1:274-285]

But Hérōdēs was not discouraged by the magnitude of the miseries encompassing him; instead, these *miseries* made him sharper in attempting¹ perilous deeds. For he, not knowing what had happened to his brother Fazael, but in the belief that he was still alive, was in haste to ransom him from his foes, being ready to pay as much as 300 talents for his ransom, by which he alone hoped would move the avaricious barbarians to spare *his brother*.

2 For *this reason*, Hérōdēs zealously made a journey into Arab to Melech the Arabian king, who had previously received many benefits from him, in order to receive some return, now that he was in need of it, desiring that *it would be given to him* in the form of money, either as a loan or as a gift.

3 For he reasoned, “If the Arabian *king* is too forgetful of my father’s friendship with him, and is too covetous to make me a gift, I will still borrow from him the ransom amount, and leave with him, as a pledge, the boy of the *prisoner* whom I wish to ransom.”

4 Now² also for this purpose, he took along with him his brother Fazael’s boy, who was seven years old, to offer him as security to the Arabians. But *also* for his sureties, *he* offered the *Zorites*, who had volunteered their services.

However, foresight had been too quick for his diligence. And since Fazael was dead, Hérōdēs’ love for his brother was now in vain. Truly, he was not able to find any lasting friendship with the Arabians. **5** Now accordingly, he was met by messengers, who had immediately been sent by their king Melech. Through them, *Melech* transmitted a message to Hérōdēs, *ordering him* to instantly withdraw from his territory, *saying that* the Parthians had sent ambassadors who instructed him not to receive Hérōdēs and to expel him from Arab. He used this as a pretext so that he would not have to repay his debts; **6** and the Arabian magistrates, the most powerful men at his court, who like himself desired to embezzle what had been entrusted to them by Antipatros, further induced him to pursue this shameless conduct. For in reality, the counselors were determined to withhold from Hérōdēs the sums which they owed (those which they had received in deposit from Antipatros), and not to be forced by any sense of shame into making the slightest return to his children in their hour of need for everything which they had received from their father.

7 Now when Hérōdēs found that the Arabians were his enemies, and *this* on account of the very reasons which had made him hope for their warm friendship, he brought them a message which his feelings dictated, “I have come to you with no thought of making trouble, but only to discuss certain matters which are of the greatest importance to him.”

8 After this, he decided to retire, prudently taking the road back toward Egypt. And so, the first evening, he indeed lodged in one of the temples of that country, where he picked up *not*³ many of his followers, for he had left them there in the rear. But the next day, he advanced to Rhinocoroura, where a message was brought to him regarding the end of his brother. But having taken up the same amount of grief as he had laid-aside of *his* concerns, he resumed his march.

9 And now, after some time, Melech, the king of Arab, changing *both* his opinion and his mind from what he had done, hastily dispatched *messengers* to recall Hérōdēs back; but this was without success. For Hérōdēs, in his haste, was far ahead of them, having already reached Pélousion. But when Hérōdēs arrived, the ships which were moored there prevented him from sailing to Alexandria. Unable to obtain a passage, he petitioned their leaders, who, out of great respect and regard for both his fame and dignity, escorted him to the city of Alexandria.

10 Now when Hérōdēs entered the city, he was detained by Kleopatra, who gave him a magnificent reception. For she hoped to entrust him as general of *an expedition* which she was preparing. However, she was not able to persuade him to remain there, for he was eager to get to Roma. But therefore, eluding the queen’s solicitations, and, being deterred neither by the perils of winter,⁴ nor by the reports of the disturbances and great disorder in Italia, he set sail from there to Roma.

11 But around Pamphylia Hérōdēs was endangered after encountering a violent storm, and he was forced to throw the bulk of the cargo⁵ overboard. With difficulty, he barely reached Rhodos in safety. And there, he was indeed met and

welcomed by two of his friends, both Sappinus⁶ and Ptolemaios. **12** But finding the city damaged and severely suffering from the war against Cassius, he did not hesitate to do it a kindness even though he himself was in need of money; instead, he actually exceeded his means in restoring it. He even also built an immense trireme, and, with his friends, set sail in it from there for Italia and landed at Brentesion. And from there, he went to Roma with all speed.

13 When Hérōdēs arrived, he first indeed went to Antonius, as his father’s friend, and related to him what misfortunes had befallen him and his family in Judah; and how his brother Fazael had been seized and utterly-destroyed by the Parthians; and how Hyrkanos was being detained a prisoner by them; and how they had made Antigonos king, after he had promised to give them 1,000 talents and 500 women, who were to be of the principal families and of their own race; and how he had removed the women by night and had escaped from the hands of his enemies after enduring many hardships. **14** Then he said,⁷ that his closest relatives, whom he had left in a fortress, were in danger of being besieged; and that he had sailed through winter;⁸ and that he had despised every anxiety in his haste to reach him in order to implore his aid—*he*, in whom lay his hope and only help.

15 Now Antonius was moved by compassion at Hérōdēs’ reverses, and reasoned with himself how common it was that those who are placed in such great dignities are also subject to the rule of fortune. He was eager to give Hérōdēs the assistance he desired. He did this, indeed partly in remembrance of Antipatros’ hospitality; but more so because of Hérōdēs’ own virtues. **16** and *because* Hérōdēs promised to give him money if he became king (as he had formerly promised when he was appointed tetrarch). So he determined then and there to make him king of the Judeans, *the man* whom he had himself previously appointed tetrarch. However, in addition to the love-of-honor he had for Hérōdēs, the primary incentive for *assisting him*, was because of his hatred of Antigonos; for he considered him to be both a seditious person and an enemy of the Romans.

17 Therefore, as for Caesar, Hérōdēs indeed found him better prepared than Antonius, having remembered what Antipatros had gone through together with his own father in the Egyptian expeditions; along with his hospitality and his invariable goodwill which he had shown at all times, in addition to the efficaciousness which he saw in Hérōdēs; and also as a favor to Antonius, who was very eager on Hérōdēs’ behalf. So he granted this dignity to Hérōdēs, and was willing to assist him in his desires.

18 Now he convened the council, to which Messala first, seconded by Atratinius, presented Hérōdēs before them, and gave a full-account of the services which had been rendered to them by his father, and reminded them of his own goodwill which he had shown to the Romans. At the same time, they accused Antigonos, declaring that Antigonos was their foe; they demonstrated this, not only by the earlier quarrel which they had had with him, *but* instead even by how he presently overlooked the Romans by seizing his government by means of the Parthians.

19 Now these *words* irritated the council.⁹ Then Antonius came forward, and further informed them that it was also an advantage in their war with the Parthians that Hérōdēs should be king. And since this *proposal* was acceptable to all of the *councilors*, they voted accordingly.

20 And this was the greatest *sign* of Antonius’ devotion to Hérōdēs, that it was not the kingship alone which he had obtained for him, which Hérōdēs had not expected to *receive*. For Hérōdēs had not come with the intention of claiming the kingship for himself (for he did not believe that the Romans would offer it to him, since it was their custom to bestow it on one belonging to the royal family), **21** instead *he had come* with the intention of claiming it for his wife’s brother *Alexandros*¹⁰ (who was a grandson of Aristoboulos on his father’s side and of Hyrkanos on his mother’s). Instead, *Antonius* also made it possible for Hérōdēs, in a mere seven days, to obtain what he did not expect, and *then* to depart from Italia. **22** Therefore, Hérōdēs *would* indeed *later* kill this youth, *Antigonos*.

But when the council was adjourned, indeed Antonius and Caesar went out with Hérōdēs between them, but with the consuls and the other chiefs leading the way, in order both to offer sacrifices and to deposit the decrees in the Capitulum.

23 But Antonius entertained Hérōdēs on the first day of his reign. And this was indeed how Hérōdēs took the kingdom, receiving it in the 184th Olympiad, when the consuls were Gnaeus¹¹ Domitius Calvinius¹² (for the second time), and Gaius Asinius Pollio.

CHAPTER 26 [Ant14:390-412 / War1:286-303a]

Now at this time, Antigonos was besieging those who were in Masada, who were indeed sufficiently supplied with all other provisions, but lacked only water. So,

¹ [Ant] P / others “contriving”

² [Ant] / [War] “For”

³ [Ant] FLAMW adds

⁴ May also be translated in this context as “winter-storms”

⁵ literally “small-burdens”

⁶ [Ant] FAMV “Sappinas” / L “Saphnas” / W “Sappionas” / some Lat “Sapinum” / some Lat “Sapinium” / [War] “Saphinius”

⁷ [Ant] text slightly uncertain / Lat “Then he bewailed the fact”

⁸ May also be translated “a winter-storm”

⁹ [Ant] / [War] “senate”

¹⁰ [Ant] Lat / all Gk add (which may be a scribal error for “Aristobulus”)

¹¹ [Ant] FLMV, Lat “Gaius”

¹² [Ant] P / Lat “Albino” / others “and Alvinus”

because of this, Hérōdēs' brother Joseph took counsel about fleeing with 200 of his own men to the Arabians; for he had heard that Melech had *both* changed his mind and changed his purpose of the sins which he had committed against Hérōdēs. **2** And now, on the very night fixed for his departure, he was on the brink of leaving the fortress, but was stopped because God sent much heavy-rain during the night; for once their reservoirs were filled by it, they no longer had a need to flee. Instead, they were now encouraged, not merely because they had an abundance of what they had previously lacked, but rather because this seemed to be an act of God's foresight. **3** So they sallied out, entangling *in battle* with Antigonos' party (indeed, sometimes openly, but even sometimes in stealthy ambushes), and utterly-destroyed many of them. Truly, their attempts were not always successful; *for* sometimes they suffered reverses and were forced to retire.

4 And in the meantime, Ventidius, the Roman general who had been sent from Syria to restrain the Parthians, had, in pursuit of them, advanced into Judah, indeed, in pretext to assist Joseph's party; but in reality, this entire affair was a stratagem in order to obtain money¹ from Antigonos. Accordingly, he encamped very near to Jerusalem, from where he extorted a sufficient amount of silver² from Antigonos. **5** Then, indeed, he himself withdrew with the greater part of his forces. But in order that his extortion³ might not be detected, he left Silo behind with a certain part of his soldiers. Now Antigonos still hoped that the Parthians would once more come to assist him; so, in the meantime, he paid court to Silo, in order that he might not cause him any trouble before his expectations were realized.

6 Now by this time, Hérōdēs had *already* sailed out of Italia to Ptolemais, and had gathered together no small force, *consisting of* both foreigners and his fellow-tribesmen, and was marching through Galilee against Antigonos. But *Antigonos* was supported by both Silo and Ventidius; *for the two of* them had been persuaded by Dellius,⁴ a man who had been sent by Antonius, to assist in reinstating Hérōdēs. **7** Now⁵ Ventidius was indeed quieting the disturbances which the Parthians had created in the cities, but Silo remained in Judah, having been corrupted by Antigonos' bribes.

However, Hérōdēs truly was not destitute of power, but his forces increased daily as he went forward; and all of Galilee, with a few small exceptions, joined with him. **8** Now his most urgent task was Masada; for it was essential to save those who were being besieged in the fortress,⁶ since they were his relatives. Therefore, indeed, when he set out to reach those who were in Masada, he found Japho impeding his path. For since that city was hostile to him, it was necessary to first capture it, in order that no fortification would be left in their enemy's hands at his rear while he was moving on to Jerusalem.

9 But Silo, now having a plausible excuse for departing, used this as a pretext and willingly joined him. And when he was hard-pressedly pursued by the Judeans,⁷ Hérōdēs fell upon them with a small body of men and indeed routed the Judeans, but⁸ saved Silo, who was making a feeble defense.

10 But after Hérōdēs had taken Japho, he hastened to rescue his relatives who were in Masada. And many of the country-folk indeed visited him and joined him: some did so because of the friendship which they had had with his father, but others because of his reputation, but still others in return for the benefits which they had received from both of them; but what truly attracted the majority were the expectations which they placed in him as one who would afterwards be securely established in the kingdom. Now this was how he gathered together a formidable force.

11 But even as *this force* advanced, Antigonos laid snares and ambushes within the most suitable places for passage, and, in truth, caused little or no damage to his foes by these means. **12** But Hérōdēs, without difficulty, recovered his relatives from Masada, as well as Rhesa Fortress, *and* then marched on to Jerusalem. Now here he was joined by Silo's soldiers and by many from the city who were intimidated by his strength.

13 But as soon as he had encamped on the western side of the city,⁹ the guards who had been stationed in this quarter both hurled javelins and shot arrows at them, **14** but some even sallied out in a compact body and fought hand-to-hand with those in his vanguard.

Indeed, Hérōdēs first directed, "Make a proclamation before the wall. *Tell them* that I have come for the good of the populace and for the salvation of the city, and without any intention of punishing or bearing any grudge even against those who are my most open enemies; but that I am, instead, ready to forget the sins which even my greatest rivals have committed against me."

15 But Antigonos, in answer to Hérōdēs' proclamation, issued counter-exhortations forbidding anyone to listen to these proclamations, nor to change

sides. And he told Silo and the Romans, "You would not be acting righteously if you gave the kingdom to Hérōdēs, who is both a commoner and an Edomite," (that is, a half-Judean), "when you should offer it to those who are of the *royal* family, as is your custom." **16** He also said, "For even if you are now ill-disposed toward me, and are determined to deprive me of the kingdom on the ground that I have received it from the Parthians, there are still many of my family who might lawfully receive it, who have committed no sin against the Romans, and who are priests. And by depriving them of this *office* in this way, you would not be treating them with honor."

17 This was how they spoke to one another, and proceeded to imprecate *each other* when Antigonos permitted his own men to defend themselves from the wall. But they loosed missiles from their bows and opposed them with so much eagerness that they easily drove them from the towers.

18 And at this time, Silo revealed that he had taken bribes. For he induced a large number of his own soldiers to cry aloud about their lack of provisions and to demand money in order to purchase food for themselves; and to insist that they be taken to suitable quarters for the winter, since the regions surrounding the city were a desolate *wasteland* as a result of the ravaging done by Antigonos' soldiers. He also began to remove his camp, and endeavored to withdraw.

19 But Hérōdēs conversed with both Silo's leaders and the great mass of soldiers, and persistently begged them not to desert him. "Both Caesar and Antonius, as well as the senate, have given me a commission.¹⁰ For I will provide you with plenty of provisions, and will readily furnish you with an abundance of what you want. This very day, I will relieve you of your wants."

20 And after making this appeal, he immediately went out into the country, and brought back a multitude of provisions greater than anyone had expected; *in fact*, it cut away even the least of Silo's pretexts for withdrawing. And in order that there would be no lack of supplies for the soldiers in the days to come, he also instructed those around Samaria (this city had become friendly toward him) to send down grain, and wine, and olive-oil, and cattle, and everything else, to Jericho.

21 But these *activities* did not remain unknown to Antigonos. Instead, as soon as he heard about them, he immediately sent off men throughout the country to obstruct and ambush those who were collecting provisions. Now, in obedience to Antigonos' orders,¹¹ these men mustered a large multitude of heavy-armed *soldiers* near Jericho; but taking up positions on the mountains, they watched for the *men* who were bringing the provisions.

22 Truly, in the meantime, Hérōdēs did not remain idle. But he took ten cohorts, indeed, of whom five were Roman but five were Judean, and with mercenaries intermixed among them, to which he added a few cavalry, *and* marched to Jericho. And indeed, he found the city deserted, but he seized 500 men who had occupied the summits along with their women and offspring. But after capturing them, he released them. But¹² the Romans indeed fell upon the rest of the city¹³ *and* plundered it, finding that the houses were full of all kinds of valuables.

23 Therefore, the king, after indeed leaving a garrison at Jericho, returned, and dismissed the Roman army to their winter quarters in the territories which had joined his side: Edom,¹⁴ and Galilee, and Samaria. **24** But at the same time, Antigonos, through bribery, even obtained Silo's consent to quarter a part of his army in Lod, in order to do service to Antonius. And indeed, the Romans put aside their weapons, and lived plentifully.

CHAPTER 27 [Ant14:413-433 / War1:303b-316]

But Hérōdēs did not choose to remain inactive, instead he indeed seized Edom with 2,000 heavy-armed *infantry* and 400 cavalry, which he sent there under his brother Joseph, in order to prevent any revolt from being made in favor of Antigonos. **2** But Hérōdēs himself removed his mother and his other relatives, whom he had already rescued from Masada, and brought them with him to Samaria. And after securely settling them there, he then proceeded to Galilee in order to capture some of the places remaining there which had been occupied by Antigonos' garrisons, and to have them expelled.

3 But when he reached Tzippori, God sent a very heavy snowstorm, which he passed through and took the city without any difficulty. *For* Antigonos' garrisons had quietly withdrew and fled prior to his assault. And there, he obtained an abundance of provisions, which he used to refresh his followers who had been distressed by the winter.¹⁵

4 But after this, he resolved to begin an expedition to destroy the brigands who were settled in the caves, who were overrunning a large area, inflicting its inhabitants with evils no less than those *inflicted during* a war. Now he sent three squadrons of heavy-armed *infantry* and one swarm of cavalry against them in

¹ [Ant] // [War] "silver"

² [Ant] // [War] "money"

³ [Ant] P, Lat / others "his shameless act"

⁴ [War] // [Ant] P "Delaius" / FLAMW "Bdelius" / V "Bdelius" / Lat "Delium"

⁵ [War] // [Ant] "Therefore"

⁶ [War] // [Ant] "fortification"

⁷ [Ant] P omits "was pursued by the Judeans"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "and"

⁹ [Ant] // [War] "town"

¹⁰ [Ant] most, [War] // [Ant] P "given him encouragement"

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] "directions"

¹² [Ant] // [War] "Therefore"

¹³ [Ant] // [War] "town"

¹⁴ [Ant] PF, [War] // [Ant] LAMW "Judah" (in error)

¹⁵ May also be translated "a winter-storm"

advance to Arbel, a village very near *the caves*. **5** But he himself joined them forty days later with the rest of his entire army.

Now their foes were truly not terrified by his approach; but, indeed, having the experience of seasoned warriors, but the boldness of brigands, they met him with *their* weapons. And accordingly, when these foes boldly¹ sallied out for the engagement, they indeed overpowered and routed the left wing of Hérōdēs' phalanx with their right *wing*. **6** But Hérōdēs instantly wheeled around his right wing (where he was *in command*), and indeed came to their assistance with a compact body of men. And he not only prevented his own men from fleeing and rallied them, but, falling upon their victorious pursuers, he broke their charge, until they, overpowered by his frontal attacks, turned back in flight. **7** But Hérōdēs, in pursuit, pressed his foes, killing them *all the way* to the Jordan, and indeed utterly-destroying a large portion of them; but the rest fled across the river along different routes and dispersed. And this was indeed how all Galilee, which he brought over to him, was freed from its fears, with an exception of the remnant still lurking² within the caves, whose extirpation required *more* time.

8 But, before proceeding further, Hérōdēs also distributed the fruits of their labors (*that is*, silver) to his soldiers,³ giving each one 150 drachmas of silver, but considerably more to their leaders, and *then* sent them to their winter quarters.⁴ **9** And because Antigonos was unwilling to continue to give provisions to Silo and his leaders, they came to Hérōdēs; for he supplied the men for no longer than one month. But Hérōdēs also directed everyone in the surrounding country, "Gather up all the provisions throughout it, and flee to the mountains, in order that the Romans, bereft of provisions, will perish by famine."

10 But Hérōdēs indeed entrusted the care of this market to his youngest brother Ferorah, and additionally directed him to enwall Alexandreion. Now Ferorah quickly made it possible for the soldiers to have an abundance of necessary provisions, and also enwalled Alexandreion, which had been left desolate; both tasks received his attention.

11 Now about this time, Antonius was indeed residing at Athénai. But Ventidius, who was in Syria, sent for Silo and Hérōdēs to join him in the war against the Parthians. However, he instructed them to first settle the affairs in Judah; and indeed for Silo to assist Hérōdēs in that present war, but then for him to send for their auxiliaries to *join them* in their own war. **12** But Hérōdēs, who was hastening against the brigands in the caves, gladly sent Silo off to Ventidius, while he himself set out on an expedition against those who were in the caves.

13 Now these caves were in mountains which were completely rugged, and whose entrances were halfway up the sheer precipices, and which were surrounded by sharp rocks. But *these hazards* made *the caves* inaccessible from any direction, with an exception of some winding and extremely narrow paths leading up to them. But the cliff in front of them dropped sheer down into the ravines far below, with mountain-torrents at the bottom; so that due to the sharpness of the mountains, Hérōdēs' *men* were unable either to climb up from below or to creep down upon them from above. But within these was where *the brigands* lurked with all their families.

14 Consequently, the king was long uncertain as to how he would *conquer* the impracticable nature of the terrain; but finally, he made use of a most hazardous scheme. So the king had boxes constructed. And using iron chains which were suspended by a machine from the top of the mountain, *the boxes* were lowered down upon them. **15** Now these boxes were filled with the most stalwart of his heavy-armed *soldiers*, who held long grappling hooks, which were to be used to pull toward them any of *the brigands* who resisted them, and to kill them by hurling them to the ground. However, due to the immense depth which lay below them, the lowering of the boxes yet proved to be a matter of great danger. However, *the men* within also had their provisions with them.

16 But when the boxes were lowered down and set at the *cave* mouths, not one of the men standing near the mouths dared come near them; instead, they remained quiet out of anxiety. At this, one of the armed-men, irritated at the delaying brigands who dared not come out, girded on his saber; and taking hold of the chain, by which the boxes were being lowered, with both hands, he lowered himself to the mouths. **17** And when he faced a mouth, he first hurled *javelins* to drive back most of those who were standing there, and then, with his grappling hook, pulled those who resisted him toward him, and hurled them over the cliffs. And afterwards, he went into *the caves* and slaughtered many of them, and then went *back into one of the boxes* and rested. **18** But when the others in *the caves* heard the shrieking, fear seized them, and they rejected *any possibility of* having salvation.

However, when night⁵ yet came on, all sallying was halted. But Hérōdēs wished to save some of them alive. So the king sent a proclamation through a

herald, that they should withdraw to his side. But not one of them accepted *his offer nor*⁶ voluntarily surrendered.

19 Now the same method of *attack* was also used on the following day, when the men in their fastened *contraptions* fell upon the brigands and their families still more fiercely, and battled them at their doors, slaughtering them; and they threw flaming fire inside, upon those who resisted. *So the caves* were set on fire; for there was a great deal of wood within them. And of those who were taken by force, many preferred death to captivity.

20 There was also an elderly *man* who was shut up within the caverns who was the father of seven children;⁷ they, along with his wife, pleaded with him to grant them permission to secretly go out to their foes under Hérōdēs' right hand. But he killed them in the following manner: Directing them to come forward one by one, he stood at the entrance to slaughter each of his boys⁸ as they came out.

21 Now Hérōdēs, who was watching what was happening from a conspicuous spot, was profoundly affected; and, extending his right hand to the elderly *man* and promising him full immunity, the king implored him to spare his own children. **22** But he did not give in to what was being said; instead, he even bitterly reproached Hérōdēs for his baseness, although he was now the king. Then he did away with his boys and his wife. And after hurling their corpses over the cliff, he finally threw himself down after them. This was how he submitted himself to death before *submitting* to slavery.

Therefore, this was indeed how Hérōdēs finally subdued all these caves and their inhabitants.

23 Now Hérōdēs left behind him a part of his army, as many as he thought were sufficient to repress any insurrection; and he appointed Ptolemaios as general over *both* them and over this region. Indeed, after this, the king returned to Samaria, leading a force of 600 cavalry and 3,000 heavy-armed *infantry*, with the intention of battling Antigonos. **23** Truly, Ptolemaios' generalship was unsuccessful. Instead, even the *men* who had formerly disturbed Galilee, emboldened by Hérōdēs' departure, made a surprise sally against the general Ptolemaios, killing him. But after doing this, they fled as a body into both the marsh-meadows and other impassable places which were difficult to search, laying waste and plundering the country around those places.

24 But when Hérōdēs was informed about this revolt, he swiftly returned with assistance, and punished them. For a multitude of the rebels he indeed did away with; but those who had taken refuge in their fortifications, he besieged and killed; but *he also* utterly-demolished all of their fortifications and fortresses. But after putting an end to their revolutionary-inspiration in this way, he fined the cities 100 talents, as the penalty for their defection.

CHAPTER 28 [Ant14:434-447 / War1:317-320, 323b, 321-322, 327]

Now meanwhile, Pakor had fallen⁹ in the middle of a battle, and indeed the Parthians had been defeated¹⁰ and expelled. Then Ventidius, at Antonius' urgent command, sent two legions and 1,000 cavalry as auxiliaries to Hérōdēs against Antigonos. Their general was Machairas.

2 But Antigonos sent a letter to Machairas, beseeching him to come to his own assistance instead, complaining bitterly of both Hérōdēs' violence and his abusive treatment of the kingdom,¹¹ and adding a promise of money. But Machairas did not comply with Antigonos' invitation to treason; for he was not prepared to despise Hérōdēs who had sent him, especially while he was offering him more money. **3** Therefore, Machairas, feigned friendship; and without the approbation of Hérōdēs, who tried to dissuade him from doing so, he indeed went off as if he were reconnoitering Antigonos' position.

But Antigonos, suspecting and perceiving his intentions in coming, did not admit him into the city; instead, he kept him at a distance by throwing sling-stones at him from the walls as against an enemy, and *by doing this* plainly revealed his own purpose. **4** This lasted until, finally, Machairas sensed that Hérōdēs had given him excellent advice, and that he himself had made a mistake in disregarding that council. Indeed, ashamed at what he had done, he was forced to retire to the city of Hammat where he rejoined Hérōdēs. **5** But infuriated by his disappointment and angered at what he had suffered, he slaughtered all of the Judeans whom he encountered, whether friends or enemies, not even sparing the Hérōdians; instead, he treated all of them as if they were *friends* of Antigonos.

6 But provoked by these actions, the embittered Hérōdēs hastened to attack Machairas as a foe; but restraining his anger, the king went to Samaria *instead*. For he had decided to go to Antonius concerning these matters, and to accuse Machairas of his enormities; for not only had he no need of such allies, who would do more harm to him than to his foes, but he was also quite able to crush Antigonos by himself.

¹ [Ant] P / LAMW "swiftly" / F "swiftly and boldly"

² [War] / [Ant] "dwelling"

³ [War] // [Ant] "men"

⁴ [Ant] / [War] "and sent a considerable more to their leaders who were in their winter quarters"

⁵ [Ant] Lat / Gk omits "night"

⁶ [War] / [Ant] "(But) many accepted *his offer and*"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "boys"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "sons"

⁹ [Ant] // [War] "had been done away with"

¹⁰ [Ant] PV / others, Lat "routed"

¹¹ [War] MVC / others omit "and abusive treatment of the kingdom" (probably by scribal error)

7 But Machairas, who sensed his offenses, followed after the king, earnestly begging him to remain *here*. “Instead, if you are still resolved to go, at least leave your brother Joseph as our associate in the war against Antigonos.” And indeed, Machairas’ earnest entreaties were able to reconcile Hérōdēs to him. 8 However, despite this, Hérōdēs did not desist from going to Antonius; but he left his brother Joseph in charge of everything there, *and also* left an army with *him*. Hérōdēs transmitted a message to him, warning him not to take any risks by taking action against Antigonos until his return, nor to quarrel with Machairas; *for* Machairas’ previous conduct had proved him to be an untrustworthy ally.

9 Now Hérōdēs hastened to Antonius. But when he heard that Antonius was presently besieging Samusat (a strong city near the Euphrates¹) with a large force of both cavalry and infantry which had come to him as auxiliaries, Hérōdēs made even greater haste; *for* he saw that this was a favorable opportunity both for displaying his manliness and for strengthening his hold upon Antonius’ affection.

10 Now when he arrived at Antiocheia, he found that many *men* had mustered there who were indeed desirous to reach Antonius, but none dared to venture out for terror of the barbarians, who were attacking men on the road and doing away with many *of them*. He encouraged these *men*, becoming their leader on the road.

11 But when they were a two days’ march from Samusat, they were indeed ambushed by the barbarians who were lying in wait for those who were on their way to Antonius. Now since there were thickets covering the passes to the plains, *the barbarians* had placed in ambush not a few of their cavalry who were to remain quiet until those passing through reached the place where horses were fit to be used.

12 Now the first men went through (indeed, Hérōdēs was guarding the rear); but *the men* lying in ambush, numbering about 500, suddenly fell upon them. And when they had routed those in the vanguard, the king rushed up; indeed, by the force of his charge, he immediately drove their foes back. But at the same time, he raised the minds of his own *men*, and filled them with courage. And when those *of Hérōdēs’ men* who had previously fled turned back to fight, the barbarians were killed on every side.

13 But the king pressed on, doing away with them *as he went*, and recovered all the plunder (which consisted of a great number of beasts-of-burden, and of slaves) and secured an abundance of spoils, and *then* proceeded on. 14 And when he was attacked by a greater number of *men* in the thickets near the pass leading to the plain, he also made a sally upon them with a strong body of men, routing and killing many of them. This was how he made the road safe for those who followed. But they called him *their savior* and foremost *man*.

14 Now, accordingly, when Hérōdēs came near Samusat, Antonius sent his army with his own equipment to meet him, assigning these men as an honor to Hérōdēs and as an aid to him; *for* he had heard about the attacks which the barbarians had made upon them. 15 And Hérōdēs was also very glad to see him there; and, on learning of his great actions on the way, he greeted him with his right hand and marveled at his excellence. Antonius himself, who had formerly marveled at Hérōdēs’ excellence, also welcomed him with an embrace as soon as he saw him, heaping up many more honors upon him and giving him high expectations of kingship, since it was he who had recently made him a king.

16 But not long afterwards, King Antiochos was forced to surrender his fortifications at Samusat; and this was how the siege and war came to an end. Then, following the capture of Samusat, Antonius indeed entrusted Sossius over Syria,² but gave him directions to assist Hérōdēs against Antigonos, while he himself departed for Egypt. And Sossius indeed sent two legions of allied-troops ahead of him into Judah to be auxiliaries for Hérōdēs, but he himself followed close behind with the rest of his power, which was the greater part of his army.

CHAPTER 29 [Ant14:448-467 / War1:323a, 323c-326, 328-344]

Meanwhile, prior to this, Hérōdēs’ affairs in Judah were shattered; and Joseph died under the following circumstances: Indeed, as soon as Joseph had heard that his brother was a great distance away, he disregarded the message which *his brother* had transmitted to him when he had left *to meet* with Antonius. 2 But Joseph hastily marched toward Jericho with five cohorts which had been sent to him by Machairas, and encamped in the mountains. Now his objective was to reap their grain in order to seize it *for himself*, as it was now in its midsummer prime. 3 And since the Roman army *with him* was newly recruited and had no war experience (for most of them were collected from Syria, and there were no so-called veterans among them to support them), he was caught in difficult terrain when his foes attacked him there in the mountains. He himself died while fighting nobly in the battle, and this entire Roman army was lost; for six cohorts were utterly-destroyed.

4 But Antigonos was not content with his victory; but he proceeded to such a degree of anger, that he even treated Joseph’s corpse with brutality. Accordingly, seizing their bodies,³ he cut off Joseph’s head, despite that Joseph’s brother Ferorah offered 50 talents as a price of redemption for it. 5 But Antigonos’

victory led to such a serious revolution in Galilee, that the Galileans who belonged to Antigonos’ party even rebelled against the powerful *men*, and dragged the ones who belonged to Hérōdēs’ party out of their houses, drowning them in the lake. But there was also defection and revolution in many parts of Edom,⁴ where Machairas was rebuilding and strongly-fortifying the fortification⁵ called Gath.

6 Now although Hérōdēs knew nothing about any of these things, he expected *his brother’s death*. For while he was at Dafneh near Antiocheia, certain sights appeared to him in his dream-visions, which clearly presignaled his brother’s death. And springing out of his bed in dismay, messengers arrived to report to the king what had happened. They informed him about this disturbance. Now he indeed lamented his brother’s misfortune briefly; but putting off further sorrow, he set out in haste against his enemies.

7 And, therefore, by forced marches, he pushed on to Mount Lebanon, where he indeed received as auxiliaries 800 of the mountaineers *living* in that place. But he was also joined by a Roman legion. With these *allies*, he came to Ptolemais. From there, he set out by night with his army. And before it was day, he invaded Galilee and proceeded through it.

8 Now his foes met him, and they were defeated in the battle. He drove them back to the stronghold from which they had sallied out on the previous day, shutting them up within. Then he indeed assaulted the fortress repeatedly at dawn;⁶ but before he could capture it, a severe storm broke out, preventing him from doing anything. So he led his army back to the neighboring villages where he encamped. 9 But a few days later, when he was joined by the second legion which came to him from Antonius, the *men* who were holding the place became fearful; terrified, his foes abandoned their fortifications during the night.

10 And after this, the king marched hastily to Jericho with the intention of wreaking vengeance on his brother’s murderers. But after he had pitched his tents, he indeed entertained many of the magistrates that evening. But after the party,⁷ he dismissed his guests and retired to his chamber, where a demonic portent happened to him immediately: 11 For indeed, the roof of the house collapsed without utterly-destroying anyone who was caught within. The result was that everyone believed, that Hérōdēs was God-loved, since he had escaped such a great and unexpected danger. And he saw this to be a common sign of dangers and of salvation during the coming war.

12 But on the following day, at dawn, he set his army in motion. And 6,000 of his foes rushed down from the summits of the mountains to fight against his vanguard, striking fear into the Romans. But not having the courage to engage in close combat with the Romans, the light-armed *soldiers* drew near, and, from a distance, hurled javelins and stones at the king’s men who had come out against them, wounding many of them. And on this occasion, Hérōdēs himself, while riding by, was struck in the side by one of them with a javelin.

13 But Antigonos wanted to create an impression that his men were superior, not only in courage, but also in numbers, and that he was fighting with men to spare. So he sent one of his companions, a general named Pappos, with a *large*⁸ force to Samaria. Instead,⁹ he indeed occupied himself contesting with the general Machairas. 14 But Hérōdēs ravaged his foes’ *territory*, demolishing five small cities. But after taking them, he murdered and utterly-destroyed those who were left in them, about 2,000, and set fire to the houses in the cities. Now after this, he returned to his encampment in order *to fight* against Pappos, who was encamped¹⁰ near a village called Jeshanah.¹¹

15 And now, a great multitude of Judeans daily streamed out of Jericho and the rest of Judah,¹² *places which were* near to him, in order to join him. Indeed, some were motivated by their hatred of Antigonos, but others by Hérōdēs’ own successes; yet, truly, the majority were led by an unreasonable desire for change. And, indeed, he, urging for the engagement, drew near his foes.

But Pappos, not shrinking in terror either by their multitude or their eagerness, boldly marched out to meet them with great alacrity. 16 Now when Pappos’ *men* came into the battle, other parts of their line indeed made a brief stand. But Hérōdēs, remembering his murdered brother, ran the utmost hazard in order to wreak vengeance on those who were responsible for the murder, quickly overcoming those who opposed him. Then, he successively directed his attacks upon anyone who still held together, routing them all. 17 Now a great murder was made, while some *of his foes* were driven back into the village from where they had issued. But he pursued them, pressing hard upon their rear, and killed a boundless number of them as they fled to the village.

18 But he rushed along with his foes into the village, and found that every house was filled with heavy-armed *soldiers*, but that the roofs were crowded with

⁴ [War] // [Ant] “Judah”

⁵ [War] // [Ant] “place”

⁶ [Ant] PE, Lat omit “at dawn”

⁷ [Ant] / [War] “symposium”

⁸ [Ant] P adds

⁹ [Ant] // [War] “Therefore”

¹⁰ [Ant] // [War] “bivouacked”

¹¹ [Ant] / [War] “Kanaah” (in error) [also War seems to imply that Hérōdēs was the one encamped there]

¹² [Ant] PE / others “and Judah” (omitting “the rest of” // [War] “and the rest of the country”

¹ Greek / from Persian “Ufratu” / Hebrew “Furat”

² [War] / [Ant] “over the rest”

³ [War] // [Ant] Gk “their corpses” / Lat “the enemy”

many¹ others who had taken refuge there and were attacking him from above. After he had defeated *his foes* who were on the outside, he seized those who were inside by pulling down the roofs of the houses in pieces *and* dragging them out. And many of the soldiers in the rooms below were caught, *and* were done away with in a heap under the roofs, which he shook down upon their heads. 19 Seeing this, *Hērōdēs' men* threw stones at *their foes* from above. But those who escaped from beneath the ruins were received by *his* soldiers with drawn short-swords. So they did away with them in heaps, one upon another. And the heap of the countless multitude of corpses within the city-walls was so tall, that the streets were blocked up. And in all the war there was not a more terrifying sight than this.

20 This was the primary blow which broke the minds of their foes, who were waiting to see what would happen; *and* it was too much for them to bear. For, accordingly, a numerous multitude, appearing from afar off, had gathered together around the village. *But when they* saw their village strewn with the slain, they dispersed and fled.

21 With the confidence of this victory, King *Hērōdēs* would have immediately marched his army upon Jerusalem and completed the entire work, had he not been hindered by winter.² For this *circumstance* impeded the completion of his success and the defeat of Antigonos, who had already taken counsel about abandoning the city, and was even considering in what way he would be able to flee and leave it.

22 Therefore indeed, at this time, since it was late in the evening, King *Hērōdēs* dismissed his friends to refresh themselves after their fatigues, *and* directed his soldiers to have their supper. But he (for he was wearied out and hot from *wearing* his arms), went, exactly as he was, into a room to bathe, like any common soldier. And here he came into very great danger; yet, by God's foresight, he escaped it.

23 For accordingly, he was naked and taking his bath in an inner chamber, with only a single boy in attendance. Several men belonging to his foes, who were fully armed, had escaped from the battle and had taken refuge in that place out of fear. Now, for some time, they crouched down and were able to escape *his* notice. And³ while he was bathing, the first of his foes slipped away,⁴ running out in front of him with a naked short-sword in hand, and, trembling, went out through the doors; and after him, a second and a third *went out*, armed in like manner; and after them, more. 24 *Now* when they had seen the king, even though he was naked, they were seized with consternation; *and* since they were in *this state*, they inflicted no injury upon the king, but endeavored to reach the exits, content with having gotten away into the open without suffering any harm themselves. By chance, there was no one else near by who was able to seize these men, but *Hērōdēs* was content with not having received a single wound; and so, they all escaped.

25 Now on the following day, he indeed cut off the head of Pappos, Antigonos' general (for he had already been done away with in the pitched-battle), and sent it to his brother Ferorah out of revenge for the murder of their brother. For this was the man who had done away with Joseph by his own hands.

26 Now when the winter⁵ had abated, *Hērōdēs* removed from there and marched, drawing near to Jerusalem; and he encamped close to the city. Now this was the third year since he had been made king at Roma. 27 And intending to attack the same quarter of the city which Pompeius had *previously* captured, he moved his camp, advancing his army near part of the wall where it would be the easiest to assault *and* besiege, and encamped before the temple.

28 Now he apportioned the work among his army, employing a great many hands to cut down the surrounding trees in the suburbs, directing them to encompass that place by raising three lines of earthworks and to have towers erected upon them. 29 But after he had stationed suitable individuals, his most efficient companions, to superintend these works, *and* while the army was settling itself, he himself went off to Samaria in order to complete his marriage with *Miriam* the daughter of Alexandros son of Aristoboulos; for he had already been betrothed to her. And this was how he made *his marriage* an interlude to the siege; for he had already made his foes greatly contemptible.

CHAPTER 30 [Ant14:468-491 / War1:345-357]

Now after the wedding was over, Sossius, who had sent his force ahead of him through the interior, indeed marched through Phoiniké. But he also came with the army,⁶ a multitude of both cavalry and infantry, and joined *Hērōdēs*. Now the king also arrived from Samaria, leading a greater army, in addition to the one which he had earlier; for they were about 30,000. 2 Now they all mustered⁷ before the wall of the Jerusalemites, and encamped there, settling themselves at⁸ the northern wall of the city. Indeed, the entire force was made up of eleven *legions*

of heavy-armed *infantry*, and 6,000 cavalry, in addition to the allied-troops⁹ from Syria, who formed no small part. 3 But there were two leaders: Sossius was indeed relying upon Antonius, who had sent the army under *his command* to support *Hērōdēs* as an auxiliary *force*; but *Hērōdēs* was acting on his own behalf in order to take the government from Antigonos (who, at Roma, had been declared a foe), and that he himself might become king in his place, in accordance with the senate's decree—it was indeed this decree on which he depended.

4 Now the entire multitude¹⁰ of Judeans was gathered together, and their agitation showed itself in various forms; and those who were confined¹¹ within the walls fought against *Hērōdēs* with great eagerness and contention. For even the feebler folk, congregating around the inner-sanctum, were demon-possessed, and fabricated numerous oracular utterances to fit the crisis: many were the invocations made about the temple, and many were the praises *spoken* about the people,¹² as if God would be delivering them from the dangers they were in.

5 And the more audacious *men* went out in compact bodies, raiding others in various manners; their primary objective was to seize all the necessities around¹³ the city, so that nothing was left that might serve as sustenance for either humans or beasts-of-burden (*including* horses). Also, by stealthy raids, they caused a lack of produce. 6 But when King *Hērōdēs* indeed observed these raids, he not only arranged for ambushes to be posted in the most suitable places, by which he restrained their incursions; but, to meet the lack of necessities, he sent squadrons of heavy-armed *soldiers* to gather supplies from afar, so that within a short time they had a great abundance of necessities.

7 Now the three earthworks were easily raised, because such a great number of hands were continuously at work *upon it*. For it was summer, and there was nothing to hinder the standing-up of them, neither from the air nor from the workmen. Yet truly, *during this time*, those who were the most disciplined of the warlike *Judeans*, marshaled to ward off the siege, and, from their position on the walls, drove off those who were raising the earthworks.

Also, *the besiegers* brought up their machines, battering the wall and making every attempt to attack it. 8 Truly, those within were not intimidated; instead, they were always contriving not a few counter implements in order to hinder these machines. But they sallied out, setting fire not only to their half-finished *machines*, but also their completed ones. Now when *the Judeans* fought hand-to-hand, their boundless hardihood was not inferior to that of the Romans, but they lacked skill and experience.

9 But yet, they indeed did not openly clash¹⁴ against the Romans, which was certain death, but their superiority was *displayed when, going* through the underground-passages, they would suddenly appear in their midst; and they fought underground, when they met each other in the mines. But when their first structures had fallen, they built new walls against the machines; and before one wall could be battered down, they would be fortifying another in its stead.

10 Now overall they showed no lack of either action nor ingenuity; but acting in desperation rather than with foresight, they persevered in this war, resolving to hold out to the very end; and this, indeed, despite the fact that a great army surrounded them and that they were distressed by famine and necessities were scarce; for this happened to be a sabbatical year.

11 So they sustained the siege into the fifth month, until some of *Hērōdēs'* picked men ventured to scale the wall. Now twenty of these were the first *to accomplish this feat*; and they leapt into the city, followed by Sossius' centurions. For the first wall was taken in 40 days, but the second in fifteen more. Now first, they conquered what was around the temple. And some of the porticoes around the temple were burned, which *Hērōdēs* slandered Antigonos of having burned, making an effort to draw the hatred of the Judeans upon him.

12 But when the outer *court* of the temple and the lower city had been taken, the Judeans fled into the inner *court* and the upper city. And terrified that the Romans would prevent them from offering their daily sacrifices to God, they sent a body of elders to beg that they would permit them to have victims alone brought in for them. Now he granted *this request*, hoping that they would yield. 13 And when he saw that none of the things which he expected them to do were being done, *but that* instead, they were strongly resisting him for the sake of Antigonos' kingdom, he struck the city, taking it by storm.

14 And soon after *Hērōdēs'* force had poured in, because the Romans were angered at how long the siege had lasted and because the Judeans of *Hērōdēs'* party were anxious and making *every* effort not to leave a single one of their rivals alive, every *place* straightaway was quite-full with countless murders.¹⁵ 15 But numerous multitudes were slaughtered in the alleys, and as they crowded together in the houses, and were fleeing to the inner-sanctum. But no pity was shown either to infants or the aged, nor did they spare the weaker women; instead, even though the king sent *word* around and urged them to spare *the people*, no

¹ [Ant] most / P "some" / F "some *and* many"

² May also be translated "by a winter-storm"

³ [Ant] AMW omit "And"

⁴ [Ant] P / others "them advanced upon him"

⁵ May also be translated in this context as "the winter-storm"

⁶ [Ant] Lat omits "came with the army"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "gathered-together"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "near"

⁹ [Ant] // [War] "the auxiliaries"

¹⁰ [Ant] PE, [War] // [Ant] others "nation"

¹¹ [Ant] P / FMV "left" / LAE "seized" / W nonsense

¹² [Ant] E "were the encouragements spoken to the people"

¹³ [War] // [Ant] E, Lat "outside" / others "within"

¹⁴ [War] PE "Now they openly clashed"

¹⁵ [War] // [Ant] "doings away with"

one restrained their right hand; instead, like madmen, they fell upon persons of every age without distinction.

16 And then Antigonos, without reflecting upon his former or his present fortunes, indeed came down from the castle, but fell down at Sossius' feet. But *Sossius* did not pity him in the least for his change of fortune, but indeed mocked him uncontrollably, and called him Antigoné.¹ Yet he truly did not treat him like a woman or let him go free; instead, he was bound in chains and kept under guard.

17 Now after Hérôdés had taken hold of his foes, he made provision to take hold of his foreign auxiliaries; for the multitude of strangers rushed to view both the temple and the holy-things in the inner-sanctum. 18 But the king, regarding a victory to be something more bitter than defeat if any of things which were forbidden to be seen were seen by them, indeed restrained them by entreaties, and by threats, and sometimes even by weapons.

19 But at the same time, he also prevented the plundering which was going on throughout the city, many times straining with Sossius, "If the Romans empty the city of both its money and its men, they will leave me a king of a desert; and I consider, that even the dominion over the whole inhabited earth would be a poor compensation for the murder of so many citizens."

20 But when *Sossius* said, "It is right for me to permit the soldiers to this plundering in exchange for their labor in the siege",

Hérôdés answered, "I myself will distribute rewards to each of them out of my own money."

21 Now this was how he redeemed what remained of his city and fatherland by completely fulfilling his promise. For he indeed gave splendid gifts to every soldier, but proportionate ones to their leaders, but most royal gifts to Sossius himself, so that everyone went away with prosperous funds.²

22 This destruction befell the city of the Jerusalemites when Marcus Agrippa and Canidius³ Gallus were consuls of Roma, in the 185th Olympiad, in the third month, on the celebration of the Fast, as if it were a recurrence of the misfortunes which came upon the Judeans under Pompeius. For the Judeans were captured by him on the very same day, which was 27 years later.

23 Now after Sossius had dedicated a golden crown to God, he departed from Jerusalem, taking Antigonos, bound in chains, with him to Antonius. 24 But Hérôdés was terrified that if Antigonos was kept under guard by Antonius and brought to Roma by him, he might plead the rightfulness of his cause before the senate, showing that he was indeed descended from kings, but that Hérôdés was a commoner, and that his boys should have the kingship on account of their lineage, even if he himself committed offenses against the Romans. 25 It was on account of this fear that he gave Antonius lots of money, which persuaded him to do away with Antigonos. This prisoner, loving his own soul to the last with frigid hopes of retaining it, fell beneath an axe. When this was done, Hérôdés was freed from his terror; 26 but the Hasimonian government came to an end in this way after 126 years.

This house was splendid and illustrious, both on account of their race and of their priestly dignity, as well as the things which their ancestors had accomplished on behalf of the nation. 27 Instead, they indeed lost the government through dissensions with one another; but it passed to Hérôdés son of Antipatros, who came from an ordinary house, and from a common race, and answered to the kings.

And this was indeed the consummation of the Hasimonian family.

CHAPTER 31 [Ant15:1-10 / War1:358-359a]

Since King Hérôdés had the government of all Judah put into his hands, he distinguished the great multitude who were in the city. Indeed, those who had been of his mind while he was still a commoner,⁴ he promoted, making them well-disposed toward him by conferring honors upon them. But each day, he never left off exacting vengeance from and chastising those who had taken the opposite side.

2 But Ptlion the Pharisee, and Shemajjah a disciple of his, were exceedingly honored by him. For when Jerusalem was besieged, they counseled the citizens to admit Hérôdés; and they received a due recompense for having done this. 3 But this Ptlion⁵ also, when Hérôdés was on a trial of life and death, reproachfully foretold to Hyrkanos and the judges that, if Hérôdés escaped with his life, he would prosecute them all. And in time, this turned out to be so, for God fulfilled his accounts.

4 Now at this time, when Hérôdés had taken Jerusalem under his power, he already had a lack of money. So he collected all the ornaments⁶ still in the kingdom, and despoiled the well-provided individuals. And when he had gathered together a multitude of silver and gold, he melted down all of the ornaments into coins, and sent up all of it to⁷ Antonius and his friends who were around him. Yet

even by giving this amount, he was unable to buy off an exemption from all of his sufferings. For Antonius, ruined by his passionate-desire for Kleopatra, was becoming entirely unable to resist his yearning for her.

5 Now Hérôdés killed⁸ forty-five of the principal men of Antigonos' party, and placed guards around the gates of the walls, in order that nothing⁹ might be carried out together with the dead. And they searched the corpses, and everything that was found, silver or gold, or other treasure, was brought to the king. But there was no limit to the distress which he brought upon them: 6 For, indeed, on the one hand, the greed of their ruler, who was in need, was plundering them; but on the other hand, the seventh year (for it began at that time), forced them to leave the area uncultivated; and we are forbidden to sow the earth in that year.

7 Now when Antonius had taken Antigonos captive and had bound him, he determined to keep guard over him until his triumph. But when he heard that the nation was innovating, and, that out of their hatred for Hérôdés, had persisted in their kind-disposition toward Antigonos, he having been bribed by Hérôdés,¹⁰ decided to have him brought to Antiocheia to be beheaded with an axe. 8 And indeed he did this, because he supposed that there was no other way for him to keep the Judeans quiet and to change their opinion so that they would accept Hérôdés, who had been established in his place. For not even when tortured would they submit to publicly-proclaiming him a king. 9 In this way, they were greatly minded toward their former king. Therefore, Antonius thought that this dishonor of killing Antigonos would somewhat diminish the esteem they had in remembrance of him, but would also lessen their hatred of Hérôdés.

CHAPTER 32 [Ant15:11-41 / War1:433c-434, 437b]

Now when the chief-priest Hyrkanos, who had been taken captive by Parthians, learned that Hérôdés was in possession of the kingdom, he came to Hérôdés after being dismissed from his captivity in the following way:

2 Barzafama and Pakor, the Parthian generals, when they had overrun Syria, had, indeed, taken captive Hyrkanos, who had first been made chief-priest and then king, along with Hérôdés' brother Fazael, and led them up into Parthia. 3 And Fazael, indeed, was not able to bear the shame of being in chains. But imagining that death with honor was better than life at any cost, he became his own murderer (as has been previously related).

4 Now when Hyrkanos was lead up there, Frahat, the Parthian king, treated him very equitably, since he had learned-beforehand about his distinct nobility. For this reason, he indeed released him from his chains, but gave him lodging in Babel, where there was also a multitude of Judeans. For these men of his own nation, who were beyond the Euphrates,¹¹ had out of pity for him, asked for him. 5 They honored Hyrkanos as their chief-priest and king, as did all of the Judean nation who were dispensed as far as the Euphrates. Now he was content with this honor.

6 But when he learned that Hérôdés had received the kingdom, he changed to having the hopes, both that Hérôdés was still affectionately disposed toward him, as he had been at first; and expecting that Hérôdés would fully-remember the favors which he had received from him, when at the time of his judgment and when he was about to be sentenced to death, Hyrkanos had delivered him from that danger and from chastisement. Therefore, Hyrkanos presented these accounts to the Judeans, for he was eager to go to Hérôdés.¹²

7 But they encompassed him, and thought he should remain, at the same time mentioning the services and honors which they had given him, saying, "Among us, you will not lack one honor which belongs to a chief-priest or a king. And what is more important, over there, you are not able to have these things, because of the mutilation of your body." (Which had been done by Antigonos.) "Also, favors received by individuals when they are commoners, are not returned by them in like manner after they have become kings, since fortune utterly-changes such individuals in no small measure."¹³

8 Despite that they had recommended such advantageous suggestions not to cross over to Hérôdés, Hyrkanos still yearned to depart. For the marriage of his granddaughter Miriam to Hérôdés was an incitement. And Hérôdés wrote to him, urging him to beg Frahat and the Judeans there, not to begrudge Hyrkanos in sharing the royal power with him. "For this is the exact opportunity, indeed, for me to fully-repay the favors which I have received from you, and for having been brought up by you, and having my life saved by you; but also for you to acquire it."

9 When writing this to Hyrkanos, Hérôdés also sent his elder, Saramalla, to Frahat, along with many gifts, politely asking him that he would not prevent him from showing similar favors to his own benefactor. 10 But Hérôdés' effort did not spring from these motives, but because he himself had no genuine-claim to govern, and because he was anxious that a reasonable change might occur—not

¹ Antigoné is the female equivalent of Antigonos

² [Ant] / [War] "so that no one went away lacking funds"

³ [Ant] most / M "Cannidius" / Synceillus "Candidus"

⁴ [Ant] LAMW "who were commoners and also of his mind"

⁵ [Ant] E, Lat "Shemajjah"

⁶ may also be translated "gear" (also below)

⁷ [War] ("sent up" // [Ant] "gave")

⁸ [Ant] ("killed" // [War] "did away with")

⁹ [Ant] PVF "that no one"

¹⁰ [Ant] Lat adds

¹¹ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

¹² [Ant] V "Judeans, who were eager to go to Hyrkanus."

¹³ [Ant] some ("in no small measure" / L,A(2),M "unaccountably" / Lat omits altogether)

because *Hyrkanos* had lain *any* claim to the kingdom, *but*, instead, because the kingship *actually* belonged to *Hyrkanos*. So *Hērōdēs* hastened to get *Hyrkanos* into his hand, or even to put him out of his way altogether. For this is what he later accomplished.

11 Yet at that time, however, *Hyrkanos*, allowing himself to be persuaded by *his granddaughter's marriage*, and being overly *fond* of his fatherland, returned to it, with the consent of the Parthian king, and the Judeans who supplied him with money. When he arrived, *Hērōdēs* received him with all honor; he also assigned him the first place in meetings, and made him sit down before *others* during the banqueting, thereby deceiving him. He called him 'father', and in all sorts of ways, labored to keep the plots he formed against *Hyrkanos* free of suspicion. 12 But he also established¹ other *things* which were expedient to the government, which resulted in his own house committing sedition: For because he *wanted* to guard himself from appointing a distinguished *person* as a chief-priest of God,² he sent for an undistinguished priest from out of Babel, whose name was Hanameel, and assigned the chief-priesthood to him.

13 Therefore, this was straightaway adduced as an insulting-treatment by *Alexandra*, who was indeed *the* daughter of *Hyrkanos*, but the wife of *Alexandros* son of King *Aristoboulos*. From *Alexandros*, she had children: a handsome adolescent, indeed, named *Aristoboulos*; as well as *Miriam*, who was married to *Hērōdēs*, and was eminent for her beautiful-figure. 14 Now *Alexandra* was disturbed and grieved by the dishonor offered to her boy, that while he was still alive, someone other *than him* should be called in to have the dignity of the chief-priesthood. So, with the assistance of a certain musician to convey her transactions, she wrote to *Kleopatra*, asking her to have *Antonius* obtain the chief-priesthood for her boy.

15 But as *Antonius* was lazy in giving ear to *this request*, his friend *Dellius* came into Judah on some business. When he saw *Aristoboulos*, he was amazed³ at his adolescence, and marveled at the boy's magnitude and handsomeness; and he no less *marveled* at the beauty of the king's wife, *Miriam*. And he made it plain that he thought *Alexandra* was *blessed* with beautiful children.

16 Now after *Alexandra* had introduced herself, *Dellius* persuaded her to have images drawn of both of them, and to have them sent over to *Antonius*. "For when he sees them, you will not fail in obtaining anything which you ask."

17 *Alexandra*, elated by these accounts of his, sent the images to *Antonius*. And *Dellius* talked marvels, saying, "Her children⁴ do not seem to be *born* from humans, *but* instead from some god." But he was laboring on his own account, trying to entice *Antonius* into *sexual* pleasures.

18 Now *Antonius* was, indeed, ashamed to send for the maiden, because she was married to *Hērōdēs*, and because he wished to guard against having *any* slanders *arise* from *Kleopatra* on account of such an act. But he instructed him to send for the boy in a decent manner, *adding*, "if this is not a burden for you."

19 When this letter was carried off to *Hērōdēs*, he did not judge it safe for him to send *Aristoboulos*, who was both an adolescent and handsome (for he was sixteen years old), and of a distinguished family to *Antonius*. For, indeed, *Antonius* was stronger than any other Roman of that time, but *one who* was prepared to submit him to *his own* passionate-desires, and *who* was able to indulge in *as many* undisguised *sexual* pleasures as he was able to furnish for himself. 20 Therefore, *Hērōdēs* wrote in reply, "If the stripling was to merely leave this region, everything would be filled-up with war and disorder, because the Judeans are in hopes of a change and a revolutionary-movement to have another king over them."

21 Now when *Hērōdēs* had declined *Antonius'* invitation with these *excuses*, he determined not to leave the boy and *Alexandra* entirely without honor; instead, his wife *Miriam* also persistently pressed him hard to give the chief-priesthood back to her brother. And he judged that it would be to his own advantage *to do so*; for once *Aristoboulos* had that honor, he would not be able to go abroad.

22 *Hērōdēs* called a meeting of his friends, and greatly charged *Alexandra*, that she had secretly plotted against the kingdom, saying, "And through *Kleopatra*, she was indeed working to take away the government from me; but through *Antonius*, that the stripling might receive the affairs of *state* in my place. 23 And this purpose⁵ of hers is indeed not right, since she would, at the same time, be helping her daughter *Miriam* to be stripped of her present honor, and would be laboring to bring disorder into a kingdom, for which I have worked so hard and had acquired after undergoing no small dangers. Truly, while I remember the inelegant things which she has done, I will not cease from treating them rightly; instead, I will even now give the chief-priesthood to the boy. And earlier, I had only appointed *Hanameel* beforehand because *Aristoboulos* was *merely* a little-boy."

24 Now this *speech* was not spoken thoughtlessly, *but* rather he thought with great consideration, in order to make a delusion for the women and the friends who had been called in for advice.

Alexandra, deeply moved, both by joy at this unexpected *response* and by terror of being under suspicion, made her defense with tears, 25 saying, "As for the priesthood: indeed, I endeavored to do everything possible, because of the contempt *my son was under*. But as for the kingdom: I made no attempts, nor would I wish to take it even if it came my way. And now I have sufficient honor, through the government which you hold, and the security which has come to my whole family from the fact that you are able to govern better than any others. 26 But now, having been conquered by your benefactions, I indeed accept the honor *shown* to my son, but will be obedient in everything. But I also beg you to forgive me, if I, through concern for my family and my usual outspokenness, acted too impulsively in how I expressed *my* indignation over the unworthy-treatment which I received."

27 They conversed with one another in this way; and, with more eagerness than speed, they gave their right hands *in agreement*, and parted from one another. All suspicion, as it seemed, was removed.

28 Now indeed King *Hērōdēs* straightaway took away the chief-priesthood from *Hanameel*, who was, indeed, not a native; instead, he was from the Judeans who had been carried away into exile beyond *the Euphrates*.⁶ For not a few tens of thousands of this people had been carried away into exile to *Babelia*. 29 *Hanameel*, who came from there, was of a chief-priestly family, and had long ago been treated by *Hērōdēs* as an intimate *friend*. *Hērōdēs* had indeed honored him with this *position*, when he had taken the kingdom; but now, he deposed him in order to make an end of his domestic disorders, though what he did was unlawful.

30 For never had this honor been taken away from someone once they had received it, except for: *Antiochos the Illustrious*, who, indeed, was *the* first to annul that law when he indeed took the chief-priesthood away from *Jeshua*, but established his brother *Honijah* *instead*. But the second was *Aristoboulos*, who took it away from his brother *Hyrkanos*. But the third was *Hērōdēs*, who took away the government *from Hanameel* and indeed handed it over to the boy *Aristoboulos*, *also known as Jonathan*, who was seventeen years old.

CHAPTER 33 [Ant15:42-56 / War1:437c]

And indeed, at that time, *Hērōdēs* seemed to have treated *the problems* around his house. Yet, he was not without suspicion, as is natural after a reconciliation. Due to *Alexandra's* past attempts, he had a reason to be anxious⁷ that she would try to overthrow his *state* affairs, if she found an opportunity *to do so*. 2 Therefore, he ordered her to spend *her time* in the royal *palace*, and not to do anything on her own authority.⁸ Her guards were also careful so that nothing she did in her daily life would escape notice.

3 All of these things made her savage, little by little, and caused hatred to grow in addition.⁹ For since she was completely full with a mind of a woman, she resented the supervision which was derived from his suspicions, and thought that anything was better than being deprived of her freedom-of-speech, living the rest of *her life* in slavery and fear with *merely* a good-appearance of having honor.

4 Therefore, she sent to *Kleopatra*, making an incessant lament about the state in which she found herself, and beseeched her to give her as much aid as her power allowed. But *Kleopatra* directed her to escape unnoticed, with her boy, and come to her at Egypt. 5 This *idea* seemed good to *Alexandra*, and she cunningly-contrived the following *scheme*:

She had two coffins prepared, as if they were *to be used* for the removal of *two* corpses. She placed herself and her son into them, enjoining the domestic-slaves, who knew of the *plan*, to carry them away during the night. Now from there, they had a route to *the sea* and to a boat, which was prepared for them to sail in to Egypt.

6 One of her domestic-slaves, *Aisōpos*, incautiously brought a message about this to *Sabbīōn*, one of her friends, thinking that he had known about the plan. Now *Sabbīōn* also had, as it happened, formerly been an enemy of *Hērōdēs* because he was believed to be one of those who had plotted against *Antipatros* by *means* of the drugging. So when he learned about *this*, he supposed that the laying down of *this* information would change *Hērōdēs'* hatred into goodwill. And he recounted to the king *Alexandra's* plot against him.

7 Now *the king*, indeed, permitted her to proceed as far as the *actual* undertaking of the plan, and caught her in the very act of the flight. But he overlooked her sin; indeed, he did not dare to inflict *even* one harsh *thing upon her*, even though he very much wished to do so. For he knew that *Kleopatra*, out of hatred toward him, would not bear to let him have her be incriminated. But he made a display of *his* magnanimity, as if it was rather his great reasonableness which made him excuse them.

¹ [Ant] FV "turned"

² [Ant] (literally "of the God" / LAMWE "of the people")

³ [Ant] V "he passionately-desired"

⁴ literally "boys" or "little-ones"

⁵ [Ant] LAMWE "plan" / Lat "request"

⁶ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

⁷ [Ant] L,A(1),M(1),W "clear"

⁸ [Ant] PF "anything without his authority"

⁹ [Ant] LAMWE "secret"

8 However, he was fully determined to put the stripling, *Aristoboulos*, out of the way; but it seemed to him, that he would be more specious in escaping detection if he did not act at once or immediately after what had happened.

9 And when the *Festival of Booths* was kept (now this is a festival observed by us with great care), *Hérōdés* waited for these days to pass; and both he and the remaining multitude *celebrated these occasions* of gladness. But it was the envy motivated by this very occasion, which was clearly working within him, that provoked him to carry out his purpose more quickly.

10 For the stripling, *Aristoboulos*, was seventeen years *old* when he went up to¹ the altar during the festival to complete the sacrifices in accordance with the law. He also was wearing the ornamentation² and clothing of the chief-priests, and accomplished the rituals. He was also handsomely handsome, and greater in stature than most adolescents; yet, in his outward-form, he displayed the dignity of his descent to the utmost.

11 Now among the multitude, *who were* crowded together, there arose a *feeling of goodwill* toward him, and a vivid remembrance of the deeds which had been performed by his grandfather *Aristoboulos*. Being gradually overcome, they³ proved their dispositions, rejoicing and being confounded and weeping over him at the same time; and their laudatory sounds were mingled with their discharged prayers, so that the goodwill of the crowd became evident, and the concession of their emotions seemed too prominent in view of having a king.

12 As a result of these things, *Hérōdés* determined to bring to completion his plan against the stripling. And after the festival passed, indeed, while they were being entertained at Jericho, having been received by *Alexandra*, he was friendly-minded toward the stripling and drew him on into a drinking-party⁴ without anxiety, ready to play with him and act as a youth in order to be accepted by him.

13 Now since the place happened to have a unique-feature of being very hot, they quickly gathered together *and* went out to wander around. And standing beside the swimming-pools, of which there happened to be several large ones around the court, they cooled themselves off from the midday heat. 14 And, indeed, at first, they watched some of the domestic-slaves and friends as they swam. Then the stripling also, and at *Hérōdés*' urging, was induced to *join them*. While he was swimming there, as darkness came on,⁵ the friends,⁶ who had been enjoined to do so,⁷ kept pressing him down and immersing him in a swimming-pool as if in childish-play, and *did* not let him up, until he was entirely drowned. 15 And this was indeed how *Aristoboulos*, *who was also called Jonathan*, came to his end.⁸ Indeed, he had lived no more than eighteen years, but had held the priesthood for *only* a year; for *Hérōdés* killed him straightaway after having given him that honor, which *Hanameel* again obtained for himself.

CHAPTER 34 [Ant15:57-70 / War1:441]

Now when a message *regarding* the incident was sent out to the women, they, indeed, were straightaway changed into lamentation over the corpse which lay before them, and their grief was ungovernable. When the account was spread abroad, the city, too, exceedingly grieved, every home feeling *the misfortune* as if it had happened to one of its own *members* and not to another.

2 But *Alexandra* was even more emotional, because she comprehended what the destruction of *her son* meant. Indeed, her pain was greater since she knew how it had been brought about, but she held it necessary to persevere in anticipation of a still greater distress. 3 And, indeed, she often came close to ending her life by suicide, but, nevertheless, held back, hoping, that if she were able to live, she might assist *her son who had been* utterly-destroyed in the unlawful plot formed against him. 4 For that reason, she was encouraged to live; and giving no *one* reason to *believe* that she held suspicion that her son had been utterly-destroyed in premeditation, she hoped to have a seasonable-opportunity for taking revenge. Indeed, she kept her suspicion to herself.

But *Hérōdés* removed all plausibility from those abroad, that the boy's death had been a premeditation. *He did this*, not only by pursuing sorrow, *but* instead, by also giving way to tears and displaying a genuine confusion of the soul. 5 *Regardless*, it was clear that he was laboring to make a defense for himself. Yet, as for the carrying of *the body*, *Hérōdés* also excessively exhibited his extravagance; indeed, he made a great preparation for a tomb and a great quantity of the incenses; but together with him, he buried many ornaments. *In this way*, he drove out some of the pain felt by the grieving women, and they were consoled by it.

6 But *Alexandra* was certainly not won over by anything such as this. But, also, the constant remembrance of this malicious *event*, which caused her to suffer pain, made her querulous and fond-of-strife. And she wrote to *Kleopatra* about the plot which *Hérōdés* had formed, and the destruction of her boy.

¹ [Ant] // [War] "he approached"

² may also be translated "gear"

³ may also be translated "Being overcome, they gradually"

⁴ [Ant] P, Lat / E "to a place"

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "at night"

⁶ [Ant] // [War] "the Galatians"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "at his instruction"

⁸ [War] ("came to his end" // [Ant] "was utterly-destroyed")

7 But *Kleopatra*, who had long ago been eager to assist her and pitied *Alexandra*'s misfortune, made the entire matter her own *concern*, and did not cease urging *Antonius* to avenge the murder of the boy. "For it is not worthy of *Hérōdés*, who has been established by you as a king of a government to which he had no claim, to have exhibited a transgression such as this toward those who were the *real* kings."

8 Persuaded by these *arguments*, *Antonius*, when he was preparing to go to *Laodikeia*, sent to *Hérōdés*, directing him to come in order to dismiss *the charges relating* to *Aristoboulos*. "For you have not acted aright in the plot, if it was formed by you."

9 Now *Hérōdés* was anxious of both this charge and *Kleopatra*'s ill-will toward him; for she had never ceased endeavoring to make *Antonius* afflict him. So *Hérōdés* indeed determined to obey; for there was nothing else to do.

Therefore,⁹ when he was about to go abroad, he left his uncle *Joseph*, *who was also* his sister *Shelome*'s husband, as procurator of the government and *the state* affairs there. But since *Joseph*, on account of this marriage-connection, was also well-disposed toward him, *Hérōdés* committed his wife *Miriam* to him. *Hérōdés* imperceptibly instructed him,¹⁰ "Joseph, if anything happens to me while I am with *Antonius*, also do away with *Miriam* immediately. 10 For I am tenderly-affectionate toward my wife, and am anxious of the outrage, if, even after my death, she is pursued by another because of her beautiful-figure."

11 But all of this was a way of displaying *Antonius*' impulse for the human, and of whose beautiful-figure, as it happened, he had long before overheard. Therefore, indeed, *having given* these orders and with uncertain hopes concerning the whole *matter*,¹¹ *Hérōdés* went off to meet *Antonius*.

12 Now while *Joseph* was managing the royal affairs, and, for that reason, was repeatedly petitioning *Miriam* both about official-business and on account of *the* honor which he was bound to show to her as the queen, he frequently let himself fall into conversations about *Hérōdés*' goodwill and tender-affection which he had for her. 13 But when the women, and especially *Alexandra*, used to turn his accounts into jest, *Joseph*, not with any malicious-intention, *but*, instead, wishing to prove the king's passionate-desire for his wife, took exceedingly great pains to display the king's thoughts. *And he* proceeded so far as to even speak of the instruction *Hérōdés* had given him, offering them, as proof of the fact, that *Hérōdés* would be unable to live without her; even if he were to suffer a terrible *fate*, he did not think it fit to be separated from her *even* by death.¹² This, indeed, was what *Joseph* spoke, and how the secret was disclosed.

14 But the women, as was reasonable, did not take this as a delivery of *Hérōdés*' tender-affection, but of his harshness, that, even if he were put to death, they would not be able to escape destruction and a tyrannical death. This statement founded *their* suspicions of his harshness.

CHAPTER 35 [Ant15:71-87 / War1:443b, 442-443a, 443c, 431, 432b]

Now at this *time*, an account also went around the city of the *Jerusalemites*, coming from among those who hated *Hérōdés*, that *Antonius* had maltreated *and* killed him. This declaration, indeed, as is reasonable, stirred-up everyone who was around the royal *palace*, but the women were even *stirred-up*, exceedingly. 2 But *Alexandra* also persuaded *Joseph* to leave the royal *palace* with them *and* to flee for refuge to the *ensigns* of the Roman legion, which, at that time, was encamped around the city as the king's guard, under the leadership of *Julius*.¹³

3 "For by this *means*, we would indeed, in the first place, live in greater safety by having the Romans be well-disposed toward us, if any disturbance were to arise around the court. And next, I hope to obtain everything *I want*, if *Antonius* sees *Miriam*; and through him, we might recover the government, and lack nothing which is reasonable for those of royal noble birth to have."

4 Now while they happened to be having these rationalizations, documents arrived from *Hérōdés* concerning *the whole matter*, which was contrary to *the* declarations and what had been previously announced:¹⁴

5 For after I came to *Antonius*, I, indeed, quickly won him over by the gifts which I had brought from *Jerusalem*, but, by my conversations, quickly disposed him not to deal harshly with me. But as for *Kleopatra*'s accounts, these, being inferior, were not strong enough to *oppose* my service to *Antonius*.

6 For *Antonius* said, "It is not fair to demand an examination of the conduct of a king about his government. For in this way, he would not be a king at all. But those who have given him this honor and have deemed him worthy of this authority should permit him to make use of it." But he also *told* *Kleopatra*, "It would be most profitable for you not to meddle in the affairs of the government."

⁹ [War] // [Ant] "But/Now"

¹⁰ [War] // [Ant] "*Hérōdés* gave him a secret instruction"

¹¹ may also be referring to "the whole government"

¹² [Ant] // [War] "he could not bear to be separated from her *even* if he were put to death"

¹³ [Ant] PF, A-margin, M-margin "command of a son of *Juda*"

¹⁴ [Ant] LAMW "been anticipated"

7 This was what Hérôdés wrote, in which he also recounted the other honors which he had received from Antonius, how he had sat with him when he made decisions and ate together with him every day. And *he told* how he had happened to receive these things despite Kleopatra's harsh slanders against him:

For in her longing to have my country, she demanded the kingdom for herself, laboring in every way to get me out of the way. 8 However, I happened to find that Antonius was righteous. So I no longer expected to experience anything unpleasant from him. Instead, I will also be quickly coming back with the assurance of having received his goodwill toward my kingdom and the state affairs.

9 And Kleopatra is no longer allowed to have any hope of fully satisfying her greeds, since Antonius has given her Coelesyria instead of the country which she had desired. And in this way, he appeased her, while at the same time, also ridding himself of the petitions which she had been making to have Judah

10 When these documents were delivered, the women indeed ended their attempt, which was to flee to the Romans for refuge in the belief that Hérôdés had been uttered-destroyed. Yet, their plan had not escaped notice. Instead, after the king had escorted Antonius on his way against the Parthians, he returned to Judah, where, in revenge for his public successes, fortune visited him with troubles at his own house. 11 He began to be tormented by an evil-demon on account of his wife Miriam, to whom he was so eagerly attached. It was through her that seditions arose in his house, indeed prior to this time, but especially on his present arrival from Roma.

12 For straightaway both his sister Shelome and his mother indeed showed to him with proofs the intentions of Alexandra's party. But Shelome also seized this opportunity to slander Miriam, by speaking an account against her own husband Joseph, which was no more than a slander, that he had frequently had sexual intercourse with Miriam. Now she said these things, because for a long time she had hated Miriam; for when they had differences, Miriam had shown a high mind, and had reproached Shelome for her low-birth.

13 Now Hérôdés, whose passionate-desire for Miriam was always hot, was straightaway thrown into disorder and could not bear his jealousy; but, because of his passionate-desire for her, he was able to control himself from doing anything rash.¹ His intense emotion and his jealousy provoked him to privately interrogate Miriam concerning Joseph.

14 But she denied everything on oath; and in her defense, recounted everything that could possibly be said by a woman who had not sinned. So the king gradually let himself be convinced and passed over his anger. Being overcome with tender-affection for his wife, he apologized for seeming to have put faith in what he had heard about her; and he repeatedly confessed his gratitude for her orderly-behavior. 15 He also professed how much love and goodwill he had for her. And finally, as is usual with friends who passionately-desire one another, they fell prostate in tears, clinging to one another with great intensity.

16 But during their intercourse, as the king also continued to confirm his sympathy by swearing many oaths, and that he had never passionately-desired any other woman, and to draw her to share² his disposition, Miriam said, "Yes, no doubt you did, exhibit your passionate-desire for me! That was no act of affection to assign instructions to Joseph to kill me: that if you were to suffer anything harsh by Antonius, I should be destroyed together with you, even though I am not guilty of anything!"

17 When this account had fallen from her lips, and the king knew that this secret had been let out, he became violently-indignant and out of his mind; indeed, he straightaway released her from his arms. But he cried out and grasped handfuls of his hair, saying, "I have clear evidence of Joseph's communion with you! 18 For he would never have disclosed³ the instruction which he had heard privately, if there had not been great trust between both of you, and if he had not despoiled you!"

19 His passion drove him crazy; and leaping out of bed, he ran around the royal palace without restraint. Now while he was in this state, he was indeed close to killing his wife. But being conquered by his passionate-desire for her, he indeed restrained the impulse, though enduring it to the end was painful and difficult.

20 However, his sister Shelome's slander of Miriam also confirmed his suspicion of Joseph. But driven crazy with unmixed jealousy, he ordered that Joseph was to be consumed⁴ on the spot, without permitting him to come into his sight. And as for Alexandra, he bound her and kept her under guard, as the cause of everything.

But at this time, there were also disorders in the affairs of Syria, because Kleopatra would not let go of trying to get Antonius to make an attempt upon all of its rulers. For she persuaded him to take away the dominions from each one and have them given to her. And she had the greatest influence over him because of his yearning for her.

2 But since it was her nature to rejoice with greeds, she did not leave one transgression remaining. Indeed, her brother, when she knew that he was to be the king of Egypt, she did away with by drugs when he was only fifteen years old. But when her sister Arsinoé was approaching as a suppliant in the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, she had her killed by Antonius.

3 Now after Kleopatra had passed through her family one after another, until not one of her blood-relatives were left remaining, she further thirsted for the blood of those outside her family. 4 For, indeed, on account of acquiring money, if there were even the slightest hopes of doing so, she would even transgress inner-sanctums and tombs; nor was there any sacred-place which was imagined to be safe from being violated in this way, by having its ornamentation stripped off; nor was there one which was not profaned, by suffering every possible forbidden treatment from her, if it were likely to only satisfy the greeds of this unrighteous-woman. 5 But not even all of this was sufficient for a woman who was extravagant and who was enslaved to her yearnings; and she endeavored to get everything which came into her mind which she lacked.

And this was why she perpetually pressed Antonius to deprive others in order to show favor to her. 6 And as she passed over Syria with him, she contrived to make it her possession. So she slandered the Syrian magistrates to Antonius, persuading him to have them done away with, so that she might easily be a mistress of each one's properties. 7 Therefore, she indeed had Lusaias son of Ptolemaios killed, having incriminated him of bringing in the Parthians against the state affairs. But she yet stretched out her greeds to Judah and Arab. So she asked Antonius for both, thinking it fit for him to have these countries taken away from their kings: Hérôdés and Melech; and she secretly worked to have each of them done away with.

8 Now Antonius was indeed so entirely overcome by this woman, as it happened, that it seemed as if he obeyed everything she wanted, not only because of his intercourse with her, but instead, because he also suffered from the effect of drugs.⁵ However, the openness of her unrighteousness made him ashamed to the extent that he would not always obey her into committing the biggest sins.

9 Therefore, in order not to deny her altogether, but not to appear openly malicious by accomplishing everything she ordered, he at least complied with her orders in part. For one part, at least, made Antonius sober. Indeed, he held it vile to kill good men and such great kings; but this close friendship he had with them was driven away. For he severed many portions of each one's region, giving them to her; he even took away the palm-grove of Jericho, where the balsam grows. 10 But he also gave her all the cities within the bounds of the Eleutheros River as far as Egypt, except for⁶ Zor and Zidon, which he knew to have been free from the time of their forefathers (although she persisted many times to have these).

11 When Kleopatra had obtained these things and become a lady over them, and had escorted Antonius as far as the Euphrates⁷ on his advance with his army to Armenia,⁸ she returned and, indeed, came into Apameia and Damasek, but also passed on to Judah, where Hérôdés met her. And Hérôdés indeed softened her enmity by giving her large gifts. 12 But he also farmed out the regions which had been severed from his kingdom at 200 talents each year. These included the parts of Arab which had been given to her, as well as the revenues of the region around Jericho. Now this region produces the balsam, which is valued there and grows there alone. It also produces palm-trees,⁹ which are both numerous and beautiful.

13 Being in this situation and having frequent habitual-company with Hérôdés, she attempted to have sexual intercourse with the king. Indeed, she was by nature accustomed to indulge in such pleasures without disguise. Whatever her motives might have been, it was clear that she was overcome with yearning for him.

14 Now Hérôdés had also, indeed for a long time, not been well-disposed toward Kleopatra, knowing how harsh she was to everyone. But at that time, he also hated her deservingly (if this attempt did proceed out of licentiousness), and wanted to be the first to take vengeance (if she was undertaking such things in order to ensnare him). Indeed, he evaded her accounts, but formed a council of his friends, on whether he should kill her while he had her in his hands.

15 "For by doing this, I would deliver everyone from her many malicious-deeds, those whom she has already oppressed, and those whom she is expected to oppress in the future. But this very thing would also be an advantage for Antonius, since she will not be faithful to him, if any opportunity or need confines him to stand in need of her faithfulness."

¹ [Ant] LW "terrified that he might do something rash, he was able to control himself"

² [Ant] PFV omits "this and to draw her to share"

³ [Ant] // [War] "have sent out a message"

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "killed"

⁵ may also be translated "because of suffering under her sorceries"

⁶ [War] // [Ant] "., apart from"

⁷ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "on his march against the Parthians"

⁹ may also be translated "phoenixes"

16 His friends prevented him from acting upon this counsel, explaining to him, “Indeed, in the first place, it is not worth it to attempt such a great *thing*, thereby incurring obvious danger.” But they also insisted that he not pursue anything with rashness. 17 “For Antonius will never tolerate it, not even if anyone placed its advantages *right* before his very eyes. For his passionate-desire would flame up exceedingly, if he thought that he had been deprived of her through violence and treachery. But you do not have any defense which might appear reasonable; indeed, this undertaking would be against a woman who holds the greatest dignity of those *living at* this time. But as for the benefit, if even any might be looked for in this *case*, it would be appear to be self-will and contempt against his disposition—18 from which, it is not hard to see, big and unending¹ evils will fill up your government and your family. It is still possible *for you* to drive away the sin to which she is calling you, *and* to deal with this occasion properly.”

19 By making him anxious with such *arguments*, and hinting at the danger which would probably result from it, they kept him from *carrying out* his attempt. Now he made full service² to Kleopatra with gifts, *and* escorted her on to Egypt, as far as Pélousion.

CHAPTER 37 [Ant15:104-120 / War1:363-369]

But³ it was not long before Antonius took hold of Armenia.⁴ And he sent off Artavazd, Tigran’s boy, in chains to Egypt, *along* with his boys and satraps, presenting the prisoners to⁵ Kleopatra. For this Armenian⁶ was granted to her straightaway, along with his money and all the spoils. 2 But Artavazd’s eldest boy, Artashes who had escaped at that time, began to reign over Armenia. And *much* later, Archelaos and Nerō Caesar expelled him, *and* restored his younger brother Tigran to the kingdom.

3 But as for the tributes, which *Artashes* had to pay *Kleopatra* for the region which Antonius had given her: Hérōdés, indeed, acted rightly, since he deemed it not safe to give Kleopatra any reason to have hatred against him. 4 But as for the Arabian king, whose payment Hérōdés had taken responsibility: for some time, indeed, he continued to hand over 200 talents to Hérōdés; but, eventually he became malignant, and was slow in rendering *his* payments, and could hardly be made to discharge even some portions of it, nor would he concede even to furnish this *amount* without being granted exemption from further payment.

5 Now since *the king of Arab* was acting wrongly in this way, and, in the end, did not do what was righteous, Hérōdés, indeed, wanted to march out against him, but the Roman war was an occasion of *delaying his own*. 6 For the battle at Aktion was expected to *begin*, which happened in the 187th Olympiad; indeed, Caesar was to contend with Antonius for a prize: the affairs of the whole *empire*.

7 Now that Hérōdés had been delivered from his tumults in Judah and ruled over Hyrkania (a place which had been held by Antigonos’ sister), and his region had been yielding him good crops for a long time, and he had acquired revenues and resources, he, indeed, prepared to set out to assist Antonius at the outbreak of the war of Aktion. And *he did this* by enlisting auxiliaries for Antonius, which were carefully furnished with armaments.

8 Yet, Kleopatra craftily barred him from partaking of Antonius’ dangers. For since she had laid a plot against the kings, she *now* persuaded Antonius to entrust the war against the Arabians to Hérōdés, so that if he prevailed, she might become mistress of Arab, or, if he was prevailed *over*, of Judah; and *she knew that* it would be to her own profit to possibly destroy one of these potentates by having them injure one another.

9 So Antonius, indeed, declared that he had no need of his auxiliaries, but enjoined him to march out against *Arab*, which was *exactly* what Kleopatra had thought fit to *do*. For he had also heard, from both *Hérōdés* and Kleopatra, of the faithlessness of the Arabian king.

10 When this *order* was spoken to him by Antonius, *Hérōdés* turned back, *but* held his army together with the intention of invading Arab straightaway. However, *Kleopatra’s* purpose inclined the scale toward Hérōdés. For, indeed, he began to wage war by plundering *them* in reprisal. So he united many cavalry; and when *his* force of cavalry and infantry was ready, he discharged them around Diospolis. When they arrived there, the Arabians met them (for the war had not escaped their notice), and a fierce battle *broke out*. And although *the Arabians* stood resolutely in hostile array against him, the Judeans prevailed.

11 But after this defeat, a commotion arose among the Arabians, and a large army⁷ of them came⁸ together at Kenath⁹ (which is a place in Coelesyria) to wait for the Judeans. But Hérōdés, who had learned of this beforehand, went there with

the largest part of his force. And when he drew near¹⁰ with his force, he endeavored to lead the war with foresight, and determined to encamp in a fine *spot*.¹¹ And he also directed them to enwall their encampment by throwing up a palisade around it, in order for him to have determined an opportune *position* from which to make his attacks.

12 Truly, the multitude of the Judeans did not obey *him*; instead, as he was arranging these things, they, encouraged by their previous victory, cried out, “Stop delaying! Lead us against the Arabians!” But what also spurred them on was their reliance on being finely organized. And those who had the greatest eagerness *to do so* were those who had been victorious in the first battle, and had not even allowed their opponents to fight with their hands.

13 Therefore, because they were clamoring and exhibiting such great zeal, the king decided to exploit the eagerness of the multitude. And after he proclaimed,¹² “I will not be left *behind* without excellence!” he, arming himself before them, led them out, all of them following in their proper positions, spurred on *against* the Arabians.

14 Now consternation straightaway fell upon the Arabians. For after making a brief stand against *the Judeans* and seeing that they were unconquerable and full of purpose, most of *the Arabians* gave way *and* fled. And, indeed, *the Judeans*, having routed them at the first charge, pursued them. And *the Arabians* would have been utterly-destroyed had not Athénion injured Hérōdés and the Judeans by laying a snare for them in the pursuit.

15 For this *man* was indeed one of Kleopatra’s generals there, but who had always been at variance with Hérōdés. As he examined *what was happening*, he was not unprepared; indeed, he had determined to remain still if the Arabians performed brilliantly; but if they were beaten, as it actually happened, to engage the Judeans with a force of his own, which he had prepared from the inhabitants of the region who had gathered together for him.

16 And at that time, when *the Judeans* both were weary and supposed that they were victorious, *Athénion* let loose the natives of Kenath; and unexpectedly falling upon *the Judeans*, he slaughtered a great many of them. For since the Judeans had both exhausted their eagerness upon their declared enemies, and were fearlessly enjoying their victory, they were quickly beaten by those who attempted to attack them, and received many blows in places which were unsuitable for cavalry and were rocky, where their attackers had more experience *with the terrain*.

17 Now while *the Judeans* suffered this injury from this onset, the Arabians regained their courage and recovered *their strength*; and turning back, they joined the multitude around the places which were rocky and difficult to traverse. *There* they routed Hérōdés’ *men*; and killing in every sort of way those who had already been routed, they made an immense murder and brought them to destruction. But those who saved themselves from the battle *attempted* to flee to Ormiza for refuge, but not many of these who did slip away *managed* to take refuge in the encampment.

18 Now King Hérōdés, in despair of the battle, rode off to bring them help. But although he was diligent, he truly was not able to come quickly enough¹³ to be of use. Instead, he arrived at *Ormiza* shortly after the Arabians had indeed encompassed the Judean encampment, taking¹⁴ it together with all its men. 19 The ones responsible for bringing this blow down upon him were the disobedient squadron-chiefs; for had they not *begun* the encounter so suddenly, Athénion would not have found an opportunity for *his* scheme. Now the Arabians were immeasurably fortunate, having both gained an unexpected victory, which they were far short of taking, and in depriving their opponents of much of their power.

20 However, from then on, Hérōdés avenged himself on the Arabians. Indeed, he resorted to brigandage, and constantly overran many *parts* of the Arabian’s region, and injured them in his raids, while he encamped on the boundaries. And, indeed, he all together avoided coming to an open *hand-to-hand* battle. But through his constancy and the laborious *efforts*, he did not leave them unharmed, *causing the Arabians* to often *regretfully* recall their single victory. He also took care of the inhabitants, using every means to straighten his stumble.

CHAPTER 38 [Ant15:121-146 / War1:370-379]

Now while Hérōdés was repelling his enemies, another demonic event fell upon him. Indeed, it was the seventh year of his reign, while the battle¹⁵ of Aktion, between Caesar and Antonius, was at its height.¹⁶ For at *the* beginning of spring, the earth was shaken among the Judeans, *to such an extent* as has not happened at any other time; indeed, it caused a great destruction¹⁷ of an endless multitude of fatted-animals and many of the livestock in that country. 2 But about 30,000 humans were also utterly-destroyed by their houses falling down *upon them*.

¹ [Ant] PFV “all”

² [War] // [Ant] “he did service”

³ [Ant] E “Therefore, indeed,”

⁴ [Ant] // [War] “Antonius came back from Parthia”

⁵ [Ant] // [War] “, as a present for”

⁶ [War] Emendation based on correct Ant account / Text “Parthian”

⁷ [Ant] // [War] “and a multitude”

⁸ [Ant] // [War] “gathered”

⁹ Hebrew emendation // [Ant] some “Kanan” / LAMW, Lat “Kanan” // [War] “Kananth”

¹⁰ [Ant] // [War] “he arrived there”

¹¹ [Ant] LAMW “in Kanan”

¹² may also be translated “foretold”

¹³ [Ant] // [War] “was too late”

¹⁴ [Ant] // [War] “seizing”

¹⁵ [Ant] // [War] “battle”

¹⁶ [War] // [Ant] “, took place”

¹⁷ [Ant] P “payment/tribute” / FE “murder”

However,¹ the army remained without harm; for being lodged and living in the open country, it was not damaged at all by the incident.

3 The Arabians soon learned about this. For some, in their hatred, tried to please their hearers by sending out messages which exceeded the truth (for such reports always arise during a gloomy difficult-situation), and they recounted these things to them. And at this, the Arabians, stimulated by these exaggerated declarations, were lifted up with great courage and became high minded, supposing that the country of their foes, that is, Judah, was already overturned² and that the humans were utterly destroyed. 4 Thinking that nothing remained to rival them, and that they only had to prevail over a desolate country, they gathered together the Judean elders (for these men had come to them from the Judeans in order make peace with them), and killed³ them; and with all eagerness, they hastened to come into Judah and advanced against the Judean army.

5 And now, the Judean multitude,⁴ astounded by their charge, did not await their assault; and, being too disheartened and unnerved by the magnitude of these successive circumstances, they abandoned all concern for their causes, and were in the greatest despair. For they had no hope of being on equal-terms with them after having been beaten by them in the previous battles, nor of obtaining help while their affairs at home were under such distresses.

6 Therefore, with matters in this condition, the king tried to persuade the leaders by rationalization, and tried to raise up their fallen minds. But Hérōdēs first tried to embolden any of the better ones who were already encouraged; and then, he gathered the multitude together, and reasoned with them, which he had previously hesitated to do, lest he might also find them difficult to deal with⁵ on account of their misfortunes. But endeavoring to motivate them to defend themselves, he exhorted the crowd with the following accounts.⁶

This is one of the speeches which Hérōdēs spoke to his men:

7 “You indeed are not ignorant, men, that on this occasion, there have been many obstacles in our undertakings; and in such circumstances, it is not likely that even the greatest of men will keep up their good-courage. 8 Instead, since we are hard-pressed to make war, and nothing which has happened is so bad that it cannot be amended by one finely-performed action—I have proposed to exhort you, and, at the same time, teach you how you can remain settled in your minds.

9 “But first, I indeed wish to demonstrate that the war we are making is a righteous one, which we have been forced into by the outrageous-acts of our opponents. For if you understand this, it will be a great cause of eagerness on your part. But after this, I will further point out, why there is nothing to be terrified of, and why we have the greatest hopes of having the victory.

10 “Now I shall start with the first point, making you witnesses⁷ of what I say. For surely you indeed know about the transgressions of the Arabians, and how faithlessly they dealt with everyone else in this way, as is likely to be the case with those who are barbarous and without conception of God. However, the primary reason they have collided with us is because of greeds and envy; and they are lying in wait in order to take sudden advantage of the disorders.

11 “And indeed, do I need to speak much about this? Instead, when they were endangered of losing their own government and being enslaved to Kleopatra, who else wished to deliver them from their anxiety? For it was my friendliness toward Antonius, his disposition toward us, which was the reason why these Arabians did not suffer incurable harm, since that man was careful not to do anything which we might view with suspicion.

12 “But, nevertheless, when he wished to hand over portions of both of our governments to Kleopatra, it was I who managed this as well; and by giving him many gifts of my own, I indeed provided safety for both of us. But I assumed the costs myself; indeed, I gave 200 talents, but became surety for another 200, which indeed went toward her revenue. But these Arabians have defrauded us of this money.

13 “And yet, at any rate, it is not reasonable for Judeans to pay tribute to anyone living for their properties or even a portion of their country. Now even if this were so, we should at least not be responsible to pay for those whom we ourselves have saved; nor should the Arabians (who have confessed, with petition and favor, that it is by our means that they kept their government) act-unrighteously by defrauding us. And they did this, not while we were hostile to them, but rather friends.

14 “Whereas there is still a place for faithfulness even between those who are hostile toward one another, still, among friends, it is absolutely necessary to retain it. Instead, this is not the case with these men. Indeed, they assume that gain is the most beautiful course of all, but that this unrighteousness is not harmful, if only they are able to gain from it.

15 “Therefore, are you still trying to figure out whether we should take vengeance upon those who are unrighteous, when even God himself wishes this, and has transmitted a message to us, that we should always hate wanton-violence and unrighteousness, and when we are carrying out a war that is not only righteous, but rather also necessary?

16 “For the things which both the Hellenes and the barbarians agree to be illegal, these Arabians have done to our elders, whose throats they have cut. Indeed, the Hellenes have declared that the heralds are to be consecrated and inviolable. But we have learned the most beautiful of our decrees and the most sacred of our laws from the messengers sent by God. For this name is even able to bring a manifestation of God to humans, and to reconcile foes with foes. 17 Therefore, what greater impiety could there be than to kill elders who have come to discuss a righteous settlement? But how are they still able to enjoy tranquility in their life, or have good-fortune in a war, when they have done things such as this? This indeed, seems impossible to me!

18 “Moreover, perhaps someone might argue, ‘What is sacred and what is righteous are indeed on our side, but they happen to be more manly or more numerous than we are.’ Instead, you are unworthy indeed to say such things in the first place. For those who are under righteousness are under God. But where God is present, there too is a multitude and manliness.

“But let us also probe our own situation. We were victorious in the first battle. In the second engagement, they were not able to hold out against us; instead, they fled straightaway, unable to endure our attack and our minds. 19 When we were victorious, Athénion attacked us, bringing on an unannounced war.

20 “Was this manly-virtue on their part, or a second transgression and treacheries? Therefore, why are we less minded when this situation ought to bring us the greater hopes? But how can we possibly be struck with astonishment, indeed, by men who are always conquered whenever they contend in an honest way, but whenever they seem to prevail, achieve it by their unrighteousness? 21 But even if someone were to regard them as noble, would not this very thought also motivate us to do our utmost against them? For the good-soul is not shown when attacking those who are weaker, but instead by being able to prevail even over those who are stronger.

22 “But if anyone is struck with astonishment by our own calamities and the effects of the earthquake, let him indeed consider this first: that this very situation is also deceiving the Arabians, who have assumed that what has befallen us is greater than reality. Then: it is not good⁸ that we should be cowardly for the same reason for which they are daring. 23 For indeed, they do not get their good-soul from any goodness of their own; instead, they get it from the hope that we have already been exhausted by the bad things which have happened to us. But we shall advance on them. Indeed, we shall pull down⁹ their great minds. But we shall regain the advantage of fighting against men who are no longer encouraged.

24 “For even our distresses are not so large, nor, as some think, is what has happened to us a sign of God’s anger; instead, these things are coincidences and misfortunes. And if they have happened in accordance with God’s purpose, it is clear that they have also come to an end in accordance with his purpose, being satisfied with what has already happened. For had he wished to harm us still more, he would not have changed his mind so suddenly.

25 “But he even wishes for this war to be carried on, and knows that it is righteous, as he made clear: For although some throughout the country were utterly destroyed by the earthquake, not one of the men-in-arms suffered anything; instead, they were all saved. God makes it clear, that even if you had advanced as an army in a mass with children and women, the result would have been that not one of you would have suffered anything incurable.

26 “Ponder these things, and, what is more important than this, that you have God as your foremost leader at every occasion. So march out with righteous manly-virtues, indeed, to prosecute those who are unrighteous toward friendship, but who are implacable in their battles, but who are unsacred to elders, but who are always inferior to you in excellence!”

This is another speech which Hérōdēs spoke to his men:

27 “This anxiety which has now laid hold of you seems to me to be unreasonable. It is indeed natural to at least be disheartened by this demonic blow, but to also be in this state because of a human attack is unmanly. For my part, I am so far from having to cower beneath our foes after the earthquake, that I interpret this catastrophe as bait which God has set down before the Arabians, in order that we might bring rightful-punishment upon them. For it is not because they have any confidence in their great weapons or hands, but they depend on our accidental circumstances. But a hope which does not hang on one’s own strength, but rather on the misadventures of another, is ready to fall.

28 “Now there is no certainty among humans, neither the unfortunate nor the favorable¹⁰ type. Instead, fortune is seen veering from one side to the other. And this may be learned from your own instances: yes, having prevailed in the first

¹ [Ant] // [War] “But/Now”

² [Ant] // [War] “overthrown”

³ [Ant] // [War] “sacrificed”

⁴ [War] LVRC “nation”

⁵ may also be translated “them irksome”/“them ill-tempered”

⁶ [Ant] // [War] “, saying this to them”

⁷ literally “testifiers”

⁸ literally “beautiful”

⁹ literally “shall take away”

¹⁰ literally “contrary” (as in, contrary to unfortunate)

battle, you were prevailed over by our foes. And now, it is very likely, that those who are expecting to prevail *against you*, will be conquered. For indeed, excessive confidence puts one off guard, while fear teaches one to have forethought, to such an extent that I may prompt *you*, from the anxiety which you have, to take courage. **29** For when you were encouraged beyond what you should have been, and rushed out upon our enemies without my decision, Athénion had an opportunity for his ambush. But at this moment, your hesitation and your seeming faintheartedness is to me a pledged assurance of a victory.

30 “However, having such *feelings* is appropriate before an *impending* attack; but once in action, your minds should be aroused, making these men believe that no evil, either human or demonic, will ever reduce *the* manly-virtues of the Judeans, as long as they have souls *in their bodies*; nor will any of them overlook any Arabian from becoming a master of their good-things, *when the Arabians* have often so narrowly escaped being seized as prisoners.

31 “But do not be agitated by the movements of the things without souls, nor suppose that the earthquake is a portent of another calamity. For *these* incidents of the elements are natural, and they threaten nothing more to humans beyond the immediate damage caused by itself. For indeed, a pestilence, and a famine, and the *underground* quakings may possibly be preceded by some short sign, but these *calamities* themselves are limited by their *own* magnitude. Is war, even if we are conquered, able to do greater damage to us than the earthquake?

32 “However, our enemies have a great portent of their *impending* capture, due neither to spontaneous *causes*, nor by *the* hand of foreigners: *for* they have brutally killed our elders, contrary to the law of all the humans, and wreathed them as sacrificial-victims for God on behalf of the war! Instead, they will not escape his great eye, and his unconquerable right hand; but we shall bring a rightful-punishment upon them at once, if, drawing in the mind of our fathers, we rise up to wreak vengeance upon these compact-breakers!

33 “Let everyone *go out*, not for a wife, nor for children, nor for *the* danger *our* fatherland is in; instead, for the elders, to avenge them! They will be better generals *for us* in the war than we who are alive. But if you follow me, I will bear the brunt of the battle. For *you* well know *that* your manliness is irresistible, unless you damage yourselves through rashness.”

CHAPTER 39 [Ant15:147-160 / War1:380-385]

When the Judeans heard *these speeches*, the army was encouraged, and their souls became much better for the battle. Now when *Hérōdés* saw their readiness, he offered¹ the customary sacrifices to God. And after the sacrifice, he made haste *and* led them against the Arabians, crossing over the Jordan River with his force. **2** Now he encamped around Philadelphiea, near the ones who fought *against him*, and around a fortress which lay between them.

Now *Hérōdés* thought it was good to seize the fortress. For in this way, he would indeed have an advantage, and would more quickly join the battle; and if it were necessary to prolong it,² he would have the fortified encampment *already* provided for him. **3** But since the Arabians also happened to foresee this, some of them were sent forward to seize the fortification, *and* a contest began around this place. Indeed, wishing to quickly meet them *in battle*, he first fired projectiles³ at them. Next, the king sent *soldiers*. **4** Therefore, indeed, as more *soldiers* also came to either side, there were *hand-to-hand combats* until they quickly drove the Arabians away from this *fortification*. Defeated, they withdrew *to their own encampment*, and he gained possession of the ridge. This straightaway contributed not a little to raising the hopes of the Judeans.

5 But daily, *Hérōdés* himself lead forward his force, drew them up into battle array, and challenged the Arabians to fight. But not one went out against him. For a terrifying consternation had fallen upon them, and their general Eltemo shivered-like-a-dry-leaf with terror in front of the multitude. And when *Hérōdés* noticed that the *enemy's* force was willing to do anything than come to a battle, he approached *and* boldly attempted to tear down their palisade and to get nearer to their encampment in order to engage them.

6 For once he had torn down their palisaded-camp, *the Arabians* were compressed and forced to come out to the battle. They advanced disorderly, the cavalry and the infantry jumbled-together, and without the slightest eagerness or the hope of a victory. **7** Therefore, despite all this, *the Arabians* fought *hand-to-hand*, because they were indeed superior to the Judeans in number, and also *because* they were being generated under the necessity which drove them to act with this boldness. But *the Arabians* had less eagerness *than the Judeans*, and yet they despaired of the victory and were reckless.

8 For this reason,⁴ a fierce battle arose, in which not a few fell on either side. Indeed, as long as *the Arabians* held out against them, not many were murdered *by the Judeans*. But finally the Arabians turned around to flee; **9** as they fell back, there was a slaughter. *For* as soon as they showed their backs, many, indeed, were utterly-destroyed, being trampled underfoot by the Judeans. But they did not die

only by those who fought against them, instead, they also contributed to their own distresses. *For* many were also slaughtered, both by being trampled underfoot by their own multitude who were flowing in disorder, and by falling upon their own weapons. At least 5,000 of them fell down as corpses during the rout.

10 Now the remaining⁵ *Arabian* multitude indeed succeeded in forcing their way into the palisaded-camp in order to take refuge, but they did not have the sure hope of salvation. **11** *For* the Judeans pursued them, but, indeed, did not have enough strength necessary to rush in along with them; but they encompassed *the Arabians* and sat down around the palisade in order to besiege them. And they closely-watched them in order to prevent both *the* entering of their suppliers, and the exiting of those who wished to flee. And while they were likely to *eventually* be taken by *their enemies* in arms, they were *also* pressed-down by the loss of necessities, and especially by the thirst resulting from the lack of water.

12 *Therefore*,⁶ Being in a *situation* such as this, the Arabians sent elders to *Hérōdés*; indeed, to first reach a cessation of *hostilities*, then (for the thirst was pressing), offering to accept any condition whatever, as long as he happened to think it fit to free them from their present terror. **13** But the king would not acknowledge their elders. And when they offered 500 talents as a ransom for those who had been caught by him or any other moderate *terms*, he refused to accept them, because, being a lover-of-strife, he wanted to punish them for their transgressions against *the Judeans*. *So* he pressed *his troops* harder upon them.

But being compelled both by other things and by being parched by their thirst, *the Arabians* came forward in a multitude, voluntarily handing themselves over to the Judeans to be carried away and enchained. **14** And indeed,⁷ within five days, the multitude of those who had been taken *and* enchained in this way *numbered* 4,000.

But on the sixth *day*, all the remaining *Arabian* multitude, in despair, determined to discharge themselves for war, choosing to make this attempt against their opponents, even if it was necessary to suffer, *rather* than be seized and utterly-destroyed little *by little* without glory. **15** But with this resolution, they indeed came out of the palisaded-camp to do battle. But none of them were able to sustain the battle; indeed, being afflicted in their souls and their bodies, they were too maltreated to contend-for-victory with brilliance; but they counted it a gain to die and a misfortune to live. *Hérōdés* contended with them; and in the first battle, about 7,000⁸ more of them fell.⁹

16 Now after Arab had suffered such a severe blow as this and was required by *Hérōdés*, the minds which his men previously had were quenched.¹⁰ But they marveled at the generalship which *Hérōdés* showed during his own misfortunes. Thereafter, he gained such a reputation with them, that they yielded to him and proclaimed¹¹ him foremost *man* of the nation. **17** Now thinking it fit to be high minded on account of his successes, *Hérōdés* returned to his house, having acquired a dignity after this manly-exploit.

CHAPTER 40 [Ant15:161-182 / War1:386, 433b]

Therefore, *Hérōdés's* other *affairs* were indeed fine, since it was difficult to attack him on every side. But he straightaway had concern about his whole affairs; *for* as a result of Caesar's victory over Antonius in the battle of Aktion, a danger fell upon him which would judge his *kingdom*. **2** For at that time, *Hérōdés* despaired of his own affairs, and both his enemies and friends around him did the same. For it was not likely that he would remain unpunished on account of the great friendship which he had formed with Antonius. **3** However, *Hérōdés* inspired more fear than he himself felt. For Caesar judged that he had not yet conquered Antonius while *Hérōdés* still stood fast. **4** Therefore, his friends indeed rejected their hopes *of him*; but his enemies indeed openly appeared to be troubled along with him, but secretly they exulted over *this* incident, *hoping* to obtain a change for the better.

5 *Hérōdés* himself, seeing that Hyrkanos was the only one left of royal dignity, also supposed it would be profitable not to allow him to be an obstacle any longer. Indeed, if *Hyrkanos* survived and escaped the danger, *he thought* it would be *the* safest way not to have a man, who happened to be more worthy of the kingdom than himself, lying by and watching to seize his opportunity at such *a time* as this; but also, if he were to suffer anything under¹² Caesar, his envy prompted him to desire to remove the only *man* who would be the king *after him*.

6 Now while *Hérōdés* had these things in his mind, an opportunity was also given to him by *his opponents*. For Hyrkanos, indeed, had such gentleness; and *both* then and at *any* other time, did not think it fit to meddle in public affairs, nor

⁵ [War] // [Ant] “the rest of”

⁶ [Ant] PFAMWE add

⁷ [Ant] PF “away and enchained. Indeed” / LE “away and in need. Indeed” / Lat “away. And indeed”

⁸ [Ant] most, [War] // [Ant] E “6,000”

⁹ [Ant] // [War] “, he killed about 7,000 more of them.”

¹⁰ [War] // [Ant] “they were deprived of *the* mind which they previously had had”

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] “chose”

¹² [Ant] PFVE “by”

¹ [War] // [Ant] “made”

² may also be translated “to draw aside”

³ [War] (“he fired projectiles” // [Ant] “at first” there were firings of projectiles”

⁴ [War] // [Ant] “And”

to take part in innovations; so he yielded everything to fortune, being content with whatever it brought about.

7 But Alexandra was a lover-of-strife; and having an unmixed hope for the change, she rationalized with her father, “Do not put up with Hérōdēs’ transgression against our house forever; instead, also¹ anticipate *the* security of our future hopes. 8 And I think it fit for you to write to Melech about these things,” (for he was the chief of Arab)² “and ask him both to receive us,³ and to bring⁴ us security. For if we get out from under Hérōdēs, and the things concerning him turn out in this way, as is likely due to Caesar’s enmity toward him, we will be the only *ones* who can take the government, both on account of our descent, and because of the goodwill of the multitude toward us.”

9 Although she tried to persuade Hyrkanos by these things, he indeed rejected her accounts. But since she was a lover-of-strife and was womanish, and did not desist either night or day, but instead always spoke to him about this *matter* and about the plot which Hérōdēs formed against him, he finally let himself be persuaded to give a letter to one of his friends, Dositheos. In *this letter* it was arranged that the Arabian should send *some* cavalry to retrieve them and escort them to the Lake of Asphalt. Now this *place* is 300⁵ stadia away from the borders of the Jerusalemites.

10 Now he had faith in Dositheos, because he did service, both to him and to Alexandra, and did not *even* have a small reason to bear ill-will toward Hérōdēs. For he was both a relative of Joseph (whom the king had done away with), and a brother of those who had been previously murdered at Zor under Antonius. 11 Truly, not even these things were able to induce Dositheos to be faithful in becoming the servant of Hyrkanos. But since he preferred to honor the hopes he had from the *present* king rather than *those of Hyrkanos*, he delivered the letter to Hérōdēs.

12 Now *the king* accepted his goodwill, and yet exhorted him to further assist him in this. “Fold up and seal up the letter. Deliver it to Melech, and bring back a document from him. For it will be of no small importance for me to also know Melech’s inclination.”

13 Now Dositheos was ready to render service to him in *this way*. Indeed, the Arabian wrote in reply, that he would receive both Hyrkanos and all those with him, along with as many of the Judeans who had the *same* mind as him. He would also send a force to provide for their security, and Hyrkanos would lack nothing of what he required.

14 But as soon as Hérōdēs had also received this letter, he *decided* to bring charges against him by excessive treachery. He both sent for Hyrkanos straightaway to *attend* a drinking-party, and put this question to Hyrkanos, “Did you receive any letters from Melech?”

And he indeed confessed, “I received greeting-documents.”

15 But he also asked further, “Did you receive any gift from him?”

But Hyrkanos answered, “I did not receive anything more than four livestock for riding, which he sent me.”

16 Now Hérōdēs ascribed *this act* as a motive of bribery and treason, and interrogated him about the compacts which he had made with Melech. But when Hyrkanos denied it, Hérōdēs showed the letters to the congress, and he enjoined that hands be laid on the man, who was killed by being strangled.

17 Hyrkanos was a man whose way of life was gentle. And even in his youth he did not make any display of audacity or rashness, nor even when he himself was the king; instead, he even yielded the greatest part of the management to Antipatros. 18 Now at this time, he was indeed more than 80 years *old*, but he knew that Hérōdēs had complete security in his rule. But he had also crossed over the Euphrates,⁶ leaving those beyond *the river* who honored him, in order to put himself entirely under Hérōdēs. Therefore, because of *these things*, some believed that the charges against Hyrkanos were instead a pretext of Hérōdēs.

19 This indeed was how Hérōdēs’ wife’s grandfather Hyrkanos came-to-his-end, after living a life of various and twisting fortunes. For, indeed, straightaway, at the beginning of the reign of his mother Alexandra, he was established as a chief-priest of the Judean nation, holding this honor for nine years. 20 But after his mother’s death, he received the kingdom, and held it for three months, until he was indeed driven from it by his brother Aristoboulos. But it was restored back to him under Pompeius, and he received all his honors back, continuing to enjoy them for 40 years. 21 But under Antigonos, he was deprived of them a second *time*, and was mutilated in the body, besides being taken captive by the Parthians. From Parthia, he returned to his own house after some time, on account of the hopes which Hérōdēs offered him; but not one of these came to pass in accordance with his expectations, after he had *already* encountered the suffering of many calamities in his life. 22 But the most difficult of all, was that, in his old age, he happened to come to no worthy end such as this.⁷ For he seemed to have

been gentle and moderate in everything, and to have left most of the government under his administrators, since he was not meddlesome, nor terrible enough to be a superintendent of a kingdom. Both Antipatros and Hérōdēs advanced as far as they did due to his gentleness. And at last, he came to such an end from them, which was neither righteous nor pious. For Hérōdēs did away with him under a conjecture of plotting against him.

CHAPTER 41 [Ant15:183–194, 195b, 195a, 196–201 / War1:387–395a]

Now as soon as Hérōdēs had cast Hyrkanos out of the way, he hastened to Caesar. And because he was not able to hope for any kindness to be shown toward his affairs, on account of his friendship with Antonius, he indeed viewed Alexandra with suspicion, lest she might seize the opportunity for her own advantage by causing the people to defect and to introduce a sedition into the affairs of the kingdom. 2 Now he committed everything to his brother Ferorah; and placed his mother Kypros, and his sister, and his whole family in Masada; and exhorted Ferorah, “If any of you hear any unpleasant *news* about me, you should take charge of the affairs.”

3 But as for his wife Miriam (for it was not possible for her to reside there, because of a difference which arose between her and both his sister and his mother), he placed her in Alexandreion with her mother Alexandra, leaving both Joseph and Suhaym the Itouraian in charge there. Indeed, *these two* had been faithful to him from the beginning, but, at this time, were left to keep watch on the women, under the pretext of showing honor to them. 4 Now they were instructed, that if they learned of any unpleasant *news* about him, to dispatch them both, but to *do everything* in their power to maintain the kingdom for his boys together with his brother Ferorah.

5 Having given these instructions, the king truly still determined to confront the danger. So he hastened to meet Caesar at Rhodos, where he was spending his *time*. When Hérōdēs had sailed down to that city, he indeed took off his diadem, and assumed the clothing and the appearance of a commoner; but refusing to lower anything else which belonged to his dignity, he *retained* the mind of a king.

6 And when he was admitted to communicate with Caesar, and he requested that he would be given a chance to give an account to him, Hérōdēs much more *fully* displayed the magnificence of his mind. He *did this*, by neither turning to supplication (as would have been likely in a *situation* such as this), nor stretching out a petition (as if he were a sinner). 7 But, telling the truth without reserve, he gave the account of what he had done without fear of punishment, addressing⁸ him directly:

“O Caesar, I had the greatest friendship for Antonius. And since I was made a king of the Judeans⁹ by him, I confess that I have made use of everything in my power on Antonius’ behalf, in order that he might gain control of the *state* affairs. And I will not shrink back from saying that, the *only reason* I did not take part in his expedition was because of diversions by the Arabians; had they not hindered me, you would indeed have certainly found me in arms, proving that I was thankful.¹⁰ And, to be sure, I still sent him as many auxiliaries as I was able; but I also sent him lots of money and tens of thousands of grain— 8 and these contributions were more moderate than I should have made to him.

“For, indeed, when a man promises to be another’s friend, but *also* knows that his friend is a benefactor to him, it necessary for *that man* to have a share in all of his friend’s things, and to incur danger along with him in soul, and in body, and in resources. In this, I have surely behaved less fine than I should of, with an exception: I at least am conscious, that I did fine by not deserting my benefactor, *even* after the blow which caused his defeat at the battle of Aktion; 9 nor did I transfer my hopes to another, even when it was clear that his fortune was already changing. But I maintained myself; if not as a worthy confederate, I instead at least became the best counselor at Antonius’ right hand.

“For when it was no longer useful for me to be allied with him, I indicated to him, saying, that the only way for him to save himself and to straighten his stumbles, and not to lose all of the *state* affairs, was the death of Kleopatra.¹¹ 10 For if he did away with her first, he both would have remained as the chief of affairs, and would have found it easier to come to a conjunction with you than to continue being at enmity. If he did away with her, I also promised him money, and walls for his security, and an army, and myself as a companion in his war against you.

11 “But his ears were blocked up by his yearnings for Kleopatra, and by God who has granted you the rule. For Antonius would not consider any of this *advice*, preferring to honor his own lack-of-counsel; which was indeed unprofitable for him, but beneficial for you.

12 “Now, therefore, if, indeed, in accordance with your anger at Antonius, you also condemn me and my eagerness to *serve him*, I cannot make a denial of what I have done, nor will I deem it unworthy to speak openly of my goodwill toward him. But I should be conquered together with Antonius; and with his

¹ [Ant] PV / others add

² [Ant] VE, Lat “was the Arabian”

³ [Ant] PFV “you”

⁴ [Ant] P uses a different Greek word which has nearly the same meaning

⁵ [Ant] Lat “200”

⁶ Greek / from Persian “Ufratu” / Hebrew “Furat”

⁷ [Ant] LAMW add

⁸ [War] // [Ant] “saying to”

⁹ [War] P, Lat / others add

¹⁰ [War] PAM, Lat / others omit “that I was thankful”

¹¹ [War] // [Ant] “was to do away with Kleopatra.”

misfortune, I lay down my diadem. But I have come here to you, having the hope of salvation in your excellence, and presuming that you will probe *me to find out* how faithful a friend, not whose *friend*, I have been.

13 “But if you will do away with *Antonius’* countenance, and closely-examine how I behave toward my benefactors and what sort of friend I am, you will find that I will do and be the same to you. For it is merely the change of a name. And the firm friendship which I shall have toward you, will be strong enough to no less win your approval.”

14 By saying this, and by his demeanor, which displayed *the* freedom of his soul, he attracted Caesar in no moderate way (who was himself a lover –of-honor and was brilliant), to the extent that these actions, which had caused the charges to be brought against him, were now the foundations of *Caesar’s* goodwill toward him. So *Caesar* declared the following:

15 “No, you shall at least have salvation, and shall be a king, now more firmly than before. For you are worthy to be a chief over many, on account of *the* steadfastness of your friendship. But also endeavor to persist in being faithful to those who are successful, since, I, for my part, have the most splendid hopes for your mind. However, *Antonius* at least did fine in being persuaded by *Kleopatra* rather than by you. For it was out of this folly that we have also gained you.”

16 And after urging *Hérōdēs* to show himself to be no less a friend around him than he had formerly been around *Antonius*, and bringing him every honor, *Caesar* added, “But you have *already* begun, it seems, to have done beneficences to me. On this account, *Quintus Didius*¹ also writes to me that you, *Hérōdēs*, readily supported him by sending him auxiliaries against the gladiators. 17 Therefore, I now indeed confirm the kingdom to you by sending out a message by decree. But hereafter, I shall also try to procure you some further good, that you may not feel the loss of *Antonius*.”

18 And after *Caesar* had kindly treated the king in this way, he restored the diadem to him, putting it around *his head* again. And after such a worthy reception, and, beyond his hopes, having the kingdom restored to him more firmly than ever by *Caesar’s* grant, *Caesar* signified this gift by Roman public-decree, which *Caesar* had labored to do on account of *Hérōdēs’* security; in *this decree*, *Caesar* voiced his commendation of the man very high-mindedly. Then *Hérōdēs* escorted *Caesar* on his way to Egypt, placating both him and his friends with gifts, even beyond his means to afford, and displayed full magnanimity.

19 But *Hérōdēs* also asked² that *Alexas*,³ a close-acquaintance⁴ of *Antonius*, who had come to him as a supplicant, would not be damaged beyond cure, but would rather be pardoned. Instead, *Caesar* could certainly not grant this request, since he happened to already be bound by an oath. Besides, *Caesar’s* anger prevailed, and he rejected the entreaty, complaining of the many and harsh things done by the one whom *Hérōdēs* demanded.

20 Now *Hérōdēs* returned back to Judah both with greater honor and outspokenness, and furnishing consternation to those who expected the contrary results, always gaining the brilliance in the midst of his dangers through God’s goodwill to him.

Now therefore, after this, he straightaway prepared for the reception of *Caesar*, who was about to march out of Syria on his way to invade Egypt. 21 When he arrived, *Hérōdēs* indeed received him in Ptolemais with all the royal attendance⁵ and the royal riches. But he also furnished his army with hospitable-gifts and an abundance of necessities. He then was even proved through probing to be very well-disposed to *Caesar*, whom he would ride along with as he put his forces into array around Ptolemais and inspected them. And he received him and all his friends in 150 men’s apartments, which were all decorated with extravagances and richness of service, and entertained them. And he distributed strong-drink to the rest of the army, all for feasting.

22 Now as they were also passing through the waterless region and marching as far as Pélousion, he furnished them with the supplies they urgently needed, including a plentiful provision of water, so that the forces lacked neither wine, nor water (which was an even more excessive necessity for the soldiers), nor any other necessities.

23 He even truly gave *Caesar* 800 talents, and gave everyone the notion that he was displaying much greater and more splendid services than the kingdom which he had obtained could possibly afford. 24 This caused *Caesar* to have even greater faith in his goodwill and readiness to help him. And what brought *Hérōdēs* the greatest advantage was that he suited his magnanimity to the needs of the moment. Now also, when they returned back from Egypt, he did the same; and the services which he manifested on their return were no way inferior to the former ones.

CHAPTER 42 [Ant15:202-216]

¹ Dio Cassius (“*Quintus Didius*” // [Ant] LAMW “*Kapidios*” / P “*kaitaidios*” / F “*kai ta idios*” / V “*kai taidios*” // [War] “*Bentidios*”

² [Ant] // [War] “*demanded*”

³ [War], Plutarch // [Ant] “*Alexandros*”

⁴ [Ant] // [War] “*a friend*”

⁵ [Ant] PFVE “*honor*”

However, at that time, when he returned into his kingdom, he found that trouble had seized his house, and that both his wife *Miriam* and her mother *Alexandra* were difficult to deal with.⁶ 2 For they supposed, as was natural to suspect, that they had not been placed in that spot for the security of their bodies; but instead, as a garrison, and without having authority over anyone, either others or themselves. This caused them to be difficult to deal with.

3 Indeed, *Miriam* also assumed that the king’s passionate-desire for her was a hypocrisy, and rather a delusion intended for his own benefit. But she was burdened by the thought that he would not let her have any hope of living, even if something terrible were to happen to him. And she recalled the instructions which he had delivered to *Joseph*, to the extent that, by this time, she was courting favor with the guards, and especially with *Suhaym*, whom she knew was set over everything.

4 Now at the beginning, *Suhaym* was indeed faithful, letting not one of *Hérōdēs’* instructions fall to the ground. But when the women had persistently gained him over with words and gifts, he gradually began to yield. And he finally disclosed to them all of the king’s instructions, indeed, because he did not expect that *Hérōdēs* would return with the same authority as he had had before. 5 So in doing this, he especially assumed that he would escape any danger from *Hérōdēs*, while showing no little favor to the women, who were not likely to be overlooked in the settling of their rank; instead, they would also give him a full repayment, if they were to reign themselves, or by being close to the one who did reign. 6 But he was unable to resist being buoyed up with hope, that even if *Hérōdēs* returned having been successful with everything he had planned, he would not be able to contradict any of his wife’s wishes. For *Suhaym* knew that the king’s passionate-desire for *Miriam* was beyond all rationalization.

These were the things which unstrung *Suhaym* into sending out a message regarding the king’s instructions, 7 which were difficult for *Miriam* to hear, making her wonder if there would ever be an end of the dangers from *Hérōdēs*. Now in her difficult state, she indeed prayed that a fair treatment would not fall upon him, but she judged that it would be hard to endure a life with him if a fair treatment did fall upon him. And later, she plainly showed this, not concealing any of her emotions.

8 For indeed, when *Hérōdēs*, having been more fortunate than he had hoped, had sailed back, he indeed, as was likely, brought this good-message first to his wife. Now because he honored her above everyone else, on account of the passionate-desire he had for her and the intimacy between them, he greeted her separately from among everyone else.

9 But it happened that when he was describing the good time which he had had, she was more difficult to deal with⁷ than joyful over it, nor was she able to conceal her emotions. Instead, because of her ill-repute⁸ and the superiority of her nobility of birth, she indeed groaned aloud at his embrace. But it became evident that she was more burdened than joyful at his success, so that it was not mere suspicions, but rather evident signs as well which troubled *Hérōdēs*.

For indeed, he was dismayed to see that his wife’s irrational hatred of him was not hidden from him. 10 But he was burdened by this act. And being unable to control his passionate-desire for her, he did not abide in either the anger or the reconciliation, but, having great perplexity, kept passing from one extreme to the other. 11 Therefore, in this way, he was entangled between the detestation and feeling love for her, and he was often ready to retaliate for her arrogance. Still, because she had previously overpowered his soul, he was too weak to remove this woman⁹ from him. But in scope, although he would have gladly had her chastised, he was anxious, that if she died, he might unwittingly bring greater retributions upon himself.

12 But when both his sister and mother saw that he felt this way about *Miriam*, they supposed it was a fine opportunity to exercise their hatred of her; and talking about her at no little length, they provoked *Hérōdēs* against her with slanders, which were able to produce joint hatred and jealousy in him.

13 But *Hérōdēs* was neither unwilling to hear accounts such as this, nor have confidence enough to do anything to his wife by putting faith in them. However, the feelings he kept bearing toward her became worse and worse, and his emotion inflamed even more. Indeed, she did not keep her disposition hidden from him, while he kept exchanging his passionate-desire for anger.

14 And something irremediable may have straightaway happened to her, but at that moment he received a message stating that *Caesar* had won the war, and that, with *Antonius* and *Kleopatra* dead, he had possessed Egypt. So *Hérōdēs* hastened to go meet *Caesar*, leaving behind the circumstances of his house.

15 But as he was leaving, *Miriam* brought *Suhaym* to him, both professing her thankfulness for the care which he had granted her, and asking that a meridarchia be given to him by the king. He indeed obtained this honor.

CHAPTER 43 [Ant15:217b, 217a, 218-231 / War1:395b-397, 435-437a, 438-440, 443d]

⁶ may also be translated “were irksome”/“were ill-tempered” (also later)

⁷ may also be translated “more irksome”/“more ill-tempered”

⁸ [Ant] F “good-repute” / PLE “dignity”

⁹ literally “female-human”

Now when Hérōdēs had come into Egypt, he both rationalized with Caesar with more freedom-of-speech, as already a friend of his, and was greatly esteemed by *him*. For it was at least the opinion of both Caesar and his soldiers that Hérōdēs' kingdom was far too puny in comparison with the services which he had rendered them.

2 So *Caesar* did not only bestow other honors upon him; instead, he also both restored back to him the region which Kleopatra had severed and taken away from him, and,¹ in addition, also annexed *the following* to his kingdom: Gader, and Hippos, and Samaria; but *also* the coastal cities of Gaza, and Anthédōn, and Japho, and Stratōn's Tower. 3 But *Caesar* also gifted him with 400 Galatians as a bodyguard, who had formerly attended Kleopatra as spearmen. But nothing so strongly moved *Caesar* to make these gifts as the high-mindedness of him who was receiving them.

4 Now having also been successful in these things, *Hérōdēs* became radiant. And he indeed escorted *Caesar* to Antiocheia. But on *Hérōdēs'* return, the more he supposed that his affairs gained prosperity through the external *territories* which had been given to him, so much more were the disasters which came upon his own house, and especially in the things concerning his marriage, in which he had also previously seemed to have been so excessively fortunate.

5 Now Hérōdēs had five children by Miriam. Two were indeed daughters, but three were sons. And the youngest of these *sons* was indeed disciplined at Roma, where he came to his end. But the two eldest, *Alexandros* and *Aristoboulos*, he brought up as royalty, both, on account of their mother's nobility of birth, and because they had not been born until after he had become king.

6 But what cooperated with *everything* more strongly than this was Hérōdēs' passionate-desire for Miriam, which impetuously inflamed him from day to day. For *the* passionate-desire which he had for Miriam was no less than those which are rightly celebrated in history.² But, in this case, it made him insensible³ to the troubles being caused by the woman whom he loved, for Miriam's hatred of him was as great as his passionate-desire was for her.

7 Now she indeed was otherwise of a sound mind, and faithful to him; but she also bore something from her nature, which was at once womanish and harsh. Indeed, she satisfactorily reveled in abusing *the man* who was enslaved to *her* by his yearning. And not taking into account that she was subject to the king and under another's power, she indeed often took the opportunity to behave insolently toward him; and he took *all these things as if she was only* joking, bearing it with self-restraint and greatness. 8 But she publicly scoffed multiple times at both his mother and his sister on account of the lowness of their birth, and spoke badly about them, and violently insulted them, so that by this time, there had been a sedition and implacable hatred among the women; but at this time, there were even greater slanders. 9 The suspicions also thickened, extending for the length of a year from the *time* when Hérōdēs returned from *Caesar*. However, *these misfortunes*, which had long been kept under control, burst out on the following occasion:

10 One day about noon, as the king lay down to rest, he, out of the tender-affection which he always had for Miriam, called for her. Now she indeed came in; and, though he was eager for her to lie down with him, she would not *do so*, pouring contempt on him. Now it was indeed reasonable for her to bear hostility against what he had done, but her outspokenness proceeded from his affection for her. And she openly reproached him, railing on him for having killed both her grandfather⁴ Hyrkanos, and her brother Jonathan (*who was also called Aristoboulos*); for he had not even spared this boy.

11 Now, he took this wanton-violence very difficultly. And, at first, he was muzzled by his longing for her; but when he was about to act rashly against her, the king's sister Shelome, who perceived how great his disturbance was, sent in his wine-pourer, who had been prepared long in advance for this, directing him to say, that Miriam had tried to persuade him to help her prepare a love-charm for the king. 12 "And if he is disturbed and inquires about what it was, you should say that she had had a drug, but that you were *merely* called in to minister it to him. But if he is not moved over the love-charm, let the account fall to the ground, for no danger will come to you." When she had taught him these instructions in advance, she sent him in to dialogue with *Hérōdēs* on this occasion.

13 Now he went in, both plausibly and with diligence; indeed, he said, "Miriam poured gifts upon me, but she tried to persuade me to give you a love-charm."

This moved *Hérōdēs*, and he asked, "What was the love-charm?"

He said, "A drug which she gave me, whose power I do not know. And this was why I brought a message to you about it, determining that *taking this action* is least dangerous for me and you, O king."

14 Now in the past, while *Antonius* and *Kleopatra* were still alive, the women, who had terrible irritation on account of *Miriam*, had come in to him, and had slandered her with *the charge of adultery*, a charge which was most likely to

move Hérōdēs excessively. 15 They had readied many other plausible *slanders*, and had also accused her of having sent the image of herself to *Antonius* in Egypt, and that her licentiousness was so extreme that, *even though* she was far away, she would show herself to a human who ran mad after women and was strong enough to take *her* by force.

16 This former accusation had fallen upon Hérōdēs like a thunderstroke, troubling him. Indeed, especially since his passionate-desire for her had caused him to be jealous; but also, because he had taken into account Kleopatra's shrewdness,⁵ by which both Lusania the king had been done away with, as well as Melech the Arabian. For at that time, the danger had not *merely* been limited to a carrying away of his spouse, rather, it had extended to death.

17 So at this present time, when Hérōdēs heard this new account about the love-charm from the cupbearer, and had previously been in a bad mood, he was roused to anger even more excessively. And he had the eunuch,⁶ who was most faithful to Miriam, tortured in order to learn about the drug. For he knew that it would not have been possible for her to do anything, either great or small, without him.

18 But the human was in anguish; indeed, he could not say anything concerning the things about which he was being tortured. However, he did declare, "The hatred your wife has for you came about through the account which Suhaym indicated to her."

19 Now as he was still saying this, the king mightily cried aloud, declaring, "Suhaym, who has, at least, at every other time, been most faithful to me and to the kingdom, would never have utterly betrayed my instructions, unless he has also gone beyond proper limits in his partnership with Miriam!"

20 So he indeed directed that Suhaym should be arrested straightaway and killed. But he handed his wife over to a trial for judgment by the court. He gathered together those of his own house, and made an eager accusation against her concerning the slander, which was about love-charms and drugs. But he was intemperate in his account, and was too angry to make a reasonable judgment. So when those present perceived that this was his final-decision, they passed a vote of death against her.

21 But after this sentence had been passed, it indeed also occurred both to him and to some of those who were present, that she should not be done away with so prematurely, but should be placed into one of the royal fortresses. 22 But Shelome's party labored to get rid of the woman,⁷ and they especially persuaded the king to do so by counseling him to guard himself against the disturbances of the multitude which would arise if she happened to live. So he ordered her to be killed immediately. Therefore, this indeed was how Miriam was led to her death.

CHAPTER 44 [Ant15:232-252 / War1:444]

Now when *Alexandra* contemplated the situation, and that she had little hopes of also escaping similar treatment from Hérōdēs, she changed her attitude to one which was the opposite of her former boldness, and *this* in a very unseemly manner. 2 For wishing to display her imperception of the incriminations laid against *Miriam*, she sprang up, and, in the hearing of everyone, railed on her daughter, crying out, "She has been an evil woman, and ungrateful to her husband, and she is suffering a rightful-punishment for such daring behavior as this! For she did not make proper returns to the one who has been the benefactor of us all!"

3 In the middle of this indecently overly-dramatic performance, and her daringness to seize *Miriam* by the hair, many others, indeed, as was likely, had strong-disapproval of her indecent pretension; but this disapproval was especially displayed by the woman who was to be destroyed:

4 For at the first, *Miriam* did not speak a single word, nor did she show agitation in response to her mother's disgusting-behavior; instead, under her mind, she only looked attentively at her, burdened at her mother's sin and especially for having displayed herself in a conspicuously indecent manner. 5 At least for herself, *Miriam* truly departed to her death in an unshaken state, and the color of her flesh was unchanged, nor even in her last moments did she fail to display the nobility of her birth to the spectators.

6 This was indeed how *Miriam* died, a woman, and one who had the best self-restraint and magnanimity, but she lacked reasonableness and had a strife-loving nature. But in beauty of body and the dignity which she had in her petitions with others, she surpassed her contemporaries more greatly than one can indicate. 7 Now this was the full source of her failure to be acceptable to the king and not to live in pleasure with him: For although she had been constantly attended by his passionate-desire for her, and she expected no difficult-treatment from him, her outspokenness was disproportionate to these things. 8 But she was also grieved about what he had done to her relatives, and she thought it was fit to speak about everything which they had suffered from him. And at last, she won the enmity of both the king's mother and his sister, himself too, though he was the only one from whom she had mistakenly trusted not to suffer any difficult-treatment.

¹ [War] // [Ant] ["but/now"]

² the meaning of this sentence is uncertain

³ literally "not sensible"

⁴ [War], [Ant] LE // [Ant] others "father"

⁵ may also be translated "terribleness"

⁶ [Ant] E "cupbearer"

⁷ literally "female-human"

9 Now once she had been done away with, the king straightaway had a change-of-mind following what he had done; and when his fury subsided, his passionate-desires were rekindled again, and indeed his yearning for her inflamed even more excessively, such had been *his feeling* (as has also been explained before). For his passionate-desire for her was not free from passion, nor of the sort which comes from intimacy; instead, even in its very earliest beginnings, it was ecstatic;¹ and the outspokenness of their cohabitation never restrained it from always growing greater.

10 However, at this time, he was also inflicted, as if by a kind of *divine* retribution, for the destruction of Miriam. And he would indeed often invoke her, but also often *utter* an indecent lament. But he contrived of everything to *attempt* to bring gratification to his soul: busying himself with drinking-parties and intercourses, and not one of these things lifted him up. 11 Therefore, he put aside the administration of the kingdom, and his fiery heat of his yearning *for her* was so large, that he supposed that she had not died, but under his affliction he would talk with her as if she were *still* alive; and he was so far overcome by his condition, that he would actually even order his servants to summon Miriam as if she were still alive and able to heed them. *This condition would last* until time taught him *better*, when his grief at her death was proportionate to the disposition which he bore her while she was still around.

12 But while he was *still* in this *condition*, a pestilential sickness arose, and it utterly-destroyed the majority of the crowds, and the most honored of his friends, and caused everyone to suspect that this *misfortune* had been brought upon them by wrath at what had been lawlessly done to Miriam.

13 Therefore, this made the king feel even worse, and, finally, he allowed himself to go into the deserts; and there, under a pretext of going on hunts, he bitterly afflicted himself. He did not hold out for many days, and succumbed to a serious sickness. 14 For he had an inflammation² and an infection in *his* occiput, and an unstable mind. But not one of the treatments tried was even effective enough to help him; instead, these had an opposite effect, bringing him to *the point* of despair.

15 Also, because the sickness did not yield to any of the medicines which all the healers around him applied, but, also, because the king could not follow any diet other than what his ailment constrained him, *these healers* thought it fit to give him whatever he wanted, committing the faint hope they had for his salvation in the power of that diet to fortune. Indeed, this was how he was tended as a sick person in Samaria (which is *now* called Sebasté).

16 Now Alexandra spent her time in Jerusalem. And when she learned about his condition, she endeavored to gain control of the fortresses which were around the city. 17 There were two of these: indeed, one in the city itself, but *the other* at the temple. And whoever was able to get these into their hands had the whole nation in his power. For, indeed, the sacrifices could not be made without *controlling* both of these *places*. But it was impossible for any of the Judeans to cease *offering* these, since they are more ready to lose their lives than to step out of their religion, which they are accustomed to pay to God.

18 Therefore, Alexandra rationalized with those who guarded these *fortresses*, "It is proper for all of you to surrender these *fortresses* to me, and to Hérôdés' little-ones, lest also, when he is deceased,³ someone else should seize the *state* affairs. For, *if* he is indeed restored to health, no one would guard them more securely than his own house."

19 They listened to these rationalizations of *hers* without toleration; instead, though they had been faithful⁴ to Hérôdés in previous times, they still continued at this time to be even more *faithful* to him, both because they hated Alexandra, and because they assumed it was profane⁵ for her to despair of Hérôdés' *recovery* while he was *still* alive. For they had been old friends of the king; but one of them, Ahab, was also his cousin.

20 Therefore, messages were straightaway sent out to *inform Hérôdés* about Alexandra's intention. But he, indeed, without delay, ordered her to be killed. Now as for he himself, he had scarcely, and with distress, escaped the severe sickness. Being distressed in soul and body at the same time, he was implacable, and ready to bring retributions upon anyone, who, for *any* reason, fell under his hand. 21 But he also murdered his closest friends: Kostobar, and Lusimachos, and Gadya⁶ who was called Antipatros, but *also* Dositheos, for the following reason:

CHAPTER 45 [Ant15:253-266]

Kostobar was indeed an Edomite by race, one of principal dignity among them, and his ancestors had been priests of Kozah⁷ (now this is whom the Edomites acknowledge as a god). 2 But after Hyrkanos had changed their policies to the Judean customs and laws, Hérôdés, when he had received the kingdom, appointed Kostobar as chief of Edom and Gaza, and gave him his sister Shelome, after he

had done away with her previous *husband* Joseph (as has *already* been explained).

3 Now Kostobar was pleased *to have received* these fortunes; and since they were more than he had expected, he was excessively elated under his good-success. And little *by little* he exceeded his bounds, and did not think that it was fair for him to obey what *his* chief, Hérôdés, ordered him, nor that the Edomites should have to be subjected to Judean customs.⁸ 4 Therefore,⁹ he sent to Kleopatra, saying, "The Edomites have always been subjected to your ancestors, and, for this *reason*, it is right for you to ask Antonius for this country. For I am ready to transfer my goodwill to you."

5 Now, indeed, he did not do these things because he was especially pleased to be under Kleopatra's government, but because he thought that, if Hérôdés was deprived of most of *his power*, it would be easy for him to also attempt to become *the* chief of the Edomite race and to achieve greater things. For he raised his hopes *even* higher, having no small starting-point: his race, and his wealth, which he had acquired through continual dishonest-gain; and what he intended was no small matter.

6 Therefore, Kleopatra indeed begged Antonius for this country, *but* she failed to *obtain* it. But an account of these things was spoken to Hérôdés; therefore, he was ready to kill Kostobar. Nevertheless, at the begging of his sister and his mother, he discharged him, and granted him a pardon. From that time on, he could not view him without suspicion, because of the attempt which he had made upon him at that time.

7 But *some* time afterward, Shelome happened to quarrel with Kostobar, and straightaway she indeed sent him a document, releasing herself from the marriage, *a practice* which was not in accordance with the Judean laws. For it is indeed permitted by us for *only* a man to do this. But a woman, if she separates, may not marry another, unless her previous husband sets her aside.

8 Shelome truly did not follow her native law; instead, she chose to act on her own authority, both renouncing her companionship beforehand, and telling her brother Hérôdés that she was absent from her husband out of goodwill to Hérôdés. "For I perceived that *my husband*, together with Antipatros and Lusimachos and Dositheos, was launching a rebellion against you." And as credence of *her charges*, she furnished the account of the boys of Baba,¹⁰ that they had been kept safe by *Kostobar* for a period of twelve years now.

9 Now this was *truly* how it was; and this *report*, which the king heard with surprise, produced much consternation; but he was even more moved because the account was so contrary to expectation. For in the case of the boys of Baba, Hérôdés had indeed previously made an effort to prosecute them because they were hostile in their disposition toward him; but now, after *such* a length of time, they had even passed from his memory.

10 Now his enmity and hatred toward them had arisen from the following circumstances: When Antigonos was the king, Hérôdés indeed, with his force, had besieged the city of the Jerusalemites; but under the stress of the evils, which had come upon the besieged, a majority of them summoned Hérôdés, and were already inclining toward him. 11 But the boys of Baba, who had dignity and great influence with the multitude, remained faithful to Antigonos, both always slandering Hérôdés, and urging *the multitude* to keep guard of the government, along with the kings, which was theirs by race. Therefore, this was indeed how they acted politically at that time, and, what they thought was for their own advantage.

12 But when the city was captured, and Hérôdés held sway over the *state* affairs, Kostobar was appointed to barricade the passages out of *the city*, and to guard the city, in order to prevent the citizens who were in debt, or followed policies opposite to the king, from slipping away. Since *Kostobar* knew that those of Baba were held in esteem and honor by the whole multitude, and supposed that their salvation might bring him a great portion in any change of *state* affairs, he removed them and concealed them in his own house.

13 And, indeed, at that time, (for a suspicion of the truth had passed through *the king's mind*), *Kostobar* assured Hérôdés on oath, that he truly knew nothing about them; so Hérôdés got rid of his misgivings. But in turn, even when the king had made a public proclamation of a reward for information about them, and had devised every kind of inquiry, *Kostobar* would not make any confessions. Instead, he was convinced, that having previously denied *any knowledge* of them, he would not go unpunished if these men were discovered. So he was already forced to keep them concealed, not only from the goodwill *he had toward them*, but instead from necessity.

14 When a message about these things was sent out to the king by his sister, he sent *men* to the places where they were reported to be spending their time. He had them kill both these *men* and those who were jointly incriminated with them, so that not one of Hyrkanos' kinsmen were left *alive*. Instead, the kingdom was entirely in Hérôdés' own power, with no one of dignity able to stand in the way of his unlawful-deeds.

¹ possibly in a supernatural sense

² may also be translated "burning"

³ [Ant] (literally "when he ceased") / AM "when he ceased his life"

⁴ [Ant] PLAMW "unfaithful"

⁵ literally "not sacred"

⁶ [Ant] AMWE "Gadian"

⁷ [Ant] Emendation from an ancient source / most Josephus "Koze" / Josephus(P) "Kozai"

⁸ [Ant] PE omit "customs" / V "should have to make use of Judean customs" (?)

⁹ [Ant] PFVE "And"

¹⁰ [Ant] P "Sabba" (also below)

CHAPTER 46 [Ant15:267-291]

For this reason, *Hērōdēs* went even farther in departing from the customs of *our* fathers, and, through strange practices, utterly-destroyed the ancient constitution which should have been kept inviolable. As a result, we suffered no small harm at a later time as well, when the things which had formerly led the crowd to piety were neglected. **2** For, indeed, in the first place, he established quinquennial athletic-contests in honor of Caesar, and built a theater in Jerusalem. Afterward, he also *built* a very great amphitheater in the plain. Indeed, both of *these theaters* were conspicuously extravagant, but were foreign to the Judean custom. For both *the use and the display* of such spectacles have not been handed down to us *by our fathers*.

3 However, he celebrated this national-festival every five years in the most illustrious way, both sending out messages all around and inviting *participants* from the whole nation. But the combatants and the rest of the contestants were summoned from every land, *being attracted* by a hope of winning the prizes, and by the good-repute of victory. Also, the leading *men* came together for the competitions; **4** for *Hērōdēs* put forward great victory-prizes, not only to those involved in the naked-athletic exercises, rather also to those who performed musicals and are called theatrical. And he vigorously strove to have all the most distinguished *men* come to the contests-for-superiority. **5** But he also offered no small gifts to four-horse chariot *races* and to two-horse chariot *races* and to horse-riding *contests*. And whatever extravagance or solemn-effort which had been made by others, *Hērōdēs* imitated each *one*, eager to give the most public demonstration of his love-of-honor.

6 Truly, there even were, encompassing the theater all around, inscriptions concerning Caesar and trophies of the nations, which he had acquired in war, which were all made of both refined gold and silver. **7** But there was not one thing which was not a service to him in this manner: whether valuable clothing, or apparel of stones, *all of* which could be seen on display at the same time as the contests.

But he also had a supply of beasts, including both a great *amount* of lions, which had been brought to him, and other *animals*, such as *those which* were also of surpassing strength and of rare origin. **8** *These animals* were carefully-trained, both to entwine *in combat* with one another, and to battle against the condemned men. Indeed, a consternation at the expenditure, and a gratification-of-soul about watching the dangers, mixed together in the guests.

But to the *Judean* natives, it was a visible dissolution of their honored customs. **9** For it was indeed a glaring impiety to throw humans to beasts for the enjoyment of other humans who were spectators, but it was a further impiety to utterly-change their customary ways for strange practices. **10** But above everything else, it was the trophies which grieved them. For supposing that these *things* were *merely* images surrounded by weapons, which were against *the customs* of their fathers to revere, they were immoderately disgusted.

11 Now the confusion *which the Judeans were under* did not escape *Hērōdēs'* notice. And he supposed it was indeed inopportune to bring force against them, but he conciliated some of them, and consoled them to remove the terror-of-demons which they were under. He was truly unable to persuade them; instead, in their disgust at the offenses which they thought *he was guilty of*, they cried out with one accord, "Even if we suppose of enduring everything else, we will not endure images of humans being brought into the city!" (*They were speaking of the trophies*.) "For this is not *the custom of* our fathers!"

12 Now when *Hērōdēs* saw that they were agitated to *their* limits, and that they could not easily be changed unless they happened to receive consolations, he summoned the most eminent *men*, brought them into the theater, and showed the trophies to them, inquiring of them, "What do you suppose these *things* are?"

13 But when they cried out, "The images of humans!" he commanded *the trophies* to have their surrounding ornaments removed from them, showing to them the naked wood. But when *the trophies* were stripped, they straightaway became a cause of laughter; and this was mostly because of their previous ridicule and ignorance for considering the fixtures to have been concealments for statues.¹

14 Now when *Hērōdēs* had diverted the multitude in this way and had dissipated the motivation for the anger which they had been under, most of them were indeed inclined to change *their minds*, and no longer be irritated at him. **15** But some of them continued in their disgust, since these were not their customary practices; and they considered the tearing down of the *customs of their fathers* to be the first *thing* which led in great evils. *So* they supposed it was a sacred *duty* to undertake an excessively desperate risk, than to seem to take no notice of *Hērōdēs*, who was utterly-changing their policy, forcing them to introduce a *new* custom; and, indeed, of his claim to be a king (but, by work, he showed that he was a foe of the entire nation).

16 Now, because of this, ten men, who were citizens, formed a conspiracy, swearing to plunge into any danger; *and* they concealed daggers under their robes. **17** But there was a *man* who's eyes had been utterly-destroyed, and, out of

indignation at what he heard *had been done*, swore to join their conspiracy. Although he was not able to be effective in anything and to be active enough in their attempt; instead, he held himself ready to suffer should any hard *situations* come to them. So he gave no moderate motivation to the undertakers.

18 When they had decided these things by common-consent, they advanced to the theater; indeed, they had hopes that *Hērōdēs* would not be able to escape from them, since they would fall upon him unnoticed. They supposed, "But even if we happen to miss him, we will *at least* do away with many of his party. And we will be satisfied, even if we die for this, to give the king an idea of how he is arrogantly treating the multitude." (For this was how it seemed to them.) Therefore, indeed, these *men*, having prepared themselves beforehand in this way, went with eagerness.

19 But one of *the men* appointed by *Hērōdēs* to investigate and send a message to him about matters such as this, discovered the whole attempt, *and* pointed it out to the king as he was about to enter into the theater.

20 Now *Hērōdēs*, due both to the hatred which he knew the majority had toward him and the disorders which followed each incident, did not suppose that the account was improbable. *So* he withdrew into his royal *palace*, summoning by name *the men* who were responsible.

21 Now when his underlings fell upon them, they were caught in the act; indeed, they knew that they could not escape. But they ornamented themselves for their subjugation with everything necessary to meet their end, not one of them lowering their mind. **22** For they felt no shame, nor did they deny their enterprise; indeed, when they were seized, they displayed their short-swords, but professed that their conspiracy to which they had sworn was a *fine act and done* with piety. "Indeed, it was not for the sake of gain, nor to indulge our passions, but for what is more important: on behalf of the customs of our community, which everyone has the duty, either to preserve or to die for."

23 Such, indeed, was how these *men* chose to freely-speak about the plan which they had formed. *So* they were led away by the king's *men* who had encircled them, and they were utterly-destroyed after enduring every torment. But it was not long afterwards, and this informer was snatched off by some men who hated him. They not only killed him; instead, they even divided him limb by limb and threw him to dogs.

24 Now this *act* was seen by many of the citizens, and not one of them pointed it out to *the authorities*, until *Hērōdēs* made the sharp and contentious inquiry, in which *some* women, examined under torture, confessed what they had seen being done. And, indeed, when the undertakers were prosecuted for their rashness, retribution was brought upon their entire houses. **25** But the multitude's² steadfastness³ and their undaunted faithfulness to their laws did not make *Hērōdēs* any easier, until he had strengthened *himself* with every security. And he decided to hem in the multitude from every side, lest their revolutions would become open revolt.

CHAPTER 47 [Ant15:292-298 / War1:403]

Therefore, since he had strongly-fortified the city, indeed, by the court in which he lived, but *also* the temple near the strong fortress which was called Antōnia, which had been constructed by him, he thought of making Samaria a third bulwark against all the people. Indeed, he called it Sebasté, **2** while supposing that this place would give him no less strength against the country. Indeed, it was only a day's journey away from Jerusalem, but it would be useful and common, both to the city and to the country.

But he built a fortress for the entire nation. Indeed, long ago, it had been called Stratōn's Tower, but he named it Caesarea. **3** Also, he gave some of his picked cavalymen allotments in the Great Plain, founding both a place in Galilee called Geba, and Heshbon in Peraia. **4** Therefore, these indeed were the several *measures* which *he took*, since he was always devising for his own security, and interspersing garrisons throughout the entire nation, indeed, in order to minimize the *chance* of them falling into disorders *on account* of being distant from his authority, which continuously sprung up at the slightest commotion; but *also*, if they did cause any disturbances, that they might not escape his notice through *some of his men* who were always stationed near them, and who would be able to know *about it* and prevent it.

5 Now at that time, he was eager to build a wall *in* Samaria; indeed, he pursued uniting into one city many of those who had been his allies in his wars, but *also* many of the neighboring *populations*. As a lover-of-honor, he did this to raise up the fallow-land, and *this* by his own *action*. *For* previously, it had not been among the distinguished *cities*. And *he* especially *did this*, because he made his honor-loving pursuit a source of his own security. **6** Now *Hērōdēs* did not preserve the memory of *his friends* only by houses and by delineating these *buildings* with their surnames, but his love-of-honor crossed over to entire cities; *such as in this instance*, when he also changed the town's name to Sebasté *in honor of Augustus Caesar*.⁴ **7** And he dissected the nearby country, which was the

² [Ant] P "passions's / experience's"

³ [Ant] LAMW, Lat "concourse"

⁴ [Ant] Lat add

¹ this clause is slightly uncertain

best fruitful land of its kind, allotting it to its 6,000 inhabitants which he led down into it, in order that they might find prosperities as soon as they came together to inhabit *the place*, and be supplied with good-order.

8 And he both threw up¹ a most beautiful *and* staunch enclosing wall around the city in Samaria, and used the steep *slope* of the place as means to furnish it with strength. And the magnitude of the enclosure was not *as small* as it had been previously, instead, it was *no longer* inferior to the most renowned cities; for it was 20 stadia *in circumference*.

9 Now within the colony, and at its center, he produced a sacred-precinct one and a half stadia *in circumference*, ornamenting it in a variety of ways, and within it he erected² a great inner-sanctum to Caesar, which was renowned for its magnitude and beauty.

10 He also ornamented parts of the city in a variety of ways. Indeed, he saw that *this place* was a necessity for his own security, so he made most of it into a fortress by strengthening its enclosures. But out of his love-of-beauty, he made it attractive, and left memorials of his humaneness to future generations.

CHAPTER 48 [Ant15:299-316]

Therefore, indeed during this *same year*, which was the thirteenth year of Hérōdés' reign, great sufferings took-hold of the country. 2 For, indeed, in the first *place*, there were continuous droughts; and as a result, the land was unfruitful, not even shooting up as much *fruits* as it used on its own. And after this, because they had to completely-change their lifestyle due to the lack of grains, sicknesses of the body and a pestilential suffering prevailed at this time; they were continuously furnished by the evils instead of by provisions.

3 For without the means of both *medical* treatment and nourishment, the pestilence-like sickness intensified *even more* (which was *already* strong when it started). But the destruction of those who were utterly-destroyed in this way, also deprived those who were left of their contentment,³ because, due to their difficulties, they were not able to assist them with *proper medical* care.

4 Yet truly, after the fruits of that year were destroyed, and whatever *fruits* were previously being stored-away had been spent, there was no hope of relief left remaining, *and* their evil *situation* intensified contrary to their expectations. And it was not that year alone that they indeed had nothing left over, but the seeds of the crops which survived were also utterly-destroyed, since the land did not produce anything *during* the second year. 5 Their constraint also made them find many new ways of *sustaining* their need.

And the king himself was in no less difficulty *than them*, both having been deprived of the tributes which he used to take from *the fruits* of the land, and having spent his money on his love-of-honor to reconstruct the cities. 6 But since he was not seeming to have prepared anything in advance which was worthy of help *to them*, this evil *situation* had brought upon him hatred from his subjects. For when *people* are not well, they always love to bring incriminations against their foremost *men*.

7 Being in such *circumstances*, Hérōdés thought over how to help *them* in this season. But this was difficult, because the neighboring *peoples* did not have any grains which they could give up to bring to them, having suffered no less themselves; also because he had no money *to pay for it*, even if it had been possible to obtain small *quantities* at a high price.

8 However, he, *thinking* it best not to neglect bringing the aid to them by every means *possible*, chopped up all the ornamentation of gold and silver in his royal *palace*, neither did he spare the *objects* which had been prepared with special care, nor anything which had artistic value. 9 Now this money was sent to Egypt, the province which Petronius had received from Caesar. This *Petronius*, to whom no few *people* had fled to for refuge because of the same needs, was both truly a friend of Hérōdés, and wished to preserve his subjects for him. Indeed, in the first place, he let them export grain, but cooperated with them in every way to purchase and sail it out to them, so that the greater part, if not the whole, of this aid came from him.

10 For when these *provisions* arrived, Hérōdés took care to attribute their source to himself, thereby not only flipping the opinion of those who had previously been hard to deal with, *but* instead, also made a great demonstration of his goodwill and his protection *of them*. 11 For, indeed, in the first place, he distributed the grain in exact proportions to those who were able to provide nourishments for themselves by their own labor. Then, since there were many who, on account of old-age or any other feebleness, were not able to sufficiently prepare the grains for themselves, he made this provision for them: bakers were brought down and *he* furnished them with nourishments which were prepared by *the bakers*.

12 But he even took care that they might not pass the winter in the midst of dangers brought about at the same time, also including the shortage of clothing; for the fattened-animals were destroyed and altogether consumed, so that they had no wool to use, nor any other coverings.

13 Now when these things had also been procured for his own *subjects*, he now further supplied the neighboring cities with help, giving seeds to the Syrians. And this brought him no inferior profit; for this favor was so seasonable as to bring in a good produce, that everyone around had sufficient nourishments.

14 Now altogether, when *the time for* harvesting the land was about to dawn, no less than 50,000 humans, whom he had maintained and preserved,⁴ were sent by *him* into the country. And, in this way, when he had repaired *the miserable condition* of his own kingdom with full love-of-honor and speed, he also did not a little to relieve the *people* around him, who were in the same miseries.

15 For no one who was in need *and* who asked for aid, found themselves left without receiving what they deserved. And, instead, *both* populaces and cities and the commoners who found themselves in poverty because they had preferred the majority over themselves, who fled to him for refuge, received what they stood in need of, 16 so that when it was counted, indeed, the *amount* discharged from the kingdom⁵ was 10,000 kors of grain (now the kor equals ten Attic medimni), but *the amount given* to those within the kingdom itself was about 80,000.

17 Now this care which he bestowed upon *them*, and the convenience of his grace, both had such a powerful result with the Judeans, and were so publicized among the other *nations*, that, indeed, the old hatreds, which had been motivated by the restandardizing of some of their customs and the kingdom, were even removed from the entire nation; but *also*, that the love-of-honor, which he showed by aiding them in their terrible *circumstances*, was regarded as full satisfaction.

18 Now he also had a good-reputation among the outsiders. And it seemed that, although the hardships which had happened to him were, indeed, great to take into account, *this* afflicting of his kingdom brought benefit to his good-reputation in no little way. For his magnanimity in these difficulties, which he exhibited beyond all expectations, caused many to move over to his side, so that he was imagined to have been, from the beginning, not the type *of person* which their old experiences indicated, *but* instead the type whose care for them in their need proved him to be.

CHAPTER 49 [Ant15:317-330 / War1:402, 419-420a, 420d, 420b, 421, 420c, 407]

Now about this time, he also sent 500 picked men from his bodyguards as auxiliaries to Caesar. Aelius Gallus led them to the Red Sea, where they were very useful to him.

2 Therefore, when Hérōdés' affairs were once more increasingly flourishing, he truly built up for himself a royal *palace* near the Upper City, which contained two exceedingly great and very beautiful houses, to which the inner-sanctum, *which he built later*, could not be compared. And the ornamentation, with which he furnished the houses which he had erected, was of very expensive gold, and stones, and pigments. Each of these *houses* had enough couches, indeed, to hold large groups of men. 3 But these *houses* had *different* dimensions and names: For indeed, *one* was named Caesarium, *after* his friend Caesar; but *the other* was called Agrippium, *after his friend* Agrippa.

4 Now he also married again, motivated to do so out of his passionately-desirous yearnings, *for* there was no reason for him not to live according to his own private pleasure. Now this is the beginning *of the story* of how he came to be married:

5 There was *a certain* Simon, a Jerusalemite, son of Boéthos, an Alexandriaian. He was a notable priest, but had a daughter, who was reputed to be the most beautiful *woman* of the time. 6 Therefore, since there was much talk about her among the Jerusalemites, it happened that Hérōdés, indeed, first became moved by what he heard. But when he also saw her, he was smitten by the girl's appearance. He, indeed, rejected the thought of abusing his authority⁶ in order to achieve his full objective, suspecting, with good reason, that he would be slandered with violence and tyranny. But he thought it better to take the maiden in marriage.

7 And since Simon was indeed too ignoble⁷ to become related *to him*, but too great to be despised, Hérōdés pursued his yearning in a rather reasonable way by increasing their *dignity* and making their honors known. Yes, indeed, he immediately deprived Jeshua son of Phiabi⁸ of the chief-priesthood, but appointed Simon to this honor, and so joined together with him through a connection in marriage *with his daughter*.

8 Now Hérōdés transmitted to *the age a memory* of both family and friends, but did not neglect a memorial for himself. *So*, instead, after the wedding had been performed, he indeed built another fortress in a mountain on the Arabian frontier, in the place where he had been victorious over the Judeans, at the time when he had been driven from the government *and* Antigonos had control of the state affairs. And he named it Hérōdeion, after himself.

9 Now this fortress is indeed about 60 stadia from Jerusalem, but *it is* strong by nature and adapted for such a structure. Nearby is a gentle knoll, raised to a *greater height* by *the hands of workmen*, until it was made round like a *woman's*

⁴ [Ant] V, Lat omit "and preserved"

⁵ or "from the beginning"

⁶ or "of using his authority to abuse her"

⁷ or "inglorious"

⁸ [Ant] Hebrew form / most "Phabetos" / P "Phabitos" / Lat "Favetis" / other "Phanbe"

¹ [Ant] ("threw up" // [War] "enwalled")

² [Ant] // [War] "established"

³ may also be translated "cheerfulness"

breast. Indeed, he *also* called it *the same name*, *Hērōdeion*, but it was adorned more ambitiously.¹ For,² indeed, he encompassed the summit with round towers, spaced at intervals. And he *made* a steep ascent up to it, which was built by 200 steps of the whitest hewn marble; for the mound was suitably lofty and all handmade.

10 Now he filled up the enclosure with³ extravagant royal residences, which were made for security and ornamentation at the same time; so that not only was the appearance of the inner houses radiant, instead, even the outer walls, and cornices, and roofs were drenched with the abundant wealth.

11 Now around the roots⁴ of the ridge, he also established other royal *palaces*, resorts, which are well worth seeing. *First*, because they were *made* sufficient to receive both his baggage and his friends, so that, indeed, by containing everything, the fortification seemed to be a city, but its delineation *made it seem to be a royal palace*. *Second*, because, at great⁵ expense, he also brought⁶ in a multitude of waters from a long way afar, for the place does not have *any water*. Now the plane, enclosed by building around it, was no less a city, with the ridge above it like a summit-city for the other houses.

12 Now, since all of *Hērōdēs' affairs* were going forward as he hoped, he indeed did not have the least suspicion that any troubles might arise in the kingdom itself, because he kept his subjects obedient: indeed, through fear, since he was implacable in his retributions; but *also* through the magnanimous care which he bestowed upon them when they found themselves in their sudden reversals. 13 But he encompassed himself with external security, making this as a bulwark even against his subjects. For he both consorted with the cities with his right hand and with humaneness, and did service to their rulers, making them have greater gratitude for him because of the good timing of the gifts which he presented to each of them; and he used his magnanimous nature in order to sustain a fine kingdom, so that everything increased in every way, always going further forward.

14 But at Jericho, between the fortress of Kypros and the royal *palace at Paneion* (two other buildings which he would construct), the king also established other *buildings* which were better and more useful for the reception of guests. And he named them after his friends, *Caesar and Agrippa*. Now universally, it cannot be said that there was any suitable place within his kingdom which he permitted to be naked of honor to Caesar.

15 But because of this love-of-honor and his service (the service which he did to Caesar and the most powerful Romans), he was forced to step out of the *Judean* customs and to restandardize many of the laws, both by founding cities under a love-of-honor, and by erecting inner-sanctums— 16 not in the *Judean territory* (for that would not have been put up with, since we are forbidden to honor such things as statues and sculptured forms in the Hellenic manner), but he established them in this manner in the countries and the surrounding *regions*.

17 He indeed made the following defense to *the Judeans*, “I am not making these things by my own *will*, but instead by instruction and orders. But I aim to gratify Caesar and the Romans,” as though he was less dutiful toward the *Judean* customs than honoring them. However, his aim was altogether for himself *alone*, and loved to seek after honor by leaving behind great memorials of his government to those after him. And it was for this reason that he was so motivated in the restoration of the cities, and spent *the* greatest portion of his money on this *work*. 18 But when he had filled up his own country with inner-sanctums, he let his honors overflow into the province, and established *Caesareas* in many cities.

CHAPTER 50 [Ant15:331–332a, 333–334a, 332b, 334b–341 / War1:408–414]

Now he also observed that there was a place near the sea, which had long ago been called Stratōn's Tower. And *although*, at this time, the place was indeed dilapidated, he *thought that*, due to the natural goodness of its terrain, it was *both* suitable to receive a city and capable of receiving his love-of-honor. 2 So he set about both drafting a magnificent *plan*, and raising up the buildings everywhere, which were not of second-rate *material*; instead, they were entirely founded out of white rock and stone. And he also variously-ornamented *the city* with radiant and very expensive royal *palaces*, and with civic abodes, *all of* which especially exhibited his innate magnanimity.

3 But what was the greatest of *all his projects* and required the most labor, was a harbor free from inundation. For this *once* harborless city is indeed located in Phoiniké, at a point lying on the sea-route to Egypt, midway between Japho and Dor. These are small cities by the sea with bad anchorage, due to the strikings of the southwest-wind, which, by always⁷ dragging up sands from out of the sea onto the dunes, does not provide a gentle⁸ place for landing. 4 Instead, the majority⁹ of

the merchants who sailed from Phoiniké to Egypt were constrained to ride at their anchors in the open-sea when oscillated by the southwest-wind. Even when it blows moderately, it rouses such a vast surge upon the rocks, that the receding of the surge makes the sea savage for a great distance.

5 Instead, the king, by his expenses and his love-of-honor, was victorious over nature, and rectified this inconvenient country. And he delineated a circular-area toward the dry-land sufficient enough for the harbor, in which great fleets might ride at anchor. Indeed, he established a harbor whose greatness was greater than the Peiraieus. Now within its recesses were other deep moorings, including landing-places and secondary anchorages.

6 Now despite that the place acted in total opposition to him, he contentiously-struggled against that difficulty. Indeed, the strength of his masonry was hard to be conquered by the sea, while its ornamented beauty made it seem that *this operation* had not been hard to satisfy. But what was admired by every observer, was *the fact* that he brought no suitable-material for such a magnificent-work from the place itself; instead, he completed it using *materials* which were brought in from the outside at great expenses.

7 For after he had comparably measured out the magnitude of the harbor,¹⁰ as we stated, he let down immensely great stones into the sea to the depth of 20 fathoms. Most of *these stones* were more than 50 feet in length, and no less than 18 in breadth,¹¹ but nine in depth; but some of these were indeed even larger, but *others* smaller. 8 But when the submarine *foundation* was filled up *in this way*, he widened the wall, which was already above the sea, to 200 feet. Indeed, 100 feet¹² of this structure, which he had thrown down into the sea, were constructed to stand in front of the places where the surge broke, in order to restrain and drive off the waves which were to break upon them; yes, it was called a breakwater. 9 But the remaining *half* lay under a stone wall which ran around it.¹³ This *wall* was marked at intervals with large towers. The largest and most prominent of these, named¹⁴ *Drusium*,¹⁵ is a thing altogether very beautiful. It derives its name from *Drusus*, the stepson of Caesar, who passed away while young.

10 He also made numerous¹⁶ contiguous vaults in *the wall*, as landing-places for the sailors to enter into harbor. Now before them was a wide promenade for disembarking, which, encircling around the entire harbor, was a pleasant place to walk for those who wanted to do so. Now the entrance and the mouth of *the harbor* was made on the north side. For in this place, the north-wind blows the fairest¹⁷ *weather*.

11 And at the mouth *itself* were colossal-statues, three on each side, supported from beneath by columns. Indeed, the ones on the left hand *side* as you sail into *the harbor* are supported by a solid tower, which, *in turn*, is piled up¹⁸ on the foundation of the entire enclosing-wall *on that side* which is very firm in order to withstand *the waves*. But those *colossal-statues* on the right hand *side* are supported by two large stones, larger than the tower on the other lip; these *stand* upright and are yoked together.

12 Now adjoining the harbor, lying around it in a circle, was a contiguous *line* of houses, which were also constructed of the smoothest white stone; and the narrow *alleys* of the town stretching to *the harbor* were measured at *equal* distances *from one another*. 13 And in their midst, directly opposite the mouth of *the harbor*, was a knoll¹⁹ on which was erected Caesar's inner-sanctum, remarkable for its beauty and magnitude, and visible a great way off to those sailing into *the harbor*. But within it was a colossal-statue of Caesar, not inferior to the Olympian Zeus, after which it was modeled; but, indeed, *also* a statue of Roma, equal to that of Héra at Argos. 14 Now he indeed dedicated the city to the province, but the harbor to the sailors there; but he *ascribed* the honor of the colony itself to Caesar; yes, he named²⁰ this city *Caesarea*. It is also beautiful, *both* in its material and in its construction.

15 But under it, both *the* underground-passages and sewers were no less diligent-efforts than the houses which were built *above them*. Indeed, some of these, *set* down at commensurable distances *from one another*, carried *things* to the harbor and the sea. But one oblique *passage* undergirded all of *them*, so that both the rainwater and the refuse of the inhabitants were easily carried off together. Also, the sea, whenever it was driven in from outside, would flow through and wash the whole city from below.

16 Now *Hērōdēs* also established a theater of stone. And on the southern side of the harbor, at the back, he *established* an amphitheater able to hold a vast crowd of humans, and which was conveniently situated for a view of the sea. Indeed, *the time it took* to finish the city in this way was twelve years. And the king did not weary in the operations and in furnishing the expenses.

¹ literally “more love-of-honorly”

² [War] // [Ant] “Now”

³ [War] // [Ant] “Now within it are”

⁴ [War] // [Ant] “base”

⁵ [War] // [Ant] “much”

⁶ [Ant] // [War] “led”

⁷ [Ant] FLAMVW omits “always”

⁸ [Ant] P omits “gentle”

⁹ [Ant] // [War] “, all”

¹⁰ referring to the Peiraieus?

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] “, 10 in breadth”

¹² [War] // [Ant] “, half”

¹³ [War] // [Ant] “half was encompassed by a stone wall”

¹⁴ [Ant] // [War] “called”

¹⁵ [Ant] P, [War] // [Ant] most “Drusus”

¹⁶ may also be translated “compact”

¹⁷ may also be translated “clearest”

¹⁸ [Ant] AMW “which is carried around”

¹⁹ [Ant] // [War] “mound”

²⁰ [War] // [Ant] “called”

CHAPTER 51 [Ant15:342-353 / War1:398-399a]

Now when *Hérōdēs* was engaged in such *matters*, and with *Sebastē* already built as a city, he decided to send his boys, *Alexandros* and *Aristoboulos*, to *Roma* in order to meet with *Caesar*. **2** When they went up there, their residence was indeed the house of *Pollio*, a man who greatly valued *Hérōdēs*' friendship. But they were permitted to be brought down to *Caesar*. For he even received the boys with every *type of* humaneness, and he allowed *Hérōdēs* to secure his kingdom to whichever of *his sons* he wished. And besides *this*, after the first *Actiad*, he annexed to his kingdom both the country called *Trachōn*, and the adjacent *districts*: both *Bashan*, and *Hawran*, *but*¹ which he had taken over² for the following reason:

3 *There was a certain Zénodōros*, who had farmed out the house of *Lusania*. Indeed, he was not satisfied with its revenues, but using bands of robbers in *Trachōn*, he brought in a greater revenue. For *the* men inhabiting those places lived in madness,³ pillaging the *Damasekians*; and *Zénodōros* did not prevent them; but since he had a share of their gains, he let them loose without any intermitance.

4 But the neighboring peoples who were suffering these evils, fled to *Varro* for refuge, crying out against this to him (*for* at that time, he was the leader of *Syria*). And they begged and requested for him to write to *Caesar*, explaining *Zénodōros*' unrighteousness and their own circumstances.

5 Now when these *matters* were carried up to *Caesar* and he was made aware of them, he wrote back⁴ that *Varro* should remove the bands⁵ of robbers, but that he should assign the country to *Hérōdēs*, so that through his care, *Trachōn* might no longer be troublesome to everyone around it, and might never again be used as a base of operations for the brigands who had come against *Damasek*. Therefore, *Varro* advanced with an army, both cleansing the land of those men, and taking it away from *Zénodōros*. Afterwards, *Caesar* gave it to *Hérōdēs*.

6 For it was not easy to restrain them, since they had made brigandage a custom, and had no other place from which they could bring in a living. For they did not have a city of their own, nor fields as possessions, but only some refuges down in the earth and caves; and there they dwelled, communing with their livestock. But since they also machinated collections⁶ of waters, and had prepared grains beforehand, they were able to hold out for *the* greatest amount of time from their concealed places.

7 Nevertheless, *the* mouths of their *caves* were truly narrow, and only one *person* could pass through at a time, while the interiors were incredibly large and were made to have plenty of room. But the ground above their habitations was not high, instead it was rather flat; while the whole *place* had a *type of* rock which was hard and difficult to pass through, unless one used a track with guidance from another. For these *paths* are not straight; instead, they have many winding twists.

8 Since these *men* were prevented from discharging their crimes, and their method was to bring the brigandage upon one another, they did not leave one *form of* lawlessness remaining. But when *Hérōdēs* took hold of this grant from *Caesar* and arrived at the country with *the* experience of guides, he both put an end to the wicked-condition, and furnished peace without anxiety to those all around.

9 But *Zénodōros* was burdened: indeed, first, because of the taking away of his province; but even more so, because he had envy toward *Hérōdēs*, who had taken possession of the government. *So* he went up to *Roma* in order to accuse him. Indeed, he returned unsuccessful.

10 Now *Agrippa* was sent as *Caesar*'s substitute in the *regions* beyond the *Ionian Sea*. And while *Agrippa* was wintering around *Mityléné*, *Hérōdēs* met with him. For *Hérōdēs* was one of his best friends and acquaintances. *Then* he returned back to *Judah*. **11** Now some *Gaderenes* came to *Agrippa* to accuse *Hérōdēs*, but he sent them up to the king, bound, without even giving them a hearing.

Now the *Arabians* had also long ago bore hostility to *Hérōdēs*' government; and, at this time, they attempted to form a sedition against his affairs, even with a cause, as they imagined, that was reasonable. **12** For *Zénodōros*, who was already despairing of his own cause, hastened to give up a part of his province, *namely*, *Hawran*, to *the Arabians* for 50 talents.

Since this was included in *Caesar*'s gift to *Hérōdēs*, they disputed that it had not been taken from them righteously. Indeed, they often made incursions and wanted to constrain him; but at other times, they also went into legal accounts against him. **13** But they even persuaded the soldiers, who were the most destitute and hostile to him, but who were always buoyed up with hopes and inclined toward the revolution, which is especially joyful to those who fare badly in their life.

Now although *Hérōdēs* knew that these things had been going on for a long time, he, nevertheless, did not take any hostile *action*; instead, by rational-

methods, he *tried* to console them, not thinking it fit to give them a base for making disorders.

CHAPTER 52 [Ant15:354-364 / War1:400a, 399b, 400b, 404-406]

Now when *Hérōdēs* had already completed the seventeenth year of his reign,⁷ *Caesar* came into the province of *Syria*. And at this time, most of the settlers of *Gader* cried out against *Hérōdēs* as being severe in his commands and tyrannical. **2** Now they dared to make these *charges*, because *Zénodōros*, indeed, was especially insistent and slandered him, and offered them oaths that he would not omit any means to indeed have them removed from *Hérōdēs*' kingdom, but annexed to *Caesar*'s administration.

3 Persuaded by these things, the *Gaderenes* made no small outcry, emboldened by the fact that those, whom *Agrippa* had handed over to *Hérōdēs* for retributions, had been let go, and without anything bad having been done to them. For, indeed, he even seemed to be the most inexorable of anyone against his own family, but magnanimous in forgiving sins of foreigners. **4** Therefore, when they accused *Hérōdēs* of meeting them with wanton-violences, and pillages, and demolitions of temples, he indeed kept calm, ready to make his defense. But *Caesar* gave him his right hand, in no way changing his attitude of goodwill due to the disorder made by the multitude.

5 And indeed, accounts about these things were stated on the first day, but the trial proceeded no further. For when the *Gaderenes* saw which way both *Caesar* and the congress inclined, and expected, as was likely, that they would be turned over to the king, some of them, out of fear of torment, indeed cut their own throats during the night. But some threw themselves down from high-places. But others utterly-destroyed themselves by willfully jumping into the river. **6** These things seemed to be condemnation for their rashness and sin. Consequently, *Caesar*, without delay, dismissed *Hérōdēs* of the incriminations against him.

7 Now another immoderate good-fortune fell upon *Hérōdēs* at this time. For *Zénodōros*' innards burst asunder, and losing a great quantity of blood in his infirmity, he departed this life in *Antiocheia* of *Syria*. Now when *Zénodōros* had passed away, *Caesar* also gave⁸ his portion, which was not small, to *Hérōdēs*. It was all *the* land lying between *Trachōn* and *Galilee*, and contained: *Holath*, and *Panias*, and the surrounding country.

8 Now *Caesar* associated *Hérōdēs* among the procurators of *Syria*, instructing them to do everything under his discretion, so that not one of the procurators were allowed to do anything without his counsel. *In this way*, he was established as a procurator of all *Syria*.

9 But what was still greater than these things, was that he was indeed loved by *Caesar* and *Agrippa*. Now there were but two men who managed the vast magnitude of the Roman government: *Caesar*; and under him, *Agrippa*, to whom he bore goodwill. And *Hérōdēs* altogether reached to such a *height of* good-fortune, that there was indeed no one below *Agrippa* whom *Caesar* honored more than *Hérōdēs*; but *Agrippa* gave *Hérōdēs* the first place in his friendship below *Caesar*. From then on, he indeed advanced to the utmost prosperity. But his mind was lifted up to greater heights, and the majority of the greatness of his intellect was devoted toward piety.

10 Now since *Hérōdēs* had acquired such large freedoms-of-speech, he indeed asked *Caesar* to give a tetrarchy to his brother *Ferorah*, while he himself imparted a revenue of 100 talents from out his own kingdom, so that if *Hérōdēs* would also happen to suffer anything, *Ferorah*'s portion might be safe, and that *Hérōdēs*' sons might not take possession of this tetrarchy.

11 Now after he had returned home, after escorting *Caesar* to the sea, he erected⁹ a very beautiful inner-sanctum of white marble¹⁰ in *Zénodōros*' country, near¹¹ the springs of the *Jordan*. Now this place is called *Panion*.¹² **12** Now above this place hangs an immense mountain, whose top soars to a boundless height. But beside it, beneath its flank, a very-beautiful, thickly-covered cave¹³ opens from below into the mountain. Within¹⁴ it, is an overhanging-bank like a pit, whose earth has experienced a landslip, and which, after breaking off, deepens into an immeasurable precipice with inaccessible¹⁵ depth. It is also filled with a multitude of still water, and nothing which has been let down into the water by a rope has been found to have a length sufficient to measure the earth beneath it. **13** Now outside, under the cave,¹⁶ at its roots, the springs of the *Jordan* River arise. (And some, indeed, wrongly suppose that the birth of the *Jordan* is from here.) This was a remarkable place, and the one which *Hérōdēs* ornamented with the inner-sanctum, which he consecrated to *Caesar*.

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "(Now) ten years after his first visit"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "assigned"

⁹ [Ant] // [War] "established"

¹⁰ [War] // [Ant] "rock"

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] "beside"

¹² [War] // [Ant] "Panion"

¹³ [Ant] // [War] "cavern"

¹⁴ [War] // [Ant] "below"

¹⁵ [Ant] some, Lat / FLAMVE "unutterable"

¹⁶ [Ant] // [War] "cavern"

¹ [Ant] P adds

² [Ant] WE, Lat omits "which he had taken over"

³ may also be translated "desperation"

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "he wrote an answer"

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "band"

⁶ literally "congregations"

CHAPTER 53 [Ant15:365-379]

At this time, *Hērōdēs* also released those in his kingdom from the third part of their tributes; indeed, he did this under the pretext of reviving them after the non-production of *their crops*, but, in reality, the main purpose was to regain for himself those who were hostile *toward him*. For *these individuals* were difficult to deal with,¹ due to his laboring at such pursuits which meant the dissolution of their pieties and changes to their customs. But these matters were also discussed by *the individuals*, who were always being provoked and agitated.

2 Now *Hērōdēs* also gave much careful attention to this *situation*; indeed, he took away their opportunities *for sedition*, but enjoined them to always be working hard. But he did not permit the city's party to hold a meeting, nor to walk and dwell together in communion; instead, he kept watch over everything *they did*. And those who were discovered were severely chastised; and many of *them*, both openly and secretly, were brought up to the fortress of Hyrkania, where they were utterly-destroyed. And even in the city, and even on the open-roads, there were *spies* who oversaw those who met together.

3 Now it is declared that, at this time, *Hērōdēs* himself did not neglect to have a part in this. Instead, he would often take the form of a commoner, mingling with the crowds by night, and try them, in order to apprehend what they claimed concerning his government.

4 Therefore, indeed, those who altogether refused to go along with his pursuits, he prosecuted in all *sorts of ways*. But as for the other multitude, he demanded that they be made to swear an oath of faithfulness to him; and they, bound by oath, were compelled to show goodwill to them, truly, to agree to maintain it toward the government. 5 Therefore, indeed, a majority, *either out of rendering service to him or out of terror*, yielded to his demand. But those who recomposed their mind and were disgusted at the force he used, got out of his way in all *sorts of ways*.

6 Now he also tried to win over *some men* by persuasion to take *the oath*: the party of Ptolion the Pharisee, and Shemajiah, and the majority of those who spent time with them. But they would not yield to this, nor were they chastised like the *others* who refused, because of the reverence which he happened to have for Ptolion. 7 But those who are called Essenes were also discharged from this constraint. For *Hērōdēs* greatly honored these Essenes, *for the following reason*:

8 There was a certain Essene named Menahem, and whose good-character testified to the conduct of his life; and from God, he had foreknowledge of the future. When *Hērōdēs* was still a boy, this *man*, having seen him going to his teacher, greeted him as "King of the Judeans". 9 But *Hērōdēs*, thinking that *the man either* did not recognize him, or was using irony, reminded him that he was merely a commoner.

But Menahem gently smiled, and slapped him on his buttocks with his hand, saying, "No, you shall also be king, and you shall carry off the kingdom in prosperity;² for God has found you worthy of *this*. And you shall be reminded of the blows of Menahem, so that this, too, may be a token of the changes of your fortune. 10 For this is *the best reasoning* for you: if you were to also love righteousness, and piety toward God, but clemency toward the citizens. For I know otherwise, that you will not be someone *like this*, since I understand the entire *situation*. 11 For, indeed, there will be no one else who will carry such great good-fortune as you, and who will create a perpetual glory; but you will forget *the pieties* you have, as well as doing what is righteous. But these things will not escape the notice of God, when, at the conclusion of your life, his anger will meet you in remembrance of these things."

12 Indeed, at this moment, *Hērōdēs* paid the least attention to him, since he lacked *such hope*. But after he had been slightly lifted up, and had become the king, and was fortunate in the magnitude of his government, he sent for Menahem, and questioned him about the length of time of his government.

13 But Menahem, indeed, did not say anything at all.

But because he kept silent, *Hērōdēs* inquired, "Do I have only ten years to reign?"

He said, "Even twenty, even thirty," but did not set a limit to the consummation of the appointed-time.

Now *Hērōdēs* was even satisfied with these *answers*, but discharged Menahem with *his right hand*. 14 And from then on, he continued to honor all of the Essenes. For many of them, by having a good-character, have even been deemed worthy of divine experiences.

CHAPTER 54 [Ant15:380-425 / War1:401]

Now therefore, at that time, in the eighteenth³ year of his reign, after the previously mentioned activities, *Hērōdēs* threw up an extraordinary work: *the reconstructing*⁴ of the inner-sanctum of God through himself, both enlarging⁵ the

surrounding enclosures⁶ to double *their original size*, and raising it to a proper height. Indeed, the expenses were immeasurable; but the extravagances, unsurpassable. 2 He esteemed that the accomplishment of this would be the most notable of everything achieved by him, and that this would suffice as a perpetual memorial of him; evidenced both by the great porticoes which he *planned* to erect around the temple from the foundation, and by the fortress *which he planned to refurbish* on the north.

3 But since he knew that the multitude was not prepared, nor easy to enlist in an undertaking of this magnitude, he thought it best to prepare them beforehand to undertake the whole *project* by rationalizing with them. So he called them together, saying the following:

4 "Men of my own tribe, it is indeed unnecessary *for me* to speak to you concerning the other *things* which I have achieved during my reign. And yet, these *things* have been done in such a way, that they have brought far less ornamentation to me, but more security to you. 5 For *even* in the most difficult *situations*, I have not been negligent of what eased your needs; nor have I, in the buildings, been more intent on preserving myself than all of you from injuries. I suppose I have, with the will of God, brought the Judean nation to such a degree of prosperity as it has never before *known*.

6 "Therefore, indeed, as for the portion which we have brought to completion around *our country*, and in our own cities, and in those which we have newly-acquired, which we have erected with the beautiful ornamentation, *and* have *thereby* increased our race: it seems to me, superfluous to speak of what you *already* know. But as for the undertaking which I now propose to undertake, it is entirely pious and beautiful, as I will now make clear:

7 "For this was the inner-sanctum, which our fathers, after they had returned from out of Babel, indeed built to the Great God. But its size fell short by a height of 60 cubits; for this is the amount by which the first *inner-sanctum*, which Solomon had built up, exceeded it.

8 "And let no one despise the fathers for negligence of pieties. For it was not their fault that this inner-sanctum is smaller. Instead, it was both Cyrus⁷ and Darius⁸ son of Vishtaspa, who gave the measurements for its construction. Since *our fathers* and their descendants were enslaved to them, and, after them, to the Makedonians, they did not have a good chance to restore the original archetype of pieties *in order to make one* with an identical size.

9 "But since I am now indeed, by God's will, *your chief*; but also, *since* a long period of peace *still* remains, along with an acquisition of money and a greatness of revenues; but above all, *since* I am loved and shown goodwill by the Romans, who are, to say in a word, rulers of everything—I will try to straighten out the oversight, which has been caused by *the constraint* and *the slavery* of that former time, *and*, by this *act of piety*, to make a full return to God for having given me this kingdom."

10 This indeed was what *Hērōdēs* spoke to them. But the majority were astounded by his account, because it had fallen upon them unexpectedly. And, indeed, because his expectation seemed incredible, it did not stir them up; but they were dismayed, that he might pull down the entire work without having sufficient means to bring his project to completion. This danger appeared to them to be very great, and, also, the magnitude of the attempt seemed to make it difficult to carry out.

11 Now since they were disposed this way, the king emboldened them, declaring, "I will not take down the inner-sanctum prior to having prepared everything necessary for its completion."

And he did not beguile them with these things which he told them in advance.

12 For he readied 1,000 wagons to carry the stones; but *he also* selected 10,000 of the most experienced workmen, and purchased 1,000 priestly garments for the number of priests; and, indeed, *he* instructed *some* to be builders, but others to be carpenters. *Then*, after he had readily prepared everything, *he* engaged in the construction.

13 Now he did away with the old foundations, and laid down others, upon which he raised up the inner-sanctum; indeed, its length was 100 cubits, [and its breadth 100 cubits];⁹ but the height was an additional 20, which, in the course of time, dropped as the foundations sunk lower. And, indeed, we decided to raise this up again in the time of Nerō.

14 Now the inner-sanctum was built from stones which were both white and strong; the size of each was about 25 cubits in length, but 8 in height, but about 12 in breadth. 15 And its entirety, as well as the royal portico, was, indeed, low on each side,¹⁰ but the middle was higher, so that it could be seen all around for many stadia by those who tended the country, but especially, by those who dwelled opposite *them* or those who happened to approach it.

16 Now the doors at the entrance, with the lintels, were equal *in height* to the inner-sanctum itself. They were ornamented with multicolored curtains, yes, with

¹ may also be translated "were irksome"/"were ill-tempered"

² meaning slightly uncertain

³ [Ant]// [War] "fifteenth" (in error)

⁴ [War]// [Ant] "constructing"

⁵ [Ant]// [War] "rebuilding"

⁶ [Ant]// [War] "places"

⁷ Persian "Kurus"

⁸ Persian "Darayahus"

⁹ [Ant] possible restoration of a scribal error (information taken from the temple description in Judean War)

¹⁰ [Ant] literally "low there and there"

blossoms of sea-purple, but *with* interwoven columns. **17** But above these, under the cornice, a golden grape-vine was stretched out, bearing clusters which hung down from it. And its size and its artistry were a marvel to those who saw with what extravagance of materials it had been fashioned.

18 Now he also encompassed the inner-sanctum with large porticoes, all of which he took care to make in proportion to it. And he so surpassed his predecessors in his expenditures, that it seemed *as if* no one else had *ever* added ornaments to the inner-sanctum. Now both of the porticoes were amid¹ the wall, but the wall itself was the greatest work *ever* heard of by humans.

19 The ridge was a rocky ascent, which sloped gently upwards toward the eastern parts of the city, until it reached the tip of the summit. **20** Our first king, Solomon, with thoughtfulness, walled off this hill from above with great works all around the summit. But from below, beginning at the base, where a deep ravine runs around it, he walled it off with enormous rocks which were fastened to one another with lead. He cut off more and more of the interior area and extended its depth, **21** so that both the size and the height of the building, which was quadrangular, were immense; indeed, so that the size of the stones in the front were seen on the outside, while their insides were held together with iron in order to secure their joints immovable for all time.

22 Now when this work was completed in this manner and it was joined together into the summit of the ridge, he finished off its tip, and filled up the hollow-places which were around the wall, making the external upper surface level and smooth. This was the whole enclosure, having a circumference of four stadia, each corner taking up a stadium in length.

23 Now within this wall, and on its summit, ran another wall made of stone; indeed, on the eastern ridge it had a double portico equal in length to the wall. In its middle was the inner-sanctum itself, and it happened to look toward the doors of the inner-sanctum. This portico had been furnished by many of the previous kings. **24** Now round about the whole temple were fixed spoils stripped from barbarians; and King Hérōdēs dedicated all of these things, adding whatever he had taken from the Arabians.

25 Now a summit-city had been built on the northern side; it was square, well-enclosed, enwalled with remarkable strength. It had been built prior to Hérōdēs, by kings and chief-priests of the Hasimonian race, and they called it a castle. In this place, they deposited the priestly garment, which a chief-priest put on only at the time when it was necessary for him to offer sacrifice. **26** Hérōdēs the king kept watch over this garment in that place; and after his end, it remained with the Romans until the time of Tiberius Caesar.

27 Now in Tiberius' reign, Vitellius, the leader of Syria, came to stay in Jerusalem. Because the multitude received him altogether splendidly, he wanted to requite their beneficence. Since they requested to have the priestly garment brought under their own authority, he wrote to Tiberius Caesar about this, who yielded to their request. And the authority over the garment remained with the Judeans until King Agrippa came-to-his-end. **28** But after this, Cassius Longinus, who at that time managed Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was the Judean procurator, directed the Judeans to deposit the garment in Antōnia. **29** For they said, "We Romans should be lords of it, as we also were before."

Therefore, the Judeans sent elders to Claudius Caesar, to entreat him about this matter. When they had gone up, the younger King Agrippa, who happened to be in Roma, asked and received the authority over it from the emperor, who instructed Vitellius, who was the Syrian progenitor, to do this. **30** Now formerly it was under a seal of the chief-priest and of the treasurers. And one day before the festival, the treasurers would go up to the Roman fortress-chief; and, after having their own seal closely-examined, they would receive the garment. Then again, when the festival was over, they would bring it back to the same place; and after showing the harmonious seal to the fortress-chief, it was deposited. **31** Therefore, these things were indeed occasioned by the incidents which would happen later.

Now, therefore, at this time, Hérōdēs the king of the Judeans also repaired this castle with ample wealth, furnishing it more strongly for the security and guarding of the temple. *By doing this, he made it into* a fortress, which was no less than a royal palace. And showing favor to Antonius, who had indeed been his friend but also the Roman chief, he named² it Antōnia in his honor.

32 Now four gates were set in the western part of the enclosure. Indeed, the first stretched into the royal palace, by a passage over the intervening ravine. But two stretched into the suburb. But the last stretched into the other city, where it was divided by many steps which led both downwards into the ravine and up from here back onto the accession. For the city lay opposite the temple, like a theater, being encompassed by a deep ravine along its whole southern slope.

33 Now the fourth front of it, which faced south, indeed also had gates in its middle. But over it was the royal portico, which had three aisles, extending in length from the eastern to the western ravine; for it was not possible for it to stretch out further. **34** Now this work is worth describing more than any other under the sun. For the ravine's embankment is great, but if anyone from above

bent over to look down into the depth, they found it unbearable to do so. And the height of the portico standing over it was so very great, that if anyone looked down from the summit of its roof, combining both of the depths, he would suffer from vertigo, while his vision would be unable to reach the immeasurable depth.

35 Now the portico's columns were set down in four parallel rows³ along its length. For the fourth row was embedded into a wall built of stone. And the thickness of each column was such, that it would take three men, with their outstretched arms joined one to another, to embrace it. But its length was 27 feet, with a double rounded-moulding underneath it. **36** Now the total number of columns was 162. Their capitals were made in the Korinthian style of carving, which caused consternation by the magnificence of its entirety.

37 Now these four rows of columns had three aisles through the middle area of the porticoes. Now two of these, were indeed parallel to each other, fashioned in the same manner. Each of them was 30 feet in breadth, but a stadium in length, but over 50 feet in height. Now the breadth of the middle aisle was indeed one and a half times as wide, but double in height. For it greatly rose up over those on the other side.

38 Now the ceilings⁴ were adorned with wood-carvings of many different forms of figures; and the middle aisle was raised up to a greater height than the other two. Its front wall⁵ was adorned with the architraves resting on columns which were embedded into it, and all of it was polished,⁶ so that these structures seemed incredible to those who had not seen them; and those who had seen them, were struck with consternation. **39** This was indeed the first enclosure.

Now in the middle, not far away from it, was a second enclosure, accessible by a few steps. This one was encompassed by a fence made of stone as a partition, with a writing upon it, which prevented anyone of a foreign nation from entering under the penalty of death.⁷ **40** Now, indeed, this inner enclosure, indeed, on its southern and northern slopes, had triple gateways at equal intervals from one another; but on the east toward the sunrise, it had one great gateway, through which those who were holy came in with their wives. **41** But the interior of the temple was inaccessible to women. Now further within was a third enclosure, which only the priests alone were allowed to enter into. The inner-sanctum was within this enclosure; and before it was an altar, on which we used to sacrifice the holocausts to God.

42 King Hérōdēs did not pass into any of these three; for since he was not a priest, he was prevented from doing so. Instead, he busied himself with the works around the porticoes and the outer enclosures; and he built these in eight years. **43** But the inner-sanctum was built by the priests in a year and six⁸ months. All the people were filled with joy, and they promptly made the thank-offering, first indeed to God, but, next, for the king's readiness as well. They celebrated and applauded the rebuilding. **44** But the king sacrificed 300 oxen to God, and the others did likewise, each in accordance with his ability. (It is not possible to state the number of these sacrifices, for it is beyond our capability to state the truth.) **45** For this appointed-day, on which the celebration of the work around the inner-sanctum was completed, also coincided with the day of the king's accession to the government, which was a custom to celebrate. So because of both of these, the festival was a very famous one.

46 Now a hidden passage was also built for the king. Indeed, it led from Antōnia as far as the eastern door of the interior temple. Over this passage he also fashioned a tower, so that he might be able to go up into the temple⁹ through the underground passage, in order to guard himself from any revolution caused by the populace against their kings.

47 Now it is said by our fathers, that during the period which the inner-sanctum was being built that, indeed, it did not heavily-rain during the days, but the showers came during the nights, so that the operations were not hindered. Therefore, this was indeed how the inner-sanctum was rebuilt.

CHAPTER 55 [Ant16:1-11 / War1:446a]

Now, in his administration of the entire government, the king, in an earnest effort to put a stop to the successive acts of unrighteousness which were being committed by sinners both in the city and in the country, made a law (no way resembling earlier ones) which he was confirming himself. It decreed that burglars, while repaying their debts, were to be deported from the kingdom. This retribution was not only a heavy-burden for those who suffered it; instead it also contained a dissolution of the customs of our fathers. **2** For to be enslaved to foreigners and to those who did not have the same manner of life as us, and to be compelled to do whatever such men might command, was a sin against our religion rather than a chastisement for those who were caught, especially since a

³ literally "down in four rows, one opposite the other"

⁴ may also be translated "roofs"

⁵ translation of this sentence is uncertain / this particular phrase may also be translated "front of the wall"

⁶ may also be translated "hewn" or "built of hewn stone"

⁷ The actual inscription has been discovered. It reads "No foreigner is to enter within the partition and embankment around the temple. But whoever is caught, will have himself to blame for his death which follows."

⁸ [Ant] P, Lat "five"

⁹ literally "into that place"

¹ may also be translated "with" or "between" – text slightly uncertain

² [Ant] // [War] "called"

different type of retribution was originally observed *by us*: **3** For the laws ordain that the thief was to restore four times *what he had taken*; and that if he was unable to do so, he was to be sold indeed, yet not to the foreigners instead, nor was he to endure continuous slavery; for he must be released after a term-of-six-years.

4 But this harsh and unlawful chastisement, as it was then ordained, was seeming to be a portion of arrogance; and his decision to impose this retribution was not *the act* of a king, *but* instead of a tyrant, and of someone who held the commonality of his subjects in contempt. **5** Therefore, indeed this *action*, which was similar to the rest of his behavior, was a part of the slander brought against him and the occasion of ill-will toward him.

6 Now it was also in this season that *Hérōdēs* made a voyage to Italia, since he greatly-desired both to meet with Caesar, and to see his own boys, who were spending-time in Roma. Now Caesar both gave him a loving reception, and, among other things, handed over his boys, who were considered to have already been completed in their lesions, so that he could take them home with him.

7 But when they were returning from Italia, the crowds made haste to see the striplings, who became conspicuous among them all, being adorned with the greatness of their fortune, and who were not lacking the honor of royal shapeliness. **8** But they straightaway became objects of envy both to Shelome, the king's sister, and to those who had raised slanders against Miriam; for *these individuals* were suspicious that if *these* striplings came to hold power, they themselves would give them a due-punishment for the wickedness which they had committed against their mother. **9** Therefore, this same *reason* for anxiety was also a motive to transfer slanders to *the striplings*. They spread fabricated-accounts *stating* that *the striplings* were not pleased with their father because of the death of their mother, as if it was not a sacred thing for them to associate with the one who had given them birth.

10 For these *false-accounts*, which started with the truth but went on to *mere* plausibility, were used by them to harm the boys and to deprive them of the goodwill which *Hérōdēs* had toward them. For *these individuals* did not speak these things to him directly; instead, they scattered accounts such as these among the rest of the multitude. When *these words* were reported to *Hérōdēs*, his hatred was harnessed; and in the course of time, this became too strong for nature itself to overcome. **11** However, for the time, the king's tender-affection for those whom he had begotten was stronger than all suspicions and slanders; and he gave *his boys* as much honor as was proper, and, when they had come of an age fit for marriage, he gave them wives. Indeed, Aristoboulos *married* Bereniké,¹ the daughter of his aunt Shelome who had accused their mother; but Alexandros *married* Glaphyra daughter of Archelaos king of Kappadokia.

CHAPTER 56 [Ant16:12-26]

After *Hérōdēs* had arranged these *affairs*, and had learned that Marcus Agrippa had again sailed from Italia to Asia, he made haste to meet him, but asked him to come to his kingdom and receive what might be expected from a man who had been his guest and friend. **2** Indeed, Agrippa yielded to his earnest request to go to Judah.

Now *Hérōdēs* omitted nothing which might please him, but welcomed him in his newly-founded cities, and showed to him the dwellings which he had constructed, and provided him and his friends with all *sorts* of enjoyable food and extravagance. And he did this both in Sebasté and in Caesarea, around the harbor which he had constructed, and at the fortifications which he had erected at great expense: Alexandreion, and *Hérōdeion*, and Hyrkania.

3 Now he also brought him to the city of the Jerusalemites, where both the entire populace met him in their festival attire, and the men welcomed him with acclamations. Now Agrippa indeed sacrificed a hundred-oxen to God, but feasted the populace, which were no less in number than any of those in the greatest cities. **4** Now, although he had so much pleasure there *and* would have stayed for more days, that season of the year pressed him to make haste *to leave*; for with the winter² coming on, he did not think that it was safe to *delay* the necessary return to *Iōnia*. **5** Therefore, Agrippa, after *Hérōdēs* had bestowed gifts on *both* him and the most distinguished *individuals* who were with him, indeed departed.

But as for the king, after spending winter³ at home, he hastened to meet Agrippa in spring, knowing that he was leading an expedition to the Bosporos (*this word means 'Ox-ford'*). **6** And when he had sailed by Rhodos and Kōs, he neared Lesbos, thinking that he would overtake Agrippa there. But a spirit from the north took him away, preventing his ships from putting out to sea.

7 Now he spent his time in Chios for several days, and there he indeed welcomed the many *individuals* who visited him with his right hand, winning them over with royal gifts. Now the city portico had been overthrown in the Mithridatic war, and, unlike other structures, it was not easy to set up again because of its greatness and beauty. **8** When he saw that it had fallen down, he furnished a *sum* of money, which was not only sufficient, but was more than

enough to cover the cost of completing the structure. *And* he instructed *them* not to overlook this, instead, to erect it quickly, in order that the city might recover its proper ornamentation.

9 Now when the spirit had abated, he sailed to Mityléné, and from there to Byzantion. When he heard that Agrippa had already sailed beyond the Kyanean Rocks, he hastened after him with all possible speed. **10** And at Sinōpé in the Pontos, he caught up with him. *Hérōdēs* was unexpectedly seen sailing toward their ships, but his appearance brought gladness; and many friendly greetings were exchanged between them, so that Agrippa thought that he had received the greatest credence of the king's goodwill and tender-affection toward him, since *the king* had completed such a long voyage, but had not neglected to perform any service for him, considering this to be more important than his own affairs, including the administration of his own government.

11 Accordingly, *Hérōdēs* was everything to Agrippa in the expedition, also a fellow-worker in civil affairs, and a counselor on various matters. But *Hérōdēs* was pleasant in moments of relaxation, and a sole partner with him in all things—indeed, in his goodwill during times of trouble, but in his honor during times of plesantry.

12 Now as soon as they had also completed the affairs in the Pontos, which Agrippa had been sent *to complete*, they decided not return by sea; instead, they passed through Paphlagonia and Kappadokia. Then they traveled from there to Great Phrygia *and* reached Ephesos. But they sailed again, *this time* from Ephesos to Samos.

13 Therefore, indeed, in every city, the king bestowed great benefits upon many in accordance with their needs. For he, on his part, also did not fail to do everything that could be done either through money or through hospitality, supplying these things out of his own expenses. He also arbitrated for some of those who sought favors from Agrippa, and he saw to it that the petitioners did not fail in any of their suits. **14** But Agrippa himself was a giver and magnanimous in granting every such advantageous favor to those who asked for them, provided they were not a detriment to others. *So* the king's prompting was one of the greatest weights that turned the scale, urging Agrippa to do good-deeds, even though he was *already* not slow to do them himself. **15** Yet, he indeed reconciled him with the *people* of Ilios; but, on behalf of the *people* of Chios, he paid the money which they owed to Caesar's procurators; but he stood beside everyone else, according to *whatever* they needed.

CHAPTER 57 [Ant16:27-65; 12:125-127]

But at this time, when they were in *Iōnia*, a great multitude of Judeans, who dwelled in its cities, took hold of the opportunity to speak-freely, and came to them and told them about the abuses which they had suffered in not being allowed to observe their own customs, but, due to the inconsiderateness of the examining judges, were being compelled to appear in a court-of-justice on their holy days. **2** And *they told them* how they had been deprived of the money which they used to lay up at Jerusalem, and were being forced to participate in expeditions and public-services, and to spend their consecrated money on these things, despite that they had been exempted from these *duties* by the Romans, who had always permitted them to live in accordance with their own laws.

3 While they were clamoring in this fashion, the king indeed induced Agrippa to listen to them as they pleaded their cause; but he assigned Nikolaos, one of his friends, to speak in behalf of their rights. **4** Now when Agrippa had taken the Romans, as well as the kings and rulers who were present and sat with them in congress, Nikolaos stood up, speaking in behalf of the Judeans:

5 "Great Agrippa, indeed, all of those who are in distress find it necessary to seek the refuge of *individuals* who are strong enough to end the abuse which they suffer. But these present petitioners *have approached you* and with outspokenness. **6** For formerly, they have often found you to be receptive as they prayed; but now, they requesting that you not deprive them of those favors which you have *already* granted them; indeed, since we have received them from those who alone had the power to grant them *to us*. But now, we are being deprived of these *things*, not by anyone more superior, rather, by *men* whom they know are equal with themselves; for *those who have deprived them of these things* are subject to you exactly as we are.

7 "And yet, if we have been granted great favors, it is a commendation to those who received them to have shown themselves deserving of them; *even* if the *favors which have been granted* to us are only small ones, it is shameful for those who have granted them not to confirm them.

8 "Yet, truly, as for those who are hindering and abusing the Judeans, it is quite-evident that they act unrighteously against both *parties*: the recipients, by not considering these *people* worthy, whose *worth even* their rulers have been called to testify on their behalf; and the granters, by seeking to make these favors unreliable.

9 "But, if anyone were to ask *our opponents*, which of these two things they would be willing to have taken from them, their lives or the customs of their fathers: their processions, their sacrifices, their festivals, which they observe in honor of the gods in whom they embrace? I know very well that they would rather

¹ [Ant] // [War] always has "Berniké" (in unison with the New Testament)

² May also be translated "the winter-storm"

³ May also be translated "a winter-storm"

suffer anything whatsoever, than violate any of their father's customs. **10** For it is even for the sake of these, that many have gone to war, so watchful are they not to transgress them. Truly, the prosperity which every race of the humans is now enjoying, because of you, we measure by the fact that it is permissible for *people* in every country to increase and live, while honoring their own *customs*. **11** Therefore, while *our opponents* would certainly not choose to suffer like this themselves, they endeavor to do this to others, as if they were not acting equally impious in violating the sacred-traditions of others as they would in neglecting their own *traditions* to their own gods.

12 "Now let us consider one of these: Is there any populace, or city, or common nation of humans, for whom your government and the power of the Romans have not come to be the greatest blessing? Now is there anyone who would want to revoke the favors granted by you?"

13 "No one, not even a madman. For there is not one who has not partaken of these *favors*, both privately and communally. And, truly, those who deprive *men* what you have granted, leave themselves no guarantee that all of their own *favors* will not also be deprived from them by you. **14** Furthermore, it is indeed impossible to measure the favors which you have granted to them. For if they were to compare the present government with the earlier kingdom, of all the things which *this government* has done in regards to their prosperity, there is one thing above all *the rest*: that they no longer appear to be slaves, but instead free.

15 "Now although we have even done splendidly, our circumstances should not arouse envy; for it is even through you that we, in common with everyone, prosper. And the only thing which we have desired is to partake of with others, is to observe our fathers' reverence toward God, unhindered. And this in itself does not seem to be a cause for arousing envy, and is even to the advantage of those who grant *this right*. **16** For if the Deity delights in being honored, he also delights in those who permit him to be honored.

"Indeed, not one of our customs are inhuman; but all of them are pious, and dedicated to habitual righteousness. **17** And we do not conceal these transmitted-messages, which we use to guide our lives, which are memorials of what is pious, and the human practices. Also, the seventh day, we give over to the study of our customs and laws; for we think it is necessary to attend to them, as with anything else, in order that, with these, we might avoid committing sin. **18** Therefore, indeed, if anyone probes them, he will find that they are beautiful in themselves, but, also, that they are ancient (though some think otherwise), so that those who have received them as sacred and observe them, will find it difficult to unlearn what has been honored by time.

19 "It is these *customs* which *our opponents* would abusively take away from us; indeed, they corrupt the money which we collect in the name of God, and *this*, by openly stealing it from our temple. But they also impose taxes upon us, and bring us to courts-of-justice and places-of-business on festival days, not because this is required by the contracts; rather, because they want to abuse our religion, which—they know, as well as we—is due to an unrighteous, but not licensed, hatred. **20** For your single government is over all; indeed, making goodwill effective, but ill-will futile for those who prefer the *second course* to the *first*.

21 "Therefore, this is what we ask, great Agrippa, that we may not suffer this evil; and that we may not be abused; and that we may not be prevented from making use of our own customs, nor be despoiled of our things, nor be forced by *these men* to do what we ourselves do not force them to do. For these *requests* are not only righteous, rather, they have even been previously granted to us by you.

22 "And, still, we are able to read to you many of the senate's decrees and tablets deposited in the Capitulum concerning these things, which were indeed conspicuously published after you had received proof of our faith toward you, but would be held in authority even if such *faith* did not exist. **23** For it is not only our present things which you have kept guard over, but instead, over those of almost all humans; but you have even added greater benefits than could have been hoped for; and if anyone was able to enumerate each of the prosperities which they have received from you, he would never be able to put an end to his account.

24 "However, in order that we may demonstrate that we have obtained all of these *benefits* rightfully, it will suffice for us to speak-freely (although we have passed over these earlier instances in silence) of this present king, who is sitting beside you. **25** Indeed, what instance of goodwill toward your house has been left undone by him? But what mark of faith has he failed to give? But what form of honor has he not devised? But what kind of obligation has he not given heed to from the very first? And what is there that prevents your favors from being equally numerous as so many of his good-services have been?"

26 "But, perhaps, it is fitting not to leave unmentioned the bravery of his father Antipatros, who, with 2,000 heavy-armed soldiers, came to the assistance of Caesar when he had invaded Egypt, and proved second to none, either in the fighting on land or when ships were needed. **27** And what need is there for me to speak about how heavy a weight those soldiers were, turning the scales at that moment; or with how many and what kinds of gifts they were individually rewarded by Caesar? I should now remind you of the letter which Caesar then

wrote to the senate, and how Antipatros had honors and citizenship bestowed upon him. **28** For these *proofs* are sure signs that we are entitled to receive these favors; and, on that account, we ask that they be confirmed by you. *It is* from you whom we have hoped to receive them, even if they had not been given to us earlier; and *this*, because we see the king's disposition toward you, and yours toward him.

29 "But we have received a message from the Judeans there, indeed, telling how gracious you were when you entered their country. But especially how you offered the perfect victims to God, honored him with perfect prayers. But also, how you feasted the populace, and accepted their hospitable gifts. **30** For all of these things, done for both nation and city, by a man who is a superintendent of such great public affairs, must be considered as tokens of the friendship which you have given to the Judean nation, after Hérôdés' house had introduced it to them.

31 "In reminding you of these things and of our king, who is now present and sitting beside you, we ask for nothing more than this, but that what you have given to us yourselves, you will not watch as others take it away from us."

32 Indeed, after Nikolaos had made this *speech*, there was no opposition made to it by the Hellenes living in Iônia. For they were not arguing before a court-of-justice; instead, they were only making a petition for relief from violence. **33** Indeed, the Hellenes made no speech-in-defense, nor did they deny what they had done. But their excuse was, "By merely dispersing over our country, they are now committing every kind of unrighteousness." **34** And they petitioned Agrippa that they alone might seek the citizenship which Antiochos, the grandson of Seleukos, surnamed the God, had given them; and they claimed that, "If the Judeans are to be of our same family, they should worship our gods."

But the Judeans demonstrated that they were natives,³ and that, even though they honored their own institutions, had done nothing to grieve those living there.

35 Therefore, when Agrippa perceived that they had been subjected to violence, he answered, "Indeed, on account of Hérôdés' goodwill and friendship, I am prepared to grant the Judeans whatever they might ask of me. But your requests also seem to be righteous in themselves; so that even if you were to request anything else, I would not shrink back from fulfilling your requests, as long as they do not distress the Roman government. But since you have also asked, that the privileges which you formerly had received should not be annulled, I shall confirm this, in order that you may continue to observe your own customs free from any injury."

36 Having spoken in this way, he dissolved the gathering. But Hérôdés went up to him, embraced him, and acknowledged the graceful disposition which he had shown. But Agrippa also responded to this in a friendly-fashion, and behaved like an equal, putting his arms around Hérôdés and embracing him. **37** Then he indeed departed from Lesbos.⁴

But the king decided to sail from Samos to his home. And after taking leave of Agrippa, he pursued his voyage. But having favorable spirits blowing the ship, he landed at Caesarea not many days afterwards. From there he went to Jerusalem, where he gathered the whole body together to an assembly; but there were many from other areas as well.

38 Now when King Hérôdés came before them, he described his entire journey, and told them about all the Judeans who were in Asia, how, by his means, they would remain free from injury for the future. **39** He also told them about the good-successes which he had had; and how he had administered the government, not neglecting anything which might be to their advantage. Since he was cheerful, he remitted to them a fourth of their taxes for the past year. **40** Now being pleased by both this account and his favors, they went away with the greatest joy, wishing the king all sorts of good things.

CHAPTER 58 [Ant16:66-86 / War1:445, 446b-450a, 451b, 451a, 450b, 433a]

But the dissension in Hérôdés' house kept growing and became increasingly more severe. Indeed, Shelome partook of hatred for the youths as if it were their mother's inheritance; and, in a senseless and insolent way, she was trying everything which had succeeded against their mother against them, so that not one of her offspring would be left alive who might be strong enough to avenge the death of the woman whom she had done away with.

2 But the youths, having reflected upon their father's filthy-deeds, also suspiciously-eyed him as a foe; and this they had first done when they were being brought up at Roma, but even more when they returned to Judah. But as they became men, this disposition of theirs increased. And now, at present, they were also rather insolent and disaffected toward their father, both due to their remembrance of what their mother had undeservedly suffered, and due to their desire to rule. **3** The situation also became as evil as it had been at first. Indeed, the youths reviled Shelome and Ferorah; but those two were malignant toward the striplings, and formed elaborate plots against them. **4** For, indeed, there was an

² [Ant] E "share"

³ [Ant] PW "generous"

⁴ [Ant] AMW / P omits "from Lesbos"

¹ [Ant] P,A1,W / others "not shown foresight?"

equal amount of hatred on both sides, but the form of their hatred was not the same:

Instead, the *youths* were indeed rash, openly abusing and reproaching, supposing in their inexperience, that it was noble to unleash their passions without concealment through hatred and free-speech.

But the others did not act in that way; instead, they made use of slanders in a pragmatic and malicious manner, continually drawing the striplings toward them, and reckoning that their insolence would turn to violence against their father. **5** For the fact that *the striplings* were not ashamed of their mother's sins, nor supposed that she had suffered rightly, indicated that they could not be restrained from wreaking vengeance on *their father*, and *that*, by *murdering* him with their own hands.

6 Therefore, in the end, the whole city was filled with accounts about these things, and (as is usual in such contests) the inexperience of the striplings certainly aroused pity. But Shelome's careful *schemes* prevailed, and, due to their own insolent conduct, she found an opportune starting-point to avoid having to lay falsehoods down about them. **7** For they were so weighed-down by the death of their mother, that when *Shelome* spoke evil of both her and them, they strove to show how pitiable and violent was *their mother's* end (as it certainly was), and how pitiable they were themselves, who were forced to live with her murderers and to be partakers *with them*.

8 These *affairs* grew worse, since the king's absence was a fit opportunity for that dissension. But as soon as Héródés returned and addressed the multitude, he was immediately met by both Ferorah and Shelome, who spoke plainly to the king, "You are in great danger from these youths, who have indeed laid plots against you and are openly threatening that they will not leave the murder of their mother without recompense." **9** But the slanderers also added, "The son-in-law of Archelaos the Kappadokian has his hopes fixed upon his father-in-law, by whose help and influence *your* two sons will be able to reach Caesar and accuse *you*, their own father, before him. He is *already* preparing to take flight."

10 Now when Héródés had heard these things, he was indeed immediately disturbed; but he was even more shocked, because these same messages were also being brought to him by others. Then, filled with these slanders, he went back *in thought* to his previous misfortunes, and recounted that, due to the disorders which had come upon his house, he had not found any comfort in those dearest to him or in his wife whom he felt affection for. And supposing that the future *disorders* would be heavier and greater than those which had already befallen him, his soul was *in a state of confusion*. **11** For in reality, a demon had indeed given him numerous instances of outward success, even beyond what he had hoped for; but he never expected to meet such *disorders* at home, and they rendered him unfortunate. Each of these *disorders* continued to such an unimaginable degree, that it raised the question: **12** whether he should have purchased such a great success in deeds abroad at the cost of domestic evils, or to escape such great domestic *evils* by forfeiting his marvelous acquirement of kingship.

13 But disturbed and in this state *of mind*, Héródés, in order to pull-down these striplings, brought in another *one of his own youths*, who had been born to him while he was a commoner, and he decided to honor him in every way above them. Now his name was Antipatros, whom he had from Dōris. **14** Indeed, *long ago*, when Héródés had returned from Roma, he had, for the sake of his sons *whom he had* by Miriam, banished Antipatros from the city, allowing him to come down only for the festivals. **15** But *at the present time*, Héródés was not completely victimized by him as he was later, when he referred everything to him; *so now*, Héródés merely supposed that he would dampen the insolence of Miriam's sons, and, by managing Antipatros, would warn them more effectively. "For their stubbornness will cease if they are persuaded that the succession to the kingdom does not appertain to them alone, nor come to them out of necessity."

16 And it was for this reason that he brought Antipatros as a sort of competitor and a bulwark against his other sons, thinking that he was making the correct provision, and, that after the striplings had been repressed, it would be a proper season to deal with them after they had *possessed* a better disposition.

17 But it did not turn out as he intended. For *the youths*, thinking that he had treated them with abuse, were unable to endure this change. And when they saw the advancement of Antipatros, who had been born of common woman, the nobility of their birth made them unable to restrain their indignation; but whenever they were annoyed, they revealed their anger.

18 Indeed, as each day brought greater offenses against *the youths*, Antipatros was already actively employing himself. And since Antipatros was a clever character and had obtained freedom-of-speech, whereas earlier he was bereft of any hope, he had only one purpose, which was to do evil to his brothers, refusing to yield to them the first-place, *but* rather, keeping with his father. **19** Indeed, he flattered his father, but equipped himself with various slanders against his brothers. Indeed, *his father* had already been estranged from *his brothers* by *previous* slanders, but was easily manageable, *being bent* into whichever direction Antipatros wanted him to go, so that he might continually make him harsher against *the youths*, who had already been *victims of slander*.

20 Therefore, it was not only Antipatros who introduced these fabrications; *for* he watched to *make sure* that none of these conjectures were attributed to him; instead, he chose to cooperate with men who were not suspect, and who, on account of their goodwill toward the king, would be believed in their account. **21** But, by this time, many individuals were paying court to Antipatros in hopes of *gaining something* from him, and, by appearing to speak in this way out of their goodwill toward Héródés, led *the king* on. And while these *men* were multi-faced and made each other *appear* trustworthy by their teamwork, still the striplings *themselves* also furnished them with additional bases *for accusation*. **22** For they were also seen shedding tears often on account of the abuse and dishonor *which they suffered*, and invoked their mother; and openly, before their friends, they pursued disgracing their father *with the charge* of not acting righteously. All of these things were maliciously noted by Antipatros *to be used at* the proper time.

And when a message *regarding* these things was sent out to Héródés, with exaggerations, the disorder within the house increased until it was no small matter. **23** For the king was burdened by these slanders; and wishing to reduce Miriam's sons, he continued to bestow even greater honor upon Antipatros. And, finally, Héródés was indeed so overcome by his performance that, in time, he was influential enough to bring his mother back into Miriam's bed. But Héródés often wrote to Caesar about him, and, in private, seriously recommended him.

24 Yet truly, when Agrippa was returning to Roma after having governed Asia for ten years, Héródés sailed from Judah. And when he met with him, he only took Antipatros along with him, and delivered him to Agrippa so that he might take him with him to Roma with many gifts in order that he might become a friend of Caesar. **25** Accordingly, he was sent to Caesar as a king, with ornaments and *all* the other services needed to pay court, except for the diadem. In this way, everything seemed to be his, for he was *declared* successor, both openly and in *his father's* will; and the hopes of the striplings¹ to *obtain* the kingdom were broken off, and they were completely excluded from the government.

CHAPTER 59 [Ant16:87-129 / War1:451c-454]

Therefore, indeed, while Antipatros was abroad, he advanced *both* in honor and *in* apparent preeminence; for he was already eminent in Roma, because Héródés had written about him to all his friends there. **2** But he was burdened by not being at home, where he would have constant opportunities to slander his brothers; and he was especially terrified that his father might change his mind, and, being left to himself, *develop* a more favorable opinion of Miriam's sons. **3** But reflecting on this, he did not desist from his purpose, instead, from Roma, he constantly wrote whatever he hoped would grieve his father and provoke him against his brothers. Indeed, his pretext was that he was deeply concerned for his *father's* preservation, but in reality, because of his natural malice, he was *doing this* in order to purchase a *greater* hope, which was already great in itself.

4 Now wielding these two weapons, flattery and slander, against his brothers, Antipatros *continued to write to* the king, until he had stealthily led Héródés on to such a pitch of anger and ill-report, that he became hostile toward the striplings and even contemplated putting his sons to death. But he still shrunk-back from stepping into such a feeling. **5** But in order to avoid failing through carelessness or rashness, he thought it better to sail to Roma, there to accuse his boys before Caesar, and not to indulge himself in any such *action*, which, due to the magnitude of its impiety, might be viewed with suspicion.

6 Now after he had gone up to Roma, dragging *his sons* with him, he pressed on as far as the city of Aquileia, being in haste to meet Caesar. But when Héródés was able to speak with him, he asked for the opportunity to be heard on the subject of his great misfortunes. Now after presenting his boys before Caesar, he charged them of madness and of Alexandros' attempt of a *drugging against him*.

7 "They bear enmity toward me, eagerly endeavoring in everyway to show their hatred to their own father to the point that they would *even* dispatch me and obtain the kingdom for themselves in the most barbarous manner. But I have received the authority from *you*, Caesar, to, at my death, neither by compulsion but by choice, impart it to whichever *son* has practiced the greatest piety.

8 "But they are not primarily concerned about the government, instead, they consider it of less account to be deprived of this, and of life, if only they are strong enough to kill their own father. This is how savage and stained the hatred is which has sunk into their souls. And now that I have borne this misfortune for so long, I am compelled to expound it before Caesar and to pollute his ears with such accounts.

9 "Furthermore, what harsh-treatment have they indeed ever suffered from me? Or what heavy-burdens have I ever laid upon them which would cause them to blame me? Or how is it possible and right that I should not be lord of a government, which I have acquired with great toils and dangers, whether I keep it myself or give it to one who is worthy of it?

10 "Yet, this is the primary reason, among other things, that I proposed a prize for the contest of piety to the one who would someday show such diligence, and

¹ [Ant] / [War] "sons"

that whoever succeeded would have this *kingdom* as a sufficient recompense. **11** But it is quite clear that it is not a pious-activity for them to meddle with it beforehand. For he who continually ponders about becoming the king is, at the same time, counting on the death of his own father, since it is not possible to obtain the government in any other way.

12 “But as for myself, I have *not only* now given them as much as is suitable for those who are subjects of a king, and are boys of a king, whether ornaments, or attendants, or luxury; instead, I even arranged the most distinguished marriages for them: indeed, I joined one¹ to the daughter of my own sister, but *I joined* Alexandros to the daughter of Archelaos the king of *Kappadokia*.² **13** But what is most important, that even in such *circumstances*, I did not use my authority against them, *but* have brought them before *you*, Caesar, our common benefactor; and I have given up my own *rights* as a father who has been treated impiously and as a king who has been plotted against, *and* have presented myself for judgment on equal footing with them.

14 “However, I request that I not be left completely unavenged, nor continue to live in the greatest of fears. Not only this, but, *even* if they are able to escape *punishment* for the time being, it will be not profitable for them to see the light of the sun after what they have considered *doing to me*, since they have committed the greatest of human *crimes*, and will certainly suffer punishment.”

15 These were the things which Héródés sentimentally charged his boys with before Caesar. But even while he was speaking, the youths were in tears and confusions. But when Héródés had finished his account, they were indeed even more disturbed. Now although they knew in their own consciences that they were innocent of such impiety, **16** they knew it would be hard for them, as indeed it was, to defend themselves against the slanders brought by their father, since, at that moment, it was not seemly for them to speak-freely if they were going to convict him of error in his habitual and hasty use of bodily-strength. **17** Therefore, they were unable to decide what to say; and tears, and, finally, a sympathetic wailing, followed. Indeed, they were anxious, that if they said nothing, they would seem to *lend credence* of having a bad character; but, due to their youth and the disorder which they were under, they could not procure a ready defense.

18 Yet truly, Caesar, observing their state of confusion, did not fail to understand that their shrinking-back was due, not to any consciousness of having done *something* deviant, *but*, rather, due to their inexperience and moderation. *But* they were pitied by the bystanders, and they particularly moved their father, who was seized by genuine emotion.

19 But when *the boys* saw that there was a certain degree of goodwill in both him and in Caesar, and that everyone else was either weeping with them or sharing in their suffering, one of them, Alexandros, called to his father, and attempted to dissolve the incriminations. **20** But due to his lamentation, he could barely speak-freely. And in the presence of a judge who was far more experienced than Antipatros, and more sensible than Héródés, he modestly avoided laying any sins upon his father, but, with great strength, loosened the slanders which were directed against him, saying:

21 “Father, your goodwill toward us is indeed evident even in this *trial* of judgment. For if you had intended to take pernicious action against us, you would not have brought us here before the savior of all. **22** For indeed, having both the authority of a king as well as the authority of a father, you could have punished the unrighteous *yourself*. But bringing us to Roma and making *Caesar* a witness³ is the action of one who intends to save us. For no one who intends to kill another brings him to temples and to inner-sanctuaries.

23 “But our situation is still worse. For we cannot bear to live any longer if it is believed that we have acted unrighteously to such a father. And, perhaps, what is worse than dying without having committed such unrighteousness, is to live under the suspicion of having acted unrighteously. **24** Therefore, indeed, if our freely-spoken account is found to be the truth, we shall be happy, both because we would have been able to persuade you, and because we would have escaped danger. But if this slander prevails in this way, it is more than enough for us that we have seen the present day’s sun. What need is there for us to look upon it any longer if we are under suspicion?

25 “Therefore, to indeed say ‘that they covet kingship’ is a charge that may seasonably be brought against the youthful; and to add the *charge* about our wretched mother, that is enough to make our present misfortune a prolongation of the former one. **26** But consider, whether these are not common *charges*, and which are made against all *youths* alike. For if a king has boys and their mother is dead, nothing will prevent the father from suspecting that all of these youths intend to plot against him. Rather, suspicion is not sufficient *enough* to prove such an impiety.

27 “But let someone speak up if we have actually done something so rash and effective, as to make credible what is normally incredible. Is anyone able to prove that a drug has been prepared? Or that we have made a conspiracy with our comrades? Or corrupted servants? Or written documents against you? **28**

Furthermore, each of these things, even though none of them have been done, have somehow been forged by slander. For a kingdom, when the *royal* house is not of one mind, is hard to bear. And the government, which you say is a prize of the contest of piety, often proves to fill oppressive *men* with hopes, but makes them *refuse* to draw back from any sort of malignity.

29 “Therefore, indeed, no one will *be able* to prove that we have done anything unrighteous. But as for the slanders, how can he put an end to them if he is unwilling to give us a hearing? Have we spoken too freely? Truly, it was not against you; for that would have been unrighteous. But *we speak* against those who never keep silent, even though nothing has been said.

30 “Did either of us lament our mother? Yes, it was not because she died, rather, because even as a corpse she was evilly spoken of by unworthy *men*.

“Do we covet a government which we know is possessed by our father? And for what *reason* would we be willing to do so? Indeed, if we *already* have royal honors, as we do have, are we not zealous about frivolities? Indeed, if we do not have them, do we not have hopes for them? **31** Or suppose that we had laid our hands on you, could we have expected to obtain the kingdom? For after such a deed as that, neither would *the earth* be passable for us, nor would the sea let us navigate it. But would the piety of your subjects, and the religion of the whole nation, have lifted up those who committed a patricidal deed, and *allowed them* to enter the most holy inner-sanctum which was built by you? **32** But even suppose that we had despised the other *dangers*, how is any murderer able to escape punishment for long while Caesar is alive? The *sons you have* begotten are neither so profane, nor so thoughtless, but perhaps they are more unfortunate than is convenient for you.

33 “But if you have no cause for complaint, nor are able to discover any plot against you, what is it that is sufficient enough in itself to lead you to have trust in such an impiety as this? Our mother is dead. Instead, what befell her would have been an admonition to us, rather than an occasion for anger.”

34 Now *Alexandros* also proved that his brother, who shared his dangers, was equally spotless. He further bewailed Antipatros’ villainy, and the disgrace which they were under. *Throughout the entire* account, he was assisted, not only by a spotless conscience, but by his *physical-strength*; for he was a clever speaker. And he concluded by saying:

35 “Indeed, we are able⁴ to say more in our defense, but actions which have not been committed do not admit of any account. Therefore, in the presence of Caesar, master of all, who is mediating between us, we propose this agreement: **36** Indeed, if you, O father, will revert to a disposition free of suspicion toward us in very truth, we shall live; *but*, indeed, not in a successful way. For to be found guilty of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing. **37** But if you have any fright lingering with you, then continue on in your piety; but we will give an account for ourselves. Yes, life is not so valuable to us that we desire to have it at the cost of committing unrighteousness against the one who gave it to us. **38** So if you, O Father, assert that this charge is true, it is open for you to put us to death.” And this *last statement* moved everyone to tears.

39 Now while Alexandros was speaking in this manner, Caesar, who *even* previously had not believed the slander of such magnitude, was moved over to his side even more by it, and he kept looking intently at Héródés, whom he perceived was similarly somewhat confused. But the bystanders were also seized with anxiety, while the accounts spreading around the court made the king an object of hatred. **40** For the incredibility of the slander, and the pity *derived by the fact* that the youths were in their prime *of life* and had beautiful bodies, attracted assistance from all sides. But *they attracted* even more, because Alexandros had answered *their father’s* account with skillfulness and sensibleness. Nor did they retain the same appearance as before, despite that they were still lamenting and looking down at the ground dejectedly.

41 But hope for the best began to show itself. And although the king had expected that what he had accused him of would have been found to be reasonable, because of what he had persuaded himself to *believe* was true, he lacked a defense, since he was unable to prove *these charges*.

42 But after a brief pause, Caesar, now rejecting what he was accused of, said, “Although the youths are completely cleared of the slander brought against them, they have failed in one respect, namely, that they have not behaved toward their father in such a way as to prevent this account concerning them from being spread around.”

43 But he urged Héródés to throw away every suspicion *and* to be immediately reconciled to his boys. “For it is not right even to believe such things against your own *children*. But such a change-of-mind is not only able to cure the harm which has been done to both sides, but also stimulate your goodwill toward each other. By doing this, each of you will be apologizing for your hasty suspicions, *and will be* proclaiming to show greater esteem for each other.”

44 But the conditions of this reconciliation were these: that they should be obedient to their father in everything, but that he should have power to leave the kingdom to whichever one of them he willed.

¹ [Ant] Lat “Aristobulus”

² [Ant] Lat adds

³ literally “testifier”

⁴ [Ant] AMW “willing”

45 After admonishing them in this way, *Caesar* nodded to the youths. But when they wished to fall down at the feet of their father in tearful supplication, he took them up *into his arms and* embraced them; each, in turn, were enfolded in *his arms*, until not one of those who were present, whether freeman or slave, were left unaffected *by what they saw*.

46 Therefore, they indeed offered-thanks to *Caesar*, and went away together. And with them went Antipatros, who pretended to exult over their reconciliation. 47 But in the last days, while *Caesar* was providing spectacles and distributions for the Roman populace, Hérōdés indeed bestowed him¹ with 300 talents. But *Caesar* bestowed him with half of the revenue from the Kyprian copper mines, and committed the care of the other half to him, and honored him with hospitalities and lodgings. 48 And he allowed him to have the authority to appoint as his successor whichever of his boys he chose, or even to apportion it among them all, so that a share of the honor would go to each one.

But when Hérōdés was willing to *appoint his successor* at once, *Caesar* refused to permit him to give up control of either his kingdom, or his boys, during his lifetime.

CHAPTER 60 [Ant16:130-135 / War1:455-467]

After this, Hérōdés headed back to Judah. But while he had been abroad, a part of his government around Trachōn, which was not a small part, revolted; and the generals whom he had left behind subdued them *and* compelled them to submit once more.

2 Now as the king was coming back from Roma, he indeed appeared to have acquitted his boys² of these charges, but did not get rid of his suspicions *about them*. For he was accompanied by Antipatros, who was the starting-point of all this hatred. Yet *Antipatros*, withheld by the awe he had for the one who had reconciled them, did not openly display his animosity.

3 Now after Hérōdés and his boys had sailed past Kilikia, and come to Eleousa (which is now called by its new name Sebasté), he put in *at port and* met with Archelaos, the king of Kappadokia. Indeed, *Archelaos* received him with tender-affection, delightfully rejoicing that *Hérōdés* had been reconciled with his boys, and was thankful that his son-in-law Alexandros, who had married his daughter, had been delivered *and* acquitted of the charges made against him. For he had previously written to his friends at Roma, *insisting that they assist Alexandros* at the court-of-justice. Now he conducted them as far as Zephurion, and they exchanged such gifts as it is usual for kings to give to one another. The presents *Archelaos* gave were *valued* up to 30 talents.

4 Now from there, Hérōdés set out for Judah. And when he arrived at the temple in Jerusalem, he gathered the people together, and presented his three sons before them, and made a speech about what he had done during his stay abroad. He made a defense for his absence, and gave an account of *Caesar's* tender-affection to him, and of various things which he had done that he thought would be to his advantage for the others³ to know. 5 And he indeed offered many thanks to God, and many more to *Caesar*, who had restored his disordered house, and had procured for his sons something greater than a kingdom, namely, concord among his sons. 6 "I myself shall bind *the concord* even tighter. For *Caesar* has indeed made me lord of the government, and a judge of the succession; but I, *in order to provide* for my own advantage, repay *my debt* to him:

"I now declare that these three boys⁴ of mine shall be kings. And, first of all, I beseech God, and then, you, to ratify my proposition. For this one," *he indicated* Antipatros, "is indeed entitled to the succession on account of his age, and these others," *who were* Alexandros and Aristoboulos, the sons of Miriam, "by their nobility. Yet, truly, the kingdom, on account of its magnitude, would be able to bear even more.

7 "But indeed, those whom *Caesar* has united and whom their father has established, you are to watch over. Do not let the honor you give them be unrighteous or uneven, but *give* to each according to the prerogative of their births. For anyone who pays such *honor to one of them* beyond what is required by his age, will not be instilling as much gratification in *the one whom he honors*, as he will be instilling pain in the ones whom he will be dishonoring.

8 "Yet, truly, I myself shall establish the kinsmen and friends who are to consort with each of *my boys*, and shall hold them responsible for securing the concord, being well-aware that factions and fondness-for-rivalries among *royalty* are produced by the malignity of companions, while virtuous *companions* preserve natural-affections.

9 "But, I still require that, not these only, but all the squadron-chiefs of my army, for the present *time*, place their hopes on me alone, as king and absolute master. For it is not a kingdom, rather, the honors of a kingdom, that I transmit to my sons. And, indeed, they will enjoy the pleasure of being chiefs themselves; but the burden of affairs will fall upon me, even if I am unwilling.

10 "But let each one of you consider my age, and how I have conducted my life, and my piety. For I am not so old for *you* to expect that I will soon depart *from this life*; nor have I been given over to undisciplined habits, which cut off *the lives of men* even when they are young. But since I have served the Deity so much in this way, I may reach the farthest *extent of* life.

11 "But whoever serves my boys, *with the aim* to bring about my downfall, shall be rightly-punished by me for their sakes, as well as my own. For it is not envy for my own *children* which causes me to push-back the love-of-honor *you have for them*, but *because* I understand that such efforts supply the young with audacity.

12 "Yet, truly, everyone who comes into contact with them, will, if he acts honorably, receive a recompense from me; but, if he promotes sedition, his malicious service will be unprofitable, even from *the man* whom he is *servng*. If everyone ponders this *fact*, I think that *all of you* will have my interests, that is, my sons' interests, in their mind. For it is to their advantage that I should reign; to mine, that they should be of one consent."

13 To both his leaders and his soldiers, he *added*, "If you look to me alone, you will lead an untroubled life, and every opportunity for prosperity will come to you and me from one another."

14 After he had finished exhorting the courtiers and the rest of the multitude to concord, he aimed his account to the admonishing of his boys, "But as for you, my good boys, first ponder about the consecration of nature itself, and the constancy of natural-affection which *nature* instills even into beasts. Next, *ponder about Caesar*, who brought about our reconciliation. Thirdly, *ponder about me*, who entreat you *to do* what I am allowed to command *you to do*; remain as brothers. Now, I give you *the* garments and services of royalty. But I also pray to God, *that he would* uphold my decision, if you decide to be of one accord."

15 After *the king* had said this, and had shown friendliness to every one of his sons, he dismissed the assembly, having said what was acceptable to most of the multitude, but not to some. Indeed, some prayed-together with him; but those who coveted a change-of-affairs, pretended that they had not even heard what had been stated.

16 But the discord between the brothers was still within them when they departed. For, due to the contest of superiority and the hopes which *Hérōdés* had given to the youths, there was already considerable unrest *between them* and desires of innovations,⁵ and the suspicions they had of each other grew worse *than before*. Indeed, Alexandros and Aristoboulos were aggrieved at the confirmation of Antipatros' prerogative of birth; but Antipatros resented his brothers, even though they were second to him.

CHAPTER 61 [Ant16:136-159 / War1:415-418, 422-430]

Now about this time, *Caesarea* Sebasté, which *Hérōdés* had been building, was completed. Truly, the entire construction, including an amphitheater, a theater, and a market-place (all of which were worthy of *the city's* name), was indeed finished in the tenth year, the stated period having been prolonged⁶ to the twenty-eighth year of his reign, which fell in the 192nd Olympiad.

2 Therefore, straightaway, a great festival of dedication was celebrated, and extravagant preparations were made. For indeed, he had sent out messages *regarding* a musical contest and naked athletics. But he prepared a great multitude of gladiators and beasts, as well as horse races, and the most extravagant shows which are usually exhibited at Roma and in other places. As prizes-of-contest, he offered *those* of the greatest *value*; it was not only the victors who partook of these royal riches, but also those who came in second and in third place.

3 But he even dedicated this contest to *Caesar*, naming it after him, and arranged for it to be a quinquennial celebration.⁷ But *Caesar*, adding luster to his love-of-honor, sent all the ornaments needed for such games from his own revenues. 4 But *Caesar's* wife Julia, on her own account, also sent off many of her most extravagant *possessions*; the total *amount* of everything was estimated at no less than 500 talents.

5 Now a large crowd had come to the city to see the shows; and *with them* came elders, who had been sent by the *various* populaces, on account of the benefits which they had received. *Hérōdés* entertained them all with lodgings, and *meals* at tables, and continuous festivals. Indeed, during the day, this national-festival offered the soulful-gratification of spectacles; but during the nights, the *occasions of gladness were provided*, and these at great-expense; and *all these things* served-to-distinguish his own magnanimity. 6 For in all of his undertakings, he loved contending in order to surpass whatever had been previously exhibited. And it is related that both *Caesar* himself, as well as Agrippa, often said, that the extent of Hérōdés' government fell short of his magnanimity; for he deserved to be the king of all Syria and of Egypt.

7 Now *Hérōdés* also rebuilt another coastal city, Anthédōn, which had been demolished in a war, *and* named it Agrippium. But the goodwill which he had

¹ [Ant] A-corrector, ME "while Hérōdés was providing spectacles and doles for the people of Roma, he bestowed Caesar"

² [Ant]//[War] "sons"

³ [Ant] most / PW "whole"

⁴ [War]//[Ant] "sons"

⁵ [Ant] AMWE / P "unrest between them, and those who desired innovations" (possibly giving evidence of a lacuna)

⁶ literally "expired" or "failed"

⁷ or "to be celebrated every five years"

toward his friend *Agrippa* was so excessive that he had his name engraved upon the gate which he erected in the inner-sanctum.

8 Yet, there was truly no one who loved his own father more than *Hérōdēs*. For as a memorial to his father, he even erected another city in the most-beautiful plain in his kingdom, which is called Kefar-Saba. The region which he selected to establish it was well-watered by ample rivers and had the best place for *growing* plants. There was also a river which flowed around the city itself; and the grove which embraced it was most-beautiful, due to the loftiness of its ample trees. He called *this city* Antipatris, after his father Antipatros.

9 Now he also built upon a fortress which lay above Jericho, enwalling it. It was remarkable for its solidity and beauty, *a place* both of security and which was very pleasant to stay in. He dedicated it to his mother, calling it by her name: Kypros.

10 Also, on account of the tender-affection which he had for his brother Fazael, he dedicated very beautiful memorials to him. *First*, in the city of Jerusalem, he set up a tower, no smaller than the one of Pharos, *and* called it Fazael. It was both a part of the city's security, and a memorial to the dead *man*, since it bore his name. **11** But in the valley to the north of Jericho, he also built another city which he called Fazaelis; by doing this, he made the surrounding country, formerly desolate, more productive through the care given to it by its inhabitants.

12 After he had founded so many *places*, he exhibited his magnanimity by bestowing benefits upon numerous cities outside *his kingdom*, both in Syria and in Hellas, and in all the places which he happened to visit while abroad. For indeed, he furnished Tripolis, and Damasek, and Ptolemais with naked-athletics. **13** But he *furnished* Bublos with a wall; but Beirut and Zor with halls, and porticoes, and inner-sanctums, and market-places. Yet, *he* truly *furnished* Zidon and Damasek with theaters. **14** But he built aqueducts for the Laodikeans *who lived* by the sea; but baths, and extravagant fountains, and colonnades (which were all admirable both for their architecture and their magnitude) for Ashkelon. But to others, he dedicated groves and meadows. **15** Now many cities, as if they had been partners with his own kingdom, received from him *various* countries. **16** But others, such as *the* Kosians, were bestowed with annual revenues to perpetually maintain a naked-athletics-chief, to ensure that this honorable position would never be lacking.

Yet, he truly supplied grain to everyone who was in need of it. And to the inhabitants of Rhodos, he indeed made contributions again and again, providing them with many talents of silver¹ for shipbuilding. **17** But when the Pythian-temple at Rhodos had been burnt down, he, at his own expense, rebuilt it to be better *than it was before*. **18** But as for the Nikopolitans, whom Caesar had founded near Aktion, he helped construct the greater part of their public-buildings. **19** And he gave presents to the Lukians and Samnians; but throughout all of Iōnia, his abundance met everyone's needs. Not only this, but the Athēnians and Lakedaimōnians, and *the* Musian Pergamon are full of Hérōdēs' offerings.

20 Now there is a broad street in Antiocheia, the largest city in Syria, which cuts lengthwise through *the city*, which was once shunned because it had been damaged by mud. He paved the entire length of the open road, which was 20 stadia, with polished marble; and, as a protection from the heavy-rain, he adorned it with colonnades on either side of equal length. By doing this, he contributed greatly to *the city's* ornamentation and to the convenience of its inhabitants.

21 Yet, indeed, the favors which he bestowed on the Éleans, were not only a gift to Hellas, rather they were common to all the inhabited *earth*, wherever the fame of the Olympic games penetrated. **22** For, truly, when he perceived that these *games* were coming to an end due to a lack of money, and that this solitary remnant of the ancient Hellas was sinking into decay, he restored their reputation, appointed revenues for them, and magnified this national-festival in respect to the sacrifices and other ornaments. **23** On account of this love-of-honor *which he showed to them*, he not only became the president-of-the-games for the quinquennial celebration (which happened to coincide with his voyage to Roma), instead, he perpetually furnished them with money, leaving them an unfading memorial of his presiding-over-the-games. *So* the Éleans² publicly-recorded him as one of the perpetual presidents-of-the-games.

24 By dissolving debts and tributes, he lightened the burden of the annual taxes for the inhabitants of Fazaelis, and Balanea, and various small cities around Kilikia. Yet, truly, his greatness-of-intellect was often shattered by his fear of exposing himself to envy, or hunting after some higher ambition, while he bestowed greater benefits upon these cities than they received from their owners themselves.

25 Now *Hérōdēs* had a body suited to his soul. Indeed, always being the best hunter, he had success due to his experience in horsemanship; yes, in a single day he caught forty beasts. But, indeed, that country also breeds swine; but *also* in it, in greater abundance, are deer and donkeys. But as a warrior, he was irresistible; **26** yes, there are many who have stood astonished at the precision with which he

threw the javelin, and, as an archer, how well he could hit the mark. But, besides these superior gifts of soul and body, fortune extended her right hand to him *in pledge*. For he even rarely made a mistake in a war, and, when he did make a mistake, he was not the one responsible for it; instead, it was due either to betrayal, or to the rashness of his own soldiers.

27 Yet, truly, despite his munificence and the benefactions which he bestowed upon all men, among his own house, if anyone did not serve him in speech and by confessing himself to be his slave, or seemed to conspire against the government, he was not able to control himself, and prosecuted, not only his subjects, but even his kindred and his friends alike, punishing them as if they were his foes. In this way, he demonstrated his bestial *nature*, and that he was estranged from all moderation, and that his desire was that he alone might be honored. **28** Now the greatest testimony of this was what he did to honor Caesar and Agrippa and his other friends: For the *very same* services which he paid to his superiors, he also expected to have served to him; and whatever he believed to be the most beautiful present which he could give to another, he showed a yearning to obtain a similar one for himself.

29 But the Judean nation is, by law, estranged from all such things, and is accustomed to prefer righteousness above glory. Therefore, *the nation* was not agreeable to him, because it found it impossible to flatter the king's love-of-honor with idols, and inner-sanctums, or other such pursuits.

CHAPTER 62 [Ant16:160-178]

Now the Judeans in Asia, and all those to be found in Kyrénean Libyé, were being mistreated by the cities there, indeed, despite that the kings had formerly granted them equal-privileges *with the other citizens*. But, at this time, the Hellenes abused them to the extent that they carried off their consecrated money, and greatly injured them in other particulars. **2** But being treated evilly in this way, and finding no end to the inhumanity of the Hellenes, they sent those who were elders to Caesar and *told him* about all of these things.

Now he granted them the same equality of taxation as before, *and* wrote the following letter to the province-chiefs:

3 Caesar *the* August-One, chief-priest, of tribunician authority, speaks:

Since the nation of the Judeans has been found thankful to the Roman populace, not only at the present time, *but* rather also in time past, and especially during the time of my father, Emperor Caesar, along with their chief-priest Hyrkanos, **4** it has been decided by me and my council under oath, with the consent of the Roman populace, that the Judeans may follow their own ordinances in accordance with the law of their fathers, in the same way in which they followed them in the time of Hyrkanos, chief-priest of *the* most-high God; and that their consecrated money be made inviolable, and that it be sent up to Jerusalem and be returned to the archive-keepers at Jerusalem; and that they that do not have to agree to make a pledge *to go before any court on any of the sabbaths, nor on the day before* (when they prepare for it after the ninth hour).

5 But if anyone is caught stealing their consecrated books, or their consecrated money, whether from a sabbath-house or a banqueting-hall, he shall be regarded as a temple-robber, and his livelihood shall be confiscated for the public-treasury of the Romans.

6 And as for the resolution which was offered by them, on account of the piety which I show toward all humans, and on behalf of Gaius Marcius Censorinus, I direct that it, along with the present edict be set up in the most conspicuous place which has been assigned to me by the community of Asia in Ancyra.³ But if anyone transgresses anything previously mentioned, he shall suffer no moderate rightful-punishment.

This was inscribed in the inner-sanctum of Caesar.

7 Caesar to Norbanus Flaccus, greetings.

Therefore, *the* Judeans, no matter how numerous they may be, but who have been accustomed, according to their ancient customs, to send their consecrated money up to Jerusalem, may do so without interference.

And these were *the decrees* of Caesar.

8 But Agrippa himself also wrote on behalf of the Judeans in the following manner:

Agrippa to the chiefs, council, *and* populace of the Ephesians, greetings.

It is my will that the care and custody of the consecrated money which is carried to the temple at Jerusalem shall be given to the Judeans in Asia in accordance with *the customs handed down to them* by their

¹ [Ant] // [War] "with lots of money"

² [Ant] emendation

³ [Ant] Emendation / manuscript "Arnyra"

fathers. **9** Also, if anyone steals any of the consecrated money of the Judeans, and takes refuge in places of asylum, it is my will that they be dragged away from those *places*, and be handed over to the Judeans by the same righteous-law which temple-robbers are dragged away from *asylum*.

But I have also written to Silanus¹ the general, that no one shall compel the Judeans to agree to make a pledge *to go before any court on any of the sabbaths*.

10 Marcus Agrippa to the chiefs, council, and populace of the Kyréneans, greetings.

Regarding the Judeans in Kyréné: The August-One has already sent orders to Flavius, the former general of Libyé, and to the others who were curators over that province to the effect that the consecrated money may be sent up to Jerusalem without interference, in accordance with the *customs handed down* by their fathers. **11** But now they petitioned me, that they are being abusively-threatened by certain informers, and are being prevented *from doing so* on the motive of owing taxes, which are in fact not owed.

Therefore, I direct that this *money* be restored to them without giving them any trouble; and if any consecrated money has been taken away from any cities, that the persons in charge of these matters see to it that amends are made to the Judeans there.

12 Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the chiefs of the Sardians, greetings.

Caesar has written to me, directing that the Judeans, no matter how numerous they may be, not be prevented from gathering-together according to the customs of their fathers, nor from sending up their money to Jerusalem.

Therefore, I have written to you in order that you may know that both Caesar and I wish for you to act in this way.

13 Neither did Julius Antonius, proconsul, write any differently:

To the chiefs, council, and populace of the Ephesians, greetings.

When I was administering-justice at Ephesos on the Ides of February, the Judeans colonizing in Asia demonstrated to me that Caesar the August-One and Agrippa had permitted them to follow their own laws and customs, and to bring the offerings, which each of them voluntarily chooses to make on account of *their* piety toward the Deity, carrying them together under escort without hindrance.

14 They also asked that I would confirm, by my own decision, the *privileges* which had been granted by the August-One and Agrippa.

Therefore, I wish for you to know, that, in agreement with the will of the August-One and Agrippa, I permit them to do and act in accordance with the *customs handed down* by their fathers without hindrance.

CHAPTER 63 [Ant16:179-182, 187-190a, 192, 190b-193; 7:394 / War1:468-477]

As for Héródés, after he had spent vast sums of *money* both on the external and the interior needs of the kingdom, he heard that Hyrkanos, who had been a king before him, had *previously* opened David's tomb and had taken 3,000 talents of silver from a much larger amount that was still left behind, and which was indeed sufficient to *pay* for all his wants. So for a long time, Héródés contemplated making an attempt to *acquire it*. **2** Now, at that time, he opened the tomb by night and entered it, indeed, first taking precautions not to be seen by anyone in the city; but he took *along with him* only the most faithful of his friends.

3 Therefore, unlike Hyrkanos, he indeed did not find any money stored there, but in another chamber he did find much ornamentation of gold and many other valuables which were deposited there, all of which he took away. But he was intent upon making a careful search, penetrating farther and even to the coffins in which lay the bodies of David and Solomon. **4** And as they entered, indeed, two of his spearmen were utterly-destroyed by a flame which burst out upon them; but he himself became fearful and went out. And, as a propitiation of that terror, he built a memorial of white marble at the entrance, which was an extravagant expense.

5 Now *immediately* after this attempt which Héródés had made upon the tomb, the state of affairs in his house became worse, causing many to strongly believe that these misfortunes had come upon him on account of his impiety. **6** For the dissension in his place was like a civil war, and the hatred between both sides caused them to exceed one another in slanders.

7 Now Antipatros was always *making strategies like* a general against his brothers. Indeed, being a *man* with a multi-colored disposition, he knew how to

hold his tongue when it came to the hatred he had toward his brothers; but with much adroitness, he concealed the hatred he bore toward *Alexandros and Aristoboulos*, the sons of Miriam. **8** Now *both of them* found themselves in an ever more difficult position. And due to their nobility of birth, which they depended on, they could not bear the disgrace of being pushed aside and accepting a less honorable rank, and they had all of their thoughts upon their tongues. And they were beset by many *others* who tried to stimulate them further; but even more crept in as friends in order to spy on them.

9 Now everything which was spoken by Alexandros was brought straightaway to Antipatros, and from Antipatros it was brought to Héródés with amplifications. For the youths were unable to even utter a sound without being held unaccountable, instead, anything which was spoken was twisted into slander; and if he spoke-freely, *even* moderately, enormities were forged from the smallest of *occasions*.

10 But Antipatros was constantly setting some of *his associates* to provoke him, in order that his lies might have some basis of truth. And if, among all the reported stories, *but* one item could be proven true, this would imply that *all* the rest *would also be true*. And, indeed, all of Antipatros' friends were either tightly-secretive themselves, or were induced by presents, so that not one of these *secrets* were divulged. But, Alexandros' associates, either by bribery or by seductive flatteries, were converted by Antipatros into traitors, and into smugglers who reported everything which was said or done by his brother.

11 Now Antipatros, circumspectly acting his part, would plan, with the greatest shrewdness, to skillfully entangle *his brothers* with incriminations, but indeed to make certain that these slanders were brought to Héródés from an outside source. But yet, he would wear a mask as if he were a devoted brother. **12** Then, whenever messages were brought against Alexandros, he would often seize the opportunity to come in and pretend to defend them, and tear in pieces what had been said, in order that this apparent well-mindedness might make him seem trustworthy in the hostile moves which he was planning. Afterwards, he would proceed to confirm it privately, and so call forth the king's indignation *against Alexandros*. **13** But everything was *interpreted as* a plot, and made it imagined that Alexandros lay in wait to slaughter his father. For nothing lent more credit to these slanders than *the fact that* Antipatros defended *his brother*. And by these means, he got around his father, and convinced him that everything he was doing was for his salvation.

14 With these things exasperating Héródés, his affection for the striplings diminished daily, while it proportionately increased for Antipatros. But the courtiers also shared the king's *inclination*; indeed, some did so willingly, but others under injunction, such as the king's brothers and all his family, but also Ptolemaios, who was the king's dearest friend and administrator of the royal affairs, whom he recommended to Antipatros.

15 For Antipatros was everywhere; and what was most bitter to Alexandros, was that Antipatros' mother was also everywhere. She was more harsh than a stepmother, and who hated a queen's² sons more than is usual to *hate* stepchildren. And since she was Antipatros' counselor, he took counsel with her about pressing matters. And overall, they did whatever they wished, and led the king to have ill-will toward anyone whom they thought it would be to their own advantage *for him to bare it against*.

16 Therefore, indeed, by this time, everyone was doing service to Antipatros, because of the expectations *which they hoped to receive through him*. But it was the king's orders which *further* instigated everyone to revolt together; *for* these orders which he had transmitted as a message to his most honorable *men*, forbade them from approaching or paying any attention to Alexandros' party. But the fear which Héródés caused extended, not only around the kingdom, rather, it also *reached* his friends abroad. For Caesar had given no other king the following authority: to reclaim someone who had fled from him, even out of a city that was not being led by him.

17 Now the striplings were indeed ignorant of these slanders *against them*, and, for this reason, they were off their guard. For their father had never openly complained about either of them. But, in a short time, they perceived his coldness and the great asperity he showed whenever anything vexed him. But Antipatros also roused against them the hostility of their uncle Ferorah and their aunt Shelome, while he was perpetually conversing with her and stimulating her, as though she had been his wife.

18 Yet as for the women: indeed, Alexandros' wife, Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaos, also augmented this hatred. *She did this* by deriving the genealogy of her nobility of birth; and indeed, since she was descended on her father's side from Témenos, but on her mother's from Darius³ son of Vishtaspa, she claimed that she was a mistress *superior to all others* in that kingdom. **19** But she constantly reproached Héródés' sister and his wives with the lowness of their birth, and that all of them had been chosen by him for their beautiful figure, but not for their family. Now his *wives* were numerous, since it was permitted by the

² may also be translated "princess"
³ Persian "Darayahus"

¹ [Ant] AMW "Silvanus" / Lat "Sylano"

Judean fathers to marry many wives; and the king was glad to have many. All of these, on account of Glaphyra's vainglory and railing, hated Alexandros. **20** But *Glaphyra specifically* incurred the hatred of Shelome, both because of her disposition toward her husband, and because of her haughty attitude toward Shelome's daughter, who was indeed Aristoboulos' wife. Since *Shelome's daughter* had the same equality of rank as herself, Glaphyra was indignant at being treated so unworthily.

CHAPTER 64 [A16:194a,195b,194b,195a,195c,196-203,205a,204,205b / W1:483b-486, 478-483a]

Therefore, both Shelome and Ferorah were burdensome and dangerous, but especially the king's brother Ferorah. In fact, when this second quarrel arose, *Ferorah* did not keep himself out of the trouble, but, on his own account, gave *the king* grounds for suspicion and hatred. **2** For *Ferorah* had been made a partner with Hérôdés in¹ all the honors and power of the kingdom, with an exception of the diadem. Now he had a private income of 100 talents, but enjoyed the profit which was derived from all the area beyond *the Jordan*, which he had received as a gift from his brother, who had also, after requesting permission from Caesar, appointed him as a tetrarch.

3 But Hérôdés had given him the honor of marrying a *member* of the royal family, who was the sister of his own wife. But after the end of her, he dedicated to him his oldest daughter, with a dowry of 300 talents. Instead, *Ferorah* rejected the royal marriage. For he had indeed fallen into passionate-desire for one of his slave-women; but he was enslaved to *this desire* to such a degree of madness that he indeed despised the king's daughter, who had been betrothed to him; but giving his mind only to the slave-woman, he ran after her.

4 But Hérôdés, burdened by the dishonor which had been done to him, was embittered, because he had bestowed many favors upon his brother; yes, he saw that *his brother* had not made a similar return for *his labors*, and supposed that *he had chosen* an unfortunate person. And indeed, having received no righteous activity from *Ferorah*, he yoked the girl² in marriage to the son of his brother Fazel, who was subsequently killed by the Parthians.

5 But after some time had passed, Hérôdés' anger subsided, and he made allowance for his *love-sick* brother. And in the belief that *Ferorah's* yearning had passed its peak, Hérôdés censured him for his former conduct and thought that he should take his second daughter, whose name was Kypros.

6 Now Ptolemaios counseled *Ferorah*, "Stop dishonoring your brother. Overthrow your passionate-desire. For it also is shameful to be so overcome by a slave-woman to the point that you would deprive yourself of the king's goodwill, and be the one responsible for his disturbance and make yourself hated by him."

7 *Ferorah* knew that this would be to his own profit, and particularly because he had been forgiven once before after having been slandered. So indeed he sent the woman³ away from *him*, even though he already had a boy by her. But he promised the king that he would take his second daughter, and he scheduled the wedding to be held on the thirtieth day from then. In addition, he swore that he would have no further communication with *the woman* who had been sent away. **8** But when the thirty days had passed, he was so enslaved to his passionate-desire, that he did not do even one of the things which he had promised that *he would do*, but he did the contrary, continuing with the first wife.

Indeed, this clearly distressed Hérôdés, and made him swell with anger. **9** So *the king* kept dropping down certain accounts against *Ferorah*, and many individuals used the king's anger as a starting-point to make slanders against *Ferorah*.

10 For long before, while the queen *Miriam* was still alive, *Ferorah* had even been slandered of plotting to drug Hérôdés. But at that time, such a great number of informers came, that Hérôdés, though he loved his brother, was led to trust the things which were being said, and to be overcome with terror. But after he had tortured many of the suspects, he finally came to *Ferorah's* friends. **11** Indeed, none of them outright confessed that a plan had been formed against him, but *they said* that he was preparing to run away to the Parthians, carrying off *the woman* whom he passionately-desired. But *they also said* that his accomplice in this scheme and partner in his intended flight was Shelome's husband, Kostobar. *This was the man* to whom the king had given his sister after her former husband had been utterly-destroyed for committing adultery.

12 But not a single day or hour passed in which *the king* found rest; instead, there were always new contests among his relatives and dearest friends. But furthermore, Aristoboulos himself was at variance with his mother-in-law Shelome; for she was indeed already furious at Glaphyra's revilements, and also oppressive and disaffected toward *Miriam's* sons. But she would not even allow her own daughter, who was married to Aristoboulos (one of the two youths), to show any goodwill to him. **13** But she persuaded her daughter to disclose to her anything which he might say to her in private; and, whenever there was any friction between them (as sometimes happens), *Shelome* introduced great

suspicion into *her daughter*. **14** In this way, *Shelome* indeed learned everything about them, and made her girl disaffected toward the youth.

15 For *Aristoboulos* was continually upbraiding his wife with the baseness of *her family*, and complained, "I indeed married a commoner, while my brother Alexandros married a princess." **16** At this, Shelome's daughter wept, sending a message to *her mother* about it. But in order to gratify her mother, she often added, "When he and Alexandros are by themselves, they mention *Miriam*, but also that they hate their father. But they are also constantly making violent-threats, that if, and whenever, they receive the kingdom and the government, that they will indeed make the mothers of their other brothers work at the loom along with the slave-women, and, that they will make the boys which Hérôdés had by his other wives into village scholars, sarcastically referring to how they had been 'carefully disciplined'. For *they said*, that this present discipline fits them for a position like this."

17 At this, Shelome, unable to constrain her anger, straightaway sent a message to Hérôdés regarding everything. But since she was speaking against her own son-in-law, *her words* were extremely trustworthy.

18 Another slander also came simultaneously to inflame the king's mind: For he heard that *Alexandros and Aristoboulos* were constantly invoking their mother, and, while they bewailed her, were imprecating him. But as for his later wives, *he heard* that whenever he passed on any of *Miriam's* clothing to them, and *his sons* saw them wearing their mother's adornments, they would threaten that, instead of their present royal luxury, *these women* would swiftly be dressed in haircloth,⁴ shut up in a place where they would not even be able to see the sun.

19 Though it was painful for the king to hear these things, which caused him to cower beneath the youths' minds, he, nevertheless, did not abandon hopes of being able to reduce them to a state of correction; and so he attempted to make this happen. But he was afflicted by these suspicions; and, as he continually grew more uneasy, he began to believe everyone against everyone else. Instead, before he sailed out for Roma, he summoned *Alexandros and Aristoboulos* in order to rebuke them. **20** Truly, as a king, he indeed threatened his boys briefly, but, as a father, he admonished them much, and exhorted them to love their brothers, and that he would discharge their past sins if they would make their way better for the time to come.

21 But they indeed refuted the slanders which had been made against them, saying, "They are false. But we assure you, that our actions will make our defense trustworthy. However, you should shut up all this news-mongering by refusing to so easily believe it. For there will never be a lack of those who speak falsehoods, as long as they find someone who is persuaded to listen to them."

22 With the father being quickly persuaded by their defense, *the two youths* indeed rid themselves of their present fear. But the thought of the future brought them new vexation. For they knew the enmity of Shelome and their uncle *Ferorah*. And as for Hérôdés, he was easier for the time; but a little later, much worse troubles fell upon him.

CHAPTER 65 [Ant16:206-228 / War1:487]

For *Ferorah* came to Alexandros (who was *the husband* of Glaphyra daughter of Archelaos), saying, "I heard from Shelome that Hérôdés is overcome with passionate-desire for Glaphyra, and that his yearning for her is inconsolable."

2 Therefore, when *Alexandros* heard this, he was inflamed both with youthful-impetuosity and jealousy; and because of the suspicions derived from *Ferorah's* report, the instances when Hérôdés honored the girl (these friendly-treatments being frequent), he accounted as being worse than they really were. **3** In fact, he could not endure the pain caused by *his father's* action; instead, he went to his father, and, with tears, informed him of what *Ferorah* had said.

But at this, Hérôdés grew even more furious; and unable to bear the shame and false slander, he was thoroughly disturbed. **4** And he often indeed lamented the wickedness of those who lived with him, and how badly he had been treated by those to whom he had treated so good.

But he sent for *Ferorah*, and reproached him, saying, "You most wicked of all men! Have you come to such an immeasurable and excessive degree of ingratitude, that you not only think such things about me, but even say such things about me? **5** Do you really think that I do not perceive what your intentions are? It was not merely with the aim of reviling me that you brought such accounts to my boy, but to make them the occasion of a plot against me, along with a drug for my destruction.⁵ For who is there, except for this boy of mine (who happened to have a good demon with him), who would refrain from taking vengeance on his father if he had suspected anything such as this about him? **6** But do you think that it is merely an account that you have put into his soul, rather than a short-sword in his right hand to strike against his father?"

"But since you are willing to hate both him and his brother, what is your idea in pretending goodwill toward him only in order to raise revilements against me;

¹ [Ant] / [War] "who shared with Hérôdés"

² [Ant] / [War] "daughter"

³ literally "female-human"

⁴ [Ant] Greek / Lat "sackcloth" // [War] "hair" // possible emendation "rags"

⁵ or "and bring about my destruction by drugs"

and in speaking of such things which only someone full of such impieties as yourself would think of or slanderously-utter?

7 “Begone! you who have acted so evilly toward your benefactor and brother! And, indeed, may that *evil* conscience of yours *go and live* with you. But, as for me, may I always have victory over my *relatives* by not avenging myself on them as they deserve, and by giving them greater benefits than they should rightly receive.”

8 This was indeed what the king spoke. But Ferorah, who was caught in the very act of his rascaldom, said, “It was Shelome who convinced me of this, and these accounts came from her.”

9 But as soon as she heard this (for she happened to be there), she cried out plausibly, “I have done nothing such as this! They are all earnestly-endeavoring to make *you, O king*, hate me; and to take me away¹ in any way possible, because of the goodwill I have toward *you*, because I am always foreknowing the dangers which are *about* to come upon you. 10 But at the present *time*, I am the victim of an even more serious plot. For since I alone am trying to persuade my brother to cast out his current wife, but to take the king’s daughter, it is reasonable that I would be hated by him.”

11 As she said this, often tearing her hair and often beating her breast, her countenance indeed made her denial plausible. But the malignity of her disposition indicated the insincerity of her actions.

12 But Ferorah was cut off between them, having nothing decent to say in his own defense. Indeed, he had confessed to having said these things, but was not believed when he said that he had heard them from others. Now the confusion among them increased, and so did the contest of accounts between them. 13 But finally, the king sent away both his brother and sister, *both* of whom he hated. And after commending his son for his self-restraint, and for having brought these accounts to him, he went at a late hour to refresh his body.

13 But after a battle such as this had broken out among them, Shelome began to have an evil reputation; for it was supposed that the slander had been stirred up by her. The king’s wives were also burdened by her, since they knew that she was ill-natured, and would be, during some seasons, an enemy, and at others, a friend. Therefore, they constantly spoke against her to Hérôdés; and this falling out made them speak even more freely against her. So even she did not escape slander.

14 For indeed, the king of Arab, Obedath, was inactive and slothful by nature, and who was hostile toward Hérôdés. But for the most part, his affairs were managed by his procurator, Shullai, who was a shrewd man, and young in years and handsome. 15 Therefore, when he had come to Hérôdés on some occasion, and was dining with him, he saw Shelome, and set his mind on having her. But knowing that she was a widow, he had a discussion with her. 16 But Shelome, who was even less in favor with her brother than before, and who looked upon the youth with anything but disaffection, was eager for marriage with him. But during the following days, many and immoderate indications of an agreement between these two appeared.

17 Now the women who reported this to the king, laughed at their indecency. But Hérôdés inquired about it further from Ferorah, and asked him to watch over them during dinner to see how *they acted* toward one another. But Ferorah brought a message *back* to the king, that by their gestures and glances, their impulses were evident. 18 *He even* accused her of having made a marriage-contract with Shullai. But although she was convicted of this, and of everything else which Ferorah had prosecuted her for, she was pardoned. But the king also dismissed the charges which had been brought against Ferorah.

19 Indeed, after this, the Arabian left, being viewed with suspicion. But after an interval of two or three months, he came back on the same matter and made proposals to Hérôdés, asking that Shelome be given to him in marriage. “For this connection will not be unprofitable to you, through your association with the Arabian government, which is even now virtually under my power, and ought to be even more so.”

20 Now when Hérôdés brought this proposal to his sister and asked her whether she was prepared for this marriage, she indeed quickly accepted it. But when they asked Shullai first to be initiated into the Judean customs, and then to marry her (for it was impossible *to do so* otherwise), he would not submit to this; instead, he departed, saying, “If I were to do this, I would be stoned to death by the Arabians.”

21 Therefore, Ferorah also slandered Shelome for her lewdness, and the *other* women did even more, saying that she had had sexual intercourse with the Arabian.

22 As for that maiden whom the king had betrothed to his brother, indeed, whom Ferorah did not take because he was overcome *with desire* for the *other* woman: Shelome begged that she indeed be given to the son whom she had by Kostobar. 23 Now Hérôdés was eager to unite them together, but Ferorah dissuaded him, saying, “The youth will not be well-disposed *toward you*, since *you brought about* the destruction of his father. And it would be more righteous for your own boy to have her, since he is to be your successor as tetrarch.”

Now this was how he begged for his pardon, and how he persuaded him *to do so*. 24 Indeed, *the maiden’s* pledge was changed, and she was married to Ferorah’s stripling, the king giving 100 talents for her dowry.

CHAPTER 66 [Ant16:229-243 / War1:488-494]

But, in fact, there was no remitting of the troubled state of Hérôdés’ house, and it perpetually grew even more *troublesome* as the winter-storm² veered its course to Alexandros and settled entirely upon his head. And the following incident happened, which indeed arose from no decent cause, but progressed to further unpleasantness:

2 There were three eunuchs belonging to the king, whom he held in the highest esteem, and whom he was immoderately fond of because of their beauty. For indeed one of them was appointed to the wine-pouring. But another to the bringing of dinner. But the third was entrusted both to put the king to bed, and to lay down beside him; and *also to take care* of the important *affairs* of the government. 3 Alexandros, by means of large gifts, brought these boys under him. And someone gave a message to the king *stating* that these boys had been corrupted with lots of money by his son Alexandros.

But when they were interrogated on whether they had had fellowship and conversation with Alexandros, they confessed to this, but *said* that they knew of nothing else which was disagreeable to his father. 4 But when they were tortured, *and* were in extremities as the attendants stretched the rack to the very utmost in order to gratify Antipatros, they straightaway confessed their conversations with Alexandros, but also went on to reveal the promises which had brought them about, and how they were deluded by him.

5 *Then they* said, “Alexandros has enmity and innate hatred toward his father. But he suggested to us, that Hérôdés, who has *already lived* beyond his days, certainly despaired of living much longer; and that, in order to cover his old age, he had dyed³ his hair black, and *endeavored* to disguise the proof of his age. *And that* we should not place our hopes on a shameless old man *like this*, unless we thought it would make him youthful *again*.”

6 “But *Alexandros also said*, that we should turn to him; *and that* if we give our support to him when the kingdom becomes his (and it would not go to anyone else, even if his father wanted to have it otherwise), we would have the principal place in it. Indeed, it would not be long before he avenged himself on his enemies, but would make his friends prosperous and happy. 7 For he is now ready to seize the *royal* power, not only because of his descent, but also because of the preparations which he has already made *for obtaining it*. For⁴ even the powerful *men* already render service to Alexandros; indeed, many of the leaders of the army and the squadron-chiefs, as well as many of the friends, have met with him secretly and support him; *these* will not be useless, *despite* whatever they must do and suffer.”

8 When Hérôdés heard these accounts, he was entirely outraged and filled with fears, provoked by the insulting things which were being said about him, and also realizing how dangerous the things were which aroused his suspicion. And he was so bitterly terrified, that a scheme, more powerful than he would be capable of guarding against at this time, would have been laid against him.

9 For this reason, he did not dare to immediately make these disclosures public, nor did he make his inquiries openly; instead, he secretly sent spies off in different directions *to watch* those whom he suspected, by night and by day, in order to track down everything that was being done and said. His mistrust and hatred were directed against everyone; and since he regarded suspicion as personal safety, he continued to show it even toward those who did not deserve *to have this suspicion against them*.

10 Nor were there any limits to this; instead, those who were accustomed to stay with him, since they were more influential, he supposed were *individuals* to be most feared. But those who had no usual acquaintance with him, it seemed enough *for him* to name them *as suspects*; and he thought that it was a *necessary* part of his personal safety to have anyone whom he *merely* suspected done away with and utterly-destroyed straightaway.

11 But it finally came to pass, that the royal *palace* was given over to terrifying lawlessness. For all around, not one *individual* had firm ground for hoping to be saved themselves. So everyone turned upon one another, imagining that he who was the first to slander another would assure his own salvation. But those who achieved their purpose became objects of envy, and obtained no further satisfaction beyond the fact that they themselves were rightly suffering the unrighteousness which they had inflicted upon others.⁵

12 Not only this, but *some* now forged slanders in this manner *in order* to pursue *some* personal enmity or hatred against others; and there were many who turned the king’s murderous passion against their own adversaries. And indeed, falsehoods were immediately believed, but chastisement was *inflicted* more quickly than the slanders *were forged*. Accordingly, *the man who* was accusing

² may also be translated to “as the winter”

³ literally “dipped”

⁴ [Ant] // [War] “But/Now”

⁵ [Ant] others “upon one another”

¹ [Ant] PW, A-margin, M-margin “to catch me” / Lat “to kill me”

only a moment ago, found himself accused, caught and placed in the same predicament, and led away with him whom he had convicted. **13** For the danger which threatened the king's soul cut his examinations short. *In this way*, although they had made use of this opportunity as an instrument and snare against their enemies, they were also caught in the same snare which they had laid for others.

14 For the king soon began to have a change-of-mind for having done away with persons who had not clearly committed any sin. And what was most painful about this, was that he did not end by ceasing to do this kind of thing; instead, he took vengeance on their informers in precisely the same way. These indeed were the disordered affairs at court.

15 But he proceeded to such a pitch of bitterness that he could not look upon anyone with a gentle countenance, even those who remained without incrimination. But he treated his own friends with roughness, and he told many of them, that in the future they were not to appear before him, and that they were forbidden to come into the royal palace. Accordingly, those who were beyond the reach of his authority, he spoke out harshly against. But the reason he issued this precept, was because, while they were there, he had less freedom-of-speech, or was required to have greater restraint.

16 For at this time, he even expelled Andromachos and Gemellus, men who had long been his friends, and who had indeed been of great help to his house in the royal affairs through their old-age and counsels, but who had educated his sons, and had recently enjoyed a greater freedom-of-speech than any others. **17** Indeed, he expelled *Andromachos*, because his boy Démétrios was an acquaintance of Alexandros; but Gemellus, because he was well-disposed toward *Alexandros*, for he had even been brought up with him as a boy, and received the discipline together with him, and spent time together with him at Roma. **18** Now he would have indeed gladly expelled these two with even worse treatment, but since he did not have the freedom-of-speech to act against such honored men, he deprived them of both their dignity and their power to prevent him from committing sins.

CHAPTER 67 [Ant16:244-254 / War1:495-497]

Now the cause of all this was Antipatros, who, on becoming aware of his father's morbid and outspoken actions, indeed having long sat in congress with him, kept urging him on, and supposed that he would accomplish even more, if everyone who was able to oppose him were gradually taken away. But Antipatros continued to mount misfortunes upon Alexandros, and formed a compact body of like-minded individuals, who did not leave behind any form of slander.

2 Accordingly, when Andromachos and those around him were driven away from giving accounts and from having freedom-of-speech, the king first took those whom he supposed were faithful to Alexandros, and had them tortured, to find out whether they knew about any plot against him; but they went to their deaths without having anything to tell him. **3** But when no evil like he had suspected was found, it only made the king have a greater fondness-for-strife. Antipatros was also very masterful in slandering those who were truly innocent, by accusing them of constancy and faithfulness to Alexandros, but also in further inciting Hérôdés to investigate more individuals about these concealed attempts upon him.

4 And among the many who were tortured, there was one who said, "I know that the youth has often said, when he happened to be commended for his robust body, and for being an accurate archer, and for his other excellent qualities which surpassed everyone else: that these qualifications which were given to him by nature, were evil rather than good for him; for his father was burdened by them, and bore ill-will toward him.

5 "He also said, that whenever he indeed walked about with his father, he would contract and shorten himself so that he would not appear too robust. But whenever he shot his bow while hunting when his father was present, he purposely aimed beside the mark; for he knew the fondness-for-honor which his father had of being highly-esteemed in such things."

6 So while this man's account was being examined by torture, and relaxation was given to his body, he, being forced by the suffering to speak falsely, added, "He is working together with his brother Aristoboulos. They are plotting against you, watching for an opportunity to ambush you while all of you are hunting; and when they have killed you, to flee to Roma, where he will beg to have the kingdom given to him."

7 But documents from the youth to his brother were also found, in which he blamed their father for not acting righteously by apportioning a region to Antipatros which brought in an annual revenue of 200 talents.

8 These confessions indeed caused Hérôdés, for the time being, to think that he had somewhat reliable grounds, in his own opinion, for suspecting his boys. Yet the king was brought to such a degree of terror by those talking-marvels and their arrangements, that he supposed that Alexandros was coming to him with a short-sword in hand. Therefore, he suddenly had Alexandros seized and bound.

9 But in fact, he did not relax his painful search, because he put too much trust in what he had heard. For after he had taken account of the matter, it certainly did not seem to him that there was a sufficient reason for their plotting, but that they had merely made complaints and bore a youthful fondness-for-

honor; and that it was unlikely that after killing him, they would go to Roma openly.

10 Now he also desired to find some surer proof of his son's transgressions; and was very contentious about it, in order that he might not appear to have put him in bonds too rashly. He also tortured Alexandros' primary friends, utterly-destroying not a few of them. Many died silent, without saying anything which he had expected them to say, nor beyond what they knew.

11 But while much attention was being given to this matter, and the royal palace was full of fear and disorder, one of the younger men, under extreme agony, confessed, "Alexandros has sent to his friends at Roma, asking them to have him quickly summoned there by Caesar. For he would be able to disclose to him an action which was being taken against him: namely, that his father had taken Mithredath, the king of Parthia, to be his friend against the Romans. But Alexandros also has a drug prepared at Ashkelon."

12 Even though these accusations were not plausible, and, on account of the constraint they were in, were invented on the spur of the moment, the king, nevertheless, pleasantly relied upon them, consoling himself for his rashness in this evil situation by having bound his son, supposing that he had not done it unrighteously; for he was flattered when things became worse than he had expected. And as for the drug, although he straightaway labored to find it, he was unable to do so.

CHAPTER 68 [Ant16:255-270 / War1:498-512]

But as for Alexandros, since he perceived that it was impossible to persuade his father, he resolved to confront the calamities which terrified him. Due to his fondness-for-strife, he wished to aggravate the evil-situation; indeed, he did not deny the charges, but punished his father's rashness with a greater sin of his own. But, in this way, he was also willing to make his father ashamed of his readiness to listen to such slanders. But, in fact, above all, he also wanted to do evil to both him and his entire kingdom, if he was able to make people believe his story.

2 For he wrote a document in four books against his enemies, and sent it out, saying that there was no need to torture anyone else or to proceed further: indeed, he confessed, that there had been a plot formed against Hérôdés; but that in this, he had gathered together as companions, the most trusted of his friends, above all, Ferorah and Shelome. But¹ also, that Shelome had come and forced herself into his chamber by night in order to have intercourse with him against his will; **3** and that everyone had identical minds, namely, to get rid of the king as quickly as possible, and so be freed of their continual terror. Among those slandered were Ptolemaios and Sapinnius, those who were the most faithful to the king.

4 Therefore, these books were also put into Hérôdés' hands, and made a terrifying clamor against the powerful men. For when rage fell upon them, even those who had formerly been the best of friends were turned into beasts, since they had no opportunity to make a defense in refutation in order to establish truth; instead, destruction continually faced all of them without a trial. And some indeed lamented their imprisonment, but some that they were being put to death, but others that they were destined to suffer the same things. But silence and dejection disfigured the former prosperity of the royal palace.

5 And since Hérôdés was thrown into confusion, his entire life become unbearable; and because he trusted no one, he was greatly chastised by anticipation. Accordingly, he often imagined that his son had advanced upon him, and, with a short-sword in hand, was standing over him. **6** And in this way, his soul, both night and day, was intent upon this thought, to the extent that he obtained the impression of suffering from madness and from foolishness as well. And this was the state in which Hérôdés found himself.

7 But when Archelaos, the king of Kappadokia, learned about the state that Hérôdés was in, he was distressed and terrified about his daughter and the youth (who was his son-in-law), and sympathized with the sufferings of a man who was his friend and who was so greatly disturbed. So, regarding this matter as most important, he hastily came to Judah.²

8 And when he found Hérôdés in this state, he certainly thought that it was completely unseasonable to reproach him or to charge him with having acted rashly. For if Hérôdés was abused, he would be fond-of-strife; and the more he was pressed to defend himself, the more inflated his anger would be. **9** But he resorted to another way of correcting these unfortunate matters: assisting them with great forethought and cunningness, he diverted the king in another direction by appearing to be angered at the youth.

10 For when he engaged him, he straightaway exclaimed, "Where is my scoundrel of a son-in-law? But where shall I see the head of this father-murderer, whom I will tear-in-pieces with my own hands? But I will even break up my daughter's marriage with Alexandros, and she shall also share the fate of her fine bridegroom. For I will not even rightly³ spare my own daughter if she has learned something which she has not pointed out to you. But even if she has not partaken of his schemes, as the wife of such a man, she is stained.

¹ [Ant] / [War] "For"

² [War], [Ant] Lat // [Ant] Gk omits "to Judah"

³ [Ant] AMW adds

11 “And I cannot but marvel at your patience, you whom this plot is laid against, to the extent that Alexandros is still alive. You have been *too* lenient by not having acted with rashness *at all*. For I, for my part, hastened here from Kappadokia, expecting to find that he had indeed long ago been handed over to a rightful-punishment, but *also* to probe my daughter with you; yet *it was* out of regard for your reputation, *that* I gave her away to him.

“But now, I find that we must take counsel about them both. And if *your* affection as a father is so great that you cannot punish your son, who has plotted against you, let us exchange *our* right hands, and let us take one another’s place in releasing our anger upon them.”

12 But since Archelaos had acted like this by giving this blustering *speech*, which was quite different from what Hérōdēs had expected, but, for the most part, displayed anger on Hérōdēs’ account, he was able to reduce him, despite his obstinacy, and the king’s harshness abated. And since *the king* grasped in his mind that Archelaos had acted righteously, he gradually adopted the affection of a father. 13 But he was to be pitied in either *case*.

Indeed, when some persons had sought to dismiss the slanders which had been brought against the youth, he swelled with anger. But when Archelaos had joined in accusing Alexandros, he was affectionately moved to tears and to grief. 14 Accordingly, Hérōdēs begged him not to break up the marriage, nor to swell with anger at the unrighteous-deeds which the youth had committed. Accordingly, Hérōdēs gave him the books to read which Alexandros had composed; and he examined *every* section *together* with him, dwelling on each *point*.

15 Now that Archelaos had brought Hérōdēs to a more moderate *state*, he found an opportunity to further his stratagem, and gradually transferred the slanders and the incriminations to the persons whose *names* were inscribed in *these books*, and to his friends; and *the one* whom he fastened the most suspicion to was Hérōdēs’ brother Ferorah.

16 Now when Archelaos observed that the king had put faith in him, he said, “One must consider whether all these evil *individuals* have not been plotting against this stripling, and not the stripling against you. For even I cannot see any reason why such a youth, and *one who is* imperceptible to malice, would have been corrupted and fallen into such defilement, since he is indeed already enjoying the *honors of* royalty; but also, that he is hoping to be your successor... 17 unless there are others who are persuading him and are making ill use of his prone age. For such persons, indeed, are not only known to deceive adolescents, but old men as well. But by them, the most illustrious houses and entire kingdoms have been overturned.”

18 Hérōdēs consented to this speech, and indeed gradually deflated his anger against Alexandros. But he was more irritated by Ferorah and very harsh toward him; for he was the proposed-subject of the four books. Ferorah observed this quick change in the king, and *knew that he* certainly had no one to reconcile him to Hérōdēs. 19 So when Ferorah saw that Archelaos had the greatest influence with Hérōdēs, and that this friendship with him was all-powerful, and that he had no honorable method of saving himself, he *decided* to seek him out *in order* to furnish *his safety* through effrontery. So he dropped away from Alexandros and fled for refuge to Archelaos, turning to him, clad in black and with all the marks of imminent destruction.

20 Now Archelaos did not disdain his petition, nor was he able to change the king’s disposition in this way immediately. And he declared, “I do not see how I can beg for your pardon, since you have been entangled in such great charges, which clearly demonstrate that you have plotted against the king, and have been the one responsible for the stripling’s present misfortunes... unless, you are willing to renounce your villainy and your denials. 21 But it is better for you to go and appeal to the king yourself, to admit what you have been accused of, and confess that you are the one responsible for everything. But beg for your brother’s lenient-judgment; *for* he still has affection for you. For in this way, you might allay his excessive wrath. And if you do this, I will be present to help you in every way I possibly can.”

22 Now Ferorah was persuaded to do this. And fully-equipping himself in order to appear to be most pitiable, he, both in black raiment and in tears, threw himself at Hérōdēs’ feet, begging for his lenient-judgment as he had often successfully done before; and he confessed, “I am indeed a defiled *man*. For I am guilty of everything which I have been accused of.” But he lamented his deranged mind and his madness, which were responsible for his passionate-desire for a woman.

23 But after Archelaos had induced Ferorah to appear as his own accuser and to be a testifier against himself, he interceded for him, and sought to repress Hérōdēs’ anger, using certain domestic illustrations: “For when you yourself had suffered much greater pains from your own brother, you preferred the rights of nature before revenge. For in kingdoms, as with overweight bodies, some part of it is always swollen due to its weight; *yet*, what it indeed needs is not amputation, but gentle care.”

24 By saying many things like this, Archelaos was indeed able to soothe Hérōdēs’ anger against Ferorah, and to reconcile him with the king. But,

Archelaos still felt violently-irritated with Alexandros, and said, “I will have my daughter disjoined *from him*, and I will carry her off *with me*.”

This went on, until he had brought Hérōdēs around, putting him now in the position of a suppliant on the stripling’s behalf, and *in a place that* he was once again asking Archelaos to let his daughter court *his son*.

25 But with complete sincerity, Archelaos *said*, “You are permitted to unite her to whomever you will, except for Alexandros. For my greatest *desire* is to maintain the intermarriage rights between us.”

26 But the king said, “It would be a great gift to my son, if you would not unbind the marriage, indeed, since they already have children, and because the stripling is so affectionate toward his wife in this way. Indeed, if she remains with him, her *very presence* will make him ashamed of his sins. But if you snap her off from him, she will be responsible for driving him to utter rejection. For recklessness is best softened when *youths* are diverted from it by domestic experiences.”

27 Archelaos nodded in assent, *but* not without difficulty. But he was himself reconciled to the youth, and reconciled him to his father. “However,” he declared, “it is absolutely essential that you should be sent to Roma to discuss *these things* with Caesar. For I have already written to him about everything.”

28 Therefore, this was indeed how Archelaos’ stratagem, by which, contrary to expectation, he had rescued his son-in-law and had removed the slanders from him, was put to an end. But when these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in festivities and courtesies. But when Archelaos was departing to Kappadokia, Hérōdēs gave him a present of 70 talents, a golden throne set with precious stones, and eunuchs, and a concubine named Pannuchis. He also honored each of his friends, proportionate to their dignity. 29 But in like manner, all of the king’s kindred, by royal command, gave glorious presents to Archelaos. Hérōdēs also treated him magnificently in other respects, as one of his closest friends. Hérōdēs did this to Archelaos, because he had been the most pleasing person to him during this critical moment.

30 But Hérōdēs also made an agreement with Archelaos that he would go to Roma. So Archelaos was escorted by both Hérōdēs and his powerful *men*, and they traveled together as far as Antiocheia. And there, Hérōdēs reconciled Archelaos with Titius,¹ the leader of Syria, who had been distressed, and then he returned to Judah.

CHAPTER 69 [Ant16:271-299]

Now after Hérōdēs had been in Roma and had returned from there, a war broke out between him and the Arabians for the following reason: The Trachonites (this was the country which Caesar had taken from Zénodōros and had annexed to Hérōdēs’ area), indeed no longer had power for practicing brigandage, but were forced to cultivate the land and live peaceably. 2 This was not what they wanted, nor did the soil bring much profit in return for their hard labor. But, nevertheless, at first, with the king preventing them, they refrained from doing anything unrighteous to their neighbors; and for that reason, Hérōdēs acquired a good reputation for his care.

3 But after he sailed to Roma to accuse his son Alexandros and to commit his son Antipatros to Caesar, the Trachonites spread an account that Hérōdēs had been destroyed, and they revolted from his government and turned back to their habitual way of committing unrighteous-deeds against their adjacent-neighbors. 4 Therefore, indeed, at this time, during his absence, the king’s generals subdued them.

But about forty of the chief-brigands, terrified of what had been done to those who had fallen into enemy hands, indeed left the country, 5 but retired into Arab, where Shullai received them after his failure to marry Shelome. But he gave them a fortified place to dwell in. And they overran not only Judah, *but* instead even all of Coelesyria, and plundered them. For Shullai provided these malefactors with places which provided protection and freedom from terror.

6 But when Hérōdēs returned from Roma, he learned that many of the inhabitants had been maltreated by them. And he was indeed not strong enough to exercise control over the brigands because of the security which the Arabian dignitaries had procured for them. But since he himself was pained by the unrighteous-deeds which they had committed, he surrounded the Trachonites, slaughtering their kinsmen.

7 At this, the brigands swelled even more with anger. And since it was a law among them to wreak vengeance at any cost upon the murders of their kinsmen, they continued to ravage and despoil all of Hérōdēs’ territory without fear of the consequences. But Hérōdēs discussed these matters with Caesar’s leaders, both Saturninus and Volumnius, demanding that the brigands be given over to him for chastisement. 8 For this reason, the strength and numbers of the brigands increased even more indeed, but they were stirring up trouble everywhere in an effort to overthrow² the kingdom of Hérōdēs; they plundered districts and

¹ [Ant] PW “Titus”

² literally “to a standing-up”

villages, and slaughtered the humans whom they caught, so that their unrighteous-deeds resembled a war; for they already numbered about 1,000.

9 Burdened by these things, Hérōdēs demanded the surrender of the brigands, and also wanted the repayment of the debt of the 60 talents which he had loaned to Obedath through Shullai, since the appointed-time for it to be repaid had now been reached. 10 But Shullai, who had indeed set Obedath aside, but was now managing everything himself, both denied that the brigands were in Arab, and delayed payment of Hérōdēs' money.

So an account of these matters was brought before both Saturninus and Volumnius, the superintendents of Syria. 11 But finally, by their means, Shullai agreed that Hérōdēs would have his money within thirty days, and that each of them should return any of the other's subjects who had taken refuge¹ in their kingdoms. And, indeed, there was not a single Arabian found in Hérōdēs' kingdom who was wanted on account of any unrighteous-deed or any other reason; but the Arabians were convicted of having brigands among them.

12 Now when the appointed time arrived, Shullai departed from Roma without meeting any of his rightful-obligations. But Hérōdēs sought to seize the money, and to bring forth the brigands. 13 So when Saturninus and Volumnius gave him permission to take action against them as defaulters, he led his army forward into Arab, completing a seven days' march in three days. And when he reached the fortress which held the brigands, he indeed captured them all, but demolished the place, which was called Rha'epta; but he did not harass anyone else.

14 But when the Arabian leader Nakebo marched out to assist the brigands, a battle ensued, in which only a few of Hérōdēs' men fell. But the Arabian general Nakebo, and about 25 of his men fell, while the rest of them turned to flee.

15 Now after Hérōdēs had punished these Arabians, he settled 3,000 Edomites in Trachōn, and, in this way, restrained the brigands who were there. He also sent an account of these matters to the leaders who were in Phoiniké, demonstrating that he had done nothing more than what was proper in taking action against the defaulting Arabians. When the leaders made a full investigation of this, they found that this was not a false-report.

16 But messengers hastened to Shullai in Roma, informing him of what had happened, and, as is usual, exaggerated each incident. 17 Now Shullai had indeed already exerted himself to be well-known by Caesar, but at this time, was about the court. As soon as he heard about these things, he straightaway changed into black raiment, and went into Caesar, and told him, "Arab has been afflicted by war, and the entire kingdom is devastated because Hérōdēs has plundered it with his army." 18 But with tears, he said, "2,500 of the principal Arabians have been utterly-destroyed. And their general Nakebo, my relative and kinsman, has been done away with. But the riches at Rha'epta have been seized as plunder. But Obedath, whose feebleness disabled him from taking part in the war, has been treated contemptuously, because neither I myself, nor the Arabian force, were present."

19 After speaking like this, Shullai maliciously added, "I myself would not have left the country, had I not been sure that you, Caesar, were concerned that all of us should be at peace with one another. But had I happened to have been there, I would have made the war unprofitable for Hérōdēs."

Provoked by these words, Caesar closely-examined Hérōdēs' companions who were there, along with his own men who had come from Syria, with this one question, "Has Hérōdēs led out his army?"

20 But since they were indeed compelled to answer this, and since Caesar did not hear for what reason he had done so and how it was done, he both swelled with anger, and wrote to Hérōdēs. The letter was harsh throughout, and particularly in the main section, in which he stated that whereas he had formerly treated him as a friend, he would now be treating him as a subject.

21 Now Shullai also wrote about this to the Arabians. But they, being elated, refused to give up the brigands who had taken refuge with them, nor would they pay back Hérōdēs' money. Also, pasture-land which they had rented from Hérōdēs, they kept in their possession without paying rent, now that the Judean king had been abased by Caesar's anger. 22 But this opportunity was also seized by the Trachonites, who rose up against the Edomite garrison and resorted to brigandage together with the Arabians, who despoiled this country, not only for gain, but instead, to also satisfy their grudge; so their unrighteous-activity was more harsh.

23 Now Hérōdēs was forced to endure all this, since the freedom-of-speech which had been given to him by Caesar was gone, and since he was deprived of much of his mind. For Caesar would not receive the body of elders which Hérōdēs had sent in order to make a defense for him, but sent them back home unsuccessful. 24 Therefore, these things now cast Hérōdēs into despondency and terror.

But Shullai, who was both trusted by Caesar and was present at Roma, immoderately vexed Hérōdēs; but at that time, he was also undertaking greater schemes: For indeed Obedath had died, but the Arabian government was received

by Aineas, whose name was later changed to Harthah. 25 For Shullai, using slanders, endeavored to have this man pushed out, in order that he might himself take hold of the government. Indeed, he distributed lots of money to those at court, but promised to also give much to Caesar.

Now Caesar was irritated that Harthah had not sent word to him first before taking the government. 26 But Harthah sent a letter and gifts to Caesar, along with a golden crown worth many talents. Now this letter accused Shullai of being a wicked slave, along with having utterly-destroyed Obedath by means of drugs. It also stated that while Obedath was still alive, he had ruled, but had committed adultery with the Arabian women, and had lent out money in order to appropriate the government for himself. 27 But Caesar paid no attention to these charges; instead, he sent the elders back, without accepting any of his gifts.

Now the affairs in Judah and Arab grew worse and worse: indeed, partly because of the disorderliness, but partly because there was no one to be the foremost man when things were deteriorated. 28 For of the two kings: indeed, the one did not yet hold the government securely and was unable to restrain the unrighteous-men; but Hérōdēs, who had provoked Caesar to anger by his overly-prompt reprisal, was compelled to endure all the transgressions committed against him. 29 But since he saw no end to the afflictions which surrounded him, he decided to send men back to Roma, to find out whether his friends had been able to make Caesar more moderate, and in order to have conversation with Caesar himself. Indeed, the one whom he sent there was Nikolaos of Damasek.

CHAPTER 70 [Ant16:300-310 / War1:513-526, 530b-531]

Now at this time Hérōdēs' house was thrown into confusion, and his relations with his boys grew much worse. For, indeed, even earlier it had been altogether impossible not to easily perceive that fortune threatened the kingdom with the greatest and most grievous of human sufferings. But these increased, becoming even greater for the following reason:

2 A man arrived in Judah whose influence was far superior to Archelaos' stratagems. He not only overturned the reconciliation which had been brought about with Alexandros; instead, he even proved to be the occasion of his ruin. His race, Lakedaimōnian;² his name, Euruklés. He was noteworthy there, but was a human with an evil soul, and who was cunning in enjoying luxury and dispensing flattery without seeming to do either. He came to the kingdom because he craved money. For Hellas was unable to withstand his extravagances.

3 Now he brought with him splendid gifts for Hérōdēs, as bait for his hunt, and instantly received them back multiplied. But he considered these simple gifts as nothing, if he failed to make merchandise out of the kingdom in blood. 4 Accordingly, he encompassed the king with flattery, and clever accounts, and false encomiums about him. But he quickly perceived Hérōdēs' character, and said and did everything to please him; and, by using these means in proper-season, he labored to become one of the king's principal friends. For even the king and everyone around him were delighted to esteem this Spartan, on account of his fatherland.

5 Now when Euruklés had closely-observed the rotten parts of the house, as well as the variance between the brothers and their father's disposition toward each of them, he first indeed seized Antipatros' hospitality and stayed in his residence. But he also had access to and acquaintance with Alexandros. 6 For he feigned a friendship with Alexandros, falsely claiming to be an old and respectable comrade of Archelaos the Kappadokian, and pretending to honor Glaphyra. And on this account, he won over the young Alexandros and was quickly received as a proved friend; but Alexandros straightaway recommended him to his brother Aristoboulos.

7 And, unnoticed, he cultivated a friendship with them all, but he was always observant of what was being said and done, in order that he might show kindness in return to them with slanders. Now when he had made trial of each of these characters, he insinuated himself into favor with one of them by one method, another by another method. But, in short, he behaved toward each man in such a way that he indeed seemed to him to be his friend, but to gather together with the others only for that particular man's interest.

8 But he primarily acted as a hireling of Antipatros, and a traitor to Alexandros. He represented to Antipatros how reproachful it was that he, indeed the eldest son, should overlook the intrigues of those who stood in the way of his expectations. But to Alexandros, how reproachful it was that he, the son of a princess and joined with a princess, should permit someone who was born of a commoner to succeed to the government, and, especially, when he had Archelaos as such a great support behind him.

9 Now the fictitious friendship Euryklés had with Archelaos caused Alexandros to regard him as a trustworthy counselor; and he persuaded the stripling into believing that he could speak openly to him without being terrified, but to no one else. Therefore, without any reserve, the burdened Alexandros revealed to him how his father had been estranged from him, and described the situations about his mother. "And it would not be surprising if Hérōdēs, after

¹ [Ant] Lat / Gk omits "who had taken refuge"

² [Ant] // [War] "Lakōnian"

killing our mother, would deprive us of her kingdom.” **10** And he bitterly-lamented over how Antipatros *had behaved* toward him, how he had thrust them out of their place of honor, *and* was now powerful in every way. “Not one of these things are tolerable, since my father has already come to hate us so that he does not *even* speak to us at his drinking-parties or gatherings.”

11 This was indeed how he spoke, as was natural, of his suffering. At this, Euryklés pretended to pity and to sympathize with him. But he also baited Aristoboulos into saying similar things. And having entangled both into making complaints against their father, Euryklés went off, carrying these secret accounts to Antipatros, saying, “Indeed, I am not doing this for my own sake, but because I have been overcome by the honor which you have shown to me, *and* because of the magnitude of the deed.” **12** But he also lied even more, prescribing him to watch out for Alexandros, as if his brothers were plotting against him, lying in wait for him, and were almost upon him with their short-swords. “For *Alexandros* spoke about all of these things with great emotion, and, in consequence of what he said, will certainly *murder* you with his own hand.”

13 Therefore, Antipatros, indeed thinking that, because of this, *Euryklés* was someone well-disposed toward him, gave him lots of money, *and even more* gifts on each *future* occasion, and finally persuaded him to bring this account to Hérōdés. *So Euryklés* become Antipatros’ praiser before his father. **14** But at last, having made profit out of working to bring about *the* death of Aristoboulos and Alexandros, he became their accuser before their father.

And he came to Hérōdés, asserting, “I will give you life in return for the kindness which you have given me, and light in recompense for your hospitality. For a short-sword has long been sharpened, and Alexandros’ right hand is braced *to wield it*. But it is I who have hindered its swiftness, by pretending to assist him.

15 “For Alexandros said that *you*, Hérōdés, are not content with reigning over a *kingdom* which belongs to others, and with squandering their mother’s government after having murdered her; that, instead, you are now proceeding to lead in a bastard as your successor, and to offer their ancestral kingdom to that pest, Antipatros. Yet, *he also said*, that he would truly avenge the demons of Hyrkanos and Miriam; for it was not proper for him to receive the government from such a father without murder.

16 “But there were many things that happened every day which provoked him, to the extent that he could not talk about anything which would escape being misrepresented by informers. For, indeed, if there was any mention about nobility of birth, even concerning that of others, his father irrationally insulted him by saying, ‘Alexandros alone is noble, and he holds his father in disrepute for the baseness of his birth!’ But while hunting, even if he keeps silent, he indeed gives offence; but if he commends, they hear him as if he was a dissembler.

17 “But *Alexandros also said*, that everywhere he finds his father to be implacable, and having affection for Antipatros alone. For this reason, if the plot formed against you does not prevail, he is willing to die. But if he does kill *you*, he has grounds for his salvation: First, he has his father-in-law, Archelaos, to whom he can easily escape; then Caesar, who, up till now, has never perceived *your* character.

18 “For, *he said* that, he would not stand before *Caesar*, as once before, shuddering in his father’s presence, nor would he limit his observations to personal charges. Instead, he would first, indeed, proclaim the misfortunes of the nation, and how they are taxed to the soul; then *describe* the luxuries and transactions on which *the* money obtained by its blood is spent; also, what sort of *persons* they are who have grown rich off of them, and why he has done service to certain cities. **19** But, *he also said*, that he would have an investigation made of what became of his grandfather and his mother, and would proclaim all of the defilements of the kingdom. Under such *conditions*, he could not be judged as patricidal.”

20 Now after Euryklés had made this marvelous speech to him, describing Alexandros’ malevolence, which he said that he had learned from listening to *Alexandros’ own* words, he greatly commended Antipatros, as the only *son* who had any affection for his father; and, because of this, he was an impediment to the *other’s* plot against him.

21 But *Euryklés* incurred no disbelief; instead, by these means, he led the king on with devious words, and provoked him, until he had increased his hatred *and* made him implacable. Therefore, the king, who had scarcely repressed himself at the previous *accusations*, was made wild with incurable anger, which he manifested at that very time. **22** For he called Euryklés (that corrupter of his house and contriver of the whole defilement) his savior and benefactor, and immediately gave him 50 talents. Now after taking this *gift*, *and* before a precise report of what he had done was made, he immediately went to Kappadokia. **23** And there he commended Alexandros before Archelaos, the king of Kappadokia, and was daring enough to tell him that he had been useful in many ways in making a reconciliation between Alexandros and his father Hérōdés. Now he conducted business by extorting money from Archelaos as well, and went away before his malignity could be detected.

24 Now from there, Euryklés, after he crossed over into Hellas, returned to Lakedaimōn. Therefore, he certainly did not cease to be a scoundrel, even there.

He used the proceeds of his wickedness on equally wicked purposes. Accordingly, he was accused twice before Caesar for having completely filled Achaia with sedition and stripping its cities. *And* so, for his many acts of unrighteousness he was banished from his own fatherland. This was indeed how vengeance was exacted upon him for cheating Aristoboulos and Alexandros.

CHAPTER 71 [Ant16:311-324 / War1:532-533, 527-528a, 529b, 528b-529a, 530a, 534-535a]

But as for the Judean king, he no longer felt the same toward both Alexandros and Aristoboulos as he formerly had when he merely listened to slanders against them; instead, due to his own hatred, he would induce others *to speak against them* if no one was doing so, and would carefully-observe everything they did, and make inquiries, and give ready hearing to anyone who was willing to speak against them.

2 But Euaratos¹ of Kōs, in contrast to the conduct of the Spartan *Euryklés*, had conspired with Alexandros. (A thing, indeed, which gave Hérōdés the sweetest joy imaginable.) For even he, being one of Alexandros’ best friends, visited at the same time as Euryklés. So the king questioned him regarding the slandering which had been done by *Euryklés*. He affirmed by oath that he had never heard of any such things from the striplings. **3** Yet, truly, his *testimony* was of no avail to those wretched *boys*. For Hérōdés was a hearer prepared *to listen* only to the evil; and everyone who shared his beliefs and shared his indignation were most agreeable to him.

4 But while the slanders were continually being fabricated against them, and there was a prize-of-contest among everyone who could lay some odious *charge* to them which might appear to be for the king’s salvation, a still greater misfortune came upon the youths:

5 Hérōdés had two bodyguards *and* horse-chiefs, Jucundus and Tyrannus, who were honored for their strength and stature. But after causing some offences, they had been degraded *and* cast out of their position by the king. Afterward, they began to ride along with Alexandros. And being honored for their naked-athletic-skills, they used to receive gold and other gifts. **6** And Antipatros, grasping this new opportunity, secretly sent in others to be accusers against his brothers, saying that they had stealthily discoursed with Jucundus and Tyrannus. **7** Therefore, Hérōdés was exceedingly-indignant; and holding *the two* men in suspicion, the king instantly had them tortured.

Now they patiently endured for a long time, indeed, not confessing any of the slanders which had been thrown *at them*; but they finally said, “Alexandros would have persuaded us to murder Hérōdés, while he was pursuing a beast during the hunt and striking at it. For we could say, that he had fallen from his horse and had been impaled on his own lances. For he said that such an accident had certainly happened to him before.” **8** But they also pointed out the gold which had been buried in the earth under a stable; and they convicted the chief-huntsman of having given the royal lances to them and weapons to Alexandros’ attendants *at Alexandros’* direction.

9 But after these things, Hérōdés had the fortress-chief of Alexandreion arrested and tortured. For he was also incriminated of having promised to receive the youths into his garrison and to supply them with the royal money which was laid up in that fortress. **10** Therefore, he indeed failed to confess anything suggested by the slanders. But his son came forward and said that this was true, and he handed over a document, which he conjectured was *written* by Alexandros’ hand to the fortress-chief, asking him to receive him and his brother Aristoboulos after *they* had killed *their* father:

When we, by a god’s help, have accomplished everything which we have set out to do, we will come to you. Only endeavor to receive us into the fortress, as you promised.

The document also requested that he give them weapons, and any other resources of the place.

10 After this document was produced, Hérōdés indeed had no further doubt that his boys had formed a plot against him. But Alexandros said that this was the handiwork of Diophantos the king’s scribe. “*For he* imitated my strokes. And this document was maliciously *worded* by Antipatros.” For this Diophantos, an audacious *individual*, appeared to be very clever at imitating anyone’s handwriting; but, accordingly, he was afterward convicted of numerous similar counterfeits against others *and* was finally slain² for doing this.

11 Now the king *took* those who had been tortured *and* brought *them* before the multitude at Jericho, in order to have them accuse the boys. And, indeed, a large-portion of this *multitude* killed these *men* by throwing stones *at them*. **12** But since they were even spurred on to kill Alexandros’ party in the same way, the king indeed averted this, restraining the multitude with the help of Ptolemaios and Ferorah.

¹ [Ant] some / P “Suaratus” / AM “Ouaratus” // [War] “Euarestos”

² [Ant] // [War] “killed”

13 However, despite the weakness of the obtainable evidence, *Hērōdēs* gave orders for his sons to be kept under guard and under observation, though he still left them unbound, and no one was to be present with them. But everything they did or said was overseen. For *in this way*, they even suffered the exact same contempt and terror as one who is condemned.

14 But *Hērōdēs'* cruelty against his children was further provoked by Shelome. For *one of the brothers*, Aristoboulos, in his depression, and wishing to involve *the woman who* was his aunt and mother-in-law in his own dangers, tried to induce *her* to sympathize with him in his sufferings, and to hate the *man* who had consented to do such things. 15 So he sent to her, advising her to take care of her own safety, saying, "Are you not also in danger of destruction? For the king is prepared to kill you on account of the previous slander brought against you, namely, that in your eagerness and expectation of marrying Shullai the Arabian, you stealthily sent a message *to him* about the king's secrets, betraying to him everything which was happening here." For Shullai was *the king's* enemy.

16 Now this was the final hurricane, which immersed the tempest-tossed youths.¹ For Shelome quickly ran off to her brother the king, bringing the accounts and reporting the advice which she had received. *Hērōdēs*, his patience exhausted, was no longer able to restrain himself; indeed, he directed that both of his sons be put in chains and be separated from one another, and, that after the wicked things which they had done to their father had been written down, to have *this information* brought to Caesar.²

17 Now after they had received this order, they inscribed that they had indeed neither planned nor organized any plot against their father, but that they had intended to flee, and had done so only out of necessity, since their lives were viewed with suspicion and were offensive *to him*.

CHAPTER 72 [Ant16:325-355 / War1:535b-536a]

Now about this time, an elder came from Kappadokia from Archelaos, whose *name* was Mélas, who was one of the rulers under him. So *Hērōdēs*, wishing to point-out Archelaos' ill-will toward him, summoned Alexandros, who was in chains, and asked him again about their *proposed* flight, to where and how they had decided to withdraw.

2 But Alexandros said, "To Archelaos, who confessed that he would send us off *from there* to Roma. But we never planned any deviant or offensive act against *you*, father, nor is there any truth in the charges contrived by the malice of our opponents. 3 But we also wish that Tyrannus' party was still living, so that they could have been more closely-examined, and that they had not been utterly-destroyed as a result of Antipatros having placed his own friends among the multitude."

4 When this had been spoken in this way, *Hērōdēs* ordered, "Have both Mélas and Alexandros taken to Glaphyra daughter of Archelaos, and she should be asked, whether she did not perceive of any *part* of the plan formed against *Hērōdēs*."

5 Now as soon as they came to her, indeed, when she saw Alexandros in chains, she beat her head, and in her consternation wailed loudly and sympathetically. But the youth also shed tears. And this was such a painful spectacle, that those who were present were unable to say or do anything for a long time.

6 But at length, Ptolemaios (for he had been commanded to bring *Alexandros*), directed him to declare whether his wife had been aware of his actions.

He declared, "But how is it possible that she, who is more dear to me than my own soul, and by whom I have formed children together with, should *not know*?"

7 But at this, she indeed cried aloud, "I certainly don't even know of one deviant *deed* which he has done! But if making false statements against myself will contribute to his salvation, I will confess everything."

But Alexandros said, "No impious-deed, certainly not one such 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 Archelaos, and from there to Roma."

8 When she confessed this, *Hērōdēs*, indeed assuming that Archelaos' ill-will toward him was fully proved, immediately sent Volumnius the camp-prefect, along with his friend Olympus, to Caesar. He gave them a document, directing them, "As *you* sail by, land at Elaioua in Kilikia in order to give the documents to Archelaos. Also, after censuring him for having had a hand in the plot formed against me by my boys, sail on from there to Roma. 9 And if you find that Nikolaos has succeeded, so that Caesar is no longer disgusted with me, you are to give him the letters, as well as the proofs which I have jointly-prepared against the youths, which I am sending to him."

10 Therefore, Archelaos indeed made a defense for himself, "Indeed, I agreed to receive the youths, because it was both to their own advantage, as well as that of their father's, to do so; lest, in his anger *kindled* by *them* being at variance with

him, he might embark on some further cruel *procedure* after having viewed them with suspicion. And, truly, I would not have sent them to Caesar, nor have I made any agreement with the youths to do anything out of ill-will toward *Hērōdēs*."

11 Now as soon as *Olympus* and *Volumnius* had set sail and arrived at Roma, they had an opportunity to deliver the king's documents to Caesar, because they found that he had been reconciled with *Hērōdēs*. For this is what happened with Nikolaos' body of elders:

12 As soon as he had come up to Roma and went about the court, he indeed first decided, not only to attend to the matter for which he had come, but also thought it fit to accuse Shullai. 13 But the Arabians, even before he met with them, were quarrelling with one another. And those who had withdrawn from *Shullai* and went over to Nikolaos, informed him of all his unrighteous-*deeds*, and displayed evident-proof that he had utterly-destroyed all of Obedath's *friends*. For when they had deserted *Shullai*, they had carried off documents by which they could convict him.

14 Now when Nikolaos saw this as good-fortune attaching itself to him, he labored to make use of it in the future, being hard-pressed to reconcile Caesar with *Hērōdēs*. For he clearly understood, that if he indeed wished to make a defense for *Hērōdēs*, he would not be able to speak-freely; but if he was willing to accuse Shullai, he would have an opportunity to speak on *Hērōdēs'* behalf.

15 Therefore, when both sides had been brought together, and a day was assigned *for the hearing*, Nikolaos, while Harthah's elders were present, accused Shullai, saying, "He has brought about the destruction of both the king and many Arabians. 16 He has also lent out money for no sound *purpose*." And he proved him guilty of adultery, not only with women in Arab, but also with some Romans. "And above all, he has deceived Caesar by telling him nothing but falsities about *Hērōdēs'* activities."

17 But when he had come to this point, Caesar indeed shut him up, asking, "Only tell me this much about *Hērōdēs*: whether *or* not he led an army into Arab, killing 2,500 *men* there, and took captives while plundering that place."

18 To this, Nikolaos declared, "I shall explain, that none of them, or but very few, are true as you have heard them—at least, not in such a way that it would be right for you to become grieved by them."

19 But at this surprising *statement*, Caesar became a *ready* hearer.

And *Nikolaos* said, "There was a loan of 500 talents; as well as a contract, in which it was further written, that when the appointed-time expired *for it to be repaid*, it would be possible for him to seize any part of his country as surety. Indeed, for this reason, the expedition was not an expedition, rather, it was a righteous *attempt* to demand payment of his money. 20 And even then, he did not do this hastily, nor as promptly as the contract allowed. Indeed, he had often gone to Saturninus and Volumnius, the leaders of Syria.

"But finally, Shullai swore this before them at Beirut, that, by your fortune, he would truly hand over the money within thirty days, along with those who had fled from *Hērōdēs'* government. 21 But when Shullai had done none of these things, *Hērōdēs* again went before the leaders. And when they had given him permission to seize his surety, he, with toil-and-pain, marched out in this way with a party *of his men*.

22 "This, indeed, is the nature of the war (as these *men* so tragically describe it), and the march against them. And, further, how can this be a war, when your leaders indeed permitted it, and when the covenants granted it, and when your name, Caesar, as well as those of the other gods have been profaned?"

23 "But next I must speak about the captives. There were brigands who settled among the Trachonites. At first, their number was no more than forty, but later more than that. They *fled* from *Hērōdēs'* chastisement, making Arab their base of operations. Shullai received them, nursing them as enemies of all humans, and gave them a country to occupy, and he himself took the profits of their brigandage. 24 But he also promised, by the same oaths, that he would give up these brigands at the same time which had been appointed for *the payment* of his loan. And he cannot show that anyone, up to this time, has been taken out of the Arabian region besides these *brigands*; but not even all of these *have been taken*, rather, only those who were able to escape notice.

25 "Therefore, now that the matter of the captives has been shown in this way to be an envious false-prosecution, let me reveal to you, O Caesar, what is the greatest fiction and falsehood that has been made up by him to arouse your anger. 26 For it is my declaration, that when the Arabian force fell upon us, and one or two of *Hērōdēs'* *men* fell, it was only then that *Hērōdēs* defended himself. At this, their general, Nakebo, and about 25 in all, fell. *Shullai*, by multiplying each of these *soldiers* a hundred times, claims that 2,500 were killed."

27 These *statements* provoked Caesar even more; and full of anger, he turned toward Shullai, asking, "How many of the Arabians died?"

But Shullai was at a loss, and said, "I have been misled."

The loan-contracts were also read, as well as the documents from the leaders and from the several cities who also complained of the bands-of-brigands.

28 And this *evidence* exceedingly changed Caesar; indeed, he sentenced Shullai to death, but was reconciled with *Hērōdēs*, having a change-of-mind for having written to him so harshly as a result of the slander. And he said *something*

¹ may also be translated "which immersed the youths who were exposed to the winter cold"

² [Ant] PW omit "to Caesar"

such as this to Shullai, “You compelled me by your false account of things, to act unfairly toward a man who is my friend.”

29 Now Shullai was indeed, all at once, sent up to pay the penalty, and to give up what he owed his lenders; then to be chastised accordingly. But Caesar did not deal graciously with Harthah, because he had seized the government, but without his consent. Now he had also decided to give Arab to Hérōdēs, but the letters which Hérōdēs had sent prevented him from doing so. **30** For Olympus and Volumnius, perceiving that Caesar was now dealing graciously with Hérōdēs, thought it best to immediately deliver to him the documents and the evidence against his boys which they had been instructed to deliver.

31 Now when Caesar had read them, he indeed did not think it would be proper to add another government to Hérōdēs, now that he was an old-man and in a bad situation with his boys. But he received Harthah’s men, and reproached him only for his rashness in not waiting to receive the kingdom from Caesar; but he accepted his gifts and confirmed him in the government.

CHAPTER 73 [Ant16:356-372 / War1:536b-542, 543b]

Now Caesar was reconciled with Hérōdēs, but was exceedingly burdened over the youths; yet, he did not think that he should deprive the father of his authority over his own sons. Accordingly, he wrote back to him, appointing him to be a lord over them. “However,” he said, “I am burdened on account of your boys. And, indeed, if they are convicted of having been so daring as to attempt a profane crime, you should kill them as patricides; for this authority is granted to you. But if they have merely taken counsel and thought *only* about flight, chastise them moderately with an admonition, but do not proceed to damage them beyond cure.”

2 But he also counseled him, “You would do well to probe this plot against you by convening a congress, appointing it at Beirut;” (a city settled by Romans) “and to take the leaders of the province, and Archelaos the king of Kappadokia, as well as your own kindred, and anyone whom you think are conspicuously friendly or reputable, in order to, with their opinion, determine what should be done.”

3 These indeed were the things which Caesar sent to him. Now when the document was brought to Hérōdēs, he was indeed straightaway exceedingly-glad that a reconciliation had taken place, but was also exceedingly-glad that full authority had been given to him over his boys. **4** And, indeed, it somehow came about, that, whereas before, when he was not prospering, he had indeed showed himself harsh but had been neither audacious or hasty enough to hand his children over to destruction, he now took advantage of the change for the better and his outspokenness to be vain-glorious about his hatred and his authority.

5 Therefore, complying with Caesar’s instructions, Hérōdēs sent messages off in different directions, summoning as many as he thought fit to this congress. And he came to Beirut, the place appointed by Caesar, where the court-of-justice was gathered together. **6** Now when the leaders and the others whom he had summoned from the cities had come to Beirut, in accordance with the written-instructions of Caesar, the leaders sat in precedence; these were both Saturninus and Pedanius with their elders, with them was also Volumnius the procurator. Next sat the king’s kinsmen and friends, including both Shelome and Ferorah. After that sat all the aristocrats of Syria, with the exception of Archelaos the king; for being Alexandros’ father-in-law, Hérōdēs regarded him with suspicion.

7 Yet, truly, he did not produce his sons in the court-of-justice, a very wise forethought. For he knew well enough that their mere appearance would be sure to arouse pity for them, and that if they were further permitted to give an account, Alexandros would easily be dismissed from the charge. So he indeed did not think it fit to bring his boys before the congress; instead, he kept guard over them at Platana,¹ a Zidonian village, which was near the city of Beirut, in order that he might be able to produce them if they were summoned.

8 Now the king, all alone and by himself, went in and stood up before the 150 men seated there. He accused his boys, as though they were present, with an accusation, which was not painful as would befit an unfortunate necessity, but was very unreasonable for a father to say about his boys. **9** For he was very vehement and disordered in proving their guilt, and he gave the greatest signs of fury and savagery. Indeed, his proofless accusation was weak, but he would not even permit the congressmen to closely-examine these proofs; instead, he offered advocacies which were indecent for a father to use against his own boys, dwelling on the railings, and jests, and outrages, and ten thousand faults against him, which, he declared before the congressmen, “Are more cruel than death itself.”

10 And when he himself read aloud what they had written, no plot against him or any thought of impiety was found written within them, but only how they had taken counsel to flee, and also some railing about him, including reproaches for the ill-will which he had encompassed them with. **11** When he came to these sections, he cried out even more loudly and exaggerated what they had said, making it into a confession of a plot formed against him, swearing, “I would much rather lose my life than hear accounts such as these.”

12 But finally, he said, “I myself also have, both by nature and by Caesar’s grant, the authority to act how I wish. However, there is also a law of our fathers

which enjoins the following: if a man’s parents, after accusing him, place their hands on his head, it is necessary for the bystanders to throw stones at him and to kill him in this way. **13** Though I am ready to do this very thing in my own fatherland and kingdom, nevertheless, I still await your decision. However, you have come here—indeed, not so much to be judges of such visible crimes committed by my boys, by which I had almost perished, but to share my anger, since it is not proper for anyone, even those far removed, to be unconcerned about such a serious plot formed against me.”

14 After the king had said this, and the youths had not been produced to make any defense for themselves, and no one had contradicted him, he commiserated his fate, “Even if I am victorious in my case against my children, my victory will be bitter, and myself conquered.” Then he asked each one to share their opinion.

But the congress, perceiving that there was no room for fairness and reconciliation, confirmed his authority. **15** And the first to speak was Saturninus, a man of consular rank and of great dignity, who pronounced an opinion and sentence which took into account the very distasteful situation. For he declared, “Indeed, I condemn Hérōdēs’ boys,² but do not think it is right to have them killed. For I have three boys of my own, who are now present. And it is not permissible for me, having my own children, to vote for the destruction of the children of another. And such a penalty of death is too great, even if they are the cause of all your misfortunes.”

16 Now after him, Saturninus’ boys (for there were three³ of them who accompanied him as elders), also pronounced the same opinion and voted with him; and this decision was followed by some others.

17 But Volumnius, on the contrary, was the first to pronounce a sullen sentence, saying, “We should chastise with death such individuals who have acted so impiously toward their father.” But the majority⁴ of the rest said the same, so that it no longer seemed that any other verdict had been given than that the youths⁵ should be condemned to death. Indeed, some did this out of flattery, but others out of hatred for Hérōdēs, but not one because of being indignant at their crimes.

18 Indeed, immediately after this, Hérōdēs went away from there, bringing his sons with him to Zor. And when Nikolaos also sailed from Roma to meet him there, Hérōdēs, after first relating to him what had happened to him in Beirut, asked him, “What opinion do my friends in Roma have about my boys?”

19 He said, “They indeed perceived that their intentions toward you were impious; however, they think that you should merely lock them up, keeping guard over them as prisoners. **20** And they also think, that, indeed, if you are resolved to chastise them in some other way, you should not appear to be indulging in your anger rather than using your judgment; but if, on the contrary, you choose to dismiss them, that you do not let your misfortunes remain unamended. And this same thought is held by most of your friends in Roma.”

21 And Hérōdēs kept silent, in great meditation. Then he urged Nikolaos to sail with him. So they sailed from there to Caesarea, while Hérōdēs considered in what way he should do away with the striplings.

CHAPTER 74 [Ant16:373-404 / War1:543a, 544-551]

Now as Hérōdēs came to Caesarea, everyone immediately began to give an account of his boys; and the kingdom, all of Syria and Judah, were in suspense, as the people waited to see what would be done with them in the last act of the drama. **2** For all of them were seized by a terrifying anxiety that the old dispute between the two sides would now reach its end. And, indeed, they were unable to endure the boys’ sufferings; nor was it possible either to say anything impulsive, or even to hear another say it, free from danger; instead, they kept their pity locked up within them, bearing their excessive suffering with pain, but, at the same time, were indeed speechless. However, not one supposed that Hérōdēs would carry his cruelty to the extent of being a child-murderer.

3 But there was an old soldier of the king named Tiron. His son, being of the same age as Alexandros, was very familiar with him and was his friend. And Tiron himself had brotherly-affection for the striplings. This man, in the excess of his indignation, lost his mind, and blurted out all the things which the others had felt but had kept in silence. And indeed, at first, as he went about, he was compelled to often cry out among the multitude, **4** saying, in the most undisguised manner, “Truth has perished, and the laws of nature have been confounded! But what is righteous has been taken away from the humans, and has been trampled underfoot! But the falsehoods and the malice have prevailed, and have brought such a large mass-of-clouds over everything, that not even the greatest human sufferings are visible to the sinners! Life is full of lawlessness!” **5** And he shouted whatever else emotion could dictate to a man who was not sparing of his own life.

Acting in this way, it would seem that he was incurring danger through his outspokenness, but his reasonableness moved everyone, who regarded him as making a stand without lacking any manhood. **6** And, for this reason, everyone

² [Ant] // [War] “condemn the youths”

³ [Ant] // [War] “two”

⁴ [Ant] (“the majority” // [War] “all”

⁵ [Ant] // [War] “the striplings”

¹ [Ant] W, AM-margin, [War] // [Ant] others “Palaest”, Lat “Palestum” // possibly “Platanum”

pleasantly heard him say what they would have said; and while they were making provision for their own safety by keeping silent, they, nevertheless, approved of his outspokenness; for the expected incident forced everyone to speak about it.

7 But at last, *Tiron*, with the greatest outspokenness, even daringly thrust himself into the king's presence, desiring to speak to him alone. And when *the king* assented to this, *Tiron* addressed *him*, declaring, "Since I am not able, O king, to endure such an incident as this to the end, I have preferred this bold outspokenness to my own safety—but *an outspokenness* which is necessary and expedient for you, if you *decide* to make good use of it.

8 "Where has your sense gone, after leaving your soul? But, also, where is that extraordinary mind of yours with which you accomplished so many great deeds? 9 But what about this isolation of friends and kinsmen? Of which I cannot but determine are neither your kinsmen nor friends, while they overlook a defilement such as this in your kingdom which was once considered to be a happy place.

10 "Indeed, I think you are *the* most evil-demon-possessed of men, when you, instead of listening to those who are the most-dear to you, *listen to* the most wicked scoundrels, especially if it is true that Ferorah and Shelome, whom you have often sentenced to death, have made you put faith in them instead of your own children. Do you not see what is happening? For *these two* are cutting off your legitimate successors, leaving you none but Antipatros, and thereby choosing for a king *the one who* is the most easily-manageable in their power.

11 "Will you do away with two youths who were borne to you by a wife who was a queen, who have reached the summit of every excellence? Will you, in your old age, entrust yourself to a single boy, who has ill managed the hopes which you have placed in him and in his kinsmen? Will you not consider that even though they are silent, the multitude still sees your sin¹ and hates the incident?

12 "Yet, to be sure, carefully examine whether the death of *Antipatros*' brothers will not one day rouse against him the hatred of the soldiers. For there is not one in both the entire army and among the principal men who have not begun to feel pity for the unfortunate striplings, but hatred for those who are bringing this about. But many of the leaders are openly showing their indignation." At this, he named those who had felt such indignation.

13 Indeed, at first, when the king listened to these words, he did so without being completely inconsiderate, but when *Tiron* plainly touched upon the incident and his distrust of his own family, he was thoroughly shaken. 14 But *Tiron* indeed began again, and gradually went further and further in unbounded soldierly outspokenness, (for being undisciplined, he went far beyond the needs of the occasion). But *Hérōdēs* was filled with consternation 15 and thought that he was being rebuked rather than listening to accounts which were to his own advantage. So when the king learned who the disaffected soldiers and the indignant leaders were, he ordered that everyone whom *Tiron* had named, as well as he and his son, should be immediately apprehended and bound, and kept under guard.

16 When this was done, one of the king's barbers, named Truphōn possessed by some strange madness, also seized this occasion to leap out before them. Rushing forward, he turned informer against himself, declaring, "For this *Tiron* often tried to persuade me to cut your throat with my razor² while I was shaving you, O king. For he promised me that I would become one of *Alexandros*' principal men and would receive large gifts from him."

17 When he had said this and *Hérōdēs* had heard it, *Hérōdēs* directed for the man to be apprehended; and so both *Tiron* and his boy and the barber were tortured. And when they denied everything, but the other would say nothing more, *Hérōdēs* directed that *Tiron* be racked more vehemently.

18 Now while *Tiron* was enduring *this torture* to the end, the youth,³ indeed seeing his father already in a grievous-state but having no hope of salvation, and foreseeing what was going to be the consequence of the loathsome-things he was suffering, declared, out of pity, "O king, I will inform you of all the truth, if, in consequence of what I explain, you will free both me and my father from this torture and this torment."

19 Now when *Hérōdēs* had given his word to grant this request, the youth said, "My father, persuaded by *Alexandros*, was willing to do away with you. An agreement was made between them that *Tiron* would do away with you, O king, with his own hands. For it would be easy for him to get close to you while both of you were alone. And if he happened to suffer for accomplishing this, as was likely to happen, it would be a gracious service rendered to *Alexandros*."

20 Therefore, this was indeed what the son said in order to remove his father from his distress. But it is uncertain whether he was pointing out the truth under compulsion, or whether this was an interpolation of his, fabricated in order to free his father from his mistreatment and to prevent them from being further maltreated.

21 But even if *Hérōdēs* may have previously had some doubt about murdering his own children, he no longer left any place or room in his soul for it; instead, he

banished anything which might be strong enough to bring him a change-of-mind for better reasoning. So he hastened to bring his purpose to a conclusion.

22 And before an assembly, *Hérōdēs* brought forward 300 of the leaders who had been incriminated, along with *Tiron* and his boy and the barber, and brought accusations against⁴ them all, and enlisted the aid of the people. 23 Accordingly, the multitude indeed killed⁵ them on the spot, by throwing at them whatever happened to be near them, including wood⁶ and stones.

24 But he also sent his sons, *Alexandros* and *Aristoboulos*, to *Sebasté*, a place not far from *Caesarea*, and ordered them to be strangled. When they were brought there, their father's order was executed immediately and they were killed by strangling. But he directed, that their corpses be carried to the fortress of *Alexandreion*, to be buried there, together with their mother's father *Alexandros*. So during the night, the bodies were laid-aside in *Alexandreion*, where most of their ancestors were buried. Therefore, this was indeed the end of *Alexandros* and *Aristoboulos*.

CHAPTER 75 [Ant17:1-17, 19-22, 18 / War1:552a, 554-555, 566, 553, 552b, 556-565]

Now after *Antipatros* had done away with his brothers, thereby involving his father in the greatest impiety and exposing him to divine-vengeance, his hopes for his future life were not at all what he had intended. For although he was delivered of the fear of having to share the government with his brothers, he still found it more difficult and impracticable to prevail over the kingdom, indeed, because of the extent to which the nation had grown to intolerably hate him. For although he now had an indisputable claim to the succession, everyone knew that it was he who had contrived all of the slanders against his brothers.

2 But besides this very difficult circumstance, he was still more troubled by the abnormal disposition of the soldiers, in whose hands rested the entire security of the kings whenever they found the nation intent upon revolt. So great was the danger which he had courted by the destruction of his brothers.

3 Truly, he jointly-governed with his father, being indeed no way different from a king; and, for that reason, he was greatly trusted, having found out how to obtain *Hérōdēs*' goodwill more firmly, but in a way which should have properly caused him to be destroyed. For he made it appear that he had denounced his brothers for the sake of preserving *Hérōdēs*' security, rather than out of enmity toward them and, earlier, toward his father. Such was the curse which drove him on.⁷

4 Now everything *Antipatros* did built a road for him to make a stand against *Hérōdēs*. He was bereaving himself of anyone who might accuse him of the crimes which he was devising, but he was preventing *Hérōdēs* from having a place of refuge and from anyone coming to assist him at whatever time *Antipatros* would openly appear as his foe. 5 So indeed, the plots which he had formed against his brothers were due to the hatred of his father. But what prompted him even more than ever not to give up undertaking these attempts against *Hérōdēs*, was this: if *Hérōdēs* were to die, he would firmly prevail over the government; but if *Hérōdēs* managed to live any longer, he would be encircled by dangers when the crime which he had planned was messaged to the king, forcing his father to become his foe.

6 And for this reason, he was lavish in his favors to those who followed his father, trying to drive out these humans' hatred of him by great rewards. But one of these whom he also sought to gain favor by both presents and other services was *Ferorah*. He also specifically sent large gifts and no little money to *Caesar*'s friends at *Roma*, in order to make them well-disposed toward him. 7 Yet, truly, he also satiated *Saturninus* the curator of *Syria*, and all of *Saturninus*' party in *Syria*, with gifts. He also hoped to bring *Saturninus*' brother under his power through the magnitude of the gifts which he gave him, and used the same methods with the king's sister, who was married to one of *Hérōdēs*' principal followers.

8 Now he was very clever in making his associates put faith in the fraudulent friendship, and was sagacious in concealing the hatred which he had against anyone. But the more he gave, the more he was hated, because his favors were not given out of magnanimity, but rather spent out of anxiety. 9 Now the result was that the recipients were no more well-disposed toward him than before, but those to whom he gave nothing became more harsh enemies. Now when he later observed that the king, contrary to his expectations, was taking-care of the orphans and displaying his change-of-mind for having done away with his sons by having pity on their offspring, *Antipatros* made his distributions more magnificent every day. 10 Yet, truly, he was unable to deceive his aunt, who had understood him for a long time and could no longer be deluded by fallacious reasoning, because she had already set every possible array against his malignant designs.

11 But closely-examine how much this flattering *Antipatros* was able to do, by considering *Shelome*'s ill-success in a similar suit: For while *Shelome* had a passionate yearning for *Shullai* the Arabian and was eager to be married to him,

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "and accused"

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "did away with"

⁶ may also be translated as "cudgels" (if so, I would render the composite text "by cudgels, and by throwing...near them, including stones")

⁷ [Ant] Lat "By such slanders he drove him on."

¹ [Ant] most / P (untranslatableable - "amogian" / Lat "brutality")

² [Ant] // [War] "to lay my hands on you"

³ [Ant] // [War] "the son"

Hérōdēs forced her, even though she was his sister, to be married to one of his friends, Alexas. So she sought the intercession of Julia, Caesar’s wife, to plead with him for permission to marry Shullai. **12** In this situation, Julia¹ cooperated with Hérōdēs, and persuaded Shelome not to refuse the marriage, lest foreseen enmity would be declared between them, since Hérōdēs had sworn an oath that if Shelome would not make an end of her efforts and would not accept marriage with Alexas, that he would never be well-inclined toward Shelome and would make her his most bitter enemy. **13** But in the end, she took Julia’s advice, both because she was Caesar’s wife and because she had given her very advantageous counsel on other occasions; and she was unwillingly married to Alexas.

14 And indeed, Hérōdēs had Bereniké, who was one of Shelome’s daughters and Aristoboulos’ widow, married to Antipatros’ mother’s uncle. And it was through Antipatros’ foresight and agency that he had taken the maiden, who had formerly been married to Aristoboulos; for Antipatros had conducted this marriage in order to conciliate Shelome, whom he had been at variance with. **15** But Shelome’s other daughter was given in marriage to the son of her husband Calleas. Instead, this marriage-connection was no barrier to her understanding of how wicked he was, even as her former kinship had not prevented her from hating him. But as for the daughters the king had by Miriam: one was given to his sister’s son Antipatros, but the other to his brother’s son Fazaal.

16 But, therefore, as soon as he had done away with Alexandros, Hérōdēs indeed also sent off Glaphyra daughter of King Archelaos, who had been Alexandros’ wife, back to her father at Kappadokia, returning her dowry out of his own money so that no dispute might arise between them.

17 Now Hérōdēs himself carefully brought up his boys’ children. But Antipatros began to be haunted by an immoderate anxiety as he saw the offspring of those whom he had done away with growing up.

For indeed Alexandros had two sons² by Glaphyra: Tigran and Alexandros.

But Aristoboulos had three sons by Bereniké daughter of Shelome, indeed: Hérōdēs, and Agrippa, and Aristoboulos; as well as two daughters: Hérōdias, and Miriam.

18 For Hérōdēs gathered together his kinsmen and friends, and made the little-boys-and-girls³ stand before himself, and, with his eyes full of tears, bewailed the fortune of his sons, and said, “Indeed, it was a sullen-looking demon who took away from me these children’s fathers; but mercy for their orphanhood, combined with nature, commend them into my care.”

19 He was praying that nothing such as this would befall their boys, but that they would increase in excellence and righteousness in order to repay him for being their foster-father, saying, “But I am trying (if even I have been the most unfortunate father) to, accordingly, at least be a solicitous grandfather, and to leave with them, after myself, leaders who are the closest-friends to me.”

20 He also promised to give them in marriage when they reached the proper age, saying, “Now, Ferorah, I indeed betroth your daughter to the eldest of these brothers, that is, of Alexandros’ boys, in order that you may be their necessary guardian; but I betroth Antipatros’ daughter to Aristoboulos’ eldest son.

“But, Antipatros, I also designate one of Aristoboulos’ daughters to your boy; for you shall become a father to this orphan daughter. And⁴ my own boy Hérōdēs shall take her sister, your other daughter, whose mother’s grandfather was a chief-priest.”

For it is a practice handed down by our fathers to have multiple wives at the same time.

21 “Therefore, indeed, let these decisions be put into effect, and let no one who is friendly toward me cut them in two. But I pray to God that he will fit them together in marriage, to the advantage of my kingdom and of my offspring; and may he look down upon these little-ones with eyes more serene than when he beheld their fathers.”

22 While he spoke these words, he wept-profusely, and fit the children’s right hands together. Then, after affectionately embracing each one, he dissolved the congress. At this, Antipatros’ blood instantly curdled, and his chagrin was evident to everyone.

23 Now the king had arranged these courtships for the children out of pity for their orphan state, and to evoke Antipatros to have goodwill toward them because of the marriage-connection. **24** But Antipatros did not cease to maintain the same opinion toward his brothers’ boys as he had borne toward his brothers themselves. Also, his own father’s effort on their behalf greatly provoked him. **25** For he assumed that the honor which his father had bestowed upon the orphans was his own dissolution, since he expected them to become greater than his brothers, especially when they reached manhood; and he also assumed that he would be running a risk of losing the entire kingdom once again, while Alexandros’ boys would have two powerful individuals supporting them: Archelaos, a king, would be helping his daughter’s sons, and Ferorah, who was also a tetrarch, would be taking one of the daughters for his own son.

26 But what also provoked him was the fact that the whole multitude was indeed moved by pity for the orphans, but that the nation hated him, because he had not hesitated to go to extremes on account of his maliciousness toward his brothers. He also considered the enthusiasm which the Judeans had shown his brothers while they were alive, and their great remembrance of them now that they had perished by his means. **27** Therefore, he would machinate in every way to bring about a revocation of his father’s settlements and cutting these betrothals in two, thinking it would be a terrible thing for him to have them consort with an acquisition of so much power.

28 And indeed, since Antipatros was terrified of doing anything knavish with a father who was harsh and whose suspicions were sharply motivated, he dared to venture into his presence, beseeching him outright, “Do not deprive me of the honor which you thought was worthy to bestow upon me, nor leave me with the mere title of king, while others initiate its power. For I will never be able to rule the state-affairs, if Alexandros’ boy should have Archelaos as his grandfather, and have Ferorah as his father-in-law in addition. But since so much of our family lives in the royal palace, I beg you to change these marriages.”

29 Now⁵ King Hérōdēs, in fact, had nine wives at this time, but had children by only seven of them:

Antipatros himself was the son of Dōris.

But Hérōdēs (having the same name as himself) was a boy of Miriam’s, daughter of the chief-priest.

30 But one of his wives, Malthaké, was from the Samaritan nation;⁶ and her boys were Antipas and Archelaos, and her daughter was Olympias. And indeed this daughter was later married to Joseph, the king’s brother’s son. But Archelaos and Antipas were brought up in Roma by a certain private man.

31 But he was also married to Kleopatra a Jerusalemite; and by her he had two boys: Hérōdēs and Philippos. Philippos was also brought up at Roma.

But also among his spouses were Pallas, who bore him his son Fazaal.

32 Yet, truly, in addition to these, were Phaidra and Elpis, by whom he had two daughters: one had Roshanak, and the other had Shelome.

But two of the women whom he also married were indeed childless:⁷ one was his brother’s daughter, and the other was a first cousin.

33 But his eldest daughters, who had the same mother as Alexandros and Aristoboulos, and whom Ferorah neglected to marry: indeed, he gave one to live with Antipatros, a boy of the king’s sister; but gave the other to Fazaal, who was also a boy of Hérōdēs’ brother.

And this was indeed the family of Hérōdēs.

34 Now in view of this multiform family, Antipatros begged for him to change the marriages.

35 But when the king well-observed Antipatros’ disposition toward the orphans, he was indignant, and a notion arose in his mind, whether those whom he had done away with were victims of Antipatros’ slanders. Therefore, indeed, at that time, he made a long angry answer, driving him away from his presence. **36** But afterwards, seduced by his flatteries, Hérōdēs yielded to Antipatros’ entreaty and changed his mind. Indeed, he corrected the arrangements so that Antipatros was to marry Aristoboulos’ daughter, and his son to marry Ferorah’s daughter. And this was indeed the way in which the betrothals were changed, even against the king’s will.

CHAPTER 76 [Ant17:23-31]

Now at this time, Hérōdēs, wishing to be secure from the Trachonites, decided to build between them and the Judeans, a village of the same magnitude as a city, which might both make his own country difficult to enter and give him a place from which to sally out against the nearby enemy in order to suddenly ravage them.

2 And he learned that a Judean man from Babelia had crossed the Euphrates⁸ with 500 cavalry⁹ (all of them mounted-archers), as well as a multitude of his kinsmen (which were 100 men), and had, by fortune, come down to Antiocheia near Dafneh in Syria, because Saturninus, who at that time was general, had given him a place named Holath to dwell in. **3** So Hérōdēs sent for this man along with the multitude which followed him, promising to give him land in the toparchy called Bashan, which bordered on Trachōn; for he wished to procure for himself a defense out of such a settlement. He also was professing, that this country would be free from taxes and that they would be exempt from all the customary tributes; for he would permit them to dwell in the land without obligation.

4 The Babelian was persuaded by these offers to come there. So he took possession of the country and built in it fortresses and a village, to which he gave

¹ [Ant], [War] most // [War] PA “Levia”

² [War] // [Ant] “males”

³ [War] // [Ant] “little-boys”

⁴ [War] // [Ant] “But”

⁵ [Ant] // [War] “For”

⁶ [Ant] (“...was from the Samaritan nation” // [War] “was Malthace the Samaritan”

⁷ [War] (“were childless” // [Ant] “did not produce any children.”

⁸ Greek / from Persian “Ufratu” / Hebrew “Furat”

⁹ [Ant] P omits “cavalry”

the name Bathira.¹ This man was a defense both to the inhabitants exposed to Trachonites and to the Judeans who came out of Babel to offer sacrifice in Jerusalem; these he kept from being injured by the brigandages of Trachonites. Many *men* also came to him (and from all parts), who devoted themselves to the laws of the Judean fathers.

5 So the country became exceedingly populous because of its indemnity from all taxation—a status which remained as long as Hérōdēs was alive. But later, when his son Philippos received the government, he *subjected them to taxation*, though it was little and only for a little time. 6 Yet, however, Agrippa the Great, as well as his boy who also had the same name, did grind them down; yet, *these rulers* were unwilling to take away their freedom. Besides, the Romans, who have now taken the government, also watch over their status as freemen, but, by the imposition of tributes, have oppressed them entirely.

7 Now Zimri the Babelian, whom Hérōdēs had acquired in order to take over this country, died, both having lived an excellent *life*, and leaving behind good boys. Indeed, one of these was Joakim, a man of shining *valor*, who trained the Babelians under him to be horsemen; and a swarm of these men attended these kings as spearmen.

8 But when Joakim had also come-to-his-end in old age, he left a son named Philippos; *he was* a man with capable hands, and, in other respects, was also more remarkable in excellence than anyone else. 9 For this reason, both a faithful friendship and a steadfast goodwill were established between him and King Agrippa. He also reared up any army which the king might maintain, and he would lead it to wherever it needed to march.

CHAPTER 77 [Ant17:32-45 / War1:567-571a]

Now with Hérōdēs in this condition, all of the affairs *were managed* by Antipatros. He was not reluctant to use his authority in enforcing whatever he wished. Now his father had permitted him to do this, in expectation that *Antipatros'* goodwill and faithfulness would be for him. And since *Antipatros'* evil designs were invisible to his father, he became even more daring in seeking to acquire authority over others, and his father put faith in everything he said.

2 So when Antipatros had cut the orphans' expectations in two and had arranged the marriage-connections to his own advantage, he regarded his own expectations as being securely anchored. But with assurance now added to malice, he became intolerable and was feared by everyone—not so much because of his powerful authority, as for his forethinking malice. For not being able to avert the hatred of each *individual*, he furnished his security by striking fear into them.

3 Now Ferorah, in particular, also cooperated with him, who looked upon him as being already fixed as a king; he paid court to him, and was courted in return. Now Antipatros had enmeshed him entirely and organized the women of the court into a body to deal with him, which stirred up new clamors. 4 For Ferorah was enslaved both to his spouse,² as well as to her mother and *her* sister, even though he hated these humans; indeed, *they*, together with Antipatros' mother, behaved licentiously³ in the royal *palace*, and were daring enough to offer wanton-violence to the king's⁴ two virgin daughters, and, in consequence, were cast out by *the king*. Yet, despite being hated by him, *these women* prevailed over the rest. 5 Nevertheless, he put up with them, and could do nothing without the court-women, who encircled the human, and showed their goodwill by cooperating with one another in every way, so that Antipatros had them completely under his power, both through himself and through his mother. For these four women all spoke the same thing. But Ferorah and Antipatros *only* differed in *some* insignificant opinions.

6 But the only one who was a rival to their concord was the king's sister Shelome, a distraction, who, for a long time, had been observing everything; and knowing that their goodwill toward one another was designed to injure Hérōdēs, she was prepared to disclose these things to him. So she slandered them before the king, as if their meetings were not in the interests of his affairs.

7 Now when they perceived, not only the slander, but that their goodwill was hateful to the king and that Hérōdēs was indignant, they made an end of their conspicuous meetings and courtesies. But, on the contrary, they indeed purposed to keep their *future* meetings from being conspicuous. So they indeed pretended to hate, abuse, and quarrel with one another whenever there was an opportunity, and especially when they happened to be near Hérōdēs or within hearing of anyone else who would likely bring messages to him. Antipatros played a part along with them, by conspicuously colliding with Ferorah. 8 But they continued to hold stealthy conversations and nightly carousals, but *the knowledge* that they were being observed only tightened their concord, and their hidden goodwill grew even firmer. And this was the course they took.

9 But they could not escape being noticed by Shelome,⁵ neither at first, when it was their intention to undertake these *meetings*, nor when they were not far

from acting upon *their intention*. But she both tracked down everything, and sent a message about everything to Hérōdēs, indicating them to her brother, with exaggerations, by mentioning hidden meetings and drinking-parties, as well as furnishing themselves with unseen senate-houses, “which they would not have prevented from being made conspicuous had they not contrived to bring about your destruction.

10 “Now, at present, they indeed appear to be at variance, and to speak on all occasions as if they are going to harm one another. But, when they are unseen by the multitude, they dedicate their goodwill; and, when they are alone with one another, they never wish to be delivered from their friendship. They have agreed to fight against those from whom they have endeavored to conceal the goodwill which they feel toward one another.”

11 And, indeed, these were the things which she had accurately tracked down and had told her brother about, who had indeed already even been aware of many of them. Now the king was inflamed with anger, and, particularly, at Ferorah's wife; for Shelome had fully slandered her. But due to the suspicion he had of his sister's slanders, he was without confidence *in these things*.

12 For there was also a group of Judean humans, who took pride in their strict-observance of the *customs of their* fathers, and professed to take pleasure in the laws of the Deity, who had the women of the court under their control. *These* are called Pharisees. Because of their foresight, these *men* were able to help a king greatly; yet, they were elevated to both fight and harm him. 13 Accordingly, when all the Judeans affirmed by oath that they would be well-inclined toward Caesar and toward the king's affairs, these men, *numbering* over 6,000, did not swear. And when the king imposed a fine upon them, Ferorah's wife paid the fine for them.

14 Now in exchange for her goodwill, since *people* put faith in their foreknowledge *which they received* through God's coming to them, they foretold that God had decreed that Hérōdēs' government would have a cessation, both for him and his posterity; but that the kingdom would come to her and Ferorah, and to any boys they might have.

15 And these things (for they did not escape Shelome's notice) were issued as a message for the king, along with a *report* that the Pharisees had corrupted some of the people at the court. So the king did away with the Pharisees who were primarily responsible, as well as Bagohi the eunuch, and a certain Karos who, at that time, surpassed *everyone* for his excellent handsomeness and was like a boy to *the king*. But Hérōdēs also killed everyone in his own family who approved of what the Pharisee had said.

16 Now Bagohi had been carried away by them, as if he would be named both a father and benefactor of him who, by the foretelling, was to be set over the people as a king; for every power would belong to *this king*, who would enable *Bagohi* to marry and to beget legitimate children.

CHAPTER 78 [Ant17:46-60 / War1:571b-582a]

Now after Hérōdēs had chastised the Pharisees who had been convicted of these charges, he convened a congress of both *his* friends and kinsmen, and brought many accusations against⁶ Ferorah's woman.⁷ 2 He also ascribed the wanton-violence of his own virgin daughters to this woman's audacity and brought a charge against her for the dishonor she had brought upon him.

3 Indeed, *he also accused her* of supplying the Pharisees with wages to oppose him, *saying*, “Also, the fine which I had imposed has been evaded, due to her means.

4 “And, after binding my brother with drugs,⁸ she made him into my foe. Like a president-of-games, she has stirred up strife between us, and has done everything in her power by word and deed to bring about this unnatural war. But there is not one thing which is now being done without her.”

5 But finally, he turned his words to Ferorah, saying to him, “Therefore, Ferorah, it would be well for you, if, without any request or opinion from me, but of your own accord, you were to send off this woman, since she is the one responsible for this war between you and me. And now, if you really claim kinship with me, renounce this spouse of yours. For by doing this, you will both remain my brother, and will not be rid of your affection for me.”

6 But Ferorah, although he was pushed around by the excellence of these words, said, “It would not be right for me to give up any part, either of my kinship with my brother, nor of my goodwill to my wife. And I would rather sooner die than endure to live, deprived of a wife who is so pleasing to me.”⁹

7 Now Hérōdēs overthrew the anger he had against Ferorah for this *response*, even though he would have gladly exacted retribution. Not knowing what to do further *in this matter*, he turned to Antipatros, and transmitted a message to him, *ordering him* to have no further dealings or discussions either with Ferorah's wife or with Ferorah himself, or with anyone belonging to her; and to take care not to

¹ [Ant] Conjecture based on Hebrew form “BTIRA” / Gk(most) “Bathura” / Gk(P) “Barthura”

² [Ant] // [War] “wife”

³ may also be translated “outrageously”

⁴ [War] // [Ant] “to his”

⁵ [Ant] // [War] “But Shelome was not unable to perceive everything they did”

⁶ [Ant] // [War] “and accused”

⁷ [Ant] // [War] “female-human”

⁸ may also be translated to “sorceries”

⁹ [Ant] // [War] “than to leave my wife”

associate with the women-of-the-court. He *also* declared *the same things* to *Antipatros*' mother.

8 Now they, indeed, agreed to do this. But *they*, while certainly not openly violating this ordinance, met whenever there was an opportunity; and Ferorah and Antipatros reveled together, passing the night in secret. But an account also roamed to and fro that Antipatros was consorting with Ferorah's wife, and that Antipatros' mother had helped to bring them together.

9 Now *Antipatros* eyed his father with suspicion, and was anxious, *both* that his hatred of him might increase *even* further, *and* that Shelome was keeping him under surveillance. So he took the trouble to write to his Italian friends at Roma, urging them to send to Hérōdés, *asking him* to convey Antipatros to Caesar as quickly *as possible and to permit him* to live abroad in Roma.

10 For when they wrote that there was need for Antipatros to be conveyed to Caesar for some time, Hérōdés made no delay, but dispatched¹ him there, sending along with him a brilliant attendance, remarkable gifts, *and* lots of money. He also carried a will, in which it was written that *Hérōdés* appointed Antipatros as a king; but if it happened that *Antipatros* was to come-to-his-end first, *then* his successor would be Hérōdés, *that is*, his son who was born to him by Miriam, the chief-priest's daughter.

11 Now Shullai the Arabian, indeed, disregarding Caesar's ordinances and not carrying out any of his injunctions, also sailed² to Roma at the same time as Antipatros. But he did this in order to vie with Antipatros in the lawsuit which he had previously pleaded against Nikolaos. And Antipatros accused *Shullai* before Caesar of the same *crimes* of which Nikolaos had formerly *accused him*.

12 But there was also a not small case between Shullai and his own king, Harthah. For Shullai was also accused by Harthah of having killed many important *men* and friends at Petra against *Harthah's* will, and, particularly, Suhaym, a powerful man in Petra, who was rightly honored in every way for his excellence. But *Harthah* also *accused Shullai* of having done away with Fabatus, a slave of Caesar. **13** Shullai was also incriminated with the following charges:

Now, with lots of money, *Shullai* had persuaded Fabatus, Caesar's administrator, to assist him against Hérōdés. But Hérōdés, by offering him more, was able to detach Fabatus from Shullai; and through him, *Hérōdés* endeavored to exact from *Shullai* everything which Caesar had imposed upon him.

But Shullai refused to repay even one of these things, and accused Fabatus before Caesar, saying, "This administrator is not acting for yours, but for Hérōdés' interests."

14 Angered at this, but still greatly honored by Hérōdés, Fabatus betrayed Shullai's secrets, describing *the situation* to the king: that since *Shullai* had corrupted Korinthos, one of Hérōdés' bodyguards, with money, he needed to be on his guard against him. For *Korinthos* was fully trusted by the king. Shullai had persuaded him with lots of money to kill Hérōdés, and this he had undertaken to do. When Fabatus had learned of this from Shullai's own mouth, he described it in full to Hérōdés.

15 Now the king complied. For this Korinthos, though brought up within his kingdom, was of Arabian descent. Now straightaway seizing Korinthos, he had him tortured, and, by doing this, the whole *plot* was disclosed. But along with him, *the king* also seized two other Arabians, who were denounced by Korinthos: indeed, the one was a tribal-chief, but the other a friend of Shullai. **16** Now when the king had these two tortured, they confessed, "Korinthos persuaded us with lots of money to do away with Hérōdés. We came to urge Korinthos not to become *too* soft; and, if there was need, to lend him our hands in the murder."

And, therefore, Saturninus, the manager of Syria, having everything explained to him by Hérōdés, indeed had them further interrogated before him. *Then* he sent them up to Roma.

17 Now Hérōdés never relaxed his efforts to compel Ferorah to release his wife. Yet, despite the many causes he had for his hatred of the woman,³ he could not devise any means of taking vengeance on her, until finally, in extreme vexation, he directed Ferorah, "Since you so strongly remain in your goodwill toward your wife, retire to your own tetrarchy." So he had both her and his brother thrown out.

18 Now Ferorah, accepting this wanton-violence with contentment, gladly departed *and* went off to his own tetrarchy, swearing many *oaths*, "The only limit to my banishment should be Hérōdés' death; and I will never return while he is alive, *but* only when I hear that he has come-to-his-end. Nor, in fact, will I go back even when my brother is sick, even if I am sent for persistently."

19 Yet, truly, when the king became sick and believed that he was dying, and *Ferorah* was asked to return because *Hérōdés* wished to entrust him with certain instructions, he refused to answer out of honor for his oath. **20** Instead, *Hérōdés* indeed unexpectedly recovered. But not long afterward, Ferorah himself became sick.

Truly, Hérōdés did not imitate this *conduct* by declaring his resolve in advance. Instead, when Ferorah had become sick, *Hérōdés*, showing moderation,

came to him, even though he had not been summoned by him, and sympathetically attended him. However, Ferorah was not strong enough to deal with the misfortune; for a few days later, he died. **21** Even though Hérōdés had shown affection to him till the last day, nevertheless, a report was spread that he had done away with him by *using* drugs.

But, yet, when *Ferorah* had died, *Hérōdés* truly wrapped him up *for burial and* had the corpse brought to Jerusalem, where he provided a burial-place, and appointed a large mourning over him, sending out messages requiring the entire nation *to attend*, and honored him with a brilliant funeral. This was indeed how one of Alexandros' and Aristoboulos' murderers came to his end. **22** But yet, the retribution, receiving its origin from the death of Ferorah, was now, in turn, passing to the real perpetrator, Antipatros, *and began to afflict him with* distress, even though he had sailed to Roma. For God was punishing him for the murder of his brothers.

CHAPTER 79 [Ant17:61-68 / War1:582b-591]

After his burial was completed, two of Ferorah's freedmen, who were highly honored by him, came, downcast, to King Hérōdés, entreating him, "Do not leave your brother's corpse unavenged; instead, make an investigation into his unaccountable and unfortunate demise."

2 Now when he paid attention to these accounts (for they seemed trustworthy), they said, "Your brother has been destroyed by poison. For Ferorah had a meal made *for him to eat* with his wife the day before he fell sick. But, indeed, his wife brought him a kind of food that was prepared *in a way* which he was not accustomed to eat, in which was a drug; but when he ate it, he straightaway fell into sickness, *and* came to his end because of it. However, this drug was indeed brought from Arab by a woman, under the pretext of being *something to stimulate* passionate-desire, for it was called a 'love-charm'. But its true purpose was to bring Ferorah to his end.

3 "Now the women of Arab are the most skillful druggists. But this *Arabian* woman who was summoned, we agree, was well-known by Shullai, since she is both a very close friend of his sexual-partner, and is experienced with drugs. But in order to persuade her to sell the drug, both Ferorah's mother and sister went to that region two days before to have her prepare a love-charm. But, at the instigation of Shullai, she gave him a deadly-poison instead. And *they* returned, bringing it with them the day before the meal."

4 Therefore, the king was provoked by these accounts; and struck with all sorts of suspicions, he had the slave-women tortured, along with some of their free *women* who were with them. And the matter remained uncertain, because none of them would speak out. **5** But finally, one of them, under utmost agonies, gave in, saying no more than this as she shouted, "May God who governs earth and heaven prosecute *the one* responsible for all the present distresses which have fallen upon all of us: Antipatros' mother!" And she summoned God to surround his mother with torments like *they were suffering*.

6 The king, catching this *hint*, advanced further in his search to recognize the truth. And by torturing the women, everything was made-known: the friendship of Antipatros' mother with Ferorah and the women was revealed, as well as their carousals and hidden meetings. "Also, Ferorah and Antipatros, as they returned from the king, would pass the entire night drinking with them, without allowing anyone, either domestic-slaves or handmaids, to be present." This *information* was disclosed by one of the free-women.

7 Now Hérōdés had each of the female-slaves tortured separately. But all their evidence was harmonious with what had been already stated. "And it was by conventional arrangement that Antipatros withdrew to Roma, and Ferorah to Peraia. For they often said to each other, 'After Alexandros and Aristoboulos, we, along with our wives, will be Hérōdés' next victims. For having *killed* Miriam and her offspring, he will spare no one. So it is better for us to flee as far as possible from the beast.'"

8 They also told him about *Antipatros*' hatred of his father, and *said*, "But Antipatros would often bitterly-lament⁴ before his mother, saying how his father was dragging out his life too long, and that he himself was indeed already gray-headed,⁵ but that his father was growing younger every day; and that perhaps he would come-to-his-end first, before he could really begin to be king. But even supposing that his father did come-to-his-end (and when would this be?) and the kingdom came to him, his enjoyment of his succession would be extremely abridged.⁶"

9 "But then *he said*, that these heads of the hydra, the boys of Aristoboulos and Alexandros, were sprouting up; and that many of his brothers and *his* brothers' boys were being groomed for the kingdom along with himself, and left no steadfast hope of safely obtaining it.

10 "But *he complained*, that his father had also deprived him of his hopes for his own children. For, even now, if *Antipatros* would meet his own end, his successor would not be one of his own boys; instead, the government would be

¹ [War] // [Ant] "conveyed"

² [War] ("sailed to" // [Ant] "made his way to")

³ literally "female-human"

⁴ [War] // [Ant] "make a lamentation"

⁵ [War] // [Ant] "was close to old-age"

⁶ [War] // [Ant] "he would still not be able to be gladden by it."

given to Miriam's Hērōdēs.¹ And, that he had at least betrayed his extreme senility, if he supposed that his will would have the authority. For *Antipatros* would foresee that none of the family would be left *alive*."

11 *They also spoke about the disclosure to Ferorah's women of things which Hērōdēs had said only to his son, "He said, that never had a father so hated his own children, yet Hērōdēs hated his brother far more. Accordingly, only the other day he had given Antipatros 100 talents to break off all conversation with Ferorah." (A gift which Hērōdēs had directed Antipatros to conceal.) "But when Ferorah said, 'For what harm were we doing to him?' he answered, 'I wish that he would deprive us of everything, allowing us to live naked! Instead, it is impossible to escape, in this way, from such a murderous beast, who will not even allow us to be openly friendly with anyone. Anyway, we must meet together in secret; but it will be possible for us to do so openly, if only we possess the mind and hands of men.'"*

12 *They further said, "He also accused the king of great cruelty and of the slaughter of his sons. It was out of fear that Hērōdēs would lay hands on them too, that he and Ferorah contrived a plan for him to depart to Roma, but Ferorah to his own tetrarchy. Ferorah also took counsel to flee with them to Petra."*

13 *These things were said while they were tortured. Now Hērōdēs put faith in everything they said, both because of the detail of 100 talents (for he had only spoken to Antipatros about this), and because these statements were in accord with his sister's accounts; and these statements contributed greatly to removing Hērōdēs' suspicions of his sister's unfaithfulness.*

13 *Being convinced that Antipatros' mother Dōris was involved in his wickedness, the king hurled down his wrath upon her first, and stripped her naked by taking from her all the ornaments which he had given her, which were worth many talents, casting her out a second time. 14 But after having sent her away, he was reconciled with Ferorah's women and made a friendship with them, taking care of them after they had been tortured. But Hērōdēs was scared with fear, and flared up at every suspicion; and he had many innocent persons dragged in to be tortured, out of his fear that a single culprit should be left remaining.*

CHAPTER 80 [Ant17:69-78 / War1:592-600]

But the one who stirred up the king's anger the most against his boy was a Samaritan named Antipatros, who was procurator over the king's son Antipatros. When he was tortured, *the king* learned, among other things, *the following accusation*. "He prepared a deadly drug, giving it to Ferorah with instructions to give it to his father during his absence, in order that he might be removed as far as possible from the least suspicion attached to it. 2 And, indeed, one of Antipatros' friends and companions, Antiphilos, brought that drug from Egypt. But it was sent to Ferorah by Theudiōn, who is Antipatros' (the king's boy) mother's uncle.³ For Antipatros had enjoined him to do away with Hērōdēs, while he himself was at Roma, out of the way of suspicion. And in this way, the drug came to Ferorah's wife, *for her husband had given*⁴ it to her to watch over."

3 Now the king sent for this *woman*; indeed, when he interrogated her, she confessed. *So he ordered her to produce what she had received at once.* Now she went out, indeed, as though she was going to bring it *with her*. But as she was running, she hurled herself down from the roof, in order to evade conviction and injurious-treatment from the king. However,⁵ it came to pass, by the foresight of God, whose vengeance was pursuing Antipatros, that she did not meet her end, because, instead of falling on her head, she fell on her feet and was preserved.

4 But when she was carried to the king, he revived her; for she had been stunned⁶ by the fall. Then he asked her, "Why did you hurl yourself down?" Then he promised *her* immunity, *saying*, "Indeed, if you tell the truth and do not resort to concealing any of it, I swear that I will release you and your house from all retributions. Yet, truly, if you are defiant and hold back, I will grind you with the most extreme afflictions; I will consume your body by having you tortured, and leave no part of it for burial."

5 At this, the woman paused a little, and then said, "For why do I refrain from *speaking of* these secrets, now that Ferorah has come-to-his-end? Merely to save Antipatros, who is the ruin of us all? Listen, O king; and may God *listen too*, a testifier to the truth of my words, who is unable to be deceived!"

6 She promised and truly swore that she would tell how everything had been done; indeed, as many of the humans declared, she spoke truthfully in everything, "For the drug was brought from Egypt by Antiphilos, having been provided to him by his brother, who is a healer. And when Theudiōn brought it to us, I received it from Ferorah to watch over myself. It had been prepared by Antipatros to be used against you.

7 "Therefore, when Ferorah became sick, and you came to attend him, at the time when you were sitting down, weeping by him as he was dying, he saw the

goodwill you had toward him, *and* his mind was broken by it. So at that time, he called for me, declaring, 'O woman! I have yet been entirely mistaken in my brother's intention toward me. I have hated *the man* who has been affectionate to me in this way; and I have taken counsel to kill *the man* who is troubled over me in this way even before I am dead. 8 Indeed, Antipatros has circumvented me in regard to his own father, but who is my brother, by making me run together with him in his deadly purpose and providing a drug to minister it. Instead, I am indeed receiving the wages of my impiety. Now therefore, since my brother appears to have no less of an excellent disposition toward me than he formerly had, and since I do not expect to live much longer, let me not bring down the vengeance of my forefathers upon myself by murdering my brother.⁷ 9 But you, bring that drug which Antipatros left with us, and which you are keeping watch over in order to destroy him; and quickly obliterate it by burning it before my eyes, in order that, perhaps, I may not carry *with me* an avenger to the Netherworld."⁸

10 "Now I brought it as he directed, carrying out my husband's injunction without delay. And, indeed, I emptied most of the drug into the fire, burning it. But I left a little⁹ remaining for myself, in order to guard against the unknown *future* and my fear derived from you, *so that if you*, O king, after Ferorah's death would treat me badly, I might end my life with it, and escape from *my* anguish by *using it*."

11 After she had said this, she brought forward the box, which contained a small *quantity* of the drug in it.¹⁰ But the king let her alone, transferring torture to Antiphilos' mother and another *one* of his brothers. And under both great pain and torture, they confessed the same *things*, and identified the box, saying, "Antiphilos brought the box from Egypt. And we received the drug from *one* of his brothers, who practiced medicine at Alexandria."

12 Now the demons of Alexandros and Aristoboulos went around the royal *palace*, becoming inquisitors and informers of what was otherwise inscrutable; but they drew out those who were the furthest removed from suspicion to be examined. And, accordingly,¹¹ through this, it was discovered that Miriam, who was both the chief-priest's daughter and the king's wife, was conscious of this entire plot formed against *him*, *and* had been eager to conceal it. For when her very brothers were tortured, they pointed *this* out, accusing her of it.

13 But the king required this audacious attempt of the mother and the son. Accordingly, Hērōdēs cast her out and blotted her son Hērōdēs (whom he had had by her) out of his will, *even though* he had previously named him in it as Antipatros' successor to the kingship. And he took the chief-priesthood away from his father-in-law Simon son of Boéthos; but in his place, *he* appointed Mathijah son of Theophilos, who was of *the* race of *the* Jerusalemites.

CHAPTER 81 [Ant17:79-82 / War1:601-607]

Now after these things *were over*, Bathyllus also came from Roma *and was put* under cross-examination. And while he was being tortured, he brought credence to the last *part* of what Antipatros had taken counsel *to commit*. For, indeed, he was no other than Antipatros' freedman. Now this man came, bringing with him another deadly drug: venom of asps and the juices of other creeping-things. Accordingly, *he was* to give it to *Antipatros'* mother and Ferorah, *so that if* the first drug would be *too* weak to affect the king, Ferorah and his wife might be equipped with this one in order to handle the king.

2 Now in addition to Antipatros' audacious attempts against his father, fraudulent documents¹² were brought from Hērōdēs' friends at Roma, which *Antipatros* had *composed* at the proposition and suggestion of Antipatros in order to bring an accusation against his brothers: Archelaos and Philippos. For Archelaos and Philippos, the king's boys, who were still striplings, were being disciplined at Roma; but they also had a full mind. 3 Anxious to pack up and carry off these *boys* who were springing up to dash his hopes, Antipatros indeed forged several letters against them in the name of *their* friends at Roma. Now, using money, he persuaded some of these *men* to write that *Archelaos and Philippos* were indeed greatly reviling and slandering their father for having slaughtered Alexandros and Aristoboulos, and that openly, they lamented Alexandros and Aristoboulos; but also, that they felt pity for themselves, and were indignant at having been recalled, because this summoning was for no other purpose than that they too should be destroyed. For¹³ their father had already sent for them, and this *fact* troubled Antipatros the most.

4 But even before *Antipatros'* had journeyed to Roma, while he was still in Judah, he, in cooperation with his friends, used to pay to have such letters against *his brothers* sent from Roma. And then, in order to avoid suspicion, *Antipatros* himself would write to his father about his brothers, and defend them, asserting,¹⁴ "I fully acquit the striplings of *their* most serious charges. Indeed, some of these

¹ [War] // [Ant] "to a brother"

² [Ant] // [War] "it was handed over"

³ [Ant] // [War] some "Antipatros' uncle" / PAM "Antipatros' friend"

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "provided" (may also be translated "served")

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "But"

⁶ may possibly be translated "had been rendered unconscious"

⁷ [Ant] Gk / Lat "let me not depart to my forefathers with thoughts of murdering my brother"

⁸ may possibly be translated "I am not be carried *before* an avenger in the Netherworld"

⁹ [Ant] // [War] "small quantity"

¹⁰ [War] // [Ant] "brought out the drug and the box in which it was"

¹¹ [War] // [Ant] "But also"

¹² [Ant] // [War] "letters"

¹³ [Ant] // [War] "But/Now"

¹⁴ [Ant] // [War] "saying"

statements are falsehoods, but others are *only* youthful sins.” So he attributed *their words* to their age.

5 Yet, truly, at the same time, since he had to pay lots of money to those who wrote these letters against his brothers, he attempted to mix-up the evidence. *He did this* by buying splendid ornaments, *which included* extravagant clothing, and embroidered bed-spreads, also cups of silver and gold, as well as by buying-up many other valuables, so that, under their enormous total, he might conceal the cost which he paid to hire the writers. Accordingly, he reported an expenditure of 200 talents; and the biggest part of this was in pretext of his lawsuit with Shullai. For he was contending-for-a-prize with Shullai, and paying court to the principal men.

6 But even though all of these small *things* were revealed with the larger crimes, while every torture was shouting that he was a father-murderer, and, indeed, the letters were screaming his second *attempt* to be a brother-murderer; nevertheless, not one of those who came to Roma brought a message to him about his *misfortunes* in Judah, although seven months had elapsed between his conviction and his return; *so* nothing of this came to his knowledge. The reason for this was both the strictness and guarding of the roads, and that *the* hatred which all of the humans bore him was so great; for there was not one who was willing to endanger himself in order to supply Antipatros with security.

7 And perhaps the mouths of those who had purposed to quickly bring a message were muzzled by the demons of his murdered brothers. Accordingly, he wrote from Roma to announce the good-message of his soon arrival, and how Caesar had dismissed him with honor.

CHAPTER 82 [Ant17:83-92 / War1:608-619]

Now when Antipatros wrote to Héródés, *stating* that he would hasten his return after he had seen that everything was done in the proper manner, *Héródés was enraged*. But the king was eager to get this plotter against him into his *own* hands; and was anxious that *Antipatros* might foreknow *his plans* and be on his guard, or suspect *something* and postpone his journey, but remain in Roma, lying in wait for the kingdom and also succeed in doing *something* against him. *So he* cloaked his anger in his dissembling letter *which he wrote* in reply, in which he was otherwise friendly and directed him to make haste and not to delay on the journey, lest he *himself* should indeed suffer some misfortune while *Antipatros* was abroad at Roma.

2 At the same time, he also made some minor accusations against his mother, professing, “For if you make speed, I will also relinquish my complaints against your mother when you arrive here.” For Antipatros was not ignorant of her ejection. He also expressed friendship to him in every way.

3 Therefore, *Antipatros* indeed met with this document¹ from his father in Kilikia, and immediately made haste. But previously, at Tarentum, he had received a letter with clear-information about the end of Ferorah, and he produced great grief *over it*. Some commended him for this, *thinking it was* being made for his uncle. Now this *news* also terrified him, not out of goodwill toward Ferorah, but because he had died without having managed to do away with his father as he had promised. And at *the thought* of his accomplishments, fear came upon him: had the drug been discovered?

4 But when he had sailed down to Kelenderis in Kilikia, he was already hesitating about sailing back home; *for* a notion of his mother’s distresses seized him, and he was terribly grieved over her ejection. But even without this *notion*, his soul was already foretelling *the future* to him.

5 Therefore, indeed, his friends with the most forethought, counseled him, not to go to his father until he had clearly learned why his mother had been ejected; for they were anxious that there might have been some addition to the slanders. And they indeed directed him to stay somewhere near there, waiting to see what might happen.

6 But those who were inconsiderate and were more eager to see their fatherland than contemplate Antipatros’ interests, recommended that he press on and, “do not, by procrastinating your voyage home, furnish your father ground for base suspicions, and give your slanderers a starting-point. For even if anything has now been set in motion, it is due to your absence. For had you been present, no one would have dared *to do such a thing*, and your accusers’ case would have had no strength. And if you go there, you will dissolve every incrimination against you. But it is absurd² to let uncertain suspicions deprive you of certain goodness, and not to quickly return to your father and seize the kingdom which is rocking to and fro on him alone.”

7 *Antipatros* was persuaded by this *last advice*, for a demon was leading him on. And sailing on, he passed over and landed at Caesarea, at the harbor called Sebastos, which Héródés had built with great expenses in honor of Caesar and named Sebastos.

8 Now here Antipatros could already foresee the distressing *fate in store* for him. For no one greeted him with prayers and words of good omen, as they had

done on his departure. In fact, on the contrary, he encountered a profoundly unexpected solitude, while everyone avoided him, and no one dared to approach him. For, indeed, he was equally hated by everyone; and at this time, that hatred had outspokenness to show itself, as they did not restrain themselves from receiving him with curses, supposing he was there to pay the penalty for his crimes against his brothers. 9 But the fear of the king diverted many *from him*, for the entire city was now filled with reports about Antipatros, and the only person ignorant of these things was Antipatros himself. Now no man had ever been sent forward as brilliantly as when he had sailed for Roma, none on return had received a more unhonored welcome.

10 But, indeed, he already began to consider the events which had befallen *them* at home. But he still kept his villainy hidden. And although he was inwardly dying with terror, he strained *to wear* an imposing countenance. 11 Now, there was no longer any possibility of flight or retreat from the perils which were encompassing him. And, indeed, *even* there, due to the threats which the king had issued, he had not had any distinct messages brought to him concerning events at home. 12 But he still left cheerful hopes remaining *within him*: indeed, perhaps nothing had been discovered; but perhaps, *even* if anything had been discovered, he might *be able to set things* in order through effrontery and deceit, his only travel-supplies for salvation. Therefore, fortified with these *weapons*, he entered the royal *palace*.

13 Now at this time, Quintilius Varus happened to be inside *the royal palace* at Jerusalem. He had indeed been sent to succeed Saturninus as chief *and* leader of Syria, but, at Héródés’ request, he had come as a counselor for his present *situation*. 14 And while they were sitting in congress together, Antipatros arrived without having been informed of anything; but he was dressed in purple-garments. And while the doorkeepers admitted him, he was sundered from his friends. For after being mistreated and restrained at the first gateway,³ they were shut out. 15 Now clearly perceiving how far matters had gone, *Antipatros* was bewildered. But he entered in, *going* to his father; and, seeking courage in audacity, he approached as though to greet him.

16 But his father, with hands extended and head turned aside, thrust him away, crying out, “Even this *is an indication* of patricide: This brother-murderer is willing to embrace me with such great charges against him! May you perish, you impious head!—*you* who have taken counsel to bring about my ruin! But do not touch me until you have pulled off the incriminations against you. But I offer you a court-of-justice, and a judge for this timely visit: Varus. He will be your auditor. Go, and prepare your defense for tomorrow; for I am providing you with time.”

17 And, indeed, with such a magnitude of distress already confronting *Antipatros* at his very first hearing, he, in consternation, was unable to make even one answer to this *charge*; *so he* turned around *and* went away, unsteady. But he was met by his mother and his wife. (Now this *wife* was the daughter of Antigonos, who had been king of the Judeans before Héródés.) Coming to his side, they detailed all the evidence against him. 18 *So after* thoroughly-learning everything from them, he regained his sobriety at that time; and, indeed, he prepared himself for the *legal* contest, considering his defense.

CHAPTER 83 [Ant17:93-106a / War1:620-636]

Now, indeed, on the following day, the king convened a congress of his relatives and friends, but also called in Antipatros’ friends as well. Now *Héródés* himself, at the same time as Varus, took their seats in congress together, and *the king* ordered all the informers to be led in. Among those who were led in were the king’s sister Shelome, then *those* who were likely to disclose anything and had been tortured, but also some who were *both* domestic-slaves *and* slaves of Antipatros’ mother, who, *only* shortly before his arrival, had been arrested while carrying a letter from her to her son. 2 The main-point of the document was this:

Since your father has discovered everything,⁴ do not go to him, unless you have procured power from Caesar. For Caesar is your only refuge remaining, and to where you can *go to* avoid falling into Héródés’ hands.

3 Therefore, when these others had been led in, Antipatros entered. And *first*, he fell down at his father’s knees; *but then*, falling on his face before his father’s feet, he declared, “Father, I plead *with you*, do not condemn me in advance,⁵ but⁶ offer an unbiased ear to my defense. For I shall prove that I am innocent, if you are willing.”

4 But *Héródés* cried out for him to keep silent, and instructed him to be brought into *the center*. Then he said the following to Varus:

“Nevertheless, I am indeed persuaded that you, Varus, and every other sacred judge, will decide that Antipatros is a pernicious *individual*. But what makes me anxious, is that you will hate my fate, deciding that I am deserving of every

³ may also be possibly translated “mistreated before the gateway”

⁴ [War] // [Ant] “Since everything had reached your father’s knowledge”

⁵ [War] // [Ant] “do not predetermine my judgment”

⁶ [War] // [Ant] “instead”

¹ [Ant] // [War] “this letter”

² literally “deviant”

misfortune for having begotten sons such as these. But you should rather have pity on me, for having also been the most affectionate of fathers to such defiled sons. **5** For, indeed, my former sons, even when they were young, I thought were worthy of the kingdom. And when I paid to have them brought up in Roma, I made them friends of Caesar. But I made them an object of envy to other kings, and I put forward an abundance of wealth for them to spend on everything they wished. **6** Not one of these favors prevented me from being in danger of coming to my end when they formed a plan against me. Yes, I found these very sons to be plotting against me, in order to impiously take my kingship before I would give it up, either by the law of nature, or in accordance with my prayer and with righteousness. They have died, mainly because of Antipatros. For since he was young and my successor, I primarily furnished security for him.

7 “But this defiled beast, gorged with the forbearance which I showed to him, turned his insatiableness upon me. For he imagined that I was living too long, and my old age weighed him down; nor could he bear the idea of becoming a king by any other means than patricide. Yes, he has certainly taken righteous counsel with me for bringing him back, a castaway, from the country; and for rejecting these sons of mine, who were born to me by a queen,¹ making him a successor in the government!

8 “I confess to you, Varus, of my own folly. I was the one who provoked these sons of mine against me by cutting off their righteous expectations for the sake of Antipatros. And, indeed, what kindness did I do for them, which was as big as what I have done to him? Namely, that, indeed, while I was yet alive, I yielded up the authority to him; but I openly inscribed him in my will to be a successor to the government; and, indeed, I dispensed him his own annual revenue of 50 talents; but I supplied him with my own money without restraint; but now, when he was about to sail to Roma, I gave him 300 talents, but recommended him alone, of all my family, to Caesar as his father’s savior.

9 “Now what impious acts like these did they commit comparable to those of Antipatros? Or what evidence was brought against them which was as big as what is now proving that this son has plotted against me?”

10 “Nevertheless, this patricidal son has dared to utter his voice, and hopes to shroud the truth by his deceit. You, Varus, must be on your guard: for I know the beast, and I foresee the intended plausibility and the plastered-over lamentation. This is the man who exhorted me, while Alexandros was alive, to watch out for him, and not to entrust my body to everyone. This is the man who conducted me as far as my bed, and looked around to see that no one was lying in wait to ambush me. This is the man who dispensed my sleep, and ensured me with the freedom-from-care; who consoled me in my pain after the doing-away of my sons, and distinguished the goodwill of my living brothers. This is my shielder, my bodyguard!

11 “Whenever I am reminded, Varus, of his craftiness on each occasion, and his stage-acting, I can barely believe that I am still alive, and marvel at how I managed to escape such a burdensome plotter. Instead, since some demon is bent on making my house desolate in this way, and is perpetually raising up those who are the dearest to me against me, I will weep, indeed, over my unrighteous portion, and groan to myself over my solitude. But no one who thirsts for my blood shall escape, even if the evidence should extend to all of my children.”

12 When Heródés had said this, he burst into tears; indeed, his confoundedness hindered him, and it was impossible for him to speak. But he nodded to Nikolaos of Damasek, ordering him to speak the evidence. And this man was a friend of the king, and lived together with him all the time, and happened to be acquainted with his actions. So he finished the remainder of king’s speech, stating whatever was necessary by way of evidences and proofs.

13 And in the meantime,² Antipatros, in order to defend his righteousness, lifted up his head (for he was still thrown down before his father’s feet), turned to his father, and cried aloud, “You, father, have made my defense yourself. For how can I be patricidal, I, whom, as you admit, have always served as your guard? But you speak of my piety as talking-marvels and hypocrisy. How could I, villainous in other ways, have been so senseless as not to perceive that, while it was not easy to conceal the preparation of such a defilement from humans, it was impossible to conceal it from a judge of heaven, who observes everything, and is present everywhere?”

14 “Or was I ignorant of the end to which my brothers came, whom God visited in this way for their ill-counsel against you? But also, what motive could have provoked me against you? A hope of being a king? Instead, I was already reigning! Suspicion of your hatred? No. For was I not beloved by you? What other fear would I have of you? Instead, by guarding you, I made others fearful.

15 “Was it a lack of money? And who was allowed to spend more than I? For if I had been the most pernicious of all humans, and had the soul of a savage beast, father, must I not have been conquered by your good-services toward me?”

16 So after recalling all the examples of his father’s goodwill toward him, and taking the initiative to explain the honors which had come before him, he said,

“These would never have been given to me, if I had not deserved them by my excellent-conduct toward you. For even whenever there was a foreseen need, I planned everything prudently. If anything needed the labor of my hands, I performed everything by my own toil. Nor is it likely, that I, after delivering you, father, from those who were plotting against you, would myself become one to plot against you, doing away with all the excellence which I have obtained, through the villainy which would testify to such an act as this.

17 “You, indeed, drew me down here, as you yourself have said; but you preferred me before so many of your children. And yet further, you appointed me as your successor beforehand; you proclaimed me a king³ while you were still alive, not hindering me from presently sharing in the enjoyment of its honors. But, by the excess of other good-things, you made me an object of envy. **18** Then, too, it is not likely that one who possessed half of it without any danger and with excellence, would grasp for the whole with blamable-faults and danger, when it is uncertain whether he is able to obtain it or not; and, especially, since I have beheld the penalty which my brothers suffered, and, indeed, was an informer and accuser against them, when they were still able to escape detection; but I was their chastiser, when it was made clear that they were malicious plotters against you, their own father.

19 “O wretched me! That bitter journey abroad! What a great opportunity I gave to ill-will, and a long space to those who were laying snares against me! But it was for you, father, and for your affairs that I went abroad, in order to prevent Shullai from treating your old age with contempt. Roma is a testifier of my piety, and so is Caesar, superintendent of the inhabited earth, who often called me ‘The Father-lover’. And it is no more difficult to delude Caesar than God.

20 “Father, take these documents from him. These are to be trusted more than the slanders raised against me here. These are my only defense. These I offer to you, as sure-signs of my tender-affection for you.

21 “But remember, it was not willingly that I sailed, knowing the enmity which was lurking in the kingdom against me. But it was you, father, who involuntarily ruined me, by compelling me to give my envious foes an opportunity for making slanders against me while I was abroad; for my enemies would not have had the leisure to compose them if I had been at home. But here I am to hear the proofs against me. Here I am, the patricide, who has passed over earth and sea, without suffering even one misfortune!

22 “Instead, I do not ask to be given friendship based on this sure-sign. For I am even condemned before God and before you, father. But since I am already condemned, I beg you not to put faith in the slander of the others, who have been tortured, a practice which leads to falsehoods; for extreme suffering naturally compels them to say many things in order to bring pleasure to those who govern them. Instead, let fire be brought to me! Let the implements of torture march through my inward-parts; spare no lamentations from this defiled body! For if I am patricidal, I should not die without being tortured.”

23 This was how Antipatros cried aloud with lamentation and tears. At these words, a change came over the congress, including Varus. For they exceedingly pitied Antipatros, who was in tears and had put on a countenance suitable to his injurious-treatment, so that he moved even his enemies to pity. But even Heródés gave clear signs of being somewhat bent in his opinion, although he was unwilling to let this be conspicuous. For he alone, whose fury maintained him without tears, knew that the evidence was real.

CHAPTER 84 [Ant17:106b-133 / War1:637-640]

At this, Nikolaos, directed by the king, began to recapitulate the account which the king had begun, but greatly exaggerated. And he gathered together the proofs of the accusation from many tortures or from testimonies. **2** But in particular, he dwelt at great length on the king’s excellence, which he had exhibited in both the nourishment and lesson-of-discipline of his sons, without finding it beneficial to himself in any way, but had stumbled upon one calamity after another. And Nikolaos was able to dissipate the pity which Antipatros had aroused.

3 “And yet further, he was not so much surprised in this way with his former sons’ lack-of-counsel. For they were young, and corrupted by wicked counselors, who persuaded them to wipe off the righteous claims of nature in their eagerness to lay claim to the government sooner than they should.

4 “But it would be right for one to be struck with astonishment by the madness⁴ of Antipatros. For not only has his father been his benefactor, enough to soften his reasoning—as though he was one of the most-venomous of creepers (and, yet, even these can become soft enough not to do anything unrighteous to their benefactors)—instead, not even the fate of his brothers has prevented him from going on to be an imitator of their cruelty.

5 “And yet further, O Antipatros! You yourself were both an informer of your brothers’ daring actions, and a searcher of evidences against them, and a chastiser when they were discovered. And we do not say this to bring a charge against you for being so relentless in bringing your wrath against them; instead, we are

¹ may also be translated “princess”

² [Ant] // [War] “But”

³ [War] // [Ant] “you appointed me beforehand to be your successor”

⁴ [Ant] others “crime”

shocked at your eagerness to imitate their licentiousness. **6** We find that you did not act in this way on account of your father's safety; instead, *you did this* for the destruction of your brothers, so that, by showing hatred of their wickedness, you might be believed to be a father-lover, thereby receiving enough power to work evil with greater fearlessness. And this is exactly what you have represented by your actions.

7 "For you also did away with your brothers by convicting *them of their evil deeds*, and did not give way to their accomplices, making it clear to everyone, that you took it upon yourself to accuse them, while *at the same time* you were also making a compact with them against your father. **8** For you wanted the plot which you formed against him, the patricide, to profit you alone; and you sought to gather a merriment, worthy of your character, from two contests. Indeed, one was clearly directed against your brothers; and on this account, you yielded gladness as if it had been a great *achievement* (and in this way, you would have been worthy minded, but you have been worse *than they*).

9 "But *the other*, which was secret, you constructed against your father. Indeed, you hated *your brothers*, not because they had plotted against your father (for in that case you would not have run-*aground* on a similar activity); instead, *it was because* they had a greater right than you to be successors of the leadership.

10 "You sought to slaughter your father after your brothers, in order that you might not be speedily convicted of having accused them falsely, and in order that you might exact from your unfortunate father, the rightful-punishment which you yourself deserved to be handed over to. *The* patricide which you devised was not common; instead, it was of a sort which life has never yet observed.

11 "For although you were his son, it was not only your father whom you plotted against; instead, it was against a father who was also affectionate toward you and was your benefactor, who had, in fact, made you a partner with him in the kingdom, and had foreshown you as his successor. And, indeed, you were not prevented from already enjoying *the* pleasure of the authority in advance; but, by your father's decision, you had an expectation of the future, and were secured by a document.

12 "Instead, it was certainly not in accordance with the excellence of Héródés' deeds, but it was in accordance with your own evil opinions, that you discerned the situation. You were willing to take away from your father even that share of power which he had—*the father* who had given heed to all of your wishes; and by your deeds, you sought to make away with him—*the one* whom you, in words, pretended to save.

13 "And not only did you act like a wicked *individual* yourself; instead, you also filled your mother with your contrivances, and stirred up your brothers' goodwill into sedition, and had the audacity to call your father a beast—while you yourself were fully-equipped with a mind more harsh than any creeping-thing, from which you emptied out venom upon your nearest kinsmen and greatest benefactors. **14** By summoning an auxiliary of guards, and by the cunning-tricks of men and women, you fenced yourself in on all sides against an old man, as though your own mind was not sufficient to produce the hatred which lay hidden within it.

15 "But you also plotted against your surviving *brothers*, as being presumptive successors to the throne. For how can it be supposed that he who prepared a drug for his father would have stopped short of his brothers?"

16 Now *Nikolaos* advanced to the evidence for the drugging, and exhibited all the information which had been extracted, and uttered bitter complaints about Ferorah, because Antipatros had made him into a brother-murderer; and, by corrupting the king's best friends, had ruined the entire house by filling it with defilement.

17 "And *even* now, after tortures of free-men, of domestic-slaves, of men, of women; *after* information has been disclosed by your fellow-conspirators, you have come here in haste to deny the truth. And in a single night, you have taken thought, not only to do away with your father from the human *world*, but, instead, to even annul the law which is written against you, along with the excellence of Varus, and the nature of righteousness.

18 "Is this how you have put so much confidence in your shamelessness, that you even ask to be tortured, and *yet* say that the examinations *extracted* by torture of those who have been previously tortured are falsehoods? That those who have, indeed, rescued your father from you may be rejected as having not told the truth, but that your examinations by torture may be accepted as trustworthy?

19 "O Varus, will you not rescue the king from the abuses of his kinsmen? Will you not *bring ruin upon* this wicked beast, who has: indeed, pretended to have goodwill toward his father in order to bring about the ruin of his brothers, but, when he was certain of quickly obtaining the kingdom for himself alone, that he showed himself to be more deadly than everyone *else*? **20** You know that patricide is an unrighteous-deed which effects the entire community, both *in respects* to nature and to life; *merely* taking counsel to *commit* it is not inferior to its perpetration.¹ And the one who does not punish it, is unrighteous to nature *itself*."

21 But *Nikolaos* added further *remarks* concerning the things which Antipatros' mother had said whenever she *engaged* in light womanly chatter. But he *also told about* the soothsayings and the sacrifices directed against the king, and whatever licentious-acts Antipatros had done with Ferorah's women with wine and passionate indignity; but also, the examinations of those who were tortured, and the testimonies they gave. Now these *testimonies* were many and various. Some were indeed prepared beforehand, but others were *devised* on the spur of the moment, both of which brought messages and confirmed what had been discovered.

22 For *some of* the humans, if only in fear that Antipatros would take vengeance on them if he should escape, passed over his actions in silence. *But* when they saw that he was made accessible to the accusations brought by the first *witnesses*, and that fortune, which had greatly stood with him before, was now openly delivering him into the hands of his enemies, they gave full-rein to their insatiable enmity toward him. *Then they divulged everything*.²

23 But this was hastened at this time, not so much by the enmity of those who attempted to accuse him, as by the magnitude of his audacity to contrive wicked-deeds; and by his ill-will toward his father and his brothers, filling-up their house with sedition and mutual-slaughter; and by never being righteous in his hatred, nor friendly in the midst of his goodwill, instead, he *only did what* was likely to be profitable to himself.

24 Many people had closely-examined all these things for a long time, especially those who were naturally disposed to discern matters by the *rules of* virtue, and who gave their vote without being moved by anger. These *individuals* had, at first, been prevented from making any outcry; *and* when they were given the opportunity to do so without fear, they brought out into public everything they knew. **25** Also, all sorts of demonstrations of his wicked-deeds were given, which could not in any way be charged with falsehood, because the majority spoke, not out of goodwill to Héródés, nor did *any* suspicions of *falling into* dangers keep them silent from speaking their charges; instead, they considered his deeds to be evil, and that Antipatros was deserving of extreme retribution, not for the sake of Héródés' security, but because of his own villainy. **26** Many things were also said by many *individuals* who had not received a transmitted message *prompting them* to speak these things, so that even though Antipatros had always been very clever in every way at lying even without blushing, he could not bring forth enough strength *even* to produce a *mere* sound in contradiction.

27 Now after *Nikolaos* had brought both his accounts and evidences to an end, Varus directed Antipatros to proceed to make his defense³ against these charges, "if you are in any way prepared to show that you are not liable to them. For even I myself am praying, knowing that your father is similarly praying, that you may not be discovered to be unrighteous."

28 But at this, *Antipatros* fell over *and* lay on his mouth in silence, saying no more than this, "I appeal to God, and to all men, to testify that I have done nothing unrighteous; and to show, by sure-signs, that I have not plotted against my father. For God is my testifier that I have done nothing unrighteous."

29 Indeed, all of those who are destitute of excellence are also accustomed, when they undertake anything wicked and proceed to act in accordance with their own inclination, to rule out the Deity's intervention; but when they are discovered *and* are in danger of having to undergo a rightful-punishment, they endeavor to divert all the testifiers against them by calling down the name. **30** And this was exactly what Antipatros now did:

For he had accomplished everything as if he was in isolation away from the Deity. *But* when righteousness hemmed him in from every side, leaving him without any other means of *making* a righteous plea, by which he might dismiss these charges against him, he once again insulted the excellence of the Deity, by leaning-upon a testimony of *the Deity's* power, that he had been preserved until now; *and* he brought forward before all of them, how unceasingly audacious he had acted toward his father.

31 Now Varus, after repeatedly interrogating Antipatros, found that he had nothing more *to say* apart from his invocation to God, *and* saw that it would have no end. *So* he directed⁴ for the drug to be brought into their midst, in order that he might learn what power remained in it. And when it was brought it, he had it given to a prisoner who was condemned to death; at Varus' direction, *this person* drunk it, and died on the spot.

32 But then Varus rose *from his seat*, departed from the congress, and immediately held a private discussion with Héródés; but the multitude was in the dark about the discussion, and what he said when he departed. But it was conjectured by the multitude, that whatever Héródés did to Antipatros was done *in accordance* with Varus' opinion. *So* Héródés, indeed, bound his son *in chains* on the spot. **33** Now after Héródés had bound *his son*, Varus wrote to Caesar about this congress, and, on the following day, went to Antiocheia, where he also passed most of his time, because this was the royal *palace* of the Syrians. But the king sent out documents about *Antipatros* to Caesar in Roma, along with *men* to

² [Ant] Lat adds

³ [Ant] // [War] "to defend himself"

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "he asked for"

¹ literally "appearance"

explain the event and to teach him *with their own* tongue about the villainy of Antipatros, and furnish the opinion of Caesar.¹

CHAPTER 85 [Ant17:141, 134-140, 142-145 / War1:641-644, 645b]

Now after this, it was found that Antipatros had also plotted against Shelome. For there was a handmaid who was enslaved to Caesar's wife Julia,² named Akmé, who was a Judean by birth. She had sent a letter to the king *stating* that she had indeed found, among Julia's documents, some letters from Shelome, but, that, out of her goodwill toward him, she had these sent to him secretly. **2** Now *these letters* contained *the* most bitter abuses of the king and *the* biggest accusations against him. But these were forgeries of Antipatros, who had corrupted Akmé *and* persuaded her to send them to Hérōdés. *For* she did this out of her friendship to Antipatros, since she had been bought by him with a large *sum of* money to assist him in doing evil to both his father and to his aunt.

3 Now during these days, *they* intercepted a letter which was written to Antipatros by Antiphilos, who was then staying in Egypt. This letter was brought from Roma by one of Antiphilos' domestic-slaves. And when it was opened by the king, it was found to contain the following:

I have sent you Akmé's letter, without having consideration for *the danger of* my own soul. For you know that if I am discovered, I shall again be in danger from two houses. But I *hope that* you are fortunate in your affair.

4 And these were indeed the contents of this letter. But the king inquired for the other letter as well, yet, truly, it was not visible. And Antiphilos' slave, who had brought the letter which had been read, denied that he had received any other. **5** Therefore, while the king was at a loss, one of Hérōdés' friends noticed that there was a patch *sown* on the bondservant's inner tunic (for he was wearing two of these), *and* conjectured that the document was hidden within the over-fold.³ But this was also the way it was. **6** Therefore, they took the letter, in which the following was written:

Akmé to Antipatros,

As you wished, I have written to your father *the* type of letter which you wanted, and have sent that letter. I have also made a copy of *the letter of* Shelome to my lady which I wrote. I certainly know that, when the king has read them, he will not spare his sister Shelome, taking vengeance on her as plotting against him. But whenever everything is completed, do good, remembering what you have promised.

7 Now this *letter*, supposedly from Shelome to her mistress, was, as far as its meaning was concerned, dictated by Antipatros in the name of Shelome, but the style was composed by her.⁴

8 Now this is what was written:

Akmé to King Hérōdés,

I am endeavoring to make *sure* that not one thing done against you shall escape your notice. When I found a letter of Shelome written to my lady against you, I copied it and sent it off to you. This was dangerous for me, but beneficial *for you*. Now this *letter* was written by Shelome because she wants to marry Shullai. Therefore, tear this letter to bits, so that I may not endanger my life.

9 Now *Akmé* had also written to Antipatros himself, clearly-informing him, that, ministering his directions, she had both written to Hérōdés as if Shelome was pressing-hard to plot against him in every way, and that a copy of a letter as coming from Shelome to her mistress had been sent off to her.

10 When this letter was discovered, along with those prepared to bring down Shelome, Hérōdés was panic-stricken at the magnitude of Antipatros' maliciousness. Indeed, a thought fell upon the king, that perhaps the documents against Alexandros were also forged. **11** But he was ready to get rid of *Antipatros* on the spot, as an agitator⁵ of serious activities, and for having plotted not only against himself but also against his sister (because, on his account, he had almost killed her as well), and for having corrupted the house of Caesar. Now Shelome also incited him to do this, beating her breast in grief, and directing him, "Kill me, if I have been so guilty as to make any such charges like these *seem* credible."

12 Now Hérōdés sent for his son to interrogate him, directing him to speak without mistrust if he had anything to say in contradiction. But when Antipatros refused to open his mouth, *Hérōdés* asked him, "Since you have been discovered

to be evil in every way, at least denounce your accomplices in these activities without delay."

13 Now *Antipatros* laid all the responsibility upon Antiphilos, but brought forward no one else.

Therefore,⁶ Hérōdés was so extremely-pained at this incident, that he no longer delayed to seize him *in order to bring* retribution upon him for everything; indeed, he was ready to send his son to Roma to Caesar to give an account there for this design of his. **14** Then, *Hérōdés*, becoming anxious that Antipatros, with the help of his friends, might find a means of escape from this danger, indeed kept him bound and under guard as before. **15** But he again sent to Caesar elders and documents to bring an accusation against his son; indeed, he also sent *an account* about whatever Akmé had done as his accomplice, and the frauds against Shelome, along with copies of the letters.

CHAPTER 86 [Ant17:146-167 / War1:645a, 646-655]

And, indeed, the elders hastened to Roma, but were thoroughly taught beforehand what they were to say when they were interrogated. They also brought the documents with them. **2** But, while the king was proceeding to extreme measures against Antipatros, he was restrained by a severe sickness which fell upon him.

He also asked for his will *and* altered⁷ it; and, indeed, he assigned his kingdom to his youngest son Antipas, *making* him king, negligent of his eldest sons, Archelaos and Philippos. This was due to *the king's* hatred of them, which arose from Antipatros; for they had been slandered by Antipatros as well. **3** Now besides gifts without money, he also *wrote that* 1,000 talents *be given to* Caesar; and about 500 to Caesar's wife Julia and his children, and friends and freedmen. But he also distributed money and revenues, and apportioned fields and not small territories to his sons and to their sons.⁸ **4** But he honored his sister Shelome by making her very wealthy with the most splendid gifts, because she had persisted in being kindly-disposed toward him in everything, and had never been emboldened to work wickedness against him. Therefore, these, indeed, were the things he corrected in his will.

5 Now his sickness steadily grew more severe, because these infirmities fell upon him while in his old age and *while he was* in despondency. For, indeed, he was already nearly seventy years *old*;⁹ but his circumstances with his children had so broken his soul, that even when he was in *good* health, he no longer enjoyed any of the pleasures *of life*. But his sickness was further intensified because Antipatros was still alive; *for* he had determined that his execution should not be a casual-incident, but that he should be done away with after he himself had recovered.

6 But since *Hérōdés* despaired of surviving, he grew savage, treating everyone with intemperate anger and bitterness. Now the cause of this was that he imagined that he was despised, and that the nation took pleasure in his *misfortunes*, especially when, among his other circumstances, some of the popular humans also rose up against him for the following reason:

7 There were two wise-*men* in the city: Judah son of Zerifa;¹⁰ and the other, Matthijah *son of* Margalothos.¹¹ They were imagined to be the most learned of the Judeans and most accurate interpreters of the laws of the fathers. And for this reason, they were greatly esteemed by the entire nation; *and* because of their discipline of the youth, they were men beloved by the country. **8** Their interpretations on the laws were attended by no little surplus of youths, and they drew together an army of those who were in their prime *of life*. For everyone who made an effort to acquire excellence, spent the whole day with them every day.

9 At that time, they also learned that the king was sinking away under despondency, and that the sickness was impossible to be treated. So they excited the youth by dropping down accounts to their acquaintances, *saying*, "This is a suitable opportunity to avenge God's cause, and to either take down or pull down all the works which the king has constructed contrary to the laws of the fathers, thereby obtaining rewards from the law for our contests of piety. **10** For it is also on account of *Hérōdés'* audacity in manufacturing such things which are explicitly stated *as forbidden* in the law, that his other misfortunes, which are so unusual among the humans, have wasted him away,¹² along with his sickness as well."

11 For Hérōdés had busied himself with things contrary to the law, of which he was called *to account* by the party of Judah and Matthijah. Now the king had constructed over the great gateway¹³ of the inner-sanctum, as a votive-offering and at excessive expense, a great golden eagle. **12** Now the law prevents *anyone* both to be contriving a standing-up of images, and to place busts, and to be pursuing a setting-up of any representation of *any* living-creatures whatever in the

⁶ [War] // [Ant] "But/Now"

⁷ [War] // [Ant] "wrote"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "to everyone else"

⁹ [War] // [Ant] "For he was also about his seventieth year"

¹⁰ [Ant] Hebrew emendation / most "Sariphaeus" / E "Phariseus" / AM-margin "Sappharaeus" (Hebrew

"Tzipporai" // [War] "Sepheraius" (Hebrew "Tzipporai") or "Septheraeus" or "Septhaireus"

¹¹ [Ant] most / P "Mergalothos" / Lat "Meglothi" // [War] "Margalos"

¹² may also be translated "have wasted his time"

¹³ [Ant] // [War] "gates"

¹ [Ant] PE, Lat / others add

² [Ant], [War] most // [War] PA "Livia" (and below)

³ may also be translated "the flap"

⁴ [Ant] Lat "Akmé's"

⁵ literally "a ladel for stirring"

inner-sanctum. For, *in fact*, the law prevents those who purpose to live in accordance with it from *even* intending to *do such things*.

13 So at that time, these wise-men exhorted and ordered them to pull down the eagle and cut it *apart*, saying to them, “For even if there is some danger which might arise and offer us death, still, to those who are about to end *their lives* for the sake of the salvation and guarding of the laws of our fathers, it is a noble deed; and the excellence acquired by these *deeds* will appear to be far more profitable than the pleasure of living. 14 For the souls of those who end in this way are immortal, and will retain a perpetual sense of goodness. They will be equipped with an everlasting commendation—being commended both now, and leave their life to be remembered forever by *future* generations.

15 “And yet further, even those who live without danger are unable to escape the misfortune of *death*. For it is the ignoble and those who are inexperienced in wisdom, who, in their ignorance, grasp a love for their own soul, and prefer a death from sickness to excellent-conduct. Because of this, those who strive for excellence, do well to accept their fate with commendation and honor when they are discharged from this life. 16 For this will bring much relief to death, when we court danger for a noble cause. And at the same time, we leave behind for our sons, and whatever relatives, men or women, who survive after us, a benefit of a good-reputation which is obtained by doing this.”

17 And, indeed, with accounts such as this, they excited the youths. But at the same time, an account was spread abroad that the king had died; and this *report* cooperated with the wise-men. So when it reached them, the youths engaged themselves more audaciously into the attempt. 18 And accordingly, at mid-day, while many who dwelled in the temple were busy, they went up onto the roof and let themselves down by thick ropes. And they pulled down the golden eagle, and cut it *apart* with axes.

19 And¹ the king’s general (for a message *about* this attempt was brought to him straightway) thought that what was being done was more serious than it proved to be. So he came up with a force large enough to hold out against the multitude which was endeavoring to take down the votive-offering which was set up. He fell upon them unexpectedly with no small force. Instead, as is usual with a loving crowd, they had dared to do this with an ignorant supposition² rather than with precautionary foreknowledge. But they were disorganized and not closely-examining what was for their benefit. 20 Now he seized no fewer than³ forty of the youths, who had courage to stay, while the rest of the multitude fled. He also captured Judah and Matthijah, the authors of the daring-deed, who thought it was inglorious to withdraw on his approach, and he led them up⁴ to the king.

21 Now when they had reached the king, he first asked⁵ them, “Have you been so bold as to take down and cut *apart* the votive-offering of the golden eagle which I set up?”

“Yes,” they admitted. “And yet the thoughts which we have thought, and the accomplishments which we have accomplished, had *the* highest degree of excellence which befits humans.”

22 Then *he asked*, “Who ordered you to *do this*?”

They answered, “The laws of our fathers. For we have come to the aid of things which are deemed-worthy of *being entrusted to*⁶ the Deity, and which are of deep concern to those who listen to the law. 23 It should also not be *at all* surprising if we believe that it is less important to observe your decrees than the laws which Moses wrote as God dictated and taught him, *and* which he left behind.”

23 But he further asked them, “How can you rejoice in this way, when you will surely be done away with?”

They said, “Because, after our end, we shall have *the* enjoyment of greater goodness. It will also be with pleasure, that we will endure the death, and whatever retribution you may throw on us; since we are conscious that we shall surely die, not because of any unrighteous deeds on our part, *but*, instead, because of our affection toward piety.”

24 And, indeed, they all spoke in this way, not one having any less boldness in their account, than when they had been undeterred in carrying out their courageous deed.

But the king had them bound *and* summoned to⁷ Jericho, *along with* the Judean officials. And when they arrived, he convened an assembly in the amphitheater. 25 These *proceedings* provoked the king’s anger to such an extent, that he overcame his sickness, and went out to *the* assembly. Because of his lack of strength to stand, he lay upon a couch.

26 Now he recounted all his strenuous efforts on their behalf, and at what great expense to himself he had prepared the inner-sanctum. “While the Hasimonians, during the 125 years of their reign, were not strong enough to accomplish anything such as this for *the* honor of God. But I also adorned it with

remarkable votive-offerings. 27 On this account, I, indeed, cherished the hope, that even after I have died, I would leave behind a memorial of both myself and a good-reputation.”

28 At this time, he also cried out, accusing the men, “For this reason, even while I was alive, they have not abstained from affronting me; instead, during *the* day, and also in the sight of the multitude, with wanton-violence, they have fallen upon what I have set up, and, with that wanton-violence, have pulled it down. Indeed, this was accounted against me. But in truth, if anyone probes their actions, *they will see that it is* sacrilege, and that they have greater attempts *planned*, using their law as a false-motive. *Therefore*, I think it fit that they should be chastised for being impious.”

29 But because of *Hērōdēs’* cruelty, and out of anxiety that in his savageness he himself might find evidence to convict many of the populace and exact retribution from them, they said, “These things were done without our consent. And it appears to us, that these *men* should not be exempted from chastisement. *But* we entreat you to first chastise those who suggested this operation; then, those who were arrested while doing it; *but* to dismiss your anger against the rest.”

30 Now the king was barely persuaded *to do this*; indeed, he dealt rather mildly with the others. But he ended the priesthood of the chief-priest Matthijah, since he was partly responsible for this *incident*, and appointed Joezer, who was *Matthijah’s* wife’s brother, as chief-priest.

31 Now it happened while this Matthijah was serving as priest, that another chief-priest was appointed for a single day, that *day* which the Judeans observe as a fast. 32 Now this was the cause: While Matthijah was serving as priest, at night, before *the* day on which *the* fast occurred, he imagined in a dream that he was having *sexual*-intercourse with a woman. And since he was unable to serve as priest because of this *experience*, one of his relatives, Joseph son of Ellemus, served as priest in his place.

33 But Hērōdēs ended Matthijah’s chief-priesthood. And as for the other Matthijah, who had stirred up the sedition, *Hērōdēs* had him completely-burned alive, along with some men who were his companions, *including* those who had let themselves down *by ropes*, together with their wise-men. But the rest of those who were arrested, he handed over to his attendants to do away with. And on that same night, there was an eclipse of the moon.

CHAPTER 87 [Ant17:168-181 / War1:656-660]

But from then on, Hērōdēs’ sickness became more virulent, grasping his entire body *and* dividing into various sufferings; *for* God was exacting a rightful-punishment on him for having acted unlawfully. For, indeed, a mild fiery-heat entered him, which was not furious. But *the sickness* did not so much indicate symptoms of the burning⁸ which could be touched on the surface, *with an exception* of an intolerable itching which was present all over, as it augmented the distress on the inside.

2 Now he had a terrible yearning to receive anyone;⁹ for he could not receive assistance. And there was an ulceration in his intestines, and exceedingly terrible and continuous pains in his colon; also tumors¹⁰ and a moist and translucent phlegm *were* around his feet, like *someone* having dropsy. But there was also a nearly-equal distress, a fiery-heat, which entered around his abdomen. Yes, *he* also *suffered* from a putrefaction of his genitals which produced¹¹ worms. 3 He could only breathe while in an upright position. But whenever he sat upright, his spirit was strained.¹² And, on account of both the burden of his exhalation and his constant shortness-of-breath, *breathing was* exceedingly loathsome. Spasms also entered around every part and limb *of his body*, which took on an unendurable strength.

4 Therefore, it was said by those who were divining, and whose wisdom led them to openly predict such things, that the diseases were a recompense from God, entering into the king for the great impiety which he had done to the wise-men.

5 But even though he wrestled with such numerous sufferings, *and* his afflictions seemed greater than anyone could endure, nevertheless, he clung to life, still in hope of recovering.¹³ He also sent for healers, and did not divert from doing whatever they suggested for his aid. And he devised *several* treatments: 6 Accordingly, he crossed¹⁴ the Jordan River to bathe himself in the hot-springs at Kallirrhōé (*which, in Hellenic, means ‘Beautiful Flow’*), which, in addition to all their other excellent-qualities, are sweet to the taste and drinkable. Now this water, indeed, discharges into a lake called Asphaltophoros¹⁵ (*which means ‘Asphalt Producing’*).

⁸ may also be translated “inflammation”

⁹ may also be translated “anything”

¹⁰ may also be translated “swellings”

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] “engendered”

¹² [Ant] // [War] “, he had a difficulty of breathing”

¹³ [Ant] (“still...recovering” // [War] “hoping to be delivered”

¹⁴ [Ant] // [War] “passed over”

¹⁵ [Ant] // [War] “into the Lake of Asphalt”

¹ [Ant] // [War] “But/Now”

² may also be translated “glory”

³ [Ant] (“no fewer than” // [War] “about”

⁴ [Ant] // [War] “led them down”

⁵ [Ant] (“asked” // [War] “inquired of”

⁶ [Ant] P / most add

⁷ [Ant] P “summoned to” / most “sent to”

7 Now here, the healers supposed that he was to¹ be heating his entire body in hot olive-oil, by letting it down² into a bathing-tub full of *that olive-oil*. At this, he fainted, and his eyes turned up as though he was dead; and their supposition was that this *procedure* had caused his departure *from this life*. But when his domestic-slaves, who were his attendants, made an uproar and lamentation, the sound indeed brought him back³ to himself. 8 And⁴ since he did not have the slightest hope of being saved,⁵ he directed that 50 drachmas should be dispensed⁶ to each of his soldiers. But he also gave considerable money to their leaders and to his friends.

9 And⁷ he turned around and went back to Jericho, where a black *mood* seized him, and made him so melancholy-mad, that it made everything *he did* savage, and almost threatened him with the death. And even though he was close to coming-to-his-end, he proceeded to devise⁸ the following unlawful operation:

10 For he ordered that all of, both the important men and the distinguished men, of the entire Judean nation, wherever they lived, from every Judean village, were to come to him. Now there were many of *them*, since the entire nation had been called down, and they all listened to his edict. For death awaited anyone who disregarded his letters. 11 When they had been gathered together, the king, who was furious with all of them alike, both the guiltless as well as those who had afforded *grounds for their incrimination*, directed them to be shut-up in what is called the hippodrome.

12 Now he summoned his sister Shelome and her husband Alexas, declaring this to them, “Indeed, my death is not far off, so many are the pains which grip me. And, indeed, this fate must be borne, and be regarded with affection by all *men*. But what troubles me the most, is that I shall go without the lamentation, and lack *the type of mourning* which should accompany a king.

13 “I know that the Judeans will celebrate a festival upon my death. For I have not averted my sight from their notion: how desirable and how pleasing my death would be to them, because even while I was alive, they were eager to defect, and to show their wanton-violence for what I had set up.

14 “Now it is your task to decide *if you will* provide me with alleviation from my grievous *sufferings* in this *situation*. For if you are willing to serve my instructions, and do not refuse to have regard for my glory, I shall have a great and splendid funeral, and it shall be *one* as no other king has ever had; and there will be another way for me to be mourned for, *yes*, there shall be mourning throughout the entire nation, which shall be lamenting from its very soul, rather than *being done* in sport and laughter at me.

15 “Therefore, as soon as you see that I have breathed my last *and* released my soul, you are to immediately place soldiers around the hippodrome, while they do not yet know about my death. For you are not to declare this to the multitude prior to having done these things. You are to kill those men who are shut-in *there* under guard, by having javelins hurled at them. And if all of *them* are done away with in this manner, you shall not fail to make me rejoice in two ways: both carrying out the injunctions which I have given to you as I am about to come-to-my-end, and that I will be honored by a remarkable mourning. *So* all Judah, and every house will weep for me, whether they like it or not.”

16 And, indeed, with tears, he loudly-implored them *to do these things*, and appealed to them by their familial goodwill and by their faith of the Deity, and charged them not to leave him dishonored. They agreed to not transgress *his instructions*.

CHAPTER 88 [Ant17:182-187 / War1:661-664a]

Now while he was giving these instructions to his relatives, documents⁹ came from the elders who had been sent off to Caesar in Roma. And when these were received and read, the main points were: it was clear that Akmé had indeed been done away with through Caesar's directions, out of his anger at her for having joined with Antipatros in his malicious-activities. 2 But as for Antipatros himself, he was condemned to death. But *Caesar* left it to Hérōdés to act as his father and king; yet, truly, it was further written that, if his father wanted him to be driven into exile, he had Caesar's permission either to do so, or even to kill him *himself*.

3 When Hérōdés heard these things, he certainly recovered his cheerfulness for a short *time*, indeed, out of pleasure over the documents; he was also elated at Akmé's death and at the authority given to him to bring retributions upon his boy. 4 But later his pains became much more intense, and he refused to eat. *So*, exerted by a lack of foods and by a spasmodic cough, he was worn out and overcome by *these pains*, and was ready to give up. *So* he tried to hasten his destiny.

5 And he asked for an apple. When he had grabbed it, he *then* asked for a knife. For it had also formerly been his custom¹⁰ to peel and cut the fruit himself, and to cut it into small pieces to eat. 6 Now he grabbed the knife; and then, with the intention of stabbing himself with it, he looked all around to see that there was no one there to prevent him *from doing so*. *Then* he lifted up his right hand to strike himself. And he would have done so, had not his first-cousin Ahab ran to him and seized his right hand, preventing him from doing so. And *Ahab* raised a great shout. But straightaway the lamentation arose and echoed throughout the royal *palace*, and there was a great uproar as if the king had departed *this life*.

7 And when Antipatros heard this, for he believed that his father had actually come to his end, he quickly regained courage in his accounts, as though he was already entirely released from his bonds and could take the kingdom into his hands without a struggle. And rejoicing, he had a dialogue with one of the prison-guards about his release; and he beseeched him, promising him lots of money, both now and later, if he would loose him *and* let him go, as if that was the only thing now pending.

8 But the leader not only refused to do what Antipatros had asked;¹¹ instead, he also ran to carry back a message to the king, giving proofs of *Antipatros'* intentions to form a plot against him, and added many embellishments of his own to the story.

9 But when Hérōdés, who even before *this time* had in no way been overwhelmed by goodwill for his son, heard the prison-guard's statements, he shouted-out louder than his sickness should have allowed, beating his head, although he was at his last. Raising himself on his elbow, he immediately sent for some of his spearmen, directing them to kill *Antipatros* without delay, and to do it instantly; but ordered that his corpse have an unmarked burial-place¹² in Hyrkania.

CHAPTER 89 [Ant17:188-199; 16:183-186 / War1:664b-673]

But due to an alteration of his intellectual-capacity, *Hérōdés* once more altered and revised his will: Indeed, Antipas, to whom he had previously left the kingdom, he appointed to be tetrarch of both Galilee and Peraia; but he favorably-gave the kingdom to his oldest son, Archelaos, who was Antipas' brother, writing him *down* as the successor.

2 But, indeed, he gave Golan, and Trachōn, and Bashan, and Paneas as a tetrarchy to his boy Philippos, but who was a legitimate brother of Archelaos. But he allotted Jabneh, and Ashdod, and Fazaelis to his sister Shelome, along with 500,000 *pieces* of coined silver. 3 But he also made provision for the rest of his relatives, making each of them wealthy, both by giving them money and by assigning them revenues. But to Caesar, he indeed left 10,000,000 *pieces* of coined silver; but *this* was separate from *the vessels*, which were indeed of gold and silver, and the garments, *which were* exceedingly costly. But to Caesar's wife Julia, and to some others, *he left* 5,000,000.

4 When *Hérōdés* had done these things, he, surviving the killing¹³ of his son¹⁴ Antipatros by five days, came to his end on the fifth *day*. He had reigned for 34 years from the time when he had indeed done away with¹⁵ Antigonos *and* ruled over the affairs *of the state*; but for 37 years from the time when he had been appointed king by the Romans. He was a man who was cruel to everyone alike, and, indeed, easily gave way to anger, but was too great for righteousness. 5 But as for his fortune, he was indeed favored by it, and approved¹⁶ by it, as anyone has ever been. For from a commoner, he won a kingdom, and was established as a king, and kept watch over it for such a long time, and left it behind to his own children. And although he was encompassed by ten thousand dangers, he managed to escape from them all and reached *one of the* longest lives. 6 But as for his house *and* his sons, (which, indeed, according to his own opinion, he altogether approved,¹⁷ since he had not failed to get the better of those whom he considered his enemies), he was altogether unfortunate.

7 Now before the king's death was discovered or the soldiers knew about his end, Shelome and her husband Alexas went out *and* disbanded the prisoners who had been called down to the hippodrome, whom the king had instructed them to kill. *And they sent them* out, declaring, “The king has changed his mind.” And they told them, “The king has directed each of you to return¹⁸ back to your own fields to manage your own houses.” Now this act of theirs was a great benefit to the nation.

8 Now when these *men* had gone, Shelome and Alexas made *the king's death* known to the soldiers, and gathered the soldiers together to an assembly with the rest of the multitude in the amphitheater at Jericho. 9 Indeed, at that place, Ptolemaios, who had been entrusted with the king's signet ring, came forward,

¹ [War] // [Ant] “physicians thought that he should”

² [Ant] & [War] use a different Greek word for “letting down”, but both words have the same meaning

³ [War] // [Ant] “brought him around”

⁴ [Ant] // [War] “But/Now”

⁵ [Ant] // [War] “he despaired of his salvation”

⁶ [Ant] // [War] “distributed”

⁷ [Ant] // [War] “But/Now”

⁸ [Ant] // [War] “attempt”

⁹ [Ant] // [War] “, letters”

¹⁰ [Ant] // [War] “For he had been accustomed”

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] “not only prevented him”

¹² may also be translated “an insignificant burial”

¹³ [Ant] // [War] “the doing away with”

¹⁴ [Ant] // [War] “boy”

¹⁵ [Ant] // [War] “indeed killed”

¹⁶ literally “altogether welcomed with his right hand”

¹⁷ literally “altogether welcomed with his right hand”

¹⁸ [Ant] // [War] “to be sent up”

and first pronounced a benediction over the king, and exhorted the multitude. And he read a letter which *Hērōdēs* had written *and* left behind to the soldiers, thanking them for their faith and goodwill to him, and exhorting them to give similar support and goodwill to his successor, his boy Archelaos, whom he had established as their king.

10 But after this letter, Ptolemaios next opened the king's will, *and* recounted¹ the codicils. Indeed, Philippos was to inherit Trachōn and the neighboring districts, but Antipas was to be a tetrarch, but Archelaos was appointed a king. However, *this will* was not to be otherwise ratified until Caesar had inspected it.

11 For Archelaos had also been instructed by *Hērōdēs* to carry his signet to Caesar, along with the marked *documents relating* to the administration of the kingdom. For Caesar was lord over his dispositions, and a confirmer of his wills. Still, *Hērōdēs ordered* that the remainder of the previous *will* was to be observed.

12 Therefore,² straightaway, a shout was raised to Archelaos, as they rejoiced together with him, highly honoring him as *their* king. And the soldiers and their leaders, with the multitude, advanced in compact-bodies; indeed, *they* promised *their* goodwill and readiness *to serve him*. But they also were praying-together to God *and* were exhorting God to be an assistant to *him*.

13 Now after this was over, they turned to the king's burial and prepared for his funeral-rites. Archelaos took care that the carrying of his father's *corpse* should be extravagant, and did not omit a single extravagance. Instead, he brought forward all of the royal ornamentation to accompany the corpse's procession. **14** For,³ indeed, *the corpse* was carried on bier of solid gold, embroidered with various kinds of extravagant stones. But the body lay upon a bedding, which was a purple-robe of various colors, including sea-purple. And the corpse itself was covered with a purple-garment. And, indeed, a diadem was laid upon his head, but a golden crown was laid above it. But a staff also lay beside his right hand.

15 Now⁴ around the bier were both his sons and the multitude of his relatives. But after these followed the soldiery, disposed according to their nations and designations. They were dispensed in the following order: First, indeed, were his spearmen; but next, the compact-body of Thracians; but after these, were the Germans; and also, next, the Galatic *soldiers*.⁵ All of these were equipped as for war and in military order.⁶ **16** But behind these, the rest of the entire army,⁷ in order,⁸ as if they were marching out to war, were led forward by their captains and squadron-chiefs. But these were followed by 500 of the domestic-slaves and freedmen who were carrying spices. **17** Now the body was conveyed 200⁹ stadia to Hērōdeion, *but the entire army only* went 8 stadia.¹⁰ For there, in accordance with his own instruction, he was to be buried. And this, indeed, was how Hērōdēs ended his course.¹¹

18 Now Nikolaos, *Hērōdēs'* personal historiographer, since he lived in *Hērōdēs'* kingdom, wrote to gratify him and to be of service to him, only touching upon what brought him good-repute, but also painting his many obvious unrighteous-deeds in the opposite colors, and making every effort to conceal them. **19** And yet, wishing to give a colorful appearance to the death of Miriam and her boys, which had been done so brutally by the king, *Nikolaos* speaks falsely of her licentiousness and plots formed against him by the striplings. And throughout his *own* writing, he has indeed been consistent in excessively praising the king for his righteous-deeds, but earnestly defending his transgressions.

CHAPTER 90 [Ant17:200-205 / War2:1-4]

Now Archelaos' obligation to journey to Roma was the occasion for new disorders. For he indeed continued to mourn for seven days out of honor for his father (for the custom of our fathers prescribes this number of days), and provided a very expensive funeral banquet for the multitude. (Now *for* many Judeans, this custom is a cause of poverty, because it is an obligation for them to hold a banquet for the multitude; for if someone was to neglect it, he would indeed not be *considered* pious). **2** Now after holding the banquet and ending his mourning, he changed into a white garment, and proceeded up into the temple. There, wherever he passed, the people welcomed him with both various adulations and praises; each one vied with one another as to who would seem to adulate him the most extravagantly.

3 Now he ascended a high platform which had been built there, and took his seat on a gold throne. Then he saluted the crowd with his right hand in return, being delighted by the multitude's adulations, and taking pleasure in their goodwill. *And he said*, "I offer *my* thanks to you for the eagerness which all of you have expressed concerning my father's funeral, and that none of you have bore me any ill-will for the outrages which my father had inflicted upon you; and

¹ [Ant] // [War] "read aloud"

² [Ant] // [War] "But/Now"

³ [War] // [Ant] "But/Now"

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "And"

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "the Galatians"

⁶ may also be translated "in military gear"/"in military ornamentation"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "of the force"

⁸ may also be translated "in garb" / "in ornamentation"

⁹ [War] LVRC, Lat, Pseudo-Hegesippus "200" / PAM "70"

¹⁰ or "but they only went 8 stadia per day"

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] "Hērōdēs came to his end."

certainly for the attentiveness which you have toward me, as to a king who is already confirmed. **4** Yet, truly, I will not endeavor to be remiss in repaying your devotion to me; instead, however, for the time being, I affirm that I will not only refrain from *exercising* the authority of king, but even from the names. For I will not validate this honor, until Caesar (who is the master of everything) authorizes the succession by confirming my father's will. **5** For it is this reason, that even when the army at Jericho was eager to place the diadem upon me, I did not accept its honor, which is so highly sought after, because it was not yet clear whether the man who has the authority to properly grant this *privilege* would *be willing* to bestow it upon me. **6** However, for your devotion and goodwill, I will not be lacking in the virtue of paying back generous rewards to the soldiers and the populace alike, indeed, as soon as I am designated the confirmed king over the affairs by the supreme authorities when they come. For I will be eager to show myself to be better toward you in everyway than my father had been."

7 Now the crowd¹² was pleased by these *words*, believing, as it is usual with them, that the first days reveal the intentions of those who come into the government. The more mildly and considerately Archelaos spoke to them, the more extravagant was the commendation they gave him. **8** And they immediately put his intention to the test with enormous demands for favors: For, indeed, some clamored for him to ease the annual tax-levies which they brought; but others demanded the abolishing of the payments (the taxes which had been levied upon public purchases and sales, and had been ruthlessly exacted); but still others even demanded the release of the prisoners who had been put in chains by Hērōdēs (and there were many of these, and they had been in prison for a long time).

9 And Archelaos, attending carefully to the multitude, made no opposition to them, but readily assented to everything; for he was eager to do anything to please them, in the belief that the multitude's goodwill would greatly help to preserve the affairs of his government. Now after this, he offered a sacrifice to God, and then went to a festival meal with his friends.

CHAPTER 91 [Ant17:206-218 / War2:5-13]

But, meanwhile, around dusk, a large number of the Judeans who desired revolution gathered together in their desire for revolution. And now that the public mourning for the king had ended, they began a private mourning, beating their breasts *in lamentation* over Mathijah and those whom Hērōdēs had punished and condemned for cutting and pulling down the golden eagle which had been at the inner-sanctum's gate. For due to the fear *the people* had had of *Hērōdēs*, these men had been deprived of the honor of being mourned.

2 Now this mourning was not restrained; instead, piercing wails, and an orchestrated dirge, and pounding *of the breast* resounded throughout the whole city, and they even cast reproaches against the king (as if that were a solace to the dead). They asserted that all of this clamor and mourning was on behalf of those men who had been destroyed by fire¹³ for the sake of their fathers' laws and the inner-sanctum.

3 These *people* also gathered together, and they kept crying out to Archelaos, demanding that it was necessary to avenge those men, by punishing those who had been honored by Hērōdēs; and that, yet first of all, he should remove the chief-priest who had been honored by Hērōdēs, as it was fitting that they should select someone more pious and pure, who would serve more in accordance with the law.

4 Indeed, Archelaos was becoming provoked at these things, but he withheld retaliation and assented to these *demands* despite his displeasure. This was due to his urgency to depart on his intended *voyage* to Roma in order to observe what decision Caesar might make. *And* he feared that after making foes of the multitude, he would then be detained by the commotion. *So* he tried to calm the revolutionaries by persuasion rather than by force.

5 So he sent in his general *and ordered him* to use persuasion, "Tell them to give up their foolish demands, and to consider the situation, *for the* death which has befallen their friends has been inflicted in accordance with the law; and that their demands have amounted to great insolence; also, that the time is not proper for such behavior, but rather for concord, until I return to them after being established in the government by Caesar's consent; for that shall be the time for me to take counsel with them about their demands; but for the present, they should be patient, lest they shall also give the appearance of being seditious."

6 And indeed, after *Archelaos* had given these suggestions and instructions to his general, he secretly sent him *to the people*, while he kept appealing *to them* to desist. But as *his general* went into the temple, the insurgents both made a clamor and prevented him from speaking; and they put his life in danger by *throwing* stones *at him* and driving him away *even* before he could open his mouth. *They* also *did the same* to anyone who went in after him, who were obviously venturing to call them to sobriety and to dissuade them from their present attempt; *for* they were altogether more submissive to their own wills than to the authority of their rulers.

¹² [Ant] // [War] "multitude"

¹³ [War] PAM / LVRC, Latin omits "by fire"

7 They were upset at having been deprived of those dearest to them while Hérōdés was alive; and at having been deprived of their revenge for this after *he had come* to his end, when they were in such an angry state. And whatever tended to give them pleasure, they regarded as both lawful and righteous; and they did not have enough sense to foresee any danger which might result from it; and when they did suspect such a thing to exist, it was outweighed by the present pleasure which they *expected* to receive from taking vengeance upon those whom they hated the most.

8 But Archelaos kept sending in many men to speak to them; and some, although they were there at his instance, appeared to be coming of their own volition in order to bring them to a milder frame of mind. But the people were not tolerating any of them to speak, and they answered everything with anger, and there was a move among them to stone *the messengers*. And it was obvious that, if they made any increases in their number, they were not going to acquiesce; and it was evident that, as a multitude streamed to join them, that they would cause the insurrection¹ to become much more serious.

9 Now also at this time, came the Festival of the Unleavened, which is called Passover among the Judeans, and which their fathers' law had appointed for the Judeans at this time in commemoration of their departure from Egypt, which they celebrate with gladness. And it hosts a great number of sacrificial offerings, since it is also their custom to cut-up² a greater number of them at this festival than at any other.

10 Now at its onset, an innumerable multitude of people came in, indeed, not only from the country, but also from abroad, to worship God. But the revolutionaries who were mourning the wise-men (both Judah and Matthijah, the interpreters of the laws) had united together in the temple, securing provisions and plenty of food for the civil strife, *for* these insurgents were not ashamed to beg for it.

11 And at this, Archelaos grew anxious, lest something terrible might also sprout out of their madness. And before the insurgents' violence could cause their mad disease to spread throughout the whole multitude, he secretly sent in a tribune with a cohort of heavy-armed *soldiers*. And he ordered them to subdue the instigators of the sedition by force, and also gave them this charge, "If you find anyone who is obviously more eager and seditious than the rest, have those *individuals* brought to me."

12 At this, the insurgents of those interpreters, along with the entire multitude, became provoked; and uttering cries and exhortations, they rushed upon the soldiers. And they surrounded them, and, throwing stones, indeed destroyed most of the cohort; but a few of them, and the tribune, barely escaped, wounded. And, indeed, after they had done these things, as if nothing terrible had happened, they returned to busying themselves with their sacrifices.

13 But Archelaos thought it was impossible to save the situation, unless he obstructed the impetuosity of the multitude in its present state; truly, it did not appear to him that it was possible to restrain the multitude any longer without bloodshed. But he let loose his entire army upon them: indeed, the infantry, in close order, *went* through the city; but the cavalry *went up* through the plain, in order to prevent those who had encamped there from helping those within the temple, and might do away with anyone who evaded the infantry and who thought themselves to have reached safety. 14 And suddenly attacking the various groups who were sacrificing, the cavalry indeed killed³ about 3,000 men; but they thoroughly scattered the rest of the multitude into the nearby mountains.

Now Archelaos issued a proclamation through his heralds who followed *them*, directing each one to return to his own home. But they all went away, having deserted the festival in fear of a greater evil to come, even though they had had the audacity due to their undisciplined *upbringings*.

CHAPTER 92 [Ant17:219-249 / War2:14-38]

Now Archelaos went down to the sea, taking along with him his mother, and his friends: Ptollos⁴ and Nikolaos and Ptolemaios. He left his brother Philippos behind to be his dictator and procurator over all the royal *properties* and the government, and steward of all his domestic *affairs*. 2 But Hérōdés' sister Shelome also went along *with him*, together with her family and children, as well as the nephews and in-laws of the king. Indeed, *they went* under the pretext of supporting Archelaos in his attempt to obtain the succession of the kingdom, but in truth, so that they could oppose him, and, in particular, to accuse him and make an outcry against him for the transgressions which he had committed at the temple.

3 But Sabinus, Caesar's procurator for affairs in Syria, as he was hastily going up into Judah to secure Hérōdés' money, met with Archelaos and the others at Caesarea. But Varus, whom Ptolemaios had sent in answer to Archelaos' urgent pleas, arrived at that moment, and prevented *Sabinus* from going *any* further to carry out this attempt. 4 And therefore indeed, at this time, in deference to Varus,

Sabinus neither pressed on to the citadels to seize them, nor excluded Archelaos from accessing the treasuries of his father's money by sealing them; but he kept promising that he would permit Archelaos to have them, and would wait until Caesar made a decision on what was to be done with them. And having promised this, he passed some time at Caesarea.

5 Now Varus indeed departed for Antiocheia, but Archelaos sailed for Roma. But as soon as those who were impeding Sabinus had left, he hastily rushed on to Jerusalem, and he took possession of the royal *properties*. Now he summoned both the fortress-chiefs and all the administrators, and made it plain that he would demand an accounting from them. And he kept endeavoring to hunt for these financial accounts; and to seize the citadels, and to dispose of them as he pleased.

6 Truly, those who guarded them did not ignore Archelaos' injunctions; but instead, they continued to keep everything secure as they had been ordered to do: standing fast, protecting each *fort*; now⁵ their pretext was to attribute this protective action to Caesar rather than to Archelaos.

7 But meanwhile, at this time, Hérōdés' boy Antipas, who was also contending over the kingship, also went off into the fray by sailing for Roma in order to obtain the government. And he considered that he had a greater right than Archelaos to take over the government, maintaining that Hérōdés' will in which he himself had been inscribed as the designated king was more authoritative and binding than its codicil.

But he was *further* excited by Shelome's promises that he would govern; and that she had earlier promised him her support, as had many of the relatives who sailed along with Archelaos. 8 But he was also winning over their mother, as well as Nikolaos' brother Ptolemaios, who seemed to be a balancing weight on account of the trust Hérōdés had put in him; for he had been the most honored among his friends and was now devoted to Antipas. So he had brought them with him. 9 However, Eirénaïos the orator was the one who most strongly insisted that he think of claiming the kingship; and on account of his forcefulness with words and his skillful reputation, Antipas primarily trusted him, and was confident of *obtaining* the kingship. Accordingly, on this basis, when the others admonished him to yield to Archelaos on account of both him being the eldest *brother*, and their father's codicil, he evaded and refused to listen to them.

10 But when *Antipas* arrived in Roma, all of his relatives transferred their eager support to him; not out of goodwill to him, but because all of them hated Archelaos. Indeed, each one was longing *to* preferably have their freedom and to *live under* their own laws, supervised by a Roman general; but if some obstacle caused this to fail, *each* wanted Antipas to be king, calculating that he would serve their interests better than Archelaos. So they worked to obtain the kingship for him.

11 But Sabinus was also collaborating with them toward this end, by means of documents,⁶ indeed accusing Archelaos before Caesar, while highly praising Antipas. But having marshaled their complaints, Shelome's party entrusted them to Caesar. And after this, Archelaos wrote up documents which included the main points concerning both his own rights and his father's will, and sent along both his father's signet-ring, together with the accounts⁷ of Hérōdés' money, to Caesar via Ptolemaios. And he proceeded to await the event.

12 But after Caesar had read both these documents in advance, as well as the letters from Varus and Sabinus concerning both the amount of the money and the size of the annual revenues, and had also looked over the various documents sent by Antipas in an effort to obtain the kingship for himself, he first privately considered the claims of both sides, and the magnitude of the kingdom, and the amount of the revenues, as well as the number of Hérōdés' progeny. 13 Then he summoned his friends together and convened a congress of the Roman magistrates to give their opinions. And among them, for the first time, he also seated Gaius at his side, *the son*⁸ whom he had adopted from Agrippa and his daughter Julia. Then he directed those who wished *to speak* about the matter to speak.

14 And at this moment, Antipatros son of Shelome took his place first. Of *all* those opposing Archelaos, he was the most forceful and skillful in speaking, and the most hostile to Archelaos. And he began accusing him, asserting, "Archelaos' plead to have the kingship given to him is childish. It is *only* by words that Archelaos is here contending for the kingship, since he has, in reality, by his actions, already taken over the power before Caesar was able to grant it, and has long been a king. But he is dissembling within the hearing of Caesar, the arbiter of the succession, for whom he did not wait!"

15 And he reproached him for his ruthlessness toward those who had been destroyed during the festival. "For even if these *men* had acted unrighteous, their retribution should have been properly entrusted to those who had the authority to do so. And it should not have been executed by a man—who, indeed, if he had acted as a king, did something unrighteous to Caesar by still deliberating about his claim; but if he had acted as a commoner, had done something much worse—

¹ literally "standing-up"

² literally "cut-down"

³ [Ant] // [War] "utterly-destroyed"

⁴ [Ant] some / AME, Latin "and his many friends" // [War] "...Poplas"

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "also"

⁶ [Ant] // [War] "letters"

⁷ [War] Latin "the administrative accounts"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "boy"

since it is not proper that any power should be granted to one who claimed kingship after he had already deprived Caesar *by taking it for himself*.¹

16 But he assailed him with reproaches for what he had done following the end of Hérōdēs: rearranging the units of the army, and making changes among its leaders, and granting promotions; *and* indeed, secretly sending in agents to fasten the diadem on him; and for publicly seating himself presumptuously upon the royal throne; and for transacting business, and deciding justice as if he were a king; also, for assenting to every request made by those of the populace who publicly petitioned him, as they expected to receive from a king; and certainly for *all* such things, which could not have been more ambitious in conception than if he had already been appointed to the government by Caesar.

17 Now he also attributed to him the release of the prisoners, who had been confined in the hippodrome by his father on the most serious charges; and many other things: things which had either indeed been done by him, or were believed to have been done, since they were the type of things which would naturally be done by youths, and who, in their love-of-honor to govern, seize authority prematurely.

18 But he also reproached him further with negligence about the mourning for his father and about revels which had been held the very night of the end of Hérōdēs, *stating*, “Even in his mourning for his father, he dissimulated: indeed, putting on a mask of grief during the day like a stage-actor and pretending to weep; but at night indulging himself in the pleasures of a governor, being made-intoxicated even to the point of revelry. 19 And it was in this *context* both, that the disturbance of the multitude resulted, out of their indignation at such things, and, that they had shown the first signs of a tumult. For they saw the way in which he was requiting his dead father, who had bestowed such great benefits upon him, and who had thought him to be worthy of such great honors. 20 Now if Archelaos is also granted the kingship, he will continue to show himself the same toward Caesar, as he has *shown himself* toward his father. For he was even cavoring and singing as if over a fallen enemy, instead of in a way *which would befit* a man who indeed was so closely related to him, and who had been such a great leader to him.”

21 He also said that the worst thing of all was this: “Now he comes here to Caesar, to claim from his master the *mere* shadow of kingship with his consent, when he has already seized the substance¹ for himself. For he has already done the exact same things which he would have done if the emperor had *already* confirmed the power upon him. In this way, he has made Caesar lord, not of actual affairs, but only of titles.”

22 But he especially concentrated the entire verbal contest upon the multitude of those who had been slaughtered² around the inner-sanctum; and this speech made *Archelaos*’ impiety seem extremely terrible. “For this happened during the festival; and *the people*, although they came for it, were savagely slaughtered alongside their own sacrificial offerings, exactly as the sacrifices themselves, though some were foreigners and others countrymen. 23 But the temple was filled with such a multitude of heaped up corpses, that even if a foreign war, *unannounced* by heralds, had suddenly arrived, it would not have heaped up so many. *And this was done*, indeed, not by an alien, but by one who sought to undertake the act with the lawful title of a king, in order that he might fulfill his tyrannical nature in an act of unrighteousness abhorrent to all of the humans.

24 “This is *certainly* the reason why no one ever had a dream³ that he would be made successor to the kingship by the excellence of his father. For⁴ *Hérōdēs*, when he was of a sound mind, had already understood this savage disposition of his, and had never judged him worthy of even the hope of kingship; and in his will, he had recognized the stronger claim of *Archelaos*’ enemy Antipas.

25 “For Antipas had been dignified by his father, when there was no fault to be found with the one named in the will which he had written while his body was still sound, and his soul was free from all suffering; instead, he was in possession of unimpaired reasoning, and, by strength of body, was managing his own affairs. But when his soul was afflicted more severely than his body and incapable of sound reasoning, he did not even know whom he was writing *down* as successor in his codicil.

26 “But however, even if anyone were to assert that the judgment of the afflicted man was more authoritative, and even if his father had felt the same way toward him *in the past* as he did at present, *Archelaos* has surely deposed himself from the kingship due to the things he has illegally done to it, and has shown what species of a king he will be. For indeed, he has deprived Caesar, who alone was able to lawfully grant the kingship, of his authority to bestow it; and he has not hesitated to make a terrible slaughter of his fellow-citizens in the temple, as if he was still a mere commoner. For what *other* species will he become after receiving the government from Caesar, if before receiving it, he has taken so many lives?”

27 So indeed, when Antipatros had spoken at length to this effect, and had brought forward most of his relatives as testifiers to support everything he was accused of, he brought his discourse to an end.

28 But Nikolaos stood up on *Archelaos*’ behalf, and clearly showed that the murder in the temple had indeed been necessary, by saying, “What happened in the temple should indeed be attributed to the intent of the victims, rather than to the authority of *Archelaos*. For those who were instigators of these things were wicked *men*, not only because they themselves were *men* of violence, *but* instead, because they even compelled conciliative men to defend themselves by fighting.

29 “Now it is evident that, although those who had been disposed of professed to wage war against *Archelaos*, they were, in reality, not foes against the kingship alone, *but* instead against the one adjudicating it: Caesar. For when they attacked *and* killed the men who were sent by *Archelaos*, who had come to prevent what they were doing, they showed contempt both for God and for the festival.

30 “It was of *men* like these whom Antipatros was not ashamed to make himself the avenger, either due to his indulgence in an enmity toward *Archelaos*, or due to his hatred of what is righteous according to virtue. And those who are the instigators of committing unrighteous actions against unsuspecting persons are the very ones who force such persons to take up arms even against their own wills.”

31 Now as for the other charges, he attributed them to those who were in the council of the accusers, demonstrating that *Archelaos*’ *past* counselors had been the same individuals as his *present* accusers. “For no single act which has been incriminated with unrighteousness has been committed without the consent of *these accusers*. Nor are those things which have been done evil in their own nature; instead, they have been *merely* represented as such in order to harm *Archelaos*. So great is their counsel to injure a man who is *one* of their own kindred and indeed their father’s benefactor, but *one* who has been familiar with them and has always behaved dutifully toward them.”

32 Now he certainly considered the codicil to be authoritative, especially for the following reason: “Yet, truly, as for this codicil, it was made by the king when he was of a sound mind; and so it has more authority than the earlier will, since it left Caesar appointed as judge and master of everything contained within it, *namely*, as guarantor of the succession.

33 “Nor will Caesar *ever*, in any way, imitate the insolence of these *men*, who, after fully benefiting from Hérōdēs’ power while he was still alive, now make all haste to injure his determination, having behaved in such a manner toward their *own* kinsman.

34 “Yet Caesar shall *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 while making it. Nor shall *Caesar*’s excellence and good disposition, which are unquestioned throughout all the inhabited *earth*, imitate the evil of these *men* by condemning a king, who had indeed left the succession to his good son and had taken refuge in Caesar’s good faith, on the basis of madness and loss of reason.

35 “Nor could Hérōdēs have been wrong in deciding upon his successor, while he had shown enough prudence to leave everything to Caesar’s judgment. For the man, behaving sanely enough to concede his authority to the master of everything, was not faltering, I presume, in his decision about an heir. But quite sanely, knowing the appointer, he also chose the appointee.”

36 And, indeed, when Nikolaos had also gone through everything, he brought his speech to an end. At this, *Archelaos* silently fell before Caesar’s feet and knees. But *Caesar* raised him up very affectionately, and intimated that he was indeed most worthy to succeed his father as king. Instead, in this way, *Caesar* showed his strong inclination not to do anything but what Hérōdēs’ will had suggested, and what would be to *Archelaos*’ advantage. However, he truly did not yet express this as something fully confirmed, leaving *Archelaos* with no provision to alleviate his anxiety.

37 But after breaking up the men and dismissing those whom he had sat in congress with, *Caesar* spent that day by himself, pondering the matters which he had heard, and whether he ought to appoint a particular successor as ruler of the kingdom by confirming one from among those in the wills; or whether he ought to apportion the rule among all of Hérōdēs’ offspring (and *especially* this, for the whole multitude of actors appeared *to be* in need of much assistance to support them).

CHAPTER 93 [Ant17:250-268 / War2:39-54]

But before Caesar had reached any decision of settlement on these matters, indeed *Archelaos*’ mother Malthaké fell ill and came-to-her-end. But then, documents⁵ were brought out of Syria from Varus (the general of Syria), announcing the revolt of the Judeans; for after *Archelaos* had sailed, the whole nation became a tumult. 2 And having foreseen this *revolt*, Varus, prior to *Archelaos* having set sail, had gone up into Jerusalem to restrain the agitators. So being present, he brought retributions upon those who were responsible for the uprising. And after

¹ literally “body”

² [Ant] // [War] “murdered”

³ literally “a sleeping-vision”

⁴ [Ant] // [War] “However”

⁵ [Ant] // [War] “letters”

he had suppressed most of the sedition, which was a serious one, it was obvious that the multitude would not keep the peace. So he left behind in the city of Jerusalem one of the three legions of his army from Syria which he had brought with him, in order to quiet the Judeans' revolutionary activity. And indeed, he himself departed and returned to Antiocheia.

3 Yet, truly, he did not succeed at all in putting an end to their sedition. For after Varus had gone, Sabinus, Caesar's procurator, who had remained there, came in, and furnished them with a base for making revolutions. He also greatly harassed the insurgents,¹ relying not only on the army of soldiers which had been left behind by Varus, but also on a multitude of his own slaves, all of whom he armed and used as henchmen and spearmen in the service of his extraordinary greed. 4 Using these means, he stimulated and disturbed the Judeans to the point of revolting. For due to their eagerness for gain and their yearning greeds, he even endeavored both to force the guards to hand the citadels over to him, and to harshly hunt for the royal money.

5 But at the onset of The Fiftieth Day (now this is what we Judeans call a certain festival of our fathers which occurs seven weeks after the Passover, taking its name from the number of the days following it), it was not the customary worship which brought the populace together; instead, it was their indignation and anger at Sabinus' drunken-behavior.² 6 Accordingly, a countless multitude of tens of thousands of humans ran together both from Galilee and from Edom,³ along with a multitude from Jericho, and from those who lived beyond the Jordan (including Peraia). But the home population from Judah also joined all these; and they surpassed the others both in quantity, and in eagernesses of people who desired to bring retributions upon Sabinus.

7 But also dividing themselves into three groups, they pitched camp at three places: indeed, some of them took possession of the hippodrome on the south edge of the temple; but of the other two groups: indeed, one pitched camp at the north portion of the temple, and facing south, held the east portion; but the third group held the west portion, where the royal palace also was. Now having done all this in order to position themselves to encompass the Romans on every side, they then besieged them.

8 But even Sabinus cowered beneath both their number of men and their confidence; for in their desire not to be defeated in a battle, which they counted it a virtue to be victorious, they had little regard for their lives. Indeed, he immediately kept sending messengers with documents to Varus, pleading with him, and directing him to quickly come to his defense; for the forces which he had left there were in imminent danger, and if he delayed, the legion was expected to be captured in a short time, and would be cut-down. 9 But Sabinus himself went up onto the highest tower of the fortress, which was called Fazael (it had both been built in honor of Hérödés' brother, and been given his name after he had been utterly-destroyed⁴ by the Parthians). From there, he signaled to the Roman soldiers in that legion to attack their Judean foes; for indeed, on account of his distress, he himself did not dare to go down to his own friends, but thought it was right for others to be the first to die for the sake of satisfying his greeds.

10 But the Roman soldiers, obeying nevertheless, boldly sallied out, and plunged ahead into the temple, and engaged the Judeans in a tough battle. And in this battle, indeed as long as no one was there helping the defense from above, the Romans' war expertise caused them to prevail over their inexperienced enemies.

11 Yet, truly, the Judeans were not terrified at the sight of the slaughter they incurred. But many of the Judeans went around and climbed up onto the colonnades which surrounded the outer court of the temple; and while a heavy battle continued, they began to hurl projectiles down at their heads, and many were crushed. And of the stones which were being thrown, some were hurled by hands, but others by slings; for they were well-trained with in these. 12 And all the archers, who were stationed beside them, inflicted severe losses on the Romans; indeed, because they were on higher ground, and because, being out-of-range of the Roman projectiles, were not easy to attack. But it was also not easy for the Romans either to protect themselves against those who were throwing projectiles from above, or to hold their position against those who were fighting at close quarter. So the Judeans had their foes in a position to be easily defeated.

Indeed, the battle went on for a long time in this way. 13 But eventually the Romans, indeed becoming worn out from these disadvantages, became desperate at their situation. So they set fire to the porticos without being noticed by those who were on top of them. (These porticos were marvelous works, on account of both their size and their costliness). 14 And this fire, being fed both by many hands and with very combustible materials, very quickly reached the roof, which contained woodwork filled with both pitch and wax, but also had gold smeared with pitch and⁵ wax. And so it immediately yielded to the flames. Now this was how these structures, which were both great and most remarkable, were completely destroyed.

15 And those Judeans who were on top of the porticos were suddenly surrounded by the blaze. Indeed, many were destroyed in it. But many others plunged down among their foes and were struck down by them from all sides. But many, in despair of being saved and in dismay at the terrible fate which confronted them, were indeed flinging themselves down from the wall into the fire;⁶ but some, also out of helplessness, anticipated the fire by escaping it with their own short-swords. Indeed, when the roof tumbled down, those who remained on top were caught in the unexpected destruction; for they were carried down along with it.

16 But all of those who retreated by creeping down from the walls using the same passage by which they had ascended, dashed into the Romans and were easily mastered by them due to their distress. For, being both unarmed and failing in courage, they were killed by the Romans; not even desperation, since they lacked arms, was able to help them. And indeed, not a single one of those who had went up to the roof escaped death.

17 So with some of the Judeans having been utterly-destroyed but others having been scattered by their anxiety, the Roman soldiers pushed their way through the fire wherever it left room for them, and fell upon the deserted treasury of God where the consecrated money was being kept, and plundered it. And indeed, a great part of this money was stolen by the soldiers, but Sabinus openly collected whatever was not stolen first: about 400 talents.

18 Now as for the Judeans, they were indeed grieved by what had befallen their friends in this battle, but also by the removal of the votive offerings. Instead, this ruin of both the temple works and the men only managed to rally the Judeans, who were much greater in number now and had better fighting efficiency, against the Romans. So the group which was the most compact and had the best fighting efficiency surrounded the royal precincts; and they threatened to set fire to it and kill⁷ everyone inside unless they did as directed: to quickly withdraw; for they even promised amnesty to Sabinus along with them, if he was willing to leave with his legion.

19 But the majority of the royal troops deserted and joined with the Judeans. However, the part in Hérödés' army with the best fighting efficiency, 3,000 Sebastenes, who were able to use their bodies effectively, added themselves to the Romans. Now Rufus and Gratus went over to the Romans. Indeed, Gratus had the infantry under him; while Rufus had the cavalry; though even without a force at their command, each of these men alone, on account of their strength and sagacity, was sufficient to tip the scales of a war.

20 But therefore, the Judeans indeed kept pressing the siege, making an attempt to undermine the fortress walls. And at the same time, they called on Sabinus' party; and they also directed those who had gone over to the other side, "Leave. Do not be an obstacle to us, who, after a long time, are using this opportunity for restoring the freedom and autonomy of our fathers."

21 But therefore, Sabinus was content to sneak away, for he indeed desired to leave with his soldiers; but he both mistrusted their promises, and suspected that their agreeableness was bait for an ambush, considering what he had already done to them. This was the reason why he did not comply with them. But at the same time, he was also hoping to receive help from Varus, so he held out under the siege.

CHAPTER 94 [Ant17:269-285 / War2:55-65]

Now while all this was going on, ten thousand other tumults were also being stirred up throughout the country of Judah from many quarters; and this opportunity induced large numbers to ready themselves to wage war, either in hopes of personal gain, such as aspiring to⁸ kingship, or out of hatred for the Judeans.

2 Yet indeed, 2,000 of Hérödés' former soldiers who had also been disbanded, now united in arms in Judah itself,⁹ and waged war, strenuously fighting against the royal partisans, who were led by King Hérödés' cousin Ahab. And indeed, the greater war-experience of Hérödés' former men drove Ahab from the plains into the highlands. So evading further conflict in the plains, he retreated to the places which were inaccessible to them but saved what he could, and fought from the most fortified positions.

3 Now there was also Judah, son of the chief-brigand Hezekiah. (This Hezekiah had been a man of great power, who had formerly overran the country, but who had also been captured and subdued by King Hérödés with great difficulty.) Therefore, this Judah united a not small multitude of desperate men at Tzippori in Galilee, and made an assault on the royal precincts, and broke open the royal armories. And having seized all the arms stored within it, he armed each one of his companions, and carried away all the money which had been seized there. 4 Then both desiring great things and zealously-vying for royal honor (a prize which he expected to obtain, not through the practice of excellence, but through excessive injury to others), he made attempts upon those who were also

¹ [Ant] E "soldiers"

² literally "ill-behavior-at-wine"

³ [War] // [Ant] "of Galileans and Edomites were there"

⁴ [War] // [Ant] "been brought to an end"

⁵ [Ant] E adds

⁶ [Ant] // [War] "rear"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "utterly-destroy"

⁸ [War] some / most actually add "aspiring to" / C instead adds "exercising"

⁹ [Ant] // [War] "in Edom"

zealously-vying for the domination. And by plundering those whom he came across, he became feared by everyone.

5 But in Peraia, there was also a certain Simon, indeed, one of the royal slaves of King Hérōdés. But in other respects, he was a man who was good-looking and had an attractive figure, and who was superior to others in his body, on account of *his* bodily-strength and size; and he was expected to go farther. Indeed, both relying on *these assets*, and elated by the unsettled condition of affairs, he was bold enough to fasten the diadem on *his head*, **6** and gathered together a multitude of men. And in their madness, they carried back a message *stating* that he was a king; and he believed that he was more worthy of this *dignity* than anyone else. Then he went around with the brigands whom he had gathered, and both burned down the royal *precincts* at Jericho, and plundered and carried away what had been seized there. He also set fire to many other royal residences in many parts of the country, destroying them, after *first* permitting his companions to prey upon whatever had been left in them.

7 Now had attention not been quickly paid to him, he would have done *even* greater things, *namely*, to incinerate every decent house. For Gratus, the leader of the royal infantry, had joined the Roman soldiers; and taking along the force he had with him, the Trachonite¹ archers and the unit of the Sebastenes with the best fighting efficiency, he went out to meet Simon. **8** And in consequence, a long and heavy battle was fought between them. Indeed, large numbers of the Peraians,² who were both disorganized and fought more with audacity than skill, were utterly-destroyed in the fighting. But as for Simon himself, he even endeavored to save himself by retreating through a steep ravine, but Gratus intercepted him; as he tried to escape, *Gratus* struck his neck from the side and cut off his head.

9 But also the royal *precincts* near the Jordan River at Beth-Hamath were incinerated, burnt to ashes, by certain men who had united together, like those under Simon *had done*.³ This was how much *the senselessness* was which settled over the nation, indeed, because they had no king to restrain the multitude, but *also* because the foreigners who came among them to suppress the insurgents were themselves a cause of provocation through both their arrogance and their greed.

10 And at this time, a certain man ventured to lay claim to the kingship, thinking that if he obtained it, he would enjoy *the freedom* of acting more outrageously. He was called Etrog,⁴ distinguished neither by the position of his ancestors nor by the excellence of his character, nor for any abundance of money, but was merely a shepherd completely unknown to anyone. But he was remarkable for his great stature and strength of hands; and even if he died, he did not care if he lost his soul in such *a great endeavor*. But it was his strength of body, along with a soul which scorned death, which commended this hope of *kingship* to him.

11 But in addition to these *assets*, he also had four brothers, who, like himself, had both great stature, and were confident that they were superior to *others* through their strength of hands. He believed that their *assets* would support him in his obtainment of the kingdom. Also (for those who had gathered to them were very numerous), he yoked an armed century under each of these brothers. **12** And indeed, when he used them for his incursions, they were under him, fighting as if they were his generals and satraps; while he himself, exactly like a king, fastened a diadem on *his head* and handled the more dignified affairs. Now he convened the senate-house to discuss what things were to be done, and everything was done according to his own decision.

13 Therefore, this man indeed retained his power for a long time; *for* he both had the title of king, and there was nothing to prevent him from doing whatever he desired. In fact, at this time, although he had a diadem fastened on *his head*, he also continued raiding the country with his brothers. And they slaughtered a great number of both the Romans as well as royal *partisans*, and acted toward each *party* with a similar hatred. Indeed, they *demonstrated this* toward the royal *partisans*, on account of the insolence which they had shown during Hérōdés' reign; but toward the Romans, on account of the unrighteousness which they were committing at the present time. **14** Now although killing both of these was their primary objective, in the process of time, they became more and more savage. And no one was able to escape from any of *them* in any way: indeed, sometimes the *insurgents* fell upon them in hopes of gain, but even at other times out of the habit of murdering. But not *even* one of the Judeans escaped if he fell into their hands carrying anything valuable.

15 But on one occasion, they even ventured to surround and attack a Roman century in column near Hammat,⁵ men who were conveying both grain and arms to their legion. And therefore, using their javelins, *these four brothers* indeed shot down the centurion Areios who led *the century*, along with forty of his finest infantrymen. **16** But when the terrified remainder were in danger of suffering the

same *fate*, Gratus, along with the royal Sebastenes who were with him, came to their aid, and they escaped, leaving the corpses behind them.

17 So indeed, for a long time, *these four brothers* performed many such deeds throughout the entire war, making great trouble for the Romans,⁶ but also inflicting much damage upon their own nation.⁷ **18** But three of them were eventually apprehended: indeed, the oldest was captured by Archelaos; but of the next two, one *was apprehended* in an engagement with Gratus, but the other fell into the hands of Ptolemaios. But the fourth was dejected at *the oldest's* misfortune, and saw that it was obvious that no way remained for him to save himself now that he was alone and utterly exhausted, stripped of his army. So he surrendered to Archelaos, after receiving his right hand in *pledge for his security* and faith in the Deity *that he would not be harmed*. **19** (Although they certainly did not meet this ultimate end until much later, at this time, they filled all Judah with a brigandic war.)

20 But now, Judah was filled with brigandage. And anyone *who wanted* was able to make himself a king as the foremost *man* of one of the bands of insurgents whom he fell in with, and then would press on to the destruction of the community. Indeed, they caused trouble to a few of the Romans, and then only to a small degree, but the greatest murder was brought upon their fellow-tribesmen.

CHAPTER 95 [Ant17:286-299 / War2:66-79]

But as soon as Varus had received the written documents from Sabinus and his leaders, and learned what was happening, he was anxious about the entire legion, and resolved to hasten to its aid. **2** So he took both the two remaining legions (for there were a total of three stationed in Syria), and the four swarms of cavalry, and hastened to Ptolemais to assist the men who were being besieged at that time in Judah. **3** But *before departing*, he also stated⁸ that the allied-troops who had been furnished to him from the kings and the tetrarchs, as well as from the *other* powerful *men*, were to hasten to meet him at Ptolemais. But also, as he was passing through Beirut, he took an additional 1,500 heavy-armed *soldiers* from that city which its citizens gave to him as allied-troops.

4 Now the other auxiliaries came to him at Ptolemais; as well as the Arabian Harthah of Petra, who, out of his animosity toward Hérōdés had formed a friendship with the Romans, *and* led a large force of both cavalry and infantry. **5** Now when *Varus* had collected his whole force in Ptolemais, he committed a certain detachment⁹ of his army to one of his friends Gaius,¹⁰ *making him* their leader, and sent them to make war on Galilee, which was adjacent to Ptolemais. This *Gaius* both fought with those who had come out against them, and routed them; and also, after capturing the city of Tzippori, he both indeed reduced its inhabitants to slavery, but burned the city.

6 But Varus himself pressed on to Samaria with his whole army;¹¹ but when he discovered that this city had not been agitating in the disorders together with the revolutionaries, he held back from it, but encamped near a certain village called Haris. Now *this village* was the property of Ptolemaios; and for this reason, it was plundered and burned by the Arabians, out of their hatred of Hérōdés, and even their enmity against his friends.¹²

7 From there they proceeded to Saffa,¹³ another strong and fortified village, which the Arabians likewise sacked along with all the approaches which they encountered. And now, as they advanced, nothing could withstand the ravages of the Arabians; but instead, everything was filled with fire and murder. **8** But Hammat, after its residents had fled, was also incinerated; this had been directed by the angry Varus in revenge for Areios' party who had been slaughtered¹⁴ there.

9 Now from there he also advanced on Jerusalem; and here, the Judeans who were besieging the legion were encamped. And by the mere sight of his advancing force, he scattered their encampment. And indeed, these men absconded, leaving the siege uncompleted, *and* fled up into the country. **10** But the Judeans within the city of Jerusalem received him. When Varus bitterly reproached them, they unloaded the responsibility of the revolt and *refuted* his incriminations, saying, "Indeed, we were not agitating, but on account of the festival, it was necessary for us to receive the multitude. But our involvement in the war was not in accordance with our own will, but through the recklessness of these strangers; *for* we were besieged together with the Romans, *rather* than having any inclination of joining the rebels to besiege them."

11 But prior to this, Joseph, the cousin of King Hérōdés,¹⁵ as well as Rufus, together with¹⁶ Gratus, had gone out to meet Varus, leading the Sebastenes

⁶ [Ant] // [War] "for foreigners"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "upon locals"

⁸ [Ant] // [War] "ordered"

⁹ [Ant] // [War] VRC "(committed) both a detachment" / others "immediately (committed) a detachment"

¹⁰ [War] most / P "with his friend Gaius" / Latin "with a son of his friend Gallus" // [Ant] some "to his son and one of his friends" / AM, Latin "to his son, one of his friends"

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] "force"

¹² [Ant] // [War] Gk "by the Arabians, who were raging even against Hérōdés' friends" / Latin "by the barbarians and by Hérōdés' friends, who were hostile to Ptolemy"

¹³ [Ant] AME, Latin "Saffa" / others "Samfa" / [War] "Saffo"

¹⁴ [War] // [Ant] "who had come-to-their-end"

¹⁵ [Ant] // [War] "of Archelaos"

¹⁶ [War] // [Ant] "as well as both Rufus and"

¹ [War] Latin / others "Tarichean" / others "Trachaiote" / others "Tetrarchaiote"

² [Ant] // [War] most "infantry" / A "sons" / P "strikes" (erroneously)

³ [Ant] // [War] "united together from Peraia"

⁴ [Ant] Hebrew emendation / P "Athronges" / ME "Abronges" / Latin "Athonges" // [War] "Athrongeus"

⁵ [War] Latin "Hamathunta"

together with the royal army. Those of the Roman legion who had been besieged, also *went out*, arranged in the customary manner. But¹ indeed Sabinus did not venture to come into Varus' sight; instead, he had previously left the city secretly for the sea.

12 But Varus sent out a detail of his army throughout the country to search for those who had been responsible for this commotion and insurrection. And when they were discovered, many were rounded up. And of these, those who appeared to have been less turbulent, he placed under guard or released; but those who were most responsible he indeed punished: but the number of those who were crucified by him on this incrimination was about 2,000.

13 Now after this, he found that the Arabians were not *properly* conducting themselves as auxiliaries; instead, they served as soldiers for the sake of private emotion. Now they had often been undisciplined; and due to their enmity toward Hérōdés, they had frequently disobeyed Varus' directives and requests, damaging the country more than he intended, out of a desire for the gain brought about by this damage. Now he sent off this army, seeing that it was indeed no longer useful for any purpose.

14 Now it was reported to him that 10,000 Judeans² of heavy-armed *infantry* had joined together, and were still holding out. But with his own legions, he hastily marched after the revolters to capture them. Now it did not come to *hand-to-hand combat*. But these men, following the counsel of Ahab, handed themselves over to him. Now Varus also dismissed the incriminations against the multitude for having revolted, but he sent their leaders to Caesar to be probed.

15 Now Caesar indeed pardoned most of them, but he ordered punishment for certain relatives of King Hérōdés who had joined them in fighting (for there was some among them who were related to Hérōdés by ancestry); *this penalty was dealt* because these individuals, showing contempt for righteousness, had undertaken military action against a king who was of their own family.

16 Therefore indeed, when Varus had settled these matters in Jerusalem, and had left behind the former legion as a garrison there, he returned to Antiocheia.

CHAPTER 96 [Ant17:300-323 / War2:80-100]

Now back in Roma, Archelaos had new troubles beginning for him; for he had to defend himself in another court-of-justice against certain Judean elders for the following reasons:

2 Prior to the insurrection, a body of Judean elders, which Varus had permitted the nation to send for the sake of requesting its autonomy, arrived in Roma. And³ indeed, the number of emissaries present who had been sent by the consent of the nation was 50, but over 8,000 Judeans in Roma were standing by in support.

3 Now Caesar convened a congress *comprised of both* the magistrates and the principal *men* of the Romans, as well as his friends, in the temple of Apollo on the Palatium. (But this was his personal construction, adorned with astonishing extravagance.) This was where *the two parties* arrived. Indeed, the elders stood with the multitude of local Judeans; but opposite *of them* was Archelaos with his friends.

4 But all the friends of the king's relatives were on neither of the two sides. Indeed, on account of *their* hatred and envy of Archelaos, they did not think it proper to stand by and help him. But they considered it reprehensible to assist the accusing elders; for they presumed that, by acting in this way toward a *man* who was their own relative, they would be a disgrace in Caesar's eyes.

5 Now also present with these was Archelaos' brother Philippos. For, prior to this, Varus, out of kindness, had urged him to come from Syria for *two reasons*: Indeed, to aid Archelaos, and contend on his brother's side; for Varus was well-disposed toward him; but *also*, if Caesar apportioned Hérōdés' house among all his descendants, he wanted to be thought worthy of *obtaining* a certain share of *the royal power* for himself in the change of the kingship; for due to the many who desired autonomy, Varus suspected that it would be apportioned.

6 Now therefore, when permission was given for the accusing Judean elders to speak (those who were waiting to ask for the dissolution of the kingship), they applied themselves to bring an accusation against Hérōdés by first enumerating his transgressions of the law, declaring, "Indeed, although he was a king in name, it was not a king whom we have had to endure; but instead, it was the most savage tyrant of *any* who have ever yet exercised tyranny; who in his own person, had brought together the most ruthless cruelties of all the various tyrants. He made use of these devices for the destruction of the Judeans, and did not abstain from creating many *new* innovations according to his own inclinations. 7 Accordingly, a vast number were dispatched by him through *forms* of destruction which had never been recorded before; but those who survived suffered things far more unfortunate, causing them to consider that those who had perished were happy. Not only were they distressed by the wrongs which they saw and reflected upon, but instead even *suffered* from the loss of their property.

8 "For he did not only torture the bodies of his subjects, *but* instead even their cities. For indeed, he maimed and presided over both the dissolution and the disappearance of the settlements belonging to his own government; but he never ceased adorning the neighboring cities which were inhabited by the foreigners, and donated the blood of Judah to alien populaces. 9 Now when he took the nation, it was in an extraordinary flourishing condition; but he replaced the ancient prosperity and the laws of our fathers, and filled the nation to the utmost degree with poverty and ultimate criminality. And after killing any of the patricians upon irrational incriminations, he would then take their property for himself; and if he did permit any of them to have the doubtful pleasure of living, he would condemn them to be stripped of their money.

10 "And indeed, in addition to the collection of the annual tribute which he had imposed on everyone, extra lavish contributions were required to be made to him, to both house and friends, and to *any* of his slaves who were sent out to collect the tribute, since there was no immunity at all from outrage without paying silver for it.

11 "However, about the corrupting of our virgin daughters and the debauching of our women, *and* the victims of drunken-violence⁴ and inhuman doings, we were only silent, because those who suffer such indignities are just as pleased to have them remain undisclosed as they are not to have had them happen *at all*. For Hérōdés inflicted such outrages upon us, which *even* a beast could not have done if it possessed the power to be a superintendent over us.

12 "But accordingly, in short, *even* though many forced uprisings and deportations have come upon our nation, *we* Judeans *and* our *entire* nation endured more calamities from Hérōdés in a few years, than our fathers had suffered in all the time since their withdrawal from Babel (they emigrated back when Xerxes was king). 13 We, however, proceeded to such a degree of restraint and habitual misfortune, that we endured the bitter slavery and awaited a freely chosen succession.

14 "And accordingly, it was with good reason that, after the end of his father Hérōdés, we readily and gladly welcomed and addressed Archelaos, *the* boy of such a tyrant, as our king; for we had thought that whoever succeeded to the kingship would be more moderate than Hérōdés *had been*. And therefore, out of consideration for him, we both joined with him in mourning the death of his father, and we prayed-together with him about the succession. Yet, in the hope of being able to obtain moderate treatment *from him*, we endeavored to conform to his desires in other respects as well.

15 "But, as if struggling mightily out of anxiety that he should not appear to be an illegitimate son of Hérōdés, he instead, without any delay *and* with great promptness, showed the nation what his intention⁵ was; and this he did prior to having obtained complete possession of the leadership, which only Caesar had the authority to give or to withhold according to his own pleasure. 16 And Archelaos gave his future subjects an example of the kind of excellence to be expected of him, with what method of moderation and respect he would govern them, by his first action which he performed in the sight of his own citizens and of God, namely, by prefacing his reign with the slaughter of 3,000 citizens⁶ of his own tribe: indeed, *that was how* many sacrificial victims he offered to God for his government, but how many corpses he filled the sacred-precinct with at that festival. How then can he fail now to find a righteous reason to hate us, when, to his own cruelties, he can add this charge: that we have opposed his government and have spoken out against him?

17 "However, we who are left intact after so many evil things, now reasonably turn in due course to confront these calamities; and by the law of war, we want to receive our blows to the face. Now the main thing we request is that we indeed be delivered from kingship and similar forms of government. But we plead with the Romans both to take pity on the remains of Judah, and not to toss away what is left of it to those who are savagely mauling it; 18 but after joining our country to Syria, to administer it by means of your own generals *and* leaders whom you shall send to us, to whom we shall be made subject. For this will demonstrate whether those who are now being slandered as seditious and warmongers are truly seditious and bent on revolution, or whether they are well-behaved and know how to tolerate mild *generals* who are set over them."

19 Therefore indeed, with this appeal, the Judeans concluded their accusation. But Nikolaos rose up; indeed, he first proceeded to vindicate the kings by dissolving⁷ the charges *and* incriminations *brought* against them, saying, "Indeed, Hérōdés was never accused of such things during his entire lifetime. For it is hardly proper for those who could have brought charges against him before fair-minded *judges*, and could have inflicted retributions upon him during his lifetime, to bring an accusation against him now that he is a corpse. 20 Now as for the actions taken by Archelaos, I attribute them to the outrageous behavior of those *men*, who, in their attempt to do what was in violation of the laws, even began by

¹ [Ant] // [War] "For"

² [Ant] // [War] "that throughout Edom 10,000"

³ [Ant] // [War] "But/Now"

⁴ literally "ill-behavior-at-wine"

⁵ [Ant] E "madness"

⁶ [War] // [Ant] "men"

⁷ [War] Latin (difference of one easily confused letter in a Greek original / Gk "stripped off")

slaughtering those whose concern had been to prevent them from committing such outrages; and who are now complaining because reprisals have been made.”

21 But he accused the nation, both of being hard to govern, and of being naturally disobedient toward the kings. But he also kept maligning those relatives of Archelaos who had defected to his accusers; but he called to account their revolutionary-activity, and their taking delight in sedition, “because they have a lack-of-discipline in submitting to righteousness and to laws, desiring to be victorious in all things.” Therefore, this was indeed how Nikolaos spoke.

22 Now therefore, after Caesar had heard each of them, he indeed dissolved the congress. But a few days afterwards, he indeed appointed Archelaos, not as king, but with the title of ‘nation-chief’, and gave him half of the kingdom which had been subject to Hérōdés; but he also promised that he would make him king if he showed himself worthy by applying excellence to *the kingdom*. **23** Now he divided the remaining half into two tetrarchies, but gave *them* to Hérōdés’ other two boys: the one to Philippos, and the other to Antipas (the one who had contended against Archelaos for the whole government and kingship).

24 And¹ indeed, under *Antipas* were both Peraia and Galilee, from which he received an annual revenue of 200 talents. But Bashan, and² Trachōn, and both Hawran, and³ certain parts of Zénodōros⁴ estate around Innano⁵ had been assigned under Philippos, from which he received a revenue of 100 talents. **25** But Archelaos’ ethnarchy included both Edom and all Judah, and also Samaria, which was relieved of a quarter of its tax by Caesar; this alleviation had been decreed out of respect for its not having revolted along with the rest of the multitude. **26** But also as subject cities Archelaos received: both Stratōn’s Tower and Sebasté, and⁶ Japho and Jerusalem. For the Hellenic cities Gaza, and Gader, and Hippos, were cut off from the kingdom and attached to Syria. But the tax money and revenue which came to Archelaos every year from the countries which he had been given to govern amounted to 600⁷ talents. And this was indeed what came to Hérōdés’ sons from their father’s possessions.

27 But Shelome, in addition to what her brother, the king, bequeathed in his wills, was declared mistress of both Jabneh and Ashdod, and Fazelis, and was given 500,000 *pieces* of coined silver. But Caesar also granted her the royal residence in Ashkelon. Now the annual revenue being collected from all these *places* was 60 talents. But he placed her estate under the rulership⁸ of Archelaos.

28 But each of Hérōdés’ other relatives⁹ also acquired what had been bequeathed in the wills. But, besides what their father left them, Caesar granted 250,000 *pieces* of silver to each of Hérōdés’ two virgin daughters, and had them establish homes with Ferorah’s sons. **29** But after *the distribution* of the estate, he distributed to the king’s children the gift which Hérōdés had left to himself, which was 1,500¹⁰ talents; while he selected only a few certain inexpensive vessels from the heirlooms—he did not keep these things because of their value, but as memorials in honor of the deceased king.

CHAPTER 97 [Ant17:324-338 / War2:101-110]

Now after these matters had been settled by Caesar, there appeared a certain youth, a Judean by ancestry, but raised in the city of *the Zidonians* by a certain one of the Roman freedmen.¹¹ On the strength of his resemblance in appearance to Alexandros (a son of Hérōdés who had been done away with by him), he falsely pretended to be related to Hérōdés; a *resemblance* which *even* those who had seen Alexandros attested. And this emboldened him to endeavor to obtain the leadership. So this man came to Roma in the hopes of escaping detection.

2 But he took with him a certain collaborator, his fellow-tribesman, who knew everything that happened throughout the kingdom and at the royal *palace*. But he was both a wicked man, and naturally gifted for creating great disturbances; and he became his teacher in such mischievous arts. **3** And having been instructed by *this villain*, he proclaimed that he was Alexandros and a boy of Hérōdés, and alleged that those who had been sent to do away with both him and his brother Aristoboulos had, out of compassion, stolen them away; and that¹² they had *instead* killed others, and had substituted similar bodies in *their place* in order to delude the spectators; but had saved both him and his brother. **4** And this was both how this man was elated, and how he did not fail to deceive anyone whom he encountered.

Indeed,¹³ when he came to Krété, he used these *lies* to delude all the Judeans with whom he discoursed into believing him. And being splendidly furnished with supplies and money from them, he sailed across to Mélos. **5** Now there, through

¹ [Ant] // [War] “But/Now”

² [War] // [Ant] “with”

³ [War] // [Ant] “with”

⁴ [Ant] // [War] “Zénōn’s”

⁵ [War] PAM / LR “Inan” / VC “Jabnian” / Latin “Innam Village” / possible emendation “Paneaes”

⁶ [War] // [Ant] “with”

⁷ [Ant] // [War] “400”

⁸ [Ant] // [War] Gk “toparchy” / Latin “ethnarchy”

⁹ [Ant] // [War] “offspring”

¹⁰ [War] “1,000”

¹¹ [Ant], [War] LVRCM // [War] P “by the freedmen of the Romans”

¹² literally “; for”

¹³ [Ant] // [War] “Accordingly”

the perfection of his credibility that he was of the royal family, and through their hopes that he would recover his father’s government and reward his benefactors, he collected much more gifts and money, and even induced his foreign associates to sail off with him as he made haste to Roma.

6 But when he landed at Dikaiarchia, he was fortunate enough to win over the Judeans who were there by the same kind of delusion. For all sorts of *people* rallied to him, including those who had shown hospitality and goodwill to Hérōdés. And he took abundant gifts from them, and, exactly as if a king, was sent onward by his father’s friends. **7** Now the reason was, that the humans willingly believed his *false* accounts; and not only this, but his similar appearance procured trust to such a degree, that those who had both seen *the true* Alexandros, and plainly knew him, believed that this man was he, and swore to others that this was so, and supported him.

8 Yet truly, when the report about him also reached as far as Roma, the entire Judean nation there poured out to meet this spectacle, ascribing his extraordinary salvation to divining; and, on account of their ancestry with his mother, they gave him a joyful welcome. **9** Now the Melians even advanced to such a degree of insanity, that they carried him in a sedan-chair, and adorned him in royal style, and furnished a royal court for *him* at their private expense. So whenever he was carried through the narrow alleys, a countless multitude flocked around him, making mighty acclamations, and nothing was omitted which could be appropriate for those who are so unexpectedly saved.

10 But when a message about these things reached Caesar, he indeed refused to believe it. For he knew Alexandros’ features *precisely*¹⁴ (for *Alexandros* had been accused by Hérōdés before him); indeed, he detected the trickery based on resemblance even before he had seen the human, knowing that Hérōdés could not have been so easily deluded in a matter of such supreme importance to him. **11** But, even lending some credence to more favorable hopes, he sent one of his freedmen, Kelados (someone who had been familiar with the striplings and who plainly knew Alexandros), with directions to bring Alexandros into his presence. Now he brought him, being no better judge in this matter than the majority.

12 But truly, Caesar was not deluded when he saw him. Instead, although there was indeed a resemblance to *Alexandros*, truly, it was not precise enough to delude those who had prudent discernment. He quickly discerned the differences in the face of this imposter Alexandros; he also ascertained that his whole body was both excessively harder, and slavish-looking (for his hands had been roughed by manual labor), in contrast to the softness of the other’s body, which resulted from luxury and noble birth. **13** Therefore, he understood the whole scheme, and observed how the master and pupil had conspired together in this false-account.

But what entirely provoked him was the audacity of what *this imposter* was saying. For *Caesar* probed *him* about Aristoboulos, and asked what had become of him (since *they had said* that he had been stolen away together with him), and for what reason he had not come along with him to claim the dominion which high-born *persons* were entitled to.

14 Now this man declared, “Although he is being kept safe, he was purposely left behind on the island of Kypros out of anxiety of the dangers of the sea, and to be protected from treachery; for while we are separate, we are less vulnerable to being attacked. So if some misfortune befalls me, the posterity of Miriam might not be completely wiped out; instead Aristoboulos might survive and remain to punish those who would plot against us.”

15 Therefore, since *the youth* confidently affirmed these things, and was supported by the man who had authored the plot, Caesar¹⁵ took him away in private, and declared, “The reward you have from Caesar is *your* life and salvation, if you refuse to practice this delusion on me, and if you identify the one who induced you to commit such deceptions. Now therefore, tell me who you are, and who contrived this audacious scheme; for this plot is too villainous to have been conceived by one of your age.”

16 And so, since there was nothing else to do, *the man* indeed told Caesar both about the plot and how it was devised; and he said that he would make *the conceiver* known to him. So he followed *with* Caesar, and pointed out the Judean who had exploited his resemblance for a business; for he had taken more gifts from each city than Alexandros had *not*¹⁶ taken while alive.

17 But Caesar laughed at these words. And when Caesar indeed observed that the false-Alexandros’ body was strong and in good condition, and that he was fit to work with his hands, he consigned him to row with his sailors (for he would not go back on the agreement which he had made with him). But he directed that the man who had induced him to be killed.¹⁷ **18** But as for the Melians, their vain expenditures on this false-Alexandros were adequate punishment for their stupidity. And this was indeed the inglorious affair of the audacious plot involving the false-Alexandros.

CHAPTER 98 [Ant17:339-355 / War2:111-117a]

¹⁴ [War] PAM / LVRC, Latin add

¹⁵ [Ant] // [War] Gk “he” / Latin “[Ce]ladus”

¹⁶ [War] PAM / LVRC, Latin add

¹⁷ [Ant] // [War] “to be done away with”

Now Archelaos received his ethnarchy. And when he came into Judah, he called to account Joezer *son of Boéthos* of having assisted the seditious *men*. So he removed the chief-priesthood from him *and* appointed his brother Eleazar in his place. **2** But he also splendidly rebuilt the *royal palace* in Jericho; he also diverted half the water which served to irrigate the village of Naarah, leading it into a plain which he had planted with palm-trees. He also built a village and named it Archelais. **3** And he transgressed the law of our fathers, indeed, by marrying Archelaos' daughter Glaphyra, who had been his brother Alexandros' wife, and who had borne him children; *for* it is detestable to the Judeans to marry a brother's wife. Now Eleazar did not remain in the priesthood for long; *for* while he was still alive, he was replaced by Jeshua *the boy of See*.

4 Now in memory of old conflicts, Archelaos did not only treat *the* Judeans savagely, *but* instead even the Samaritans. So in the tenth¹ year of Archelaos' government, the principal men among both *the* Judeans and Samaritans, unable to tolerate his savagery and tyranny, and knowing that he had disobeyed *Caesar's* instructions to show moderation when dealing with them, each sent their elders to accuse him before Caesar.

5 Moreover, when Caesar heard this *report*, he grew angry. *And* he summoned the procurator who was over Archelaos' affairs at Roma (now his name was also Archelaos). Indeed, thinking it beneath him to write to Archelaos, he declared *to him*, "Now go; sail at once, *and* bring him here to us without delay."

6 So this *man* immediately set sail. And when he arrived in Judah, he found Archelaos feasting with his friends. He both revealed Caesar's will to him, and hastened him away. And when he arrived, Caesar gave a hearing to some of his accusers, and let him speak. Indeed, he banished him, assigning him a residence in Vienna, a city in Galatia;² but his property and money were confiscated and consigned to Caesar's treasuries.

7 But before being summoned by Caesar to Roma, Archelaos saw the following sleeping-vision, *and* related it to his friends: He thought he saw ten³ ears of grain, full grown and tall, being devoured by oxen. And when he awoke, believing that the vision was of great importance to him, he then sent for the soothsayers (who were skilled in dreams) and some of the Chaldeans, and kept inquiring what they thought it signified.

8 But when some had one opinion *and* some another (for everyone was interpreting it differently), a certain Simon, a man who was an Essene by race, asked for assurance of his safety. *Then* he declared, "I indeed think the vision denotes a change in Archelaos' circumstances, and one that is not for the better. **9** For indeed, the oxen signify suffering, since this animal is subject to painful labor; but they also signify a reversal of circumstances, because, while plowing the earth, they altered the country, and it was unable to remain in its former state. **10** But the ears of grain, being ten, denote the same number of years, since there is an annual harvest. So Archelaos will indeed exercise kingship for the number of ears of grain; and at this time, his position as leader shall come to an end; but after passing through various reversals of circumstances, he will pass away."

11 And this was indeed how *Simon* interpreted the dream. But five days after first having the dream-vision, and hearing these things, the other Archelaos, who had been sent by Caesar, arrived in Judah, and summoned *this* Archelaos to the court-of-justice.

12 Now a similar incident also happened to his wife Glaphyra. She was the daughter of Archelaos, the king of Kappadokia. She had first been married, while she was a virgin, to Alexandros, who was indeed Archelaos' brother but *also* a son of King Héródés. *Now* Alexandros had been done away with by his own father; and after he had come-to-his-end,⁴ Glaphyra married Juba, the king of Libyé. **13** Now after the departure of the Libyeen king,⁵ while she was returning and was living as a widow with her father in Kappadokia, the nation-chief Archelaos gazed *at her* and was inflamed with such passion that he immediately dismissed and cast out Miriam, who was then his wife, in order to take her for himself; so great was his passionate-desire for Glaphyra.

14 Moreover, when she had come to Judah, only a short time after her arrival, and while she was married to him, she saw the following sleeping-vision: She thought she saw Alexandros standing in front of her; and in her joy, she embraced him warmly. But he both reproached her and declared, **15** "O Glaphyra! You confirm that saying, which states that women are not to be trusted. Were you not both betrothed to me, and married to me as a virgin? Were not boys born to us? *Yet*, you let yourself forget my passionate-desire in your yearning to marry a second *husband*. **16** But although your marriage in Libyé was sufficient for you, you, not being satisfied with that outrage, instead, indecently and shamefully, bend back to my own hearth—a third husband to lie with you! And in this case, *it is* Archelaos whom you have chosen, your own brother-in-law but my own brother. You brazen woman! **17** Instead, I shall not forget my goodwill for you

and stand by *and* watch the outrage; but I shall free you from every reproach, reclaiming you as my own, as you *once* were,⁶ even if you are unwilling."

18 After describing this sleeping-vision to her female companions, she barely lived two days, coming-to-her-end from this life.

19 Now Archelaos' country, which was annexed to Syria, was allotted as a province. *And* Quirinius, a man who had lost the honor of a consular *rank*, was sent by Caesar both: to take a census of the *properties* in Syria, and to sell the house of Archelaos.

CHAPTER 99 [Ant18:1-10 / War2:117b-118]

Now Quirinius, a Roman on the council, who had proceeded through all the chiefs to the consulship, and who was extremely distinguished in other respects, arrived in Syria, having been dispatched by Caesar to be a judge of the nation, and to make an assessment of their property. **2** Coponius, a procurator from the equestrian legion among the Romans, was also sent along with him, to rule over the Judeans with full authority, *which included the* authority he had received from Caesar to inflict death.

But Quirinius also visited *the land of* Judah, which had been annexed to Syria, in order to make an assessment of the Judeans' property, and to dispose of Archelaos' money. **3** But even though they were at first terribly astonished to hear about the property-registration, they gradually condescended, yielding to the arguments of the chief-priest Joezer son of Boéthos, to proceed no further in opposition. So those who were convinced by him gave accounts, without hesitation, of the value of their money.

4 Now under *Coponius' administration*, there was a certain Golanite⁷ named Judah, who was from a city named Gamala; but this man was a wise-man of his own peculiar sect. He had enlisted the aid of Zadok, a Pharisee, and incited the natives to revolt, upbraiding them as cowards if they would put up with paying tribute to Romans and tolerate mortal masters after God.

5 They said that the assessment carried with it a status amounting to no less than slavery, and they appealed to the nation to assert their freedom. "Indeed, if we are successful, you Judeans will have laid the foundation of prosperity; but if we fail to obtain any such benefit, we will have won the honor and glory for our lofty aim. And the Deity will be our helper, to no lesser end than the furthering of our endeavor until it succeeds; especially, if we stand firm with great devotion, not growing weary from carrying out these *things*."

6 And since the *men* gladly received what they had said, this audacious enterprise made serious progress. Now these humans sowed the seed of every kind of misery, and infected the nation to an indescribable degree. **7** Uncontrollable wars were also set afoot, and friends who might have alleviated the suffering were done away with. There were both raids made by great bands of brigands, and destructions of the principal men. Indeed, it was done in pretext for the public welfare, but in reality, for the hopes of private gain.

8 From these, arose both strife between factions, and the murder of their own citizens. Indeed, some were slaughtered in civil strife (*for* these humans had mad recourse to *kill* both each and themselves, wanting none of the opposing *faction* to survive); but others *were slaughtered* as being their antagonists. There was also the famine, reserved to exhibit the last degree of shamelessness. And this was followed by stormings and demolitions of cities. And the revolt increased to such a height that the very temple of God was ravaged by their foes' fire.

9 Such were the consequences. *For* innovation and reform of the traditions of our fathers is a heavy weight in the scale toward bringing everyone to utter-destruction, which these men occasioned by conspiring together in this way. Yet Judah and Zadok started an intrusive fourth philosophic sect among us. And when they had *amassed* an abundance of followers, they immediately filled the polity with tumults, and planted the seeds of the miseries which would subsequently overtake it. **10** All this because of the newness of this previously unknown philosophy, which infected the youths with an earnestness which brought the *state* affairs to ruin.

CHAPTER 100 [Ant18:11-25 / War2:119-166]

For a long time, the Judeans had three philosophical sects unique to themselves. The followers of the first are called Pharisees; of the second, the Zadokim; of the third, which have a reputation for cultivating seriousness, are called Essenes.

2 Now the Pharisees are reputed to be the most accurate interpreters of the laws, and hold the position of the leading sect. They live simply and make no concession to luxury. Also following the guidance of what their teaching has selected and transmitted to them as good, they rationalize that they should earnestly strive to observe the commandments which it has dictated to them to practice.

They yet show honor *and* deference to the aged; nor do they rashly presume to contradict their proposals.

¹ [Ant] // [War] "ninth" (incorrectly)

² [Ant] // [War] "Gallia"

³ [Ant] // [War] "nine" (incorrectly)

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "after his death"

⁵ [Ant] // [War] "after he had come-to-his-end"

⁶ [War] E, Latin "as it was before"

⁷ [Ant] // [War] "Galilean"

3 And they attribute everything to foresight and indeed to God. And, indeed, they believe that the doing and the not doing of what is righteous rests mainly with what the human wishes to do, since it was God's pleasure that there should be a fusion between them both, by which what he himself wishes is done, but that the decision to act excellent or evil rests in the wanting of the humans; but they hold that foresight co-operates in each case.

4 They also maintain that every soul is indeed immortal and imperishable, and that under the earth there will be both honors and rightful-punishments, in accordance with how one lived excellently or vilely in this life. Now the souls of the wicked are to be detained in an eternal prison where they shall be chastised by eternal retributions. But it is only the souls of the good who shall have power to revive and live again, passing over to a different body.

5 And on account of these teachings, they are extremely influential among the populace; and as much as they do regarding divine things, both prayers and consecrated-things, they perform according to their exposition. This is the greatest testimony which the cities give of their excellence, on account of their entire great devotion, both in their way of living and in their rationalizations.

6 Now the rationalization of the Zadokim, the second of the orders,¹ is as follows: they, indeed, do away with foresight altogether, and place God beyond both the committing and the contemplating of evil. 7 But they maintain that a human is free to choose either good or evil, and that it is the judgment of each human to embrace either the one or the other.

8 They also do away with the immortality of the soul, as well as the retributions and honors in the Netherworld, instead teaching that souls perish with the bodies.

9 They do not observe anything apart from what is enjoined by the law; for they consider it an excellence to dispute with those teachers of the philosophy which they pursue. But this rationalization is received by but a few men, however by those of the greatest dignity.

10 And, indeed, the Pharisees are both mutually affectionate to each other and cultivate harmonious relations to the community; but the Zadokim, on the contrary, have a rather harsh disposition even toward one another; also, in their conversations with their peers, are as rude as to strangers.

11 But they accomplish almost nothing by themselves. For when they become chiefs, as they are unwillingly, and, indeed, by force sometimes compelled to be, they therefore submit themselves to the rationalizations of the Pharisees, because otherwise the multitude would not tolerate them.

12 The rationalization of the Essenes is as follows: There are about 4,000 men who practice this way of life, Judeans by birth, and who are even more mutually affectionate than the other sects.

They ascribe everything to God. Now since they teach that the soul is immortal, they believe that they should earnestly strive to draw near to righteousness.

13 Now when they send their votive offerings to the temple, they do not² offer their sacrifices employing a different ritual of purification. For this reason, they are excluded from the common temple-precincts, but offer their sacrifices by themselves. But their course of life is better than all others.

14 Now they are admirable to the extent that they exceed all other men who apply themselves to excellence, and this in righteousness; and indeed to such a degree, that has never been found before among any other men, neither Hellene nor barbarian, no, not even for a short time; but such excellence has been in constant practice and has never been interrupted since its institution among them.

15 Indeed, they shun pleasures as vice, but esteem self-restraint and the curbing of the passions as virtue. And although they disdain marriage, they adopt other men's children while they are yet pliable and teachable, and regard them as their own kindred, and mold them in accordance with their own principles. 16 While they do not condemn the principle of marriage absolutely and the propagation of mankind through it, they protect themselves against the wanton ways of women, having been persuaded that none of them preserves her faithfulness to a single man and opens the way to a source of dissension. 17 Although devoting themselves completely to agriculture, they have no desire to own slaves, indeed, they believe that this practice tempts men to be unrighteous. But living by themselves, they minister one to another.

18 Now since these men are despisers of riches, what they hold in common is truly marvelous. There is not one found among them who has more possessions than another. For unwilling to allow anything to hinder them from having all things in common, they have a law that new members must relinquish their property to the order, with the result that among all of them, neither poverty or excessive riches may be seen; but everyone's possessions join the common stock of possessions, and everyone, like brothers, enjoy a single patrimony. In this way,

a rich man has no more enjoyment of his own property than the man who has nothing.

19 Now they consider olive-oil to be a defilement. And if anyone may accidentally be oiled with it, he scrubs his body; for they make a point of honor to retain dry skin, and of always being dressed in white.

Now they hand-elect curators to take-care of the commonality; and being indivisible, each and every one, they pursue the functions based on the advantage of everyone. These curators receive their revenues along with the produce of the earth. They also hand-elect priests to prepare bread and other food for them.

20 Now they occupy no one city; instead, they settle in large numbers in each one. And if any member of their sect arrives from elsewhere, all the resources of the community are put at their disposal, exactly as if these were their own. They enter the houses of men whom they have never seen before as though they were their most intimate friends. 21 And for this reason, they carry nothing with them on their journeys, with an exception of weapons on account of the brigands.

Now in every city, there is a steward appointed specially to attend to strangers, and to provide them with raiment and other necessities. 22 But their full-length-gown and semblance of body are like the children who are being educated with fear. But neither do they replace their clothes nor sandals until they are completely ripped-through or wasted by the time. 23 Now there is no buying or selling among themselves; instead, each one gives what he has to the one in need and receives from him in exchange something useful for himself. But they are also freely permitted to take anything they want from any of their brothers without making any return.

24 Yet, truly, their piety toward the Deity takes a unique form. For before the sun rises, they speak not a word about mundane matters, but offer up certain prayers to him which have been handed down from their fathers, as if begging him to arise. 25 And after this, they are dismissed by the curators to the various crafts in which each one is proficient and are strenuously employed until the fifth hour. At that time, they gather together again in one place; and after girding their loins with linen cloths, they bathe their bodies in cold water.

And after this purification, they gather together in a private apartment which none of those who hold different views are permitted to enter. Pure now themselves, they go to the dining room as if it were some kind of holy sacred-precinct. 26 And when they have taken their seats in silence, the baker serves the loaves to them in turn, but the cook sets before each one a single plate with one kind of food.

27 Now the priest himself prays prior to the meal, and it is forbidden to taste anything until after the prayer is concluded. Now when the meal has ended, he himself prays to God again. This is how, both at the beginning and at the end, they honor God as the bestower of life. Afterwards, they lay aside their clothings as if they were holy, and reapply themselves to their labors until evening.

28 Now when they return, they have dinner in the same manner, and any visitors who may have arrived sit down with them. But no clamor or disturbance ever pollutes their dwelling, but they speak in turn, each yielding to his neighbor. And to outsiders, the silence of those within appears like some tremendous mystery. But it is in fact due to their perpetual sobriety and to the rationing of food and drink among them until full.

29 Therefore, indeed, in all other matters, they are not operating anything which their curators did not order. But only two things are left to individual discretion: assistance and mercy. For they are also permitted of their own accord to help the deserving when in need, and supply good to the destitute. But presents to relatives are prohibited without permission from the procurators.

30 Of anger, they are righteous controllers of it; as for fury, they are masters of it; of faithfulness, champions; of peace, servants. And indeed, any word of theirs is more forceful than an oath; but swearing they avoid, regarding it worse than a false oath; for they declare that the man who is unworthy of belief without an appeal to God stands condemned already.

31 Now they display an extraordinary interest in the compositions of the ancients, selecting those in particular oriented toward the benefit of soul and body. With the help of these, and with a view to the treatment of diseases, they make investigations into both prophylactic roots and the properties of stones.

32 Now those who are zealous to join their sect are not immediately admitted. Instead, for one year, during which he remains outside the brotherhood, they prescribe a regimen for him, presenting him with both a small hatchet, as well as the previously mentioned loincloth, and white raiment. 33 Now whenever he has given proof of his self-restraint during this probationary period, he is indeed brought closer into their regimen and is allowed to share the purer waters for purification, but is not yet received into community meetings. For after this demonstration of endurance, his character is tested for two more years, and only then, if found worthy, is he admitted into their society.

34 Now before he is allowed to touch the communal food, he is made to swear tremendous oaths. Indeed, first, that he will practice piety toward the Deity. Next, that he will continue to act righteous toward the humans, and that he will not harm anyone, whether by his own deliberation or under another's orders; but that he will always hate the unrighteous and contend along with the righteous; 35 that he

¹ This word is elsewhere translated "legion" (also elsewhere throughout this chapter)

² [Ant] E, Latin adds

will always maintain faith with everyone, but especially to those in authority (for no one holds a *position* in the government except by *the will of God*); and that should he hold a *position* in the government, that he will never abuse his authority nor outshine his subjects, either in dress or by other outward marks of superiority; to always be a lover of the truth and to expose the liars; to keep his hands pure from theft, and his soul from unholy gain; and to conceal nothing from the members of the sect, nor to disclose anything of theirs to others, even though tortured to death. **36** In addition to these things, he indeed swears to transmit their precepts exactly as he himself received them; but to abstain from robbery; and in like manner, to carefully preserve both the books of the sect and the names of the messengers. These indeed are the oaths by which they completely secure those who join them.

37 Now those who are convicted of serious sins, they expel from the order. But the ejected individual often perishes by a most miserable fate. For, being bound by their oaths and customs, he is not able to partake of another's food; but forced to eat grass and in hunger, his body wastes away and perishes. **38** This is why, out of mercy, they actually receive many back in the last stage of exhaustion, deeming that *the torments which have brought them to the verge of death* are a sufficient penalty for their sins.

39 Now in respect to trials, they are righteous and extremely precise; and indeed, never rendering judgment in a gathering of less than a hundred members. But a decision reached by them is irrevocable. Now after God, there is great reverence among them for the name of their lawgiver; and whoever reviles him is punished with death.

40 Now they make it a point of honor to submit to their elders and to the majority. Accordingly, if ten sit together, one will not speak if nine were unwilling.

41 And they are careful not to spit in *the middle* or to the right *side*. And they are stricter than all Judeans in abstaining from work on the seventh day; for not only do they prepare their food on the day before to avoid kindling a fire on that day, instead they do not *even* dare to remove any vessel or even to relieve themselves. **42** But on the other days, they excavate a hole a foot deep with a trowel (for such is the nature of the hatchet which they present to the new-converts); and wrapping their cloak completely about them so that they may not offend the rays of God, they defecate into it. **43** After that, they replace the earth *which* was excavated-up into the hole. And while they do this, they are selecting the more desolate places. Although this secretion of excrements is a natural function, they make it a rule to wash themselves after it, as if they have become stained.

44 Now they are divided into four classes, according to the duration of their training. And the juniors are so far inferior to the seniors, that if a *senior* but touches a junior, he must take a bath, exactly as if having come in contact with a foreigner. **45** And, indeed, *being* long-lived, most of them surpass a hundred years *in age*; in consequence, I imagine, of the simplicity of their regimen and their orderliness.

Now they are scorners of terrors, and, indeed, are victorious over agonies by their *resolute* wills. But as for the death, if it arrives with glory, they consider it better than deathlessness. **46** Now the war against the Romans tried their souls in every way. Being both racked and twisted, both burned and broken, and made to pass through every instrument of torture in order to induce them to revile their lawgiver or to eat something forbidden, they refused to yield to demand; instead, not once did they flatter *their* persecutors or shed a tear. **47** But smiling in their agonies and laughing those who tortured them to scorn, they cheerfully released their souls, *confident* that they would receive them back again.

48 For it is also a tenacious belief of theirs that our bodies are corruptible and their constituent matter impermanent; but that our souls are immortal and imperishable. And having emanated from the finest ether, these *souls* indeed become entangled, as it were, being dragged down into the prisons that are bodies by a sort of enticement. **49** But when they are *finally* released from the bonds of *the flesh*, then, as though liberated from a long period of slavery, they rejoice and are carried upward. And they indeed maintain that virtuous *souls* have abodes reserved beyond the ocean, a region which is not oppressed by rain nor snow nor heat; instead, it is continually refreshed by the gentle breath of the west wind coming in from the ocean. But at the same time, they set-apart base *souls* to a murky and stormy recess, filled with incessant retributions.

50 Indeed, the aim is first to establish the *teaching about* eternal souls, and secondly, to promote excellence and to deter from evil. For the good are made better in their lifetime by the hope of a reward after their end, but the passions of the evil *ones* are restrained by their anxiety that, even though they escape detection while living, they will be subject to deathless retributions. **51** Therefore, these are indeed the divine views of the Essenes concerning the soul, laying down an irresistible bait to those who have once had a taste of their wisdom.

52 Now there are also some among them who profess to foretell the future, being versed from their early years in holy books, and using various forms of purification, and conversant in the concise-sayings of the prophets. But seldom, if ever, do they fail in their predictions.

53 Now there is also a different order of Essenes. Indeed, it also agrees with the rest about regimen and customs and laws, but it differs from them in its views on marriage. For they hold that those who refuse to marry cut off the chief function of life, the propagation of the race; but, especially, that, if everyone were to adopt the same view, the whole race would quickly die out. **54** However, they give their spouses a probationary period of three years, only marrying them after they have been purified three times as a proof of their ability to engender *children*. But they abstain from intercourse with them during pregnancy, demonstrating by this that their motive in marrying is not pleasant, *but* instead the procreation of children. But in the baths, the women wrap clothes around themselves in the same way as the men *wear* a loincloth. These indeed are the customs of this order.

55 But as for the fourth sect of Judean philosophy, Judah the Galilean was its leader. Indeed, this *order* agrees in all other things with the notions of the Pharisees; but they have an inviolable passionate-desire for freedom, saying that God alone is to be their leader and master. They also think little of submitting to death in any form, and certainly of permitting retributions to fall on their relatives and friends, if only they may avoid calling any human master. **56** Now this steadfast resolution of theirs, *as well as* the indifference which they show when they undergo pain, is well-known to a great many.

57 It was also during the time when Gessius Florus was leader that the nation began to grow-wanton with this affliction; and by his abuse and lawless actions, he provoked *the Judeans* to go wild with it, making them revolt from the Romans.

And this is indeed what I had to say about the philosophic sects among the Judeans.

CHAPTER 101 [Ant18:26-38, 39-54 (abridged) / War2:167-168]

Now Quirinius had disposed of Archelaos' money; and by this time, the property-registrations, which took place in the thirty-seventh year after Caesar's defeat of Antonius at Aktion, were complete. Since the chief-priest Joezer had now been overpowered by the multitude, *Quirinius* stripped him of his dignity, and gave the honor of chief-priest to Hanan son of Seth.

2 But with Archelaos' ethnarchy having fallen over into a province, the remaining *brothers*, Philippos and Hérōdés called Antipas, had meanwhile received their own tetrarchies, and were continuing to administer them. And Hérōdés enwalled Tzippori to be the embellishment of all Galilee, naming it Autokratoris.¹ But in Peraia, he built a wall around another city, Beth-Haramatha, which he called Julias, after the name of the emperor's wife.

3 Now Philippos built up Paneas by founding a city near the sources of the Jordan; and he called it Caesarea. But in the lower Golan, he increased the village of Beth-Tzaidah on Lake Genusar to the status of a city by adding residents and other strengths; and he also named it Julias, *but* instead after Julia,² Caesar's daughter.

4 Now during Coponius' administration of Judah (*Coponius is the one* who had previously been dispatched with Quirinius), the following incident occurred:

While the Festival of the Unleavened, which we call Passover, was going on, the priests were accustomed to open the temple-gates *immediately* after midnight. **5** And, therefore, when the gates were first opened, some Samaritan men, who had secretly entered Jerusalem, began to scatter human bones in the porticoes. And as a result, *the priests*, although they had never before observed such a custom, both excluded everyone from the temple, and took other measures to guard the temple more *carefully*.

6 And not long afterwards, Coponius returned to Roma, but his successor in the government was Marcus Ambivius.³ And under his administration, Shelome, King Hérōdés' sister, departed *this life*. Indeed, to Julia, the wife of the August-One, she bequeathed both Jabneh and its⁴ toparchy; together with Fazaelis, which lay in the plain, and Archelais, where there are great palm-groves, and *where* the dates are of the highest *quality*.

7 Now Ambivius' successor was Annius Rufus, under whose *administration* Caesar Augustus also *came* to his end. Indeed, he was the second Roman emperor, who had been leader of the government for 57 years, 6 months, and 2 days. Antonius had governed together with him for 14 years, but the duration of his life was 77 years. **8** But after Augustus had come-to-his-end, the Roman leadership passed over to his successor, the third emperor, Tiberius Nerō, *the son of Augustus' wife* Julia.

And he dispatched Valerius Gratus to succeed Annius Rufus as prefect over the Judeans. **9** After this *man* deposed Hanan from the priesthood, he appointed Ishmael *son of Phiabi* as chief-priest. And not long after this, he discharged him,

¹ Might also be translated "and made it autonomous"

² [Ant] MW / AE "Julias"

³ [Ant] Latin equivalent (according to Casaubonus ad Baron) MW "Ambibouchos" / E "Ambibouchos" / Latin omits altogether

⁴ [Ant] // [War] "and her own"

but appointed Eleazar as chief-priest, *who was* a son of the previous chief-priest Hanan. But after a year elapsed, and after he deposed him, he delivered the chief-priesthood to Simon *son of Kimhith*. **10** But not much time elapsed while he *was* also holding that honor for a year; and Joseph, the *one also called* Kayafa, was his successor. And indeed, after Gratus performed these things, he went-back into Roma, after spending-time in Judah *for* eleven years. Now Pontius Pilatus was there *as* his successor.

11 Now both Hērōdēs and Philippos continued in their tetrarchies. For Hērōdēs the tetrarch, who had gained a great friendship with Tiberius, built a city of the same name, naming it Tiberias. He built it in the best region of Galilee on Lake Genusar. There is also a hot spring not far from it in a village, Hammat by name.

12 But the new inhabitants of the city were a promiscuous rabble, but a great number of them were also Galileans: and indeed, some were drafted from the land subject to him, and were forcibly compelled to the new foundation; but some were also magistrates. But he admitted even poor men who were collected from any *and* every place to dwell with the others. **13** But to some who had not been distinctly freed, he also became *their* benefactor, and often liberated them in great numbers, *but* he imposed the condition that they were not allowed to leave the city. He also equipped them with houses at his own expense, and also gave them land. *For* he knew that this settlement was in opposition to the law and *traditions handed down by* the Judean fathers, because in order for the city of Tiberias to have been built, many memorials on its site had to be obliterated. But our laws declare that such inhabitants are to become stained for seven days.

14 Now about this time, Frahat, the Parthian king, also came-to-his-end, on account of a plot formed against him by his son Frahatak. But Ardavan, king of Media, was summoned to be king, and he reigned over the Parthians. Now Ardavan gave Armenia to Ord, one of his own boys.

15 Now Antiochos, the king of Kummuhu, also passed away. But the multitude set themselves at variance with the notables, and each faction sent elders *to Roma*. Indeed, the powerful *men* thought it fit that their form of civility be changed into a Roman province, but the multitude *wanted to be* ruled by kings as their fathers had been. **16** So the senate voted to send Germanicus to straighten out the *affairs in* the east. Fortune labored to make this a good-opportunity for his death. For even when he had reached the east and had straightened out everything, he was done away with by a drug which Piso gave him (even as other *secular historians* have explained).

CHAPTER 102 [Ant18:55-65a, 80b-84 / War2:169-177]

Now Pilatus had been sent to Judah as leader and procurator by Tiberius. But when he removed his armies from Caesarea, and brought them to take winter quarters in Jerusalem, he took a bold step in subversion of the Judean practices. *He did this* by introducing into the city busts¹ of Caesar, which were attached to what are called the ensigns. *For* our laws do not permit any sort of *physical* representation within the city; *in fact* they forbid us from the very making of images. **2** And it was for this reason that the previous leaders, when they entered the city, used ensigns which had no such ornamentation. But Pilatus was the first who brought these images into Jerusalem, and set them up, which he did without *the* knowledge of the humans, *for* they were brought in concealed by night.

3 But after daybreak, when they discovered this, it stirred up a huge disturbance among the Judeans. For those who were close to the spectacle were astonished that their laws had been trampled. And *in addition* to the indignation of those within the city, the people from the country streamed together in close order. **4** Now they rushed in a multitude to Pilatus in Caesarea, and kept begging him to remove these images² from Jerusalem, and to preserve their fathers' *laws*. But when Pilatus refused, since to do so would be an outrage to Caesar, they fell down prostrate around his residence, and for five days and as many nights, held out motionless.

5 However, since they did not cease entreating him, on the sixth day,³ he secretly armed his soldiers and placed them in position, while he sat on a platform. This *platform* had been constructed in the great stadium, where he had concealed the army, which lay in wait *to act* according to *his* scheme. **6** Then he summoned the multitude, as if he truly intended to answer them. And when the Judeans petitioned him again, he gave a signal to his soldiers to encircle the Judeans with weapons. But as the infantry column was positioned around them in three phalanxes, the Judeans were dumbstruck at this unexpected sight.

7 But Pilatus also threatened them, saying, "I will instantly punish you with death, if you do not put an end to your tumult and return to your own places. And I will cut you down if you refuse to accept Caesar's images." Then he nodded⁴ to his soldiers to bare their short-swords.

¹ [Ant]// [War] "images"

² [Ant]// [War] "ensigns"

³ [Ant]// [War] "on the next day"

⁴ [War] V "directed"

8 But the Judeans, as if by a prearranged signal, fell down prostrate in close order, and, inclining their necks to the side, bared their throats. And they shouted, "We will receive the death with pleasure! And we are *even* ready to do away with ourselves,⁵ rather than to audaciously transgress the wisdom of our laws!"

And Pilatus, marveling at their firm devotion to their laws, and overwhelmed by the purity of their terror-of-demons, now gave directions for the ensigns to be immediately carried out of Jerusalem and brought back to Caesarea.

9 But after these *events*, he instigated a different kind of disturbance by exhausting the consecrated money from the consecrated treasury (which is called *korbanas*) on the construction of an aqueduct; the water was conducted to Jerusalem by intercepting the source of the stream 200⁶ stadia away. But the multitude did not acquiesce to these operations, and were indignant. **10** And when Pilatus was present at Jerusalem, tens of thousands of humans gathered together and stood around his platform, and kept clamoring against him, insisting that he halt this project. Now some *of them* even hurled reproaches, and insulted him in the manner in which a crowd usually does.

11 But because he had foreseen their disturbance, he had ordered a multitude of his own soldiers to be concealed in civilian clothes, with their sticks concealed under their cloaks. And he prohibited them from using the short-sword, but instead directed them to beat those who had begun shouting with *their* sticks. Then he interspersed his own soldiers in arms amongst the multitude from various directions to surround them. Then he ordered *the multitude* to withdraw.

12 *But when they would not*, he, from the platform, gave *his soldiers* the prearranged-signal. But *his soldiers* inflicted more vigorous blows than Pilatus had ordered, equally punishing both those who were causing disturbance and those who were not. **13** But the Judeans showed no faintheartedness. And because they were caught unarmed by *armed* men who were delivering a prepared attack, many of them were indeed slaughtered from being hit by the blows, but many others perished from being trampled underfoot by their very own *companions* in the escape, while others ran away wounded. But due to the calamity of these victims, the beaten down multitude became silent.

And this was how the sedition was put to an end.

14 But about this time came-to-be Jeshua,⁷ a⁸ wise man (if it is indeed necessary to call him a man). For he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of humans who receive the truth with pleasure.⁹ And he indeed attracted to himself many of the Judeans, but also many of the Hellenes. He was believed to be¹⁰ the anointed one. **15** And on the indictment of some of the principal men among us, Pilatus condemned him to the cross, but those who had first loved him did not cease to do so.¹¹ For he appeared to them on the third day, alive again; exactly as the divine prophets have spoken both these and ten thousand other marvels¹² about him, with-the result-that, as-well-as still¹³ now, the tribe of Christians, so named from this-here *man*,¹⁴ did not fail.

16 And about this same time, another terrible *thing* threw the Judeans at Roma into an uproar. There was a certain man, a Judean, indeed a wicked *man*, who had escaped *from his own country*, both¹⁵ because of an accusation brought against him for transgressing their laws, and *because* he was anxious of *receiving* retribution on this account. And living at Roma, he indeed masqueraded as an interpreter of the wisdom of the laws of Moses. **17** But for his partners, he enlisted three other men who were *composed* entirely of the same character as himself. When Fulvia, a woman of great dignity, had become a Judean convert, and had begun to meet with them regularly, they persuaded her to send purple and gold to the temple in Jerusalem. And they took *the gifts* and used them for their own personal expenses; *for* this had been their original intention in asking *her*.

18 And Fulvia's husband Saturninus, at his wife's instigation, informed this to Tiberius, whose friend he was. At this, *Tiberius* directed all the Judeans to be banished from Roma. **19** But the consuls drafted 4,000 of these humans for service in the army, and sent them to the island of Sardō; but they chastised a great number of those who refused to serve on account of keeping the laws of their fathers. And this was indeed how, due to the evil of four men, *the Judeans* were banished from the city.

CHAPTER 103 [Ant18:85-95]

But the Samaritan nation was also not exempt from disturbance. For a man who thought little of falsehood, and in all his designs aimed at pleasing the multitude, rallied them. And he directed them to gather together with him on Mount

⁵ [War] PA, Latin / MLVRC "ready for elimination"

⁶ [Ant]// [War] Gk "400" / Lat, Eusebius "300"

⁷ traditionally translated in English to "Jesus" (that is Jesus the Anointed-One, the son of God)

⁸ [Ant] some Eusebius:History "the"

⁹ [Ant] Eusebius:Demo "a teacher of humans who reverence the truth"

¹⁰ [Ant] Jerome, Michael adds

¹¹ [Ant] Eusebius:Demo "cease to revere him"

¹² [Ant] Eusebius:Demo "and many other things"

¹³ [Ant] AW/ later manuscripts, Eusebius:Demo add

¹⁴ [Ant] Eusebius:Demo omits "so named from this man"

¹⁵ [Ant] E omits "both"

Gerizim, which in their view is the most holy of *all* mountains. He also assured them that when they arrived there, he would show to them the consecrated vessels which were buried, where Moses had deposited them.

2 But *his hearers*, thinking that this discourse was plausible, arrived there in arms. And while they dwelled in a certain village named Tirathana,¹ they welcomed the rest who kept coming to them, *and* planned to climb the mountain in a great multitude. 3 But before they could ascend, Pilatus, blocking their projected route up the mountain with a detachment of cavalry and heavy-armed *infantry*, engaged with those who had first arrived at the village. Indeed, they killed some in a pitched battle, but put others to flight; they also took many prisoners. Of these, Pilatus killed their principal *men* along with those who were most powerful among the fugitives.

4 But when the disturbance had been quelled, the Samaritan council went to Vitellius, a man who had been of consular *rank*, and who was *now* the leader of Syria. And they accused Pilatus with the slaughter of these victims. "For they did not meet in Tirathana in order to revolt from the Romans, *but* instead to escape from Pilatus' wanton-violence."

5 So Vitellius dispatched Marcellus, one of his friends, to be curator over the affairs of Judah, *and* directed Pilatus to return to Roma to give the emperor his explanation of what the Samaritans² were accusing him of. And Pilatus, after having spent ten years in Judah, made haste to Roma in obedience to Vitellius' instructions, since he could not contradict *them*. But before he reached Roma, Tiberius died.

6 But when Vitellius arrived in Judah, he went up to Jerusalem. For *the Judeans* were also celebrating the Passover Festival. But having been magnificently received, Vitellius remitted the inhabitants of the city from all taxes which had been placed upon the sale of produce, and agreed that the chief-priest's vestments and all the ornamentation should be kept in the temple under custody of the priests, as had even been their privilege before. 7 But at this time, the vestments were being stored in Antōnia Fortress for the following reason:

One of the priests, Hyrkanos (now he was the first of many called by that name), had constructed a castle near the temple, *and*, after its completion, dwelled there most of the time. For he was a guardian of the vestments. And since it was lawful for him alone to put them on, he kept them laid away there whenever he put on his ordinary clothes in order to go down into the city. 8 And these same things were practiced by his sons, and *by* their children.

But when Hérōdés became king, he also made lavish repairs to this castle, which was conveniently situated. Because he was a friend of Antonius, he named it Antōnia. And he found these vestments there, and he retained them in the same place, believing that, for this reason, the people would never rise in revolt against him. 9 But Hérōdés' successor as king, his son Archelaos, did the same thing.

After him, when the Romans took over the government, they retained possession of the chief-priest's vestments, keeping them in a stone building, where they were under the seal both of the priests and of the treasurers, *and* where the fortress-chief lit the lamp each day. 10 But seven days before a festival, the fortress-chief delivered the vestments to them. And after they³ had been purified, the chief-priest used them. Then, after the first day of the festival, he laid them aside again in the house where they used to lay. This was the procedure at the three annual festivals and on the fast day.

11 But Vitellius was guided by our fathers' *laws* in dealing with the vestments, *and* also instructed the fortress-chief not to trouble himself by inquiring where they were to be stored, and when they should be used. And after he had bestowed these benefits upon the nation, he removed Joseph, surnamed Kayafa, from the chief-priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, son of Hanan the chief-priest, to succeed him. Then he set out on his journey back to Antiocheia.

CHAPTER 104 [Ant18:96-108]

Now Tiberius also sent documents to Vitellius, directing him to make a friendship with Ardavan, the Parthian king. For *Ardavan*, who was at enmity with him and who had already detached Armenia, instilled fear in him, that he would commit further evil. Now he *directed Vitellius* to put faith in the friendship only if hostages were given to him, but especially his son Ardavan.

2 Now while he was writing these *things* to Vitellius, Tiberius also gave great sums of money in order to persuade *both* the king of the Ibérians and of the Alvanians to not waver in being at war against Ardavan. Now they indeed held out against him, but they brought in the Alani against Ardavan, by allowing them a passage through their own *country*, and opening the Kaspian to them.

3 So both Armenia was again taken away from *the Parthians*, and the land of Parthia was filled with war, in which both the principal men were killed while everything was ruined among them, and the king's son fell in the battle, together with many tens of thousands of the soldiery.

4 And Vitellius sent out sums of money both to the kinsmen and friends of Ardavan's father. Indeed, he would have killed him by *means* of those who had

taken the gifts, but Ardavan sensed that he would be unable to escape this plot formed against him, since it was contrived by those who were many and those who were the principal men, *and* would certainly succeed. 5 And he even considered that those who had sincerely supported him were even now either corrupted in their deceit by pretending to have goodwill *toward him*, or, as soon as an attempt was made on him, to go over and join the rebels. *So* in order to save himself, he went to the upper satrapies. And he mustered a large army, both of *the Dahae and the Saka*; and making war upon those who stood against him, he retained the government.

6 When Tiberius heard about these things, he thought it fit to have a friendship with Ardavan. Now when this invitation was offered, Ardavan received the account gladly. *So* both he and Vitellius met on the Euphrates.⁴ 7 And since a bridge was over the river, they met in the middle of the causeway, each with his guards around him. And after they had made conciliatory accounts, Hérōdés the tetrarch entertained them in the middle of the ford, in an extravagant tent which he had set up in the ford.

8 And Ardavan sent his son Darayahus as a hostage to Tiberius, together with many gifts. Among *these gifts* was also a man whose size was seven cubits tall, a Judean by race, named Eleazar; however, on account of his size, he was called Gigas (*which means 'giant'*).

9 After these things, Vitellius indeed went to Antiocheia, but Ardavan to Babelia.⁵ But Hérōdés, wishing to be the first to give Caesar the information that they had obtained the hostages, sent out document-carriers, with letters in which he had precisely written everything *which had happened*, leaving nothing remaining for the consul to disclose.

10 Now after Vitellius' letters were *later* sent, and after Caesar had explained to him that he already knew about the information⁶ because Hérōdés had been first in putting them at his disposal, Vitellius was greatly agitated. And assuming that he was being treated worse than he actually was, he concealed a secret anger, even until he prosecuted him, which he did when Gaius received the Roman⁷ government.

11 Now about this time, Hérōdés' brother Philippos died, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, but after he had been tetrarch of the Trachonites and *the Golanites* and the nation of *the Bashanites* for 37 years. But in his conduct of the government, he showed himself to have a moderate and carefree disposition. 12 For, indeed, he lived that entire time in the land subject to him. But when he went on circuit, he had only a few chosen friends.

And the platform, upon which he sat when he gave judgment, accompanied him everywhere he went. And so, whenever anyone appealed to him for assistance along the route, he did not delay, but immediately set up his platform wherever he happened to be; and sitting down upon it, he gave the case a hearing. And he fixed penalties for those who were convicted, and released those who had had charges brought against them unrighteously.

13 But he died at Julias. And his body was carried to the memorial which he himself had already erected, and there was a costly funeral. Since he had died childless, Tiberius took over his territory and annexed it to the province of Syria. Nevertheless, he ordered that the tribute which was collected in his tetrarchy should be held on deposit.

CHAPTER 105 [Ant18:109-126 / War2:178a]

Now about this time, a quarrel arose between Harthah (king of Petra) and Hérōdés for the following reason:

Hérōdés the tetrarch had taken Harthah's daughter as his wife, and had now been married to her for a long time. But when he started out for Roma, he lodged with his half-brother Hérōdés. For Hérōdés had been born of a different mother, namely, the daughter of Simon the chief-priest. 2 But he was inflamed with passionate-desire for Hérōdias, who was the wife of this half-brother, and who was the daughter of their brother Aristoboulos and sister of Agrippa the Great. When this *man* had *the* boldness to speak to her about marriage, she accepted and pledged herself to make the transfer to him as soon as he returned from Roma. But it was stipulated that he would be required to also cast out Harthah's daughter.

3 So indeed, when this agreement had been made, he set sail for Roma. But on his return, after having transacted his business in Roma, his wife discovered the agreement which he had made with Hérōdias. Since she had learned about it before he knew that she had discovered everything, she directed him to send her away to Machairous, which was on the boundary between the government of Harthah and *the government* of Hérōdés. 4 And thinking that his *wife* had not perceived anything, Hérōdés sent her there.

Now some time earlier, she herself had dispatched *messengers* to Machairous, and to the human who was subject to her father, so that when she arrived, all the

¹ [Ant] AM / W "Tirathaba" / most Latin "Tirathua" / Latin(A) "Tirathuia"

² [Ant] A / MWE, Latin "Judeans"

³ [Ant] variant "he"

⁴ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

⁵ [Ant] E "Babel"

⁶ [Ant] A / MW "faith/faithfulness"

⁷ [Ant] A / MEW, Lat omit "Roman"

preparations for her journey had already been made by the general. And by these means, she was able to start out for Arab as soon as she arrived, being conducted from one general to the next as they provided transport. So she quickly reached her father and told him about Hérōdés' intentions.

5 But *Harthah* made this the start of enmity *between him and Hérōdés*, who had already been *at enmity with him* about borders in the land of Gamala. And each side mustered a force, *and* were now at war. *But* they dispatched others as generals instead of going themselves. 6 And when they came to a battle, Hérōdés' entire army was utterly-destroyed by the treachery of some refugees, who had come from the tetrarchy of Philippos and had joined Hérōdés' army.

7 Hérōdés wrote *an account* of these *events* to Tiberius. But *Tiberius*, who was angry that *Harthah* had made an attack upon *Hérōdés*, wrote to Vitellius to declare war upon *Harthah*; and either to bring *Harthah* to him in chains, if he should be captured alive, or, if he should be killed, to send him his head. So these indeed were the instructions which Tiberius gave to his general in Syria.

8 But some of the Judeans thought that Hérōdés' army had been destroyed by God, and *that it was* certainly a very righteous vengeance for his treatment of *Johanán*, surnamed the Immerser.¹ 9 For Hérōdés had killed him, though he was a good man and had exhorted the Judeans to lead virtuous lives, and to practice *both* righteousness toward one another and piety toward God; *and* while doing these things, to join in immersion. For this was a necessary preliminary if immersion was to be acceptable *to God*: they must not employ it to gain pardon for whatever sins they had committed; instead, *they must do this* as a purification of the body implying that the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by righteousness.

10 And when others² also amassed around him (for even they were greatly aroused³ by his accounts), Hérōdés became anxious that *Johanán's* great persuasiveness with the humans might lead to a sedition; for they seemed ready to do everything which he advised. *Therefore*, Hérōdés decided it would be much better to seize him and destroy him first before any revolution could arise, *rather* than to change his mind afterwards when he had fallen into difficulties. 11 And indeed, due to Hérōdés' suspicion, *Johanán* was sent in bonds to the fortress of Machairous, where he was killed. But the Judeans were convinced that the destruction of this army was sent as a retribution upon Hérōdés, since God willed to afflict him.

12 Now Vitellius prepared for a war against *Harthah* with two legions of heavy-armed *soldiers*, as well as unarmed *soldiers* and cavalry which were attached to them as auxiliaries. *And* proceeding from the kingdoms which were under the Romans, he made haste for Petra, and occupied Ptolemais. 13 But since he had started to lead his army through Judah, the principal men went to meet him, and entreated him not to march through their country. For it is contrary to *the traditions* of our fathers to allow images, of which there were many attached to their ensigns, to be brought into it.

14 So yielding to their entreaty, he both abandoned his original plan, and directed his army to march through the Great Plain, while he himself, together with Hérōdés the tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice to God during the festival of their fathers which the Judeans were celebrating there. 15 And when he arrived there, he was warmly greeted by the Judean multitude. Indeed, he spent three days there, during which he deposed *Jonathan* from the priesthood, *and* conferred it upon his brother *Theophilos*.

16 But on the fourth day, when he received documents notifying him of the end of Tiberius, he made the multitude swear an oath of loyalty to Gaius. But he also recalled his army, and ordered each *man* to go to his own home for the winter; *for now* that the *state* affairs had fallen into *Gaius'* hands, *Vitellius* was no longer empowered to make a war abroad as he had done before.

17 But it was also said that, when *Harthah* had received a message about *Vitellius'* expedition, he took auguries from a flight of birds, and declared, "It is impossible for his army to enter Petra. For one of his leaders will die: either the *man* who directed the war to be made, or the *man* who marched forth to minister his decision; or else, the *man* against whom this army was prepared."

18 And indeed, *Vitellius* withdrew to Antiocheia. But meanwhile, when the means had presented itself, *Agrippa*, the son of the *Aristoboulos* whom his father Hérōdés had killed, had gone up to Roma a year prior to Tiberius coming to *his* end *in order* to transact some business with Emperor Tiberius, namely, to be an accuser of Hérōdés the tetrarch.

CHAPTER 106 [Ant18:127-142]

This is an account of Hérōdés and his family, which yet, within a hundred years, it happened that all of them, with an exception of a few (and there were many), were utterly-destroyed.

2 Hérōdés the Great had two daughters by *Miriam* daughter of *Hyrkanos*:

Indeed, one of them, *Salemzion*, was given in marriage by her father to her cousin *Fazael*, the boy of Hérōdés' brother *Fazael*.

But the other, *Kypros*, also married a cousin, *Antipatros*, the boy of Hérōdés' sister *Shelome*.

3 And indeed, *Fazael* had three boys by *Salemzion*:

Antipatros, *Alexandros*, *Hérōdés*;
also two daughters: *Alexandra* and *Kypros*.

Agrippa son of *Aristoboulos* married *Kypros*.

But indeed *Timios* a Cyprian (a man of importance) married *Alexandra*;
but he had no children through her.

4 But *Agrippa*, through *Kypros*, indeed had two males, but three daughters:

Now *the daughters* were named: *Bereniké*, *Miriam*, *Drusilla*.

But the males were named: *Agrippa* and *Drusus*.

Of *these children*, *Drusus* came-to-his-end before reaching adolescence.

5 But *Agrippa*, together with his brothers *Hérōdés* and *Aristoboulos*, were raised by their father. But *Bereniké*, the girl of *Kostobar* and of Hérōdés' sister *Shelome*, and these boys of Hérōdés the son of *Hérōdés* the Great, were raised together. 6 *Aristoboulos* left these as infants when he, together with his brother *Alexandros*, were put to death by his father.

Indeed, when they had reached adolescence, *Hérōdés*, brother of *Agrippa*, married *Miriam* daughter of *Olympias* (who was herself the daughter of King *Hérōdés*) and of *Joseph* (who was the son of *Joseph*, the brother of King *Hérōdés*). Through her he also had a son *Aristoboulos*.

7 But *Agrippa's* other brother, *Aristoboulos*, married *Jotape* daughter of *Shemashgeram* king of *Hames*. They had also a daughter, also named *Jotape*, who was a deaf-mute.

And these were indeed the children of the males.

8 But their sister *Hérōdias* was married to *Hérōdés*, the boy of Hérōdés the Great, through *Miriam* daughter of *Simon* the chief-priest. And they had a daughter, *Shelome*. After her birth, *Hérōdias* took it upon herself to confound the laws of our fathers by separating herself from her husband while he was alive, *and* marrying *Hérōdés*, her husband's brother by the same father, who was tetrarch of *Galilee*.

9 But her daughter *Shelome* was married to *Philippos*, the boy of Hérōdés, the tetrarch of the *Trachonites*. And because he died without any boys, *Aristoboulos*, the boy of Hérōdés, the brother of *Agrippa*, married her.

Now they had three boys: *Hérōdés*, *Agrippa*, *Aristoboulos*.

10 This indeed was the posterity of *Fazael* and *Salemzion*.

But, through *Kypros*, *Antipatros* had a daughter named *Kypros*.

And *Alexas*, surnamed *Hilkiah*,⁴ son of *Alexas*, married *Kypros*. And they had a daughter named *Kypros*.

But *Hérōdés* and *Alexandros*, who were the brothers of *Antipatros*, came-to-their-end childless.

11 But *Alexandros*, the boy of King *Hérōdés*, who had been done away with by his father, had two sons: *Alexandros* and *Tigran*, through the daughter of *Archelaos* king of *Kappadokia*.

And *Tigran*, who indeed was king of *Armenia*, came-to-his-end without any boys, after accusations were brought against him at *Roma*.

12 But *Alexandros* had a boy who had the same name as his brother *Tigran*, and who was sent forth by *Nerō* to take the kingship of *Armenia*.

This *Tigran* also had a son, *Alexandros*, who married *Jotape* daughter of *Antiochos*, the king of *Kummuhu*. *Vespasianus* also appointed him king of *Hésiodos* in *Kilikia*.

13 And, indeed, these descendants of *Alexandros*, shortly after their birth, abandoned the observance of the Judean customs and went over to the Hellenic traditions.

But it happened that the other daughters of King *Hérōdés* came-to-their-end childless.

14 But of Hérōdés' descendants, those who have been enumerated, were still alive when *Agrippa* the Great took the kingdom.

CHAPTER 107 [Ant18:143-167 / War2:178b]

Shortly before the end of King *Hérōdés*, *Agrippa* was living in *Roma*. And he was brought up and was familiar with *Drusus*, son of the Emperor *Tiberius*. And he also won a friendship with *Antōnia*, the wife of *Drusus* the Great; *for* his mother *Bereniké* ranked high among her friends, and had requested her in order to promote the son's interest.

¹ traditionally known as "John the Baptist"

² [Ant] Gk / Latin "when the masses"

³ [Ant] Gk, Latin / Eusebius, Slavonic "overjoyed"

⁴ [Ant] A / MW, Latin "Silkiah"

2 Now Agrippa was naturally great, and generous in giving; indeed, as long as his mother was alive, he kept the inclination of his soul concealed, in order that he might avoid the burst of anger which something such as this would have provoked in her. 3 But when Bereniké had come-to-her-end, he was left to his own ways; indeed, he extravagantly spent lots of money on daily living, but a great amount on the gifts which he lavished without restraint; but his largest *payments* were made to Caesar's freedmen, in hope of *receiving* some action on their part.

Now in a short time, he was reduced to poverty; 4 and this was an obstacle, *preventing* him for continuing to live in Roma. So Tiberius forbade the friends of his deceased son to pay him visits, because the sight of them instilled *his* mind with the *memory* of his boy, which stirred him to grief.

5 Indeed, for these reasons, *Agrippa* set sail for Judah. And he was in dire plight, humiliated by the loss of the money which he had previously possessed, and by the fact that he had no one to pay what he owed to the money-lenders, who were numerous and who gave him no allowance of avoiding them. So, in his utter helplessness and shame at his condition, he withdrew into a certain tower at Moladah in Edom, where he had his mind set on committing suicide.

6 But his wife Kypros perceived his intentions, and tried any and every method to debar him from such a resolve. But among other things, she also sent documents to his sister Hérōdias, the wife of Hérōdés the tetrarch, explaining the nature of *Agrippa's* design and the dire necessity which had led him into it. 7 She also directed *Hérōdias*, as his kinswoman, to help him and to dispose her husband to do so.¹ "You see how I myself am doing everything I can to alleviate my husband's troubles, although my resources are by no means equal to yours."²

Now they sent for him, and assigned him Tiberias as a dwelling place, and fixed him an income for living expenses, *and* also raised him to the position of market-supervisor in Tiberias.

7 Yet, truly, Hérōdés did not continue in this arrangement for long, although even this assistance was insufficient for him. For once, when they were in each other's company in Zor, *and* had, under *the influence* of wine, exchanged taunts, Hérōdés³ reproached him with both his poverty and dependence on his charity for his daily food, *reproaches* which *Agrippa*⁴ found it impossible to bear.

So he resorted to Flaccus the *man* of consular *rank*, who had previously been a very close friend of his in Roma, but who was presently *leader* of Syria. 8 And being welcomed by Flaccus, he lived with him.

Agrippa had been intercepted there by Aristoboulos. *Although Aristoboulos* was his brother, he was at variance with *Agrippa*. Truly, their mutual enmity was not so injurious as to prevent *him* from winning the honor, which *his* friendship with the *man* of consular *rank* brought *him*, in due course. 9 Yet, truly, Aristoboulos did not relent in his hostility against *Agrippa* until he had finally involved him in a quarrel with Flaccus. The opportunity which he seized to display this hostility was as follows:

10 There was a disagreement between *the* Damasekians and *the* Zidonians on the subject of boundaries. When Flaccus was about to hear the case *between them*, they understood that *Agrippa* would have a great influence with him. So they asked *Agrippa* to favor their cause, and promised him a great amount of silver. 11 And indeed, he committed himself to assisting the Damasekians as far as he was able. For the promised money did not escape the notice of Aristoboulos, *so* he denounced him to Flaccus. And after an investigation of the matter, this *denunciation* was clearly discovered. *So* he broke off his friendship with *Agrippa*.

12 Now being forced into utmost necessity, *Agrippa* went to Ptolemais. And lacking the means to live anywhere else, he resolved to set sail for Italia. But he was restrained from doing so by lack of money. *So* he appealed to his freedman Marsuas to find someone to borrow from in order to provide him with the necessary means. 13 And there was a freedman of *Agrippa's* mother Bereniké, *named* Prōtos;⁵ but under the right of her will, he had become one of Antōnia's retainers. Accordingly, Marsuas directed *Prōtos* to provide him with the money on *Agrippa's* own *bond* document and security.

14 But *Prōtos* called *Agrippa* to account for having defrauded him of some money, and he⁶ forced Marsuas to draw up a bond for 20,000 Attic drachmas, and to accept 2,500⁷ less *than what he desired*. Now *Marsuas* yielded to this, since he had no alternative.

15 But upon receiving the money, *Agrippa* went to Anthédōn, where he engaged a ship and was on the brink of setting sail. And Herennius Capito, the procurator of Jabneh, learned of this, and sent soldiers to exact from him the 300,000 *pieces of silver* which he owed Caesar's treasury at Roma; they also put constraint upon him to remain.

16 And indeed, at that time, he pretended that he would obey these orders. But when night fell, he cut the *mooring* cables *and* sailed to Alexandria. There he

begged Alexandros the alabarch⁸ to loan him 200,000 *pieces of silver*. But he indeed refused to loan this *amount* to him; but he would not deny it to Kypros, since he marveled at the love she had for her husband and at all her other excellences. 17 Now she promised to repay it. So Alexandros gave them five talents in Alexandria, *and* was professing that he would pay them the rest when they arrived in Dikaiarchia; *for* he was anxious that *Agrippa* was ready to spend it. And with this, Kypros indeed dispatched her husband on his voyage to Italia, *while she, along* with her children, departed for Judah.

18 Now when *Agrippa* had reached Puteoli, he sent a letter to Tiberius Caesar, who, at that time, was living at Capri, informing him that he had come to see him and to pay court to him, and asking for permission to land at Capri. 19 Now Tiberius did not hesitate, but instead wrote him a courteous reply, also expressing his gladness that he had safely returned to Capri. But when he arrived there, Tiberius showed no less eagerness toward him than he had indicated in his documents, and also made him a welcome guest.

20 Now on the following day, Caesar received documents from Herennius Capito, stating that *Agrippa* had borrowed 300,000 *pieces of silver* and had failed to repay it within the allotted time, *and* that when *this amount* was demanded from him, he had ran away like a fugitive from the country under his authority; *and* in this way, rendering him powerless to sue in order to recover *the money*.

21 When Caesar had read this letter, he was greatly troubled by it, and directed that *Agrippa's* visit should be barred until he had repaid the debt. But dismayed by Caesar's anger, *Agrippa* entreated Antōnia, the mother of Germanicus and of the future Caesar Claudius, to loan him 300,000 *pieces of silver*, so that he might not be deprived of Tiberius' friendship.

22 But because she still remembered his mother Bereniké (for the two women had been deeply attached to each other), and because *Agrippa* had been brought up with Claudius and his circle, she provided the silver. And when he had repaid this debt, there was no longer any obstacle to his friendship with Tiberius, and he remained at Roma.

23 But after this, Tiberius Caesar recommended his grandson to *Agrippa*, directing him to always accompany him on his excursions. Now *Agrippa*, being received as a friend by Antōnia, took it upon himself to pay his respects to her grandson Gaius *the* boy of Germanicus; who, although still being a commoner, was held in the highest honor due to the goodwill enjoyed by his father. 24 For there was, in addition,⁹ a certain man of the Samaritan race, but who was a freedman of Caesar. *Agrippa* managed to borrow 1,000,000 *pieces of silver* from him, and, out of this, repaid the debt which he owed Antōnia. *And* the rest of *the money* he spent in paying court to other eminent persons, and especially to Gaius, with whom he consequently rose to higher favor.

CHAPTER 108 [Ant18:168-204 / War2:179-180a]

Now *Agrippa's* friendship with Gaius made great progress. And once while *Agrippa* was banqueting *Gaius*, and while they were riding, he complimented him in various ways. Then the conversation turned to Tiberius. And since both of them were alone, *Agrippa* finally extended his hands upwards, and openly made prayers, that Tiberius would soon relinquish the government through death, and that he would soon see Gaius as the supreme master, who was more competent in every respect.

But these accounts were overheard by one of *Agrippa's* freedmen, Eutuchos, one of his domestics who drove his carriage; and for the present, he indeed kept it to himself. 2 But when *Eutuchos* was called to account for stealing some of *Agrippa's* robes, which was precisely what he had done, he took flight, but was caught. And when he was brought before Piso, who was watcher of the city, he was asked why he had fled. He answered, "I have a secret message for Caesar, which pertains to his security *and* salvation." *So* *Piso* sent him in chains to Capri.

And Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him a prisoner; *for* no king or tyrant was ever more given to procrastination. 3 For he was not in any hurry to receive elders, nor did he replace leaders or procurators whom he had sent out unless they came-to-their-end. Similarly, he was also negligent¹⁰ about hearing the cases of prisoners.

4 And so, when *Tiberius's* friends asked him why he was so slow in such matters, he declared, "I indeed keep the elders waiting, lest, if their business was discharged at once, new elders might be elected *and* return to me. Also, I would bother myself with the receiving and dismissing of them. 5 But as for the chiefs, I permit anyone whom I have once appointed to a dignity to remain, out of consideration for the feelings of the subject-peoples.¹¹ For indeed, it is a law of nature that leaders are prone to engage in extortion. But when appointments are not permanent,¹² instead, lasting *only* a short time, and being liable to be cancelled without notice, the urge to embezzle is even greater. 6 Therefore, indeed, if those

¹ [Ant] E adds

² [Ant] variant "You see...although I am as penniless as he" / E omits altogether

³ [Ant] Latin "Antipatros"

⁴ [Ant] Latin "Antipatros"

⁵ [Ant] E "Petros" / Latin "a first"

⁶ [Ant] A / MW "Agrippa"

⁷ [Ant] E "1,500"

⁸ [Ant] E "abalarch"

⁹ [Ant] E omits "in addition"

¹⁰ [Ant] emendation / manuscripts "conspicuous"

¹¹ [Ant] MWE / A "to remain permanently, out of consideration for the subject-peoples"

¹² [Ant] E, A-margin / others "not in the homeland"

who are appointed retain their posts longer, they will be satiated with their robberies; *and* having acquired a bulk of these *things*, they will be more sluggish in pursuit of further gain. But if succession comes *too* rapidly, their prey will never be able to do enough; *for* there will be no intervals of relaxation in which *the chiefs* who have already been glutted with the spoils *of the populace* might somewhat abate of their grasping avarice, since before this could happen, the time would come for them to depart.”

7 He also gave them the following account as an illustration:

“Once a man lay wounded, and a swarm of flies hovered about his wounds. And a passer-by took pity on the man’s misfortune; and, believing that the man was not able to drive those flies away himself, he was about to drive them away for him. 8 And the wounded man begged him to leave them alone. At this, the other spoke up and asked him why he was not interested in escaping from his wretched condition.

“He said, ‘For if you drive them off, you will put me in a worse position. Indeed, at any rate, since these flies are already full of my blood, they no longer feel such a pressing need to crowd around me to pain me; instead, they are even somewhat remiss. But if fresh ones, nearly famished, were to come, they would take over my now weakened body, and that will certainly be my destruction.’

9 “Therefore, it is for this same reason that I have taken the precaution of not continually dispatching leaders to the subject-peoples, who have already been brought to ruin by so many thieves. For, like these flies, they would utterly devastate them by war.¹ Their natural desire for plunder would be reinforced by their expectation of being suddenly deprived of that pleasure.”

10 For during the 22 years that he was emperor, Tiberius had a total of two men to administer the Judean nation: Gratus, and his successor in the leadership, Pilatus. 11 And indeed, it was not only when dealing with the Judeans that he behaved in this way, but also when he dealt with his other subjects.

And as for his procrastination in the hearing of the cases of prisoners, he explained, “Indeed, this is because an immediate hearing will alleviate the present miseries of those condemned to death, whereas they do not deserve to meet with such favor. But when they are kept waiting, the weight of the misfortune laid upon them causes the scale to tip further toward vexation.”

12 And it was indeed for this reason that Eutuchos both failed to obtain a hearing, and was still held in chains.

But when Tiberius moved from Capri to Tusculanum,² a distance of 100 stadia from Roma, Agrippa also besought Antōnia to procure a hearing on the accusations which Eutuchos had brought against him. 13 Now Antōnia was highly honored by Tiberius, both because, as the wife of his brother Drusus, she was related to him, and because she was a virtuous and chaste woman; for despite her youth, she remained steadfast in her widowhood, and refused to remarry, although he directed her to do so. So in this manner, she kept her life free from reproach.

14 On her own, she had also been the greatest benefactor to Tiberius. For a great conspiracy had been formed against him by Sejanus, who had both been her husband’s friend, and at that time held very great power, because he was a leader of the army. And since most of both those on the council and the freedmen joined him, and the army was corrupted by *bribes*, the conspiracy made great progress. Now Sejanus would have succeeded had not Antōnia shown greater craft in her bold move than Sejanus did in his villainy. 15 For when she was informed of the plot against Tiberius, she wrote him a full and accurate account of it; and entrusting the documents to Pallas, the most trustworthy of her slaves, she sent it to Tiberius at Capri. But when *Tiberius* was informed about this, he killed both Sejanus and his fellow-conspirators. But as for Antōnia, whom he had previously held in high esteem, he now valued her even more, and put complete faith in her.

16 So when Tiberius was entreated by this Antōnia to probe Eutuchos, Tiberius declared, “But if, indeed, Eutuchos has made a false allegation against Agrippa, then the punishment which I myself have *already* inflicted is sufficient. But if it should be discovered, when he is tortured, that what he has stated is true, let *Agrippa* take care, lest, perhaps in his yearning to chastise his freedman, he shall find that he is calling down the rightful-punishment upon himself.”

17 And when Antōnia declared these *words* to Agrippa, he began to insist even more urgently that the matter should be thoroughly examined. And since Agrippa did not abandon his insistence in making this request, Antōnia seized the following opportunity:

18 Indeed, Tiberius was once reclining as he was being carried on his sedan-chair. Both her grandson Gaius, and Agrippa, were in front, having recently finished lunch. She, who was walking beside the sedan-chair, entreated him both to summon Eutuchos and to have him probed.

19 But he said, “Instead, Antōnia, let the gods see that it is not by my own will, but being led by your invocation, that I shall do what I am about to do.”

When he had said this, he directed Makrōn, who was Sejanus’ successor, to bring Eutuchos to him. And indeed, without delay, he was brought.

Now Tiberius asked him, “And what can you say against a man who has given you your freedom?”

20 But he declared, “My master, indeed, both Gaius here, and Agrippa who is with him, were riding in a carriage, and I was sitting at their feet. But in the course of a long and varied conversation, Agrippa declared to Gaius, ‘For I hope that the day will finally come when this old man will die *and* appoint you as the leader of the inhabited *earth*. For his grandson Tiberius would by no means stand in our way, since you would bring about his end. And that both the inhabited *earth*, and I above all, would be happy.’”

21 Now Tiberius did not doubt the truth of this; and it revived an old grudge against Agrippa, who, though directed to pay court to Tiberius (his grandson and *the boy* of Drusus), had disrespectfully ignored his injunctions and had given all his attention to Gaius instead. And he became indignant.

22 “Well, Makrōn,” he declared, “bind him.”

But Makrōn, not exactly certain which of them was intended *to be bound*, and not expecting him to have directed him to do something such as this to Agrippa, waited to receive the exact intent of the statement.

23 But when Caesar had made the circuit around the hippodrome, and found Agrippa *still* standing there, he declared, “And I assure you, Makrōn, this is *the man* I meant when I said, ‘Bind him.’”

But he questioned him again, “Which man?”

He said, “Namely, Agrippa.”

24 Then Agrippa indeed began to entreat him, reminding him both that he had been brought up with his boy, and that he had helped bring up Tiberius. Yet, truly, these *entreaties* were of no avail. Instead, these *men* led him away bound, *even* in his purple garments. 25 And also, the heat was intense; and, since he had had only a little wine at *their* meal, he was parched with thirst. And his feelings were also divided between this distress, and the shock to his self-esteem. At this moment, he saw one of Gaius’ boys, whose name was Thaumastos, carrying water in a vessel; *and* he begged him for a drink.

26 So *the boy* held it out *to him*. And after eagerly *drinking*, he declared, “O boy, this ministry of yours shall turn out good. Once I escape from these bonds, I will not delay to procure your freedom by Gaius. You even have, in ministering to me as a prisoner, omitted nothing of the respect which you accorded me while I was in my former state.”

And he did not go back on his word, *but* instead repaid *this boy*. 27 For indeed, much later in the *future*, when *Agrippa* became king, he received Thaumastos from Gaius Caesar, and immediately set him free, and appointed him procurator of his estate. After *Agrippa* came-to-his-end, he left him to both his son Agrippa and his daughter Bereniké, to minister to them in the same capacity. *This boy* would also retain this position until he came-to-his-end in his old age.

28 Now Agrippa stood in chains in front of the royal *palace*, together with many other prisoners, *and* had leaned against a certain tree in his despondency. And a certain bird, a horned owl, alighted on the tree on which Agrippa was leaning.

Now when one of the prisoners, a German, saw Agrippa, he asked the soldiers in charge of him, “Who is that man dressed in purple?” 29 And when he indeed learned that his name was Agrippa, but that he was a Judean by race, and that he was one of that nation’s most worthy *men*, he asked the soldier to whom *Agrippa* was bound, to permit him to approach in order to converse with him, for he desired to inquire of him about his fathers.

30 And when he had obtained this *request*, he came and stood near *Agrippa*, declaring the following to him through an interpreter, “Young *man*, you are indeed in despair at your sudden reversal of fortune, which has overwhelmed you with one stroke. But you will not believe my account, that the Deity’s foresight has designed to lift you away from your present difficulty. 31 Yet, truly, be assured (I swear by the gods of *our* fathers, as well as by those in this place, who ordained these iron chains for us), that I will tell you everything—neither for the pleasure of garrulity, nor even out of an endeavor to cheer you in vain. 32 For such predictions, when they come to fail, produce a more grievous burden than if a man had never heard such a statement to begin with.

“And instead, despite the dangers to which I expose myself, it seemed right for me to clearly set forth the prediction of the gods. 33 It cannot be, but that you shall soon be delivered from these chains, and shall be promoted to the highest point of dignity and of power. You shall also be envied by all those who now pity your misfortunes. You shall be prosperous to your end, leaving-behind your livelihood to your boys which you shall have. But remember, when you see this bird again, that you will have *only* five days until your end. 34 This will indeed come to pass, announced by the sign of God’s dispatching of this bird.

“I also cannot think but that it would be unrighteous to deprive you of the understanding which comes through *the* foreknowledge of these things. It is my desire to let you know what goodness is coming upon you, in order that you might make light of your *present* burden. But when these prosperities fall upon you, do not also forget to endeavor to deliver me from the misfortune in which we are now companions.”

¹ [Ant] variant “would plunder them”

² [Ant] M “Culanum”

35 So indeed, the German who foretold this was as ridiculous in Agrippa's eyes then, as he later turned out to be deserving of admiration. But *for the time*, Tiberius held Agrippa in jail, with torment.

But now, Antōnia, though distressed at Agrippa's misfortune, indeed saw that it would be too difficult of an undertaking to discuss his case with Tiberius, and, more so, be useless. 36 But she procured *the following information* from Makrōn: both that the soldiers would be guarding him with consideration; and that the centurion who would be in charge of them and would also be bound to him, would be treating him with like disposition; also, that he would be permitted to bathe himself every day, and to receive visits from his freedmen and friends; also, that he would have other comforts as well.

37 Also, both his friend Silas, and two of his freedmen: Marsuas and Stoecheus, visited him, bringing him his favorite foods, and performing whatever service they could. They also brought him robes, which they pretended to sell; *but* when night came, they made him a bed with the assistance of the soldiers, who had Makrōn's orders beforehand to do so. And these things went on for six months. And this was indeed the situation regarding Agrippa.

CHAPTER 109 [Ant18:205-223]

But as for Tiberius, on his return to Capri, he became weak. Indeed, at first, his sickness was moderate; but as it grew worse, he began to have no hopes of recovery. *So* he directed Euodos, the most honored of his freedmen, to bring his children to him; for he wanted to speak with them before he came-to-his-end. 2 Now, at present, none of his own boys were alive; for Drusus, his only *boy*, was dead. But Drusus' son Tiberius, surnamed *the Twin*, as well as Gaius, *the boy of Germanicus* and son of his brother, were still alive.

Now Gaius was a youth, and who had gained a thorough discipline; he also was honored by *the great goodwill* of the populace on account of the excellence of his father Germanicus. 3 For *Germanicus* had come to be held in the very highest esteem among the multitude, to whom he gave no offense, because he was always temperate and considerate when addressing them; and he won dignity by being willing to relate to others as if they were his equals. 4 Consequently, he was held in high esteem, not only by the populace and the council, *but* instead even by all of the subject nations. Indeed, those who had enjoyed his company were captivated by his favor, while others were won by the petitions which they received from those who had met him. 5 But when he came-to-his-end, a lamentation was made by everyone—not the feigned grief made by those who pay court to their chiefs, but genuine sorrow as if his removal *from this life* was a personal loss; *so* considerate was he when he had conversed with the humans. 6 From this *popularity*, his boy had inherited a great advantage with everyone. Among others, the army was particularly enthusiastic, accounting it a point of excellence even to come-to-their-end, if it was necessary, so that he might become their superior chief.

7 But after Tiberius had given an order to Euodos to bring his boys to him on the following day toward dawn, he himself prayed to his father's gods to show to him a manifest sign as to who should succeed him in the leadership. Indeed, he was eager to bequeath it to his son's boy, but he put more faith in God's declaration of their future, than in his own decision and wish. 8 Now, therefore, he proposed the following omen: that the leadership should go to the one who came to him first on the following day.

After he had decided on this, he sent for his grandson's tutor, directing him to bring the boy to him about the beginning of the first hour; *for* he did not suppose that God would pay any heed to his intent to give him the generalship. But *God* voted against Tiberius' election. 9 Indeed, while Tiberius was considering such things, *and* as soon as it was day, he directed Euodos to call in whichever of the boys was the first to arrive.

Now he went out, and found Gaius in front of the chamber; for Tiberius had not yet arrived, since his breakfast was not finished. But Euodos knew nothing about what his master wished, so he declared, "Your father summons you." And *he* brought Gaius in.

10 But as soon as Tiberius saw Gaius, he then, for the first time, came to reflect on the authority of the Deity, and how the ability of confirming the leadership on whomever he wanted was entirely cut off from him, since power from there did not attend him. *So* he greatly bewailed himself, because he was rendered powerless to establish his own preliminary decision, 11 but that his grandson Tiberius would both fail to obtain the Roman government, and would have no means of escape, since his salvation would now depend upon others who were more powerful and who would regard it as intolerable to consort with him. His kinsmen would not even be able to help him; he would be both feared and hated by their master: indeed, because he was next in line to inherit the government, but also because he would perpetually plot against the government, in order both to have salvation and to assert claim to *state* affairs.

12 Now Tiberius was also especially addicted to horoscopes, and had used it to draw forth accurate results on a greater scale than those who do this for a living. Therefore, once, when he saw Galba coming to him, he declared to his dearest friends, "A man is arriving who will some day arise to have the honor of

the Roman leadership." 13 He also believed that all the *things* of soothsayings were trustworthy; and because they turned out to be true, he, more than any other man who was in leadership, resorted to it when handling his own affairs.

14 And at this time, he was certainly distressed at the turn of events, *and* was very greatly grieved, as if his son's boy had already died. And he faulted himself with his premeditated appeal to augury, while it was in his power to have come-to-his-end free of grief if he had remained ignorant of the future. *For now* he would come-to-his-end tormented by his foreknowledge of the misfortune which would overtake those who were most dear to him.

15 Now although he was confounded by this unexpected transference of the government to one whom he did not choose, he reluctantly and unwillingly declared the following words to Gaius, "My boy, although Tiberius is more closely related to me than you are, I, by my own decision, and with the concurrence of the gods, convey and entrust the Roman leadership into your hand. 16 But I desire that when you grow familiar with this dignity, not to be unmindful either of my kindness to you for having appointed you to such an exalted dignity, 17 or of your relationship with Tiberius. Instead, keep in mind, that it was by the help of the gods, and after consulting them, that I took my stand to bestow such a blessing upon you.

"So make me a return for my eagerness to assist you, and, at the same time, also take care of Tiberius, because he is your kinsman; and above all, because you know, that if Tiberius remains alive, he will be a wall of defense for you, both for the empire and for your *own* salvation. But if he departs, this will be a prelude to misfortune. 18 For it is dangerous for those who have reached such a pinnacle of power to be isolated; and the gods will not allow any actions to go unpunished which are contrary to righteousness *and* which annul the law with its demands to act otherwise."

These were indeed the things which Tiberius spoke. 19 Truly, Gaius was not persuaded, even though he promised to do *what he said*. Instead, when he was established in the government, he would do away with this *younger* Tiberius, exactly as the older one had soothsaid. Not long afterwards, a plot would be formed against Gaius, by which he would come to his end.

CHAPTER 110 [Ant18:224-239 / War2:180b-181a]

Now after appointing Gaius as his successor, Tiberius lived only a few days *longer*. Then he came to his end, having been the leader of the government for 22 years, 5¹ months, and 3 days. Now Gaius was the fourth emperor. 2 But indeed, when the Romans learned that Tiberius had come-to-his-end, they rejoiced at this good message. Yet they truly had misgivings about believing it—not because they did not want it to be true (for they would have given lots of money to insure that this was true), but because they were anxious, that if the message turned out to be in error, they might be openly found to be flaunting their delight, *and* might be slandered *and* utterly-destroyed.

3 Indeed, Tiberius had inflicted greater numbers of miseries upon the Roman nobles than had been done by any other man; *for* he was always quick to anger, and relentless in action, even if his reasons for conceiving hatred against a man were insensible. And indeed, it was his nature to turn savage in every case which he decided. But he inflicted the death penalty even for the lightest offences. 4 So although the account which they had heard regarding his death filled them with gladness, they were prevented from enjoying it due to their terror of the dire consequences which they foresaw if their hopes proved false.

5 But Marsuas, Agrippa's freedman, as soon as he learned of the end of Tiberius, ran as fast as he could to announce the good-message to Agrippa. And finding him on his way out to the bath, he nodded to him, and declared in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead."

6 But Agrippa understanding what he meant, was overjoyed at this account, and said, "I give you every kind of thanks for your entire service, and for this good-message. I only hope that what you are saying is true."

7 Then the centurion, who was set over Agrippa's guards, having seen both how hastily Marsuas had come and how joyful Agrippa was as soon as he had heard the account, surmised that a new account had been spoken, and he asked them about the account.

8 Now, at first, they indeed diverted the discourse; but when he insisted, Agrippa (for he was now on friendly terms with him), told him the truth without reserve. Now he joined with him in rejoicing at the account, because it was to Agrippa's advantage; *and* he also treated him to a meal.

But *while* they *were* entertaining themselves sumptuously and the drinking-party was advancing, someone came in and said, "Tiberius is still alive, and will be returning to the city within a few days."

9 And the centurion was terribly perturbed by this account, because the penalty for doing such things as he had done was death: namely, both to have dined together with a prisoner, and to have rejoiced at the message of the emperor's death.

¹ [Ant] Gk / Latin "6" // [War] "6"

He also pushed Agrippa off the couch, and declared, “So you thought you would fool me with a false *report* of the emperor’s death, and would not pay for this account with your own head?” **10** With these *words*, he directed Agrippa to be bound again (*for* he had previously had him released), and for a stricter guard to be kept over him than before. And this indeed was the miserable condition of Agrippa throughout the night.

11 But on the following day, the accounts of the end of Tiberius were both more numerous and confirmed in the city. The humans also began to have the courage to speak of it without misgiving; and some even offered sacrifices. Two letters also arrived from Gaius: indeed, one to the senate, informing them of the end of Tiberius, and of his own succession to the leadership; **12** but the other to Piso, the watcher of the city, containing both this same *information*, and the direction that Agrippa should be removed from the encampment, to the house where he had lived prior to his imprisonment. After this, he was no longer bereft of confidence; for indeed, he was still guarded and watched, however this *guard* was relaxed on his daily activities.

13 Now as soon as Gaius had arrived in Roma with Tiberius’ body, and had given him a splendid funeral according to *the laws* of his fathers, he was also very eager to release Agrippa on that very day. *However*, Antōnia restrained him. This was not due to any hatred toward the prisoner, but because of her forethought so that Gaius would *appear to be* decent. “For if you immediately release a man who was imprisoned by *Tiberius*, it would create the impression that you joyfully welcomed the end of Tiberius.”

14 However, not many days passed before Gaius Caesar released Agrippa from his bonds, and sent for him to come to his house. He both had his hair cut, and his clothes changed. Now after this, he put a diadem on his head, and appointed him to be king of Philippos’ tetrarchy (*for Philippos* was now dead), and *also* gave him Lusania’s tetrarchy. Also, in exchange for his iron chain, he gave him a golden one of equal weight. But he dispatched Marullus to be horse-chief in Judah.

15 Now in the second year of the leadership of Gaius Caesar, Agrippa asked for permission to set sail and to secure his government; and he promised to return once all the other matters were fully organized. **16** And having received the emperor’s permission, he left.

Now everyone was surprised to see him in his royal state. To those who beheld him, who speculated on the contrast between his former distress and his present prosperity, he was a demonstration of both the great power of fortune over the humans. And indeed, some considered him to be happy for not having failed to attain his hopes, while others were incredulous about what had happened.

CHAPTER 111 [Ant18:240–256 / War2:181b–184a]

But after Agrippa had arrived to take his government, he stirred up, through envy, the desires of Hērōdēs the tetrarch. **2** But in particular, Agrippa’s sister Hērōdiās, wife of Hērōdēs the tetrarch of Galilee and Peraia, was envious of her brother when she saw that he had risen to power far above that of her husband. Indeed, *Agrippa* had fled on account of being unable to pay his debts, but now he had returned in grandeur and with such great prosperity. **3** Therefore, she was grieved and weighed-down to see such a great reversal in his fortunes. And especially when she saw him marching before the multitudes with the customary royal emblems, she was helpless to conceal this unfortunate envy within herself.

Instead, she instigated her husband, and directed him to set sail for Roma in order to sue for equal status. **4** For she said, “I cannot bear to live any longer, indeed, while Agrippa, who is the son of that Aristoboulos (who was condemned to death by his father; and who had himself known such helpless poverty, that the necessities of life had entirely failed him, and who had set out on his voyage to escape from his creditors), has returned as a king. While yet you yourself, the boy of a king, and whose royal birth has called you to claim an equal government, rest content to live like a commoner to the end of your life.

5 “O Hērōdēs, even if you were not previously distressed about being lower in rank than the father from whom you sprang, now, at least, I beg of you, reach out for the dignity to which you were born. But do not idly-admit defeat by letting a man who used to do service to your wealth now have higher honor than you, nor demonstrate that his poverty was able to purchase greater excellence than our abundance, nor regard it as anything but a disgrace to be second to those who were but yesterday dependent on your mercy for survival. **6** Instead, let us go to Roma; and let us spare neither pains nor expense of either silver or gold, since there is no better use for them than for the acquisition of a kingdom.”

7 Now he was certainly content with his tranquility, and was wary of trouble with the Romans. *So* he resisted her for awhile, and tried to change her mind. But the more she saw him drawing back, the more urgently she insisted, directing him to do everything possible in order to be a king. **8** She kept inducing him with hope of kingship, scolding *him* for his inactivity; and, because he did not want to sail to Caesar, *she kept* asserting that he was depriving himself of greater rule, “For indeed, since he has made Agrippa a king from a commoner, would he surely

waver *in making you* one from a tetrarch?”¹ **9** And she never relaxed until she achieved *victory* by force *and* made him her unwilling partisan; *for* there was no way for him to escape once she had made her decision.

So Hērōdēs, having been persuaded by these *arguments*, supplied himself as lavishly as possible and spared no *expense*. Then he set sail to *meet* Gaius at Roma, and brought Hērōdiās along with him.

10 But when Agrippa sensed both their plan and their preparations, he made his own preparations. And as soon as he heard that they had set sail, he himself also dispatched Fortunatus, one of his freedmen, to Roma, to carry presents to the emperor along with letters against Hērōdēs, but also to teach Gaius *about these things* when the opportunity presented itself.

11 Now *Fortunatus* put out to sea in pursuit of Hērōdēs; and his voyage was so favorable that he was barely behind Hērōdēs, so that while *Hērōdēs* was with Gaius, he landed and delivered his letters. *For* both of them had sailed to Dikaiarchia, and had found Gaius at Baiai.

12 Now *Baiai* is also a little city in Campania, *situated* at a distance of about five stadia from Dikaiarchia. Also in that place are royal residences, lavishly furnished; *for* each of the emperors loved to outdo his predecessors in acquiring honor. The place also affords hot-baths, which spring naturally from the ground, and have healing *properties* for those who use them, and contribute to easy living.

13 Now while Gaius was greeting Hērōdēs, whom he interviewed first, he also perused Agrippa’s letters, which were written in order to bring an accusation upon *Hērōdēs*. In these, *Agrippa* accused him of conspiring with Sejanus against Tiberius’ government, and of currently being in league with Ardavan the Parthian against Gaius’ government. **14** Now as proof of this account, he stated, “Weapons sufficient for 70,000 heavy-armed *soldiers* are being stored in his armories.”

Now *Gaius* was impelled by this *accusation*, and he asked Hērōdēs, “Is the account about the weapons true?”

15 But when *Hērōdēs* confessed that the weapons were there (for it was impossible for him to deny the obvious truth), *Gaius* considered this to be proof of the revolt of which he had been accused. *So* he relieved him of his tetrarchy, *and* annexed it to Agrippa’s kingdom; and he gave his money to Agrippa. But *Hērōdēs* was penalized for his greed with perpetual exile, having Lugdunum, a city in Gallia,² assigned to be his residence.

16 But when he learned that Hērōdiās was Agrippa’s sister, he offered to allow her to keep all of her personal money, and he told her, “Consider your brother as a wall who has protected you from sharing your husband’s calamity.”

17 But she said, “O emperor, these are both highly-generous³ words, and those which are befitting of your dignity. But my goodwill toward my husband hinders me from enjoying your kind gift. It is not right for me, who have shared in his prosperity, to abandon him when he has been brought down to these *misfortunes*.”

18 But Gaius’ great-generosity⁴ was turned to anger, *and* she was also banished with Hērōdēs; and he gave her possessions to Agrippa. This was indeed how God punished Hērōdiās for envying her brother, and Hērōdēs for listening to a woman’s frivolous chatter. And Hērōdēs indeed came-to-his-end in Lugdunum.⁵

19 Now Gaius indeed administered the empire with great-generosity⁶ during the first and second years of his reign. And by exercising moderation, he acquired the goodwill of both the Romans themselves and their subjects. **20** In the process of time, he abused his fortune to such a degree, that he ceased to think of himself as human; *and*, on account of the greatness of the government, he considered himself to be divine, and wished to be called one; and he was impelled to dishonor the Deity in all of his behavior.

CHAPTER 112 [Ant18:257–262 / War2:184c–191]

Now *Gaius Caesar* even extended his impiety as far as Judah, and there was civil strife in Alexandria between the Judean inhabitants and the Hellenes. Three elders were chosen by each of these factions, who appeared before Gaius. For even one of the elders of the Alexandrians was Apīōn, who scurrilously reviled the Judeans, and said, among other things, that they neglected to pay the honors due to the Caesar. **2** “Accordingly, while all the subject-peoples in the Roman government have dedicated altars and inner-sanctuaries to you, and have given you the same attentions in all other respects as they have given to the gods, these *people* alone scorn to honor you with human-images, as well as to swear by your name.” **3** But Apīōn also spoke many severe statements, by which he hoped to excite Gaius, as might be expected.

Philōn, the foremost *man* of the Judean body of elders, a man held in the highest esteem, also brother of Alexandros the alabarch, and no novice in *the* love-of-wisdom, was prepared to proceed with the defense against these things of which he was accused. But Gaius shut him up, directing him to get out of his way;

¹ [War] PAM / LVRC, M-margin “citizen. I am sure that he will raise up a king from a tetrarch.”

² [Ant] (“Lugdunum, a city in Gallia” // [War] PC, L-corrected “Spanias” / most “Ispanias” / LA “Panias”

³ literally “high-minded”

⁴ literally “great-mindedness”

⁵ Emendation based on previous occurrence in Ant. // [War] PC, L-corrected “Spanias” / most “Ispanias” / LA “Panias”

⁶ literally “great-mindedness”

4 exceedingly angry, he also made it clear that he would do something terrible against them.

But Philōn, having been wantonly-insulted, went out, and declared to the Judeans who accompanied him, “Be of good courage. Indeed, Gaius’ wrath is a matter of words; but in truth, he is now enlisting God against himself.”

5 But¹ indignant at being slighted in this manner by the Judeans alone, Gaius indeed dispatched Petronius as his elder to Syria as successor to Vitellius in the government. He was directed to make an invasion into Jerusalem in Judah with a large army. Indeed, if the Judeans consented to receive him, he was ordered to set up² a human-image³ of himself in the inner-sanctum of God; but if they were obstinate and refused to accept *it*, he was to conquer them by war, doing away with those who were preventing it, and to reduce all of the remnants of the nation to utter slavery, and then do it. But God was concerned⁴ about these orders.

6 And Petronius took over *the government of Syria*, and hastened to administer Caesar’s injunction. Now gathering together as many Syrian auxiliaries as possible, he marched at the head of two⁵ legions of the Roman army out of Antiocheia into Judah. *First*, the army arrived at Ptolemais.

7 Now *Ptolemais* is a coastal city of Galilee, founded opposite the Great Plain. But it is surrounded by mountains: indeed, to the east,⁶ 60 stadia away from it, is the Galilean range; but to the south, at a distance of 120 stadia, lies Carmel; but toward the Bear⁷ *in the north*, standing 100 stadia off from this *city*, is the one which the locals call ‘The Ladder of the Zorites’.

8 Now at a distance of about two stadia from the town, the river, certainly very small, called Béleos flows by; on its bank is Memnon’s memorial, which has a 100-cubit space near it, worthy of marvel. 9 For indeed, it is circular and hollow, but yields the glassy sand. Whenever the many boats docking here empty it, the place refills itself again. Indeed, the winds draw the glistening sand to it from outside *of it*, as if by design; but the quarry immediately changes *it* all into the glass. 9 But what is more marvelous than this, is that the glass which overflows from this spot becomes ordinary sand again. Therefore, this place has indeed received such a nature by lot.

10 *This is* where *Petronius* intended to spend the winter; then toward spring, to engage in war without fail. And he wrote Gaius what he had resolved to do. Now *Gaius* commended him for his eagerness, and directed him to go up, but to vigorously wage war against them if they persisted in disobedience.

11 But some of the Judeans, indeed, did not believe the rumors of war; but those who did believe, had no resources to defend themselves. But the anxiety quickly spread through everyone.

CHAPTER 113 [Ant18:263–272 / War2:192–199a, 199c, 200b]

Now many tens of thousands of the Judeans, along with women and children, came and mustered in the plain at Ptolemais, to offer their petitions to him. *They* kept imploring Petronius: first for the sake of their fathers’ laws, that he would not force them to transgress and violate them; and next, for their own sakes.

2 “But if you are entirely resolved to bring in and set up this human-image, dispatch us first before you carry out these resolutions. For it is not possible for us to live and to behold actions which are forbidden by us by the decision both of our lawgiver, and of our forefathers who voted to enact these measures as moral-virtues.”

3 But Petronius angrily said, “Indeed, if I were an emperor, and was allowed to use my own deliberations and were minded to act like this, you would have a right to speak as you do. But as it is, I have been sent by Caesar, and forced to minister the decision which he has already made; since to disobey it would bring upon me inevitable damage.”

4 The Judeans answered, “O Petronius, since this is your determination not to transgress Gaius’ injunctions, it is our determination not to transgress the ordinances of the law. *For* we have put our trust in God’s goodness,⁸ and in the labors of our ancestors, remaining innocent of transgressing them, in this manner, up to this day. We could never allow ourselves to go so far in evil as to transgress, on our own accord, what these *laws* have ordered us to abstain from, *even* out of the fear of death; 5 but he has determined this *to be conducive* to our own advantage.

“Now, in order to preserve our fathers’ laws, we shall patiently endure whatever may be in store for us, with the assurance that, for those who dare to take the risk, there is *even* hope of prevailing; because God stands by us, if we welcome danger for his *sake*. *For* in the affairs of *men*, it is the habit of fortune to veer now toward one side, now toward the other. 6 But if we were to obey you, we would indeed bring upon ourselves the grave reproach of cowardice, because that would be the reason we transgressed the law; and at the same time, we would

¹ [Ant] // [War] “Therefore”

² [Ant] // [War] some “to set up” / PALVR1 “setting up”

³ [Ant] // [War] “human-images”

⁴ [War] C / others “delayed”

⁵ [Ant] (supported by Philo: *Legatio* // [War] “three”

⁶ literally “toward the sunrise”

⁷ as in the constellation known as “Ursa Major”

⁸ [Ant] combination of both variants / MW “in his goodness” / A “in God and goodness”

incur God’s severe anger—and he, even in your eyes, must be accounted a more superior judge than Gaius.”

7 And Petronius saw from their words that their mind was hard to be moved, and that it would be impossible for him to minister to Gaius by setting up his human-image without a fight, but with great slaughter. But yielding to both the multitude and their pleas, he left the human-images and armies⁹ in Ptolemais. But he, gathering up his friends and attendants, went ahead into Galilee and hastened to Tiberias; *for* he wanted to take note of the situation of the Judeans there. 8 Now he summoned both the multitude and all the notables to Tiberias.

And the Judeans, though they regarded that the risk involved in making a war against the Romans was great, adjudged that the risk of transgressing the law was far greater. As before, many tens of thousands of Judeans met Petronius at Tiberias.

He also showed to them *the* power of the Romans, as well as Caesar’s threats. But he demonstrated that their petition was senseless: 9 “For while all the subject-nations have set up images of Caesar in each city, along with the rest of their own gods, the fact that you alone are arrayed against this is tantamount to being in revolt, and with insolence.”

10 Then they besought him, that he would by no means put them under such constraint, nor pollute the city by setting up a human-image. But while they were putting¹⁰ forward the law and the custom of their fathers, and how it would not be lawful to place any representation of God, or certainly a man, in the inner-sanctum itself, or even in some ordinary place in the country, Petronius seized upon *this*, and declared, “And, truly, must not I too guard the law of my master? For after transgressing it, and sparing you, I shall rightly perish. But the one who sent me, and not I, will make war with you; for even I myself, like you, am under injunctions.”

11 At this, the multitude shouted, “We hold ourselves ready to suffer everything for the sake of the law!”

After Petronius had quelled their outburst, he declared,¹¹ “Will you then make war on Caesar, regardless of his resources, and of your own weakness?”

12 But the Judeans also declared, “We will not make war on any account, but we will sooner die than transgress our laws. Indeed, we offer sacrifice twice a day for Caesar and the Roman populace; but if he wants to set up the images, he will first need to offer up the entire Judean nation as a sacrifice.”

And they fell down on their faces, together with the children and women, and bared their throats, presenting themselves ready for the butchery; and they declared, “We are ready to be slaughtered, together with our children and women.”

13 At this, Petronius was *seized* by amazement and compassion, both on account of the men’s insuperable devotion, and for their ready, desperate courage toward death. And, indeed, unsuccessful for the time being, they were disbanded.

14 But on the following *days*, he convened meetings with the multitude in public. Indeed, sometimes he would appeal to *them*, but sometimes he would *give them* counsel. However, most often he would forcefully threaten *them*, brandishing both the might of the Romans and Gaius’ fury, as well as the necessity which these *matters* imposed upon himself.

15 But this *multitude* idly continued to act in this *same* way with him for forty¹² days. And in the meantime, they neglected their fields; and this, when it was the season for sowing. Now this was how they choose to show a stubborn determination, and readiness to die, rather than to see the human-image be set up in public.

CHAPTER 114 [Ant18:273–288 / War2:199b, 200a, 200c–202]

With matters in this state, Aristoboulos, King Agrippa’s brother, together with Hilkiah the Great, and the other strongest *men* of this house, together with *both* the principal *men* and powerful *men*, appeared before Petronius in private. They appealed to him, 2 “Since you have seen the multitude’s resolution, do not incite them to desperation; instead, write to Gaius, *explaining* that their opposition to receive the human-image is incurable; also, how they have left their fields to sit protesting; indeed, that they are not willing to go to war *against him*, since it is impossible for them to do it, but they would gladly die sooner than to allow their laws to be transgressed; *and* that, since the land is unsown, there will *instead* be a harvest of brigandage, because *the* requirement of the tribute would not be met. 3 For perhaps Gaius will relent, and not adopt a cruel plan, nor be minded to exterminate¹³ the nation. But if he remains inflexible in his present counsel regarding the war, then let him proceed with it himself.”

4 And this was indeed how Aristoboulos’ party appealed to Petronius. Now Petronius was indeed influenced by Aristoboulos’ party. *For* since the question at hand was of such importance, they pressured him in every way, and employed every device to make their plea effective. But he *also* beheld the stubborn

⁹ [War] PAM / others “army”

¹⁰ [War] PAM / LVRC “But they put”

¹¹ [Ant] // [War] “said”

¹² [Ant] // [War] “fifty”

¹³ literally “a standing-up”

determination of the Judeans to resist, and that they were not giving in to a single one of his attempts. He also saw that the country was in danger of remaining unsown. **5** So he thought that it would be a terrible thing to bring death upon so many tens of thousands of humans by ministering the insane orders of Gaius, and to hold them guilty for their devotion to God, and, for this reason, to spend the rest of his life in expectation of being oppressed by toils.

He considered it far better to send a letter to Gaius, stating that the Judeans were beyond cure, and to bear his inexorable anger which might be aroused against himself for not ministering the injunctions at once; **6** for indeed by doing this, he might perhaps convince him. And if Gaius persisted in his insane resolution, he would certainly undertake the war against them. But, also, if Gaius turned some of his anger against him, it was proper for an excellent man even to come-to-his-end on behalf of such a vast multitude of humans. So he decided to heed the petitioners in this account.

7 Then Petronius finally convened¹ the Judeans at Tiberias, who arrived in many tens of thousands. He stood up before them and explained that the present expedition was not of his own choosing, but enacted by the order of the emperor, whose anger would descend immediately, rather without delay, upon those who assumed the audacity to disobey his affairs.

And he said, "It is proper for me, who has yet been bestowed with such a great honor by the emperor's grant, not to contradict him in anything. **8** However, it is better for me to face the risk. Truly, I do not think it is righteous to refuse to put both my own safety and honor in danger in order to save you, who are so many, from perishing. You are ministering the precepts of your law, which has come down from your fathers, and which you esteem worthy to contend for; nor with God's power, shall I have the courage to see his inner-sanctum fall prey to the wanton-violence of the leading authority.

9 "Now I am sending a message to Gaius, both fully explaining your determination, and advocating your case, so that I may not see you suffer on account of the good designs which you have proposed. And, indeed, may God assist you; for his authority is above every human machine and power. May he enable you both to maintain and to preserve your fathers' laws; and may he not be deprived of his customary honors by capricious human plots. **10** For, only with the collaboration of God, shall I persuade Caesar and joyfully be saved along with you.

"But if Gaius Caesar becomes provoked and makes me the object of his inexorable anger, I shall readily endure every form of danger and every form of affliction which may fall upon my body and my soul,² and even give the latter up for the sake of so many, rather than see all of you utterly-destroyed for acting so virtuous.

11 "Therefore, go, every one of you, to your own occupation, and work the land. But I myself will send a message to Roma, and will not refuse to serve you in every way—both through myself, and through my friends."

12 Having said this, he dismissed the meeting of the Judean multitude, who were earnestly-praying very much for him. He requested that their magistrates attend to agricultural matters, and to conciliate the people with good expectations. And this was indeed how he strived to restore good-cheer to the multitude.

But God exhibited his outspokenness to Petronius, and that he would be conjoined with him in everything. **13** For as soon as Petronius had finished delivering his speech to the Judeans, God immediately discharged a great heavy-rain which was contrary to any expectation of the humans. For that day, from morning on, had been clear, and the heaven had not announced even a single sign of a shower. And that entire year had been subject to a great drought, causing humans to despair of receiving any water from above, even during any of the times when they saw the heaven overcast with clouds. **14** The result was that, when much rain fell, and that both in an unusual manner and without any expectation, the Judeans were hopeful that Petronius would by no means fail in his petition on their behalf.

15 But as for Petronius, he was greatly amazed when he saw distinct evidence that God's foresight was over the Judeans, and that he had announced his presence with abundant signs to such a degree, that not even those who had proposed to contradict it had any courage left to dispute the fact.

16 Then, taking the armies out of Ptolemais, he returned to Antiocheia. From there, he immediately sent a letter to Gaius Caesar, both informing him about his foray into Judah, and the supplications of the nation. Now he even included this instance concerning the rain, along with other particulars. But everything was designed to dissuade him, and to entreat him in every way not to drive so many tens of thousands of men to desperation. **17** And he said that, "Unless you wish to also utterly-destroy the country and its tens of thousands of humans, it is necessary to protect their law and relax the order. If you kill them (for they will not yet give up their religious customs without a war), you would both be deprived of their revenue, and be placed under a memorial curse for the future

age. **18** Moreover, the Deity, who is their foremost leader, has displayed his inviolate power; and, by exhibiting his power, has left no doubt."

And this was indeed what Petronius did.

CHAPTER 115 [Ant18:289-309 / War2:203]

Now King Agrippa (for he was currently living at Roma) continued greatly advancing in his friendship with Gaius. And once, he made a banquet for him, and intended to surpass everyone else both in its expenditure and in provision for his pleasure. **2** In fact, he was so much more successful than anyone else, that even Gaius himself could never equal it, much less surpass it, even if he desired to do so. To such extent did this man surpass everyone in his preparations, and in devising and providing everything for Caesar.

3 And Gaius thoroughly admired both his ingenuity and magnificence, as well as his forcible way of employing an abundance of money, even beyond his means, in order to please him. But Gaius desired to imitate the love-of-honor which Agrippa had exerted in order to please him.

During the banquet, while he was under the influence of wine, and while he was unusually cheerful, he declared the following while Agrippa was inviting him into a drinking-party, **4** "Agrippa, even before now I have indeed known in my heart how highly you regarded me, and how you have proven your great goodwill, even amidst the dangers which Tiberius surrounded you with on account of it. You also never fail to show excellence toward us, even beyond your power. Consequently (for it would be dishonoring for me to be conquered by your eagerness), I want to make amends for past deficiencies. **5** For all the gifts which I have allotted to you are but little. For any ministry which may add its weight to the scale of your prosperity shall be performed for you with both all of my readiness and strength."

And this was indeed what he said to Agrippa, thinking he would ask for a large accession of territory adjoining his own, or for the revenues of certain cities.

6 But Agrippa, although he was completely ready to make his request, did not reveal his intention. Instead, he immediately answered Gaius, "It was not out of any expectation of receiving any benefit from you that I had formerly paid court to you in spite of Tiberius' injunctions; nor are any of the things which I am currently doing to gratify you designed as a road to personal gain. **7** But the gifts which you have already allotted to me are great, and went beyond any expectations which I would dare to cherish. For even if these things are inferior to your power, yet, they exceed both my thoughts and my claims as a recipient."

8 And Gaius, astonished at his excellence, insisted even more that Agrippa would make his request, so that he might please him.

But Agrippa said, "Since you, my master, in your kindness, declare that I am worthy of your gifts, I shall ask for nothing which would give me worldly-happiness. Indeed, I am already extremely prominent, due to the gifts which you have already bestowed upon me. **9** But I shall ask for something which will bring you a reputation for piety, and make the Deity willing to be your ally in everything you desire; and among those who hear about it, it will show that I have never once failed to obtain anything I desired which required your authority to acquire: For I desire that you abandon all further thought of setting up the human-image in the Judean temple, as you directed Petronius to do."

10 And this was indeed how Agrippa dangerously advanced this petition. For if Gaius did not favor it, it would bring him certain death. But because he thought that the issue was important, as it truly was, he chose to toss a dice on this occasion.

11 Now Gaius was also³ bound by Agrippa's attendance, and, if he quickly had a change-of-purpose from his offer, he considered it just as unseemly to be guilty of falsehood before so many testifiers, especially when he had, by his own eager constraint, compelled Agrippa to make this request. **12** But at the same time, he also marveled at Agrippa's excellence, that he had little desire to increase his own power, either with larger revenues or by other privileges, but instead took care of the happiness of the commonality, by giving precedence to the laws and the Deity.

So he yielded, and wrote the following to Petronius, both commending him for having gathered his army, and for having sent him his letter about the subject:

13 Now, therefore, if you have already set up the human-image in public, let it stand. But if you have not yet dedicated it, do not further trouble yourself about it; instead, dismiss the army, and take care of those matters of which I had originally dispatched you. For I no longer require the standing-up of the human-image. By doing this, I have shown favor to Agrippa, a man whom I esteem too greatly to speak against his request and his direction.

14 Indeed, this was what Gaius had written to Petronius, prior to having received his letter, in which he concluded that the Judeans were bent on revolt; for

¹ [Ant] // [War] "mustered"

² [Ant] WE, [War] // [Ant] M "and soul" / A "and my fortune" / Lat omits altogether

³ [Ant] WE / AM adds

this *attitude* indicated nothing else, *but* rather that they were resolved to threaten war against the Romans.

15 And *Gaius* was in agony at the thought that they had dared to put his leadership to the test. Indeed, he was a man who always yielded to baseness, but was strong in resisting what was the best; and who, beyond anyone else, rushed into anger against anyone who came under his censure, exercising no discipline over it whatsoever; instead, he considered the pleasure derived from indulging it to be his criterion of happiness. *So in response* to these letters, *Gaius* wrote the following letter back to *Petronius*, not¹ very moderately, vehemently threatening *Petronius* with death for having become a slow executor of his orders:

16 Since you have esteemed the gifts of the Judeans to be of greater regard than my injunctions, and have presumed to minister everything according to their pleasure in violation of my injunctions, I direct you to act as your own judge and to rationalize what course you must take, since you have brought my anger upon yourself. I shall make you an example to everyone in the present and in the future, so that not one man will dare to cancel the injunctions of their emperor.

17 This was indeed the letter which he wrote to *Petronius*. Yet, truly, *Petronius* did not receive it while *Gaius* was alive. Instead, it indeed happened that the document-bearers were subjected to winter storms on the sea for three months and the voyage was delayed. But others, who were sent out with letters containing messages about the death² of *Gaius*, had a prosperous voyage and arrived before them.

18 For God would never forget the dangers which *Petronius* had undertaken in favoring the Judeans and in honoring himself. Instead, *God's* removal of *Gaius*, in anger at his insolence in promoting his own claim for worship, was payment of the debt to *Petronius*. In fact, both *Roma* and all that government, but especially those on the council who were outstanding in worthiness, joined in doing good to *Petronius*, since *Gaius* had born unmerciful anger against them. **19** And he would indeed come-to-his-end not long after having written to *Petronius*, this injunction consigning him to ruin.

Accordingly, *Petronius* received the letters concerning the end of *Gaius* 27 days earlier than *he* received the letters which were written against him, which directed him to bring about his own end by his own hands. And he both rejoiced at this incident of *Gaius's* destruction, **20** and marveled at the foresight of *God*, who, without any delay, rather immediately, had given him a reward for both honoring the inner-sanctum and assisting in bringing salvation to the Judeans. And this was indeed how *Petronius* escaped the danger of death, which could barely have been foreseen.

CHAPTER 116 [Ant18:310-339]

But a terrible and unparalleled disaster also befell the Judeans of Mesopotamia, and especially those dwelling in *Babel*; and they were murdered in numbers greater than any previously recorded. *These* are the causes for the occasion of their misfortune:

2 *Nehar-deah* is a city in *Babelia*, both populous and possessing a rich and extensive district; and in addition to its other advantages, it is also full of humans. But since it is also entirely encompassed by both a bend of the *Euphrates*³ and the construction of walls, it is not easily exposed to an invasion by its foes. **3** Now there is also the city *Nisibin* situated on the same bend of the river.

In consequence, the Judeans, depending on the natural strength of these places, had deposited in them the two-drachma coins which it is the custom of our fathers for everyone to contribute to *God*, as well as any other offerings. This was also how they used these cities as a treasury. **4** But at the proper time, *these things* were transferred to *Jerusalem*. But because they were indignant at the raids of the *Parthians* (to whom *Babelia* was subject), many tens of thousands of humans shared in conveying these monies.

5 And there were *Hasinai* and *Hanilai*. Indeed, they were of the race of *Nehar-deah*, and sons of the same mother. But since they had lost their father, their mother apprenticed them to learn the trade of weaving;⁴ for it is not considered unseemly among them for men to spin wool.

The man in charge of their work (for he was the one from whom they had learned their trade), summoned them, and punished them with blows for arriving late. **6** But, because they accounted this rightful-punishment as a personal outrage, they carried off all the weapons which were being stored on the roof of the house, which were not a small amount, and went off to a certain place called 'The Parting of the Rivers'; but it was naturally a place capable of providing good produce and green-fodder-for-livestock in sufficient quantity to be laid-aside for the winter. Youths of the poorest class gathered about *these two*, and they armed

them with the weapons which they had taken. They acted as both their generals and leaders in mischief, without anything hindering them.

7 For as soon as they had become unconquerable and had built themselves a summit-city, they would issue orders to the livestock-feeders to pay a tribute out of *their flocks* sufficient to support them. They, in turn, both proffered friendship to those who obeyed them, as well as a defense against all their foes from every direction; but they threatened to slaughter the flocks of those who refused.

8 Now the inhabitants (for they had no alternative), complied, sending them the directed quotas of livestock. This strengthened them even further, and they became lords, able to injure anyone whom they agreed by sudden raids. Now everyone began to defer to them, and they became a source of fear to anyone who even thought about attacking them. So their fame kept increasing at this time, to the extent that an account about these things reached the king of *Parthia*.

9 But the satrap of *Babelia* noticed this, and he had a mind to cut them off while they were still growing, and before some greater mischief would arise through them. *So* he mustered as large an army as he could, both of *Parthians* and *Babelians*, and marched against them. His intent was to assault them in order to annihilate them before *anyone* issued a message that he had mustered an army.

10 Now he positioned *his men* around a marsh-meadow, and lay still. But the following day was a sabbath, when the Judeans rest from doing any work. But he, assuming that their foes would not dare to resist him, *but* could instead be seized without a battle and made prisoners, advanced gradually, eager to make an unforeseen onslaught.

11 Now *Hasinai* was sitting with his companions, and their weapons were lying beside them. He declared, "Men, I hear a neighing of horses; not like those grazing, rather those with men on their backs; I even perceive the sound of *their* bridles. I am anxious that our foes have surrounded us unnoticed. Instead, let someone go forward to scout, in order to give us a true report of what is upon us. But may my statement prove to be false."

12 And, indeed, as soon as he had said this, some of them went off to see what was going on. And they immediately returned and said to him, "And you were not mistaken in telling us what our foes are doing, nor will they let us run riot any longer. **13** We are caught by their deceit like fattened beasts: there is a sufficient multitude of horses approaching, while our hands are tied due to our fathers' prohibition which orders us not to work."

14 But *Hasinai* was not going to let the scout's pronouncement decide for him what was to be done; instead, he thought that it was more in agreement with the custom to take up prowess, instead of doing nothing and gladdening their foes by causing them to come-to-their-ends; and to let the necessity into which they had fallen be the excuse to act unlawfully by exacting retribution, even if they must meet their end for *taking this action*.

He both took up his weapons, and encouraged his comrades to emulate his excellence. **15** They met their foes *in battle*, and killed many of them, since they came on contemptuously, as if *their foes* were prepared for the taking, while the rest of them were put to flight.

16 But when the *Parthian King* received a message about this battle, he was amazed at the boldness of these brothers, and desired to see and speak with them. So he sent the most trustworthy of his bodyguards to say the following to them:

17 "King *Ardavan*, despite the unrighteous actions you have taken by attacking his government, has let respect for your feats outweigh his own anger. He has also dispatched me to give you his right hand *in pledge for security*. And he grants you both safe conduct and an inviolate passage *to him*; for he wants you to visit him as friends without both deceit and delusion. He also promises to give you both gifts, as well as honor, which, in addition to your feats, is likely to give you the benefit of *receiving* power from him."

18 Now *Hasinai* indeed postponed any journey there, but sent his brother *Hanilai* with all the gifts he could manage. And indeed *Hanilai* departed, and was admitted to the king's presence.

Now when *Ardavan* saw that *Hanilai* had come alone, he inquired, "What is the reason that *Hasinai* has *decided* to stay behind?"

19 But when he was informed that *Hasinai* had remained in the marsh-meadow out of anxiety, he swore by the gods of his fathers that he would do no evil to them, if they visited him in trust of his pledge. And he offered him his right hand *in pledge*. **20** (Among all these barbarians, this is the highest assurance of security in making visits. For not one of them would ever prove false when he had given his right hand; nor would anyone hesitate to trust someone, even though they were *previously* suspected of unrighteousness, once he had received it.)

And after *Ardavan* had done this, he sent *Hanilai* away to persuade his brother to return with him.

20 Now the king had done this because he wanted to use the excellence of these Judean brothers as a curb to ensure the friendship of his satrapies; for some of them were in revolt, and some were considering whether to rebel; and he was on the brink of marching against them. **21** For he was anxious that while he was occupied with the war in those parts and subduing the *rebels*, *Hasinai's* party would increase, and would yet either win over *Babelia* to his jurisdiction, or, even

¹ [War] PA omits "not"

² [War] / [Ant] "end"

³ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

⁴ [Ant] Greek / Latin "of sail-making"

if he had no such success, would yet unflinchingly inflict *even* further mischief. **22** Indeed, with these intentions, he sent Hanilai away.

Now *Hanilai* prevailed on his brother, relating to him both the king's goodwill, and the oath which he had taken. So they hastened to Ardavan. **23** Now he welcomed them on their arrival; and when he observed that Hasinai was quite short in his outward appearance, but because of this, even gave those who caught first sight of him reason to disregard him *and* judge him of no account, he was astonished at *the* good-soul which Hasinai had in his actions. *The king* also declared to his friends, "Indeed, he has a soul that in every respect is greater than his body."

Now once, while they at a drinking-party, he introduced Hasinai to Avadagasha, one of his camp-prefects, giving his name and a full account of his excellence in war. **24** But Avadagasha asked that permission be granted to kill *this man* in order to get revenge for his outrageous-treatment of the Parthian government.

"Never!" the king said. "I will not grant you permission to do this to a man who has put trust in my pledge; and, especially, when I have both given him my right hand, and have endeavored to gain his trust by swearing to the gods. **25** But if you are truly a good man of war, you are not in need of my false-swearing. Punish him yourself for his outrages against the Parthian government. For as he is returning home, attack him with your own forces and overcome him without my knowledge."

26 But in the morning, *the king* called for Hasinai *and* declared, "Young man, it is time for you to return home, and not to continue rousing the anger of my generals here, who may make attempt to slaughter you, and that, without my knowledge. **27** But I am committing the land of Babelia to you in trust, and that you may take care to keep it free of evil *and* other mischiefs. But I deserve your kindness, since I have kept my faith inviolable with you when no trifles were at stake; instead, I have given you salvations."

28 After he had said this, and had given gifts to Hasinai, he immediately sent him away. But when he had returned home, he built fortresses, and fortified any of those which had already existed. He also grew great in a short time. And in fact, he did these deeds with hardihood greater than any other person before him who had such a *meager* beginning. **29** The Parthian generals who were sent into that region, also paid him great respect. For the honor extended to him by the Babelians seemed too small to them, *and* less than he merited. *So* he enjoyed both dignity and power; he also held sway over all Mesopotamia from this time; and for fifteen years the brothers' prosperity continued to increase.

CHAPTER 117 [Ant18:340-379]

Now when these good-things were at their peak, their situation began to deteriorate for the following reason:

Their excellence had raised them to great power, *but now* they deviated into the service of wanton-violence, transgressing the laws of their fathers, falling under the dominion of lusts and indulgences. This happened when a certain Parthian, who was a general, arrived in this region, **2** who was also accompanied by his spouse. Now her commendations were sung beyond all other women for other qualities, and what greatly tipped the scales *even more* was her marvelous beauty.

3 Whether Hanilai, brother of Hasinai, had learned about her comeliness from others, or rather had seen her with his own eyes, he instantly became her passionate-lover and her foe. Indeed, this was because he could not hope to achieve a meeting with this woman unless he was able to get her into his power as a captive; but *also* because it was difficult to gainsay his yearning for her. **4** Therefore, her husband was also declared a foe, and was forced into a battle, in which he fell. After he had been done away with, his widow was captured and became the wife of her passionate-lover.

Yet, truly, she did not enter the family without producing great misfortunes both to Hanilai himself and to Hasinai. Instead, she brought great evil upon them for the following reason:

5 For when her husband had died, she had been taken captive, *and* brought along with her the replicas of the gods of their fathers, which belonged to her husband and herself. Now it is the custom of everyone in that country to have objects of worship in their own houses, and to take them along with them when going into a foreign *land*. And in observance of her fathers' custom in these matters, she also wrapped them up to take along with her. And indeed, at first, she worshipped them imperceptibly; but when she became a wife, she proceeded to worship them in her accustomed manner, along with the rites which she had employed while with her former husband.

6 And indeed, at first, their most esteemed companions merely told *Hanilai* that his actions were completely contrary to the Hebraic custom, nor compatible with their laws, in that he had married a foreign wife, one who transgressed the precise rules of their accustomed sacrifices and rituals. "In fact, you should consider that, by allowing yourself many bodily pleasures, you may utterly-destroy your government on account of beauty, along with the authority which you have, up till now, arrived at by the Deity's favor."

7 But not one thing prevailed with him. Instead, he even killed one of the most honored *men*, because he had spoken too freely. And *while he was dying*, he both fixed his mind on *his* goodwill toward the laws and imprecated a curse of retribution upon both his killer Hanilai, and upon Hasinai and all their companions, that they might suffer a similar end from their own enemies— **8** indeed, upon the two *brothers*, because they had been the leaders in lawlessness; but upon the others, because they had failed to assist him when they saw how he was punished for *defending* their laws.

Now indeed, these others were depressed by this, but they did nothing about it, *for* they had not forgotten that they owed their prosperity to no other means than the strength of *those two men*.

9 But when they also heard about the service paid to the gods which the Parthians revered, they regarded that the outrage which Hanilai had done to their laws to be no longer tolerable. They, now in greater numbers, went to Hasinai and inveighed against Hanilai. **10** "It does not matter if you have not previously seen for yourself what is advantageous to us. Instead, now you must at least take notice of what has been done *amiss*, before this sin results in your own ruin as well as that of everyone else. For both his marriage with this woman¹ took place without our consent, not according to the custom of our laws; and the religious-rites which this woman practices are dishonoring to the God whom we worship."

11 Now *Hasinai* knew about his brother's sin, that it had already been the cause of great evils, and would continue to be. Yet, truly, because their kinship was too close, he let his goodwill toward him be victorious, and was lenient toward his brother as having been conquered by irresistible evil desires. **12** But as more and more continued to gather *against him* every day, and their clamors became greater, he finally made a declaration to Hanilai about these matters, both rebuking him for his former deeds, and directing him to put an end to them for the future by sending this woman² back to her kinsmen.

13 But nothing was accomplished by these words. And the woman, indeed perceiving that the people were murmuring because of her, but anxious that Hanilai might be brought to grief due to his passionate-desire for her, put a drug into Hasinai's food. This was how she fearlessly dispatched the human, since this passionate-lover of hers was to be a judge of what was to be done with her.

14 Now Hanilai, having taken the leadership solely upon himself, led out an army against the villages of Mithredath, who was a principal man among the Parthians and had married King Ardavan's daughter. He also plundered *these villages*, and indeed gained from them an abundance of money and captives, as well as an abundance of livestock and an abundance of whatever else increases *one's* prosperity.

15 But when Mithredath (for he happened to be there at this time) heard that his villages had been captured, he was indignant that Hanilai had taken the initiative in acting unrighteously toward him and had disregarded his dignity to his face, *and this* without being provoked *to do so*. *So* he gathered together all the cavalry which he was able; and from this number, he selected those who were in their prime *of life*, *and* went to fight Hanilai. And when he arrived at one of his villages, he rested there, with the intention of battling on the following day, because it would be a sabbath, a day on which the Judeans abstain from work.

16 But Hanilai was informed about this from a Syrian man, a foreigner from another village, who told him everything in detail, even the place where Mithredath intended to hold a feast. *Therefore, Hanilai* dined at an earlier time, *and* marched by night, with the intent of falling upon the Parthians while they were ignorant of what he was doing. **17** So about the fourth watch *of the night*, he fell upon them, indeed, doing away with some while they were asleep, but putting others to flight. But he captured Mithredath alive, *and* brought him home mounted naked upon a donkey, which, among the Parthians, is considered the highest disgrace.

18 But when *Hanilai* had brought him into the forest with such determination, his friends directed him to do away with Mithredath. He instructed them otherwise, urging them to the contrary, "For it is not proper to do away with a man who both belongs to the principal race of the Parthians, and is greatly honored due to his marriage-connection with the king. **19** For indeed, what we have done up until now is tolerable. For even though Mithredath has been outrageously-treated, in fact, if we instead preserve his soul, he will remember this favor to the advantage of those who granted it to him. **20** But if he is to suffer an incurable fate, the king will not rest until he has inflicted a great slaughter upon the Judeans in Babel. It is proper for us to spare these *Judeans*, both on account of our kinship with them, and because they would have no place of refuge if any misstep caused them to fall backward, since the *men* who are in their prime *of life* are unavailable."

21 So indeed, with this thought and the speech he made in conference, he persuaded them to release Mithredath. But on *Mithredath's* return, his wife reproached him, "Even though you are both the king's son-in-law and avenging me, you should not be concerned about vengeance; overlook the perpetrators of

¹ literally "female-human"

² literally "female-human"

your disgrace. **22** But you, having been made a prisoner by the Judeans, should love *the fact that* you have been saved. And now, recover your excellence, or else, I swear by the royal gods, that I will dissolve my marriage partnership with you.”

23 But because he was indeed unable to endure the painful rebukes of his wife day after day, but anxious that her high-mindedness would compel her to dissolve their marriage, he, indeed reluctantly and unwillingly, mustered the largest army which he was able, and marched out with them. And he himself was convinced that he could no longer bear his salvation if he, a Parthian, were to be pushed about in war by a Judean.

24 But as soon as Hanilai learned that Mithredath was marching against him with a great force, he thought it too ignominious to wait in the marsh-meadows, rather than anticipate his foes by seeking an encounter *with them*. Also hoping for the same success as in the past, and that excellence attends those who are both bold and courageous, he lead out his force. **25** In addition to his own army, he was joined by many who hoped to seize *the people's* property, and to cause consternation among their foes by their mere appearance.

26 But when they had advanced 90 stadia, and *found* that their route was waterless and that it was about midday, they became extremely thirsty. Then Mithredath appeared *and* assaulted them, since they were in distress from lack of *anything* to drink, and not strong enough to bear their weapons due to the time of *day*. **27** Therefore, Hanilai's party was also put to a disgraceful rout, since they, in their exhausted condition, were engaging *against* fresh men. And the murder was great; many tens of thousands of men fell. But Hanilai, and all those who banded together about him, withdrew in flight to a forest, having afforded Mithredath with the great joy of having a victory over them.

28 Now Hanilai was joined by a multitude of unmanageable men, who had little regard for their own salvation, as long as they could gain some ease for the moment. In this way, the addition of these men compensated for *the* multitude of those who had perished. Yet, truly, due to their lack of training, they were not similar to those who had fallen. **29** Instead, truly, even with these, he ravaged the villages of the Babelians, and everything there was laid waste by Hanilai's wanton-violence.

30 So the Babelians, and those who were already in this war, sent to the Judeans in Nehar-deah, demanding that they should deliver up Hanilai.

And although they refused this proposal (for they were not in a strong enough *position* to deliver him up, even if they had been willing), *the Babelians* desired to make peace with them.

But *the Judeans* answered, *stating* that they themselves desired a treaty of peace. So they sent men together with the Babelians to negotiate with Hanilai.

31 But the Babelians, by means of reconnaissance, discovered the place where *those of* Hanilai's party were quartered. They secretly fell upon them at night while they were getting-intoxicated and fallen into slumber, *and* without any anxiety, killed everyone, as many as they caught, including Hanilai himself.

32 Now the Babelians were freed from the pressure imposed by Hanilai, which had greatly restrained their hatred against the Judeans. For they were almost always at variance with them, due to the contradictory *nature* of their laws; and whichever party happened to grow the most courageous would initiate an attack upon the other. And now that Hanilai's party had been utterly-destroyed, the Babelians began to attack the Judeans.

33 Now *the Judeans* were indignant at the wanton-violence of the Babelians, but they were neither able to array against them in a battle, nor considered it tolerable to live together with them. *So* they went to Seleukeia, the most notable city of the region, which Seleukos *the* Victor had founded. Now its inhabitants consisted of many Makedonians, but a majority of Hellenes, but not a few Syrians also held civic-privileges. **34** Indeed, this is where the Judeans took refuge. And indeed, for five years, they lived there without any evils.

But in the sixth year after their destruction at Babel, and after forming new settlements when they had left the city, and after coming to Seleukeia, it happened that an even greater misfortune came upon them for the following reason:

35 Among the Seleukians, life is marked by much strife and discord between the Hellenes and the Syrians, in which the Hellenes were the prevailing-power. Therefore, when the Judeans came to live there, there was continued sedition. And the Syrians obtained the prevailing-power by coming to terms with the Judeans, who were men both with a love-of-danger, and eager to join *the war*.

36 And the Hellenes were harried by this sedition, and saw that there was but one way for them to regain their former prestige, namely, by making an end of the alliance between the Judeans and the Syrians. Each one *among the Hellenes* discoursed with any of the Syrians with whom they had formerly been on intimate terms, promising both peace and friendship with them.

37 Now they gladly assented to this. Therefore, proposals were put forward by the two, and the principal men on both sides effected a reconciliation, and an agreement was quickly reached. Once they were on good terms, both agreed, as a great proof of mutual loyalty, to show enmity to the Judeans.

They also fell upon them unexpectedly, killing 50,000 men. Now all of them were utterly-destroyed except for a few who escaped, having been mercifully granted this opportunity by friends or neighbors. **38** But those who escaped

retreated to Tizfon, a Hellenic city and situated near Seleukeia, where the king spends the winter each year and where most of his baggage is stored. But it was without prudence that they settled there, since the Seleukians had no respect for the king's honor.

39 Now the entire Judean nation was also in fear of both the Babelians and the Seleukians, since even all the Syrians who lived in those places agreed with the Seleukians in making war against the Judeans. **40** So most of *the Judeans* picked themselves up, going to both Nehar-deah and Nisibin, where they obtained safety due to the strength of these cities, and were furthermore inhabited by men who were all fit for battle. And this was indeed *the account* of the Judean settlers of Babelia.

CHAPTER 118 [Ant19:1-211 (abridged), 237 / War2:184b), 204b, 204a]

Now Gaius did not only exhibit the madness of his insolence to the Judeans at Jerusalem and throughout its surrounding regions; instead, he extended it throughout all *the* earth and sea which was subjected to the Romans, also filling it with tens of thousands of evils, such as had never been previously chronicled. **2** But Roma itself, above all else, felt the horror of his actions, since he gave it no more honor than the other cities; instead, he both pulled and hauled its citizens, and especially the senate and *the* patricians and who had been honored due to illustrious ancestors, and he skimmed off the noblest men from his fatherland.

3 Now he also devised ten thousand attacks, indeed, upon the equestrian order. Now the citizens esteemed them equal in dignity and wealth with the senators, because it was from their number that *those on* the council were chosen. He deprived these *men* of their privileges and expelled them, or put them to death and plundered their money; and he usually had them slaughtered as a pretext for confiscating their money.

4 He also asserted his own deification, and demanded that his subjects pay him honors which were more worthy than *any* which may be rendered to a human.

5 And his other actions did not fall short of madness. *For instance*, he also thought it was too tedious to cross the bay from the city of Dikaiarchia in Campania to Misenum, another coastal city, in a trireme; also considering that it was his privilege as master of the sea to require the same service from the sea as he received from the land. **6** So the 30 stadia of sea from promontory to promontory were connected by pontoons, which cut off the whole bay; and he drove over this bridge in his chariot. For he said, that this way of traveling befitted his deity.

7 But his madness mounted to such a height, that he even permitted¹ slaves to bring accusations against their masters on whatever charges they pleased. For anything which was reported was bound to have serious consequences, since most of the charges were brought for his gratification or at his own suggestion. **8** Because of this, even Polydeukés, Claudius' slave, dared to bring an accusation against *Claudius* himself; and Gaius was not ashamed to attend a court-of-justice when this fatal charge was brought against his own uncle, expecting to receive authority to have him put to death. Yet, truly, he did not succeed.

9 But when he had filled all of the inhabited *earth* over which he ruled with calumnies and evils, and had raised high the power of slaves over their masters, many conspiracies were now laid against him. Indeed, some of *the conspirators* were angry and sought vengeance for the wrongs which they had endured; but others wanted to do away with him before they happened to fall into such great evils.

10 Indeed, there were three attempts made to put *Gaius* to death: Aemilius Regulus of Cordoba in Ibéria was the center of the first, and was eager to remove Gaius either by them or by himself. Now the second *conspiracy* was organized and led by Cassius Chaerea the tribune. But the third was made by Annius Minucianus.² **11** But Chaerea, being a tribune, had freer access to Gaius, and could therefore more easily *find an opportunity* to kill him. Now when Minucianus noticed *Chaerea's* urgency to *accomplish this deed*, he gladly welcomed him and further encouraged his bold *attempt*. **12** And as Chaerea entered into the senate-house, a voice came from among the multitude to encourage him, directing him, "Indeed, finish your task, and receive *the assistance of a demon*."

13 Now on the last day of the shows which were exhibited on the Palatium, which were held in honor of *Augustus* Caesar, at about the ninth hour of the day, Chaerea met Gaius inside the Palatium, while *the emperor* had turned aside into a deserted passage. And after reproaching Gaius, Chaerea drew his short-sword and dealt him a severe blow, but it was not fatal. For the short-sword struck him between the shoulder and the neck, where the collarbone prevented it from going farther.

14 But Gaius, dazed by the pain of the blow, did not cry out in alarm or call upon any of his friends. Instead, he groaned in extreme agony and dashed ahead to escape. And he was confronted by Cornélius Sabinus, who pushed *Gaius* to the

¹ [Ant] Emendation / some manuscripts "entrusted" / other manuscripts "attempted to arouse"

² [Ant] possible emendation "Vincianus"

ground on one knee. Many of them encircled *Gaius*; and at a single word of encouragement, they all struck him with their short-swords. But *Aquila* delivered the final blow. And this was how *Gaius* came to his end.

15 Now King *Agrippa* did for *Gaius* what was to be expected of one who had been held in honor by him. For he even attended to *Gaius*' corpse and laid it upon a couch, and took it upon himself to cover it. Then he went out to the bodyguards, bringing them a message that *Gaius* was indeed alive, and that healers would be arriving, since he was yet suffering from serious wounds. But, in fact, he was already dead.

16 After this, the entire multitude of the councilors gathered together, and particularly those who had conspired to assassinate *Gaius*. They were now full of confidence, and had great notions of their own exalted position, thinking that the administration was now theirs.

17 Now with the public affairs in this condition, *Claudius* was suddenly seized from his house by the soldiers in *Roma* for the government.¹ But *Chaerea* was anxious that *Gaius*' daughter and wife would survive, and that his whole house had not shared in his ruin. For any remnant of them who were left alive would remain a menace to the city and their laws. So he dispatched one of the tribunes, *Julius Luppus*, to kill both the wife and daughter of *Gaius*.

18 Now when *Luppus* entered the royal palace, he found *Caesonia*, *Gaius*' wife, lying beside her husband's body which also lay on a couch. And she herself was smeared with the blood of his wounds, and was bewailing his great misery. Her daughter was also lying at her side. 19 But when she saw *Luppus* approaching, she pointed to *Gaius*' body, summoning him, with tears and lamentation, to come nearer. 20 But when she saw that *Luppus* was firmly determined, and approached her without any disapproval of the deed, she recognized the purpose of his coming, and very willingly bared her throat, bewailing herself, and directing him not to delay the final act of the tragedy which they had composed for them. 21 And this was indeed how, with a good-soul, she came to her end at the hand of *Luppus*, as did her daughter after her.

22 This was indeed the end of *Gaius*, after he had been in leadership for three years and eight months. Even before he had become the chief, he was both mischievous, and one who had arrived at the utmost pitch of perversity; both a slave of pleasures, and a lover of slander; and indeed, fearful of danger, and, consequently, having an extremely murderous disposition against those of whom he dared to show. He was also greedy for authority with one sole objective: to abuse those who least deserved it with magnanimous insolence, and to obtain revenue by killing and transgressing. 23 And indeed, he labored to be stronger than what was divine and lawful; but he was overcome by the flatteries of the multitude. And whatever the laws condemned as shameful and punished, he esteemed more honorable than what was excellent. 24 And he was unmindful of his own friends, no matter how intimate they were, and however great the occasion for it; and, if he were enraged at any of them, he would inflict punishment upon them, even for the most trifling offense. But everything which accompanied excellence, he made war against.

If he had a yearning for anything, he tolerated no opposition to any direction which he gave. 25 And because of this, he even had sexual intercourse with his own sister. And this conduct was the primary reason why the citizens' hatred of him grew fiercer and fiercer. For such a deed provoked them both to distrust him, and to hate the performer.

26 But the only great royal work which can be credited as constructed by him for the benefit of either contemporary or future men, is the harbor which he planned near *Rhégium* and *Sicilia* for the reception of the boats which brought grain from *Egypt*. 27 Now this was certainly both a very great work, and of the greatest advantage to seafarers. Yet, truly, it was not finished by him, but was left half-completed due to the laggard method in which he dealt with the task; instead, he squandered money on pleasures which would benefit no one but himself.

CHAPTER 119 [Ant19:212-236, 238-247 (abridged) / War2:205-210]

But the senate, acting on the leadership of the consuls, entrusted the three cohorts which were standing firm with them to guard the city, and then gathered in the *Capitolium*. And on account of *Gaius*' savagery, they voted to make war against *Claudius*. For they would establish the government through aristocracy, even as they had managed affairs in former times, or they would choose by vote the one worthy of the leadership.

2 Now when elders were sent to *Claudius* (who had been previously seized by the soldiers), he knew with what insolence they had been sent; but for the present, he was moved to moderation. Nevertheless, *Claudius* sent for *Agrippa* (who was staying nearby), so that he might be useful for him for what would be necessary. As it happened, at this very same time, the senate also sent for *Agrippa* to counsel with them. And *Agrippa*,² perceiving that the *Caesar* was already in power, went off to *Claudius*.

¹ [War] P / all others add

² [War] PA (lit. "And he" / most "And that one" / Latin "And *Agrippa*")

3 But in the meantime, *Agrippa*, having learned that *Claudius* had been seized by the soldiers, forced his way to him. And he found him perplexed, and on the point of yielding to the senate. So *Agrippa* encouraged him directing him, "Do not let the leadership slip out of your hands, which came to you on its own accord."

4 And because of the boldness of the soldiers, and because of King *Agrippa*'s words, *Claudius* recovered from his fear. But he sent *Agrippa* as an elder to the senate to explain his own intention, "Although I was originally seized by the soldiers against my will, I still deem that it is neither right to desert the eagerness of these men, nor safe to desert my own fortune. For merely having encountered the call of the leadership is hazardous. Moreover, I will administer the government as a good guardian, not as a tyrant. For I will be satisfied with the honor of the address, but I will yield the deliberation over each item of the council to all of them. And even if I am not naturally moderate, *Gaius*' death has presented me with a sufficient example of the need for prudence."

5 *Agrippa* left to deliver the message, but first, he returned home. And on being summoned by the council, he anointed his head with perfumed-oil, as if he had dismissed his wife after having intercourse with her, and then appeared before the councilors. He asked what *Claudius* had done.

6 Now they told him the present state of affairs, and asked him in return what he thought about the whole situation.

Agrippa declared, "Indeed, I am certainly prepared to meet my end for the good-fame of the senate, but I direct you to consider what is expedient, and to set aside everything that is personally appealing to you. 7 For those who grasp to govern also need weapons and soldiers to guard them, lest, taking a stand unprepared, they will find themselves overthrown."

8 But the council answered, "We are both well-supplied with weapons, and will contribute money. And as for an army, indeed, part of it has already united to us. But we will raise a larger one by liberating slaves. And relying on both an army and good judgments, we will not tolerate a voluntary slavery."

9 *Agrippa* declared, "O council, may you indeed succeed in accomplishing what you desire! But I must speak without hesitating, because my account has a bearing on your salvation. 10 You surely know that the army which will fight for *Claudius* has been long serving as men-at-arms; but ours will be a motley multitude consisting of raw humans, but also, those who have unexpectedly been released from slavery, hard to control. But we shall be fighting against experts, leading forward men who do not even know how to draw their short-swords. 11 So it is my opinion that we should send some men to *Claudius* to persuade him to lay down his government. I am also prepared to act as an elder."

12 And indeed, after hearing this account and complying with him, the council dispatched him along with some others. He privately described the disorder of the council to *Claudius*, and instructed him to answer rather imperiously, and to speak with the dignity of one who was in authority.

13 And therefore, after hearing these things from the council, *Claudius* answered, "I am not surprised that the council was not pleased at the prospect of establishing someone in leadership over them, because they have been oppressed by the brutality of those who have previously held this office. But I promise to behave with such propriety, that they will taste for themselves the savor of moderate seasons. Indeed, I will be their chief only in name, but it shall be equally common to them all. But since I have also passed through many vicissitudes of fortune before their eyes, it would be good for them not to distrust me."

14 And *Claudius* sent *Agrippa* to them again, with the following message, "Indeed, I will not tolerate the thought of betraying the men who have united behind me, but I will make war, unwillingly, upon those whom I least want to fight. 15 However, it is necessary that an area for the war be pre-approved outside the city; for it is not holy for the sacred-precincts of our fatherland to be polluted by a murder of our fellow-tribesmen on account of your ill-counsel."

16 And indeed, after the elders had heard these things, they were dismissed. And *Agrippa* sent his message to the councilors. But *Claudius* gathered the army together and addressed them, binding them by oath that they would remain loyal to him.

CHAPTER 120 [Ant19:248-277 (abridged) / War2:211-217 (abridged)]

Now meanwhile, the consuls called the council together while it was still night. But while they were deliberating about the matter at hand, a shout suddenly arose from the soldiers who had stood by them, directing the council to choose an emperor, and not to destroy the government by entrusting it to a group of leaders. 2 And they indeed agreed with them that the government must not be entrusted to everyone, but rather to a single man; but that they were seeking someone who was worthy of such preeminence.

3 But at daybreak, *Chaerea* and his companions came forward and tried to persuade the soldiers. But when he was unable to resist their tumultuousness, he declared that he would bring them the head of *Claudius*; for it would be monstrous to hand the empire over to a fool after it had been ruled by a madman.

4 But one of the soldiers of the senate, drew his short-sword and persuaded them to accept *Claudius* as their emperor. And rushing through the middle of the council, he drew after him all his fellow-soldiers. And taking up their ensigns,

they sought Claudius to join in binding themselves by an oath of loyalty. **5** So the senate was left without anyone to defend them. Now the nobles were immediately struck with great anxiety, and had regret¹ at what they had done. Then, perceiving no other refuge to which to turn, they urgently pursued the soldiers' route to Claudius.

6 But in front of the wall, *the soldiers* who were more flagrantly flattering *the king's*² fortune, came out to meet *the councilors* with short-swords bared. But Agrippa ran up to Claudius, and explained to *him* the danger of the situation. So Claudius rescued one of the two consuls out of danger, and set him by him; but he did not receive the rest of the senators with like honor. Some of them even received blows from the soldiers, who repulsed their attempts to get an audience with him.

7 However, King Agrippa *further* besought *Claudius* to treat the senators more gently. "If you do not restrain the violence of these rabid *men* against the nobles, then, after destroying those *very men* on whose account it is most impressive to rule over, you will be a king of a desert. For if any harm comes to the council, you will have no other subjects whom to rule over."

8 But after hearing these *things*, Claudius complied *with him*; and he restrained the rushes of the soldiers, and welcomed the senate into the encampment. And he showed kindness toward them, and summoned the *entire* council together into the Palatium. And leaving with them at once, he went there to offer sacrifices of thanksgivings for his leadership.

9 Now when Claudius reached the Palatium, he gathered his friends together in order to put Chaerea's case to a vote. But their verdict was that, indeed, the deed had been a glorious one; but they called him to account for disloyalty, and they thought that it was right to inflict punishment upon him as a deterrent for the future. **10** Therefore, Chaerea was led off to his death, and both Luppus and many other Romans with him. Now Chaerea was killed by the first blow; but Luppus by several. **11** But as for Sabinus, although he was released by Claudius and permitted to retain his position as the chief, he, nevertheless, deemed it unrighteous to fail in being loyal to his fellow conspirators. So he slaughtered himself, falling upon his own short-sword, and the wound met the hilt.

12 Now Claudius promptly purged the army of all unreliable units. And he presented Agrippa with his entire paternal kingdom, and also annexed to it all the other lands which had been ruled by his grandfather King Hérōdēs, namely, Judah and Samaria, and also Trachōn and Hawran (which had been given to Hérōdēs' by Augustus). So these were indeed restored to him as a debt belonging to *Hérōdēs'* race. But, besides these, he also presented him with *the following* from his own territories: Abel from the kingdom of Lusania, and everything at Mount Lebanon.

13 And he made this gift clear to the people by promulgation of an edict, which confirmed Agrippa's kingdom which Gaius had presented to him, and which commended the king. But after engraving the award on bronze tablets, he ordered the chiefs to dedicate them in the Capitolium. He also celebrated a treaty with Agrippa in the middle of the forum in the city of Roma.

14 But he deprived Antiochos of the kingdom which he possessed, presenting him with a portion of Kilikia and with Kummuhu. But he also liberated Alexandros *Lusimachos*³ the alabarch, an old friend of his, who had acted as procurator for his mother Antōnia, and who had been imprisoned by Gaius in his impulses.

15 And *Alexandros'* son married Bereniké daughter of Agrippa. And indeed, after the end of Marcus son of Alexandros (who married her when she was a virgin), Agrippa gave her to his own brother Hérōdēs (who was himself also his relative by marriage, since he was married to Bereniké). *He did this* after asking Claudius to present *Hérōdēs* with the kingdom of Chalkis, *which he subsequently did*.

CHAPTER 121 [Ant19:278-312]

Now about this time, a sedition arose between the Judeans and the Hellenes in the city of the Alexandreians. For when Gaius had come-to-his-end, the Judean nation,⁴ which had been humiliated under his government and had been grievously abused⁵ by the Alexandreians, both regained their courage and immediately took up arms. **2** So Claudius sent an instruction to the prefect of Egypt to repress it; but also, at the petition of the kings Agrippa and Hérōdēs, he issued an edict to Alexandria and to Syria, which stated the following:

3 Tiberius Claudius Caesar *the August-One* Germanicus, of tribunician authority, *consul*,⁶ speaks:

4 I, from the first, have known that the Judeans in Alexandria, called Alexandreians, were joint settlers from the very earliest times

with the Alexandreians, and have received equal civic-privileges from the kings. *These things* are evident from the documents in their possession and from the edicts themselves. **5** And *I have also known* that after Alexandria was made subject to our leadership by the August-One, their rights were preserved by the prefects sent from time to time; also, that these rights of theirs have never been disputed.

6 Even at the time when Aquila was at Alexandria, when the Judean nation-chief had come-to-his-end, the August-One did not prohibit the continued appointment of nation-chiefs, desiring that the several subject nations should abide by their own customs and not be compelled to violate the religious-rites of their fathers.

7 But in the time of Gaius Caesar, the Alexandreians rose up against the Judeans who were among them; and *Gaius*, through his great folly and madness, humiliated the Judean nation because they refused to transgress the religious-rites of their fathers and address him as a god.

8 It is my wish that none of the Judean nation be deprived of their rights on account of the madness of Gaius, but that their former rights also be preserved to them, while they continue to abide by their own customs. I also direct that both parties take the greatest precaution to prevent any disturbance arising after the promulgation of this edict.

9 Therefore, these were indeed the contents of this edict sent to Alexandria on behalf of the Judeans.

But *the edict* sent into the rest of the inhabited *earth* is as follows:

10 Tiberius Claudius Caesar *the August-One* Germanicus, chief-priest, of tribunician authority, elected consul for the second time, speaks:

11 *The kings* Agrippa and Hérōdēs, my dearest friends, have petitioned me to permit the same rights and privileges to be preserved for the Judeans throughout the entire Roman leadership, which are also enjoyed by those in Alexandria. I very gladly consented, not merely to please those who petitioned me, **12** rather because, in my opinion, the Judeans also deserve to obtain their request on account of their faithfulness and friendship to the Romans; but also, because I consider it righteous that not even Hellenic cities should be deprived of these rights, since they were also preserved to them under the divine August-One.

13 Therefore, it is also proper that the Judeans throughout the entire world under our *sway*, should also observe the customs of their fathers without hindrance. And I transmit a message to them, *ordering them* by this *grant*, to avail themselves of this humaneness with moderation, and not to show contempt of the terror-of-demons shown by the other nations, but to *merely* keep their own laws.

14 It is my wish that the chiefs of the cities and colonies and municipia, *both* within and outside Italia, the kings and masters through their own elders, shall cause this edict of mine to be inscribed *and* posted for not less than thirty days in a place where it can be plainly read from the ground.

15 Indeed, by these edicts which were sent both to Alexandria and to all the inhabited *earth*, Claudius Caesar showed what he had decided about the Judeans. But he immediately sent Agrippa to take over his kingdom with more splendid honors than before, sending documents to the leaders of the provinces and to the procurators *stating* that they should treat him kindly.

16 But *Agrippa*, as was natural, returned in haste, returning now with much greater fortunes than before. Now when he came to Jerusalem, he offered sacrifices of thanksgivings, omitting nothing required by our law. **17** Then he arranged for many of the Nazirites to be shaven. But the golden chain which had been presented to him by Gaius, equal in weight to the iron one in which his royal hands had been bound, he hung up within the temple enclosures, over the treasury, as a memorial of his bitter fortune and to testify to his reversal for the better; in order that it might serve as a proof that greatness may sometimes fall, and that God may uplift what has fallen down. **18** For the dedication of the chain was an exhibit to show to all men that King Agrippa had once been bound for a minor incrimination, being stripped of his former rank; and that not long after, he had stepped out of his bonds, being uplifted to rule as a more illustrious king than before.

19 Now when Agrippa had completed his religious observances to God, he indeed removed Theophilos *son of* Hanan from the chief-priesthood, but assigned that honor to Simon *son of* Boéthos, surnamed Cantheras.⁷ Now Simon had two brothers, and his father was Boéthos; his daughter was married to King Hérōdēs.

20 Now that the king had settled the chief-priesthood in this way, he recompensed the Jerusalemites for the goodwill they had shown to him: Accordingly, he released them from the tax upon every house, considering it good

¹ literally "and had a change-of-purpose"

² [War] Lat adds

³ [Ant] A / MWE, A-margin add / Latin has only "Lysimachus"

⁴ [Ant] E "race"

⁵ [Ant] A / MWE "constrained"

⁶ [Ant] E adds

⁷ ["Kathros" according to Talmud]

to repay their affection with a corresponding fatherly love. But he appointed Silas, a man who had shared many hardships with him, as prefect of his entire army.

21 Now a very short time after this, certain Dorian youths, who valued audacity higher than piety, and who were naturally recklessly bold, brought a human-image of Caesar into the Judean congregation *and* set it up. **22** This *procedure* provoked Agrippa exceedingly; for it plainly tended to the dissolution of the laws of his fathers. But without delay, he went to Publius Petronius, the leader of Syria, and denounced the Dorians.

23 Now *Petronius* was no less embittered at the deed; for he too regarded the transgression of the law as sacrilege. He wrote the following in anger to the apostates of the Dorians:

24 Publius Petronius, elder of Tiberius Claudius Caesar *the* August-One Germanicus,
To the principal *men* of *the* Dorians, speaks:

25 Certain *individuals* among you, despite the promulgation of the edict of Caesar *the* August-One Germanicus pertaining to the permission granted to the Judeans to observe *the laws* of their fathers, have had such mad audacity not to obey this edict, **26** but to do the very reverse: preventing the Judeans from having a congregation by transferring to it a human-image of Caesar.

Because of this, you have not only sinned against the Judeans, rather also against the emperor himself, whose human-image was better placed in his own inner-sanctum in that of another, especially in the congregation. *For* by natural righteousness, each must be lord over his own place, in accordance with Caesar's decree. **27** (For after making mention of the emperor's edict, which permits Judeans to follow their own customs, it is ridiculous for me to refer to my own *edict*, which however, yet also directs them to live as fellow citizens with the Hellenes).

28 Indeed, as for those who have, in defiance of the August-One's edict, been so insolent as to act in this manner (at which even those who are regarded as eminent among the transgressors are indignant and say that 'it was not done by our personal consent, *but* instead by the violence of the multitude'), I have directed that they are to be brought before me by Proclus Vitellius the centurion to give an account of their actions.

29 But to the principal chiefs, I give this warning: that, unless they are willing to think that this unrighteous-*action* was committed with their consent *and* intent, they must identify the guilty parties to the centurion, allowing no occasion to occur which might lead to a sedition or a battle. *For* this, in my opinion, is precisely what they expect to achieve by such actions. **30** *For both* myself, and king Agrippa (my most honored friend), have no greater interest than that the Judean nation may have no occasion, under the pretext of self-defense, to gather in one place in order to proceed to desperate measures.

31 But in order that you may better know about what the August-One has also resolved concerning the whole matter, I have subjoined his edicts which were published at Alexandria. And although they seem to be known by everyone, my most honored friend King Agrippa read them before my tribunal at the time when he pleaded that the Judeans should not be despoiled of what the August-One has granted them.

32 Therefore, I transmit a message to you, *ordering you* for the future, not to seek any pretext for a sedition or a disturbance, *but* instead that everyone be allowed to practice his own religious observances.

33 Therefore, these indeed were the precautions taken by Petronius to indeed rectify the transgression, but *also* to prevent any similar offense against the Judeans.

CHAPTER 122 [Ant19:313-325]

Now King Agrippa indeed deprived Simon Cantheras of the priesthood, but gave it to Jonathan *son of* Hanan, conceding that he was more worthy of the honor.

But *Jonathan* regarded the resumption of such an honor as unacceptable. Therefore, he declined it, but said, **2** "Indeed, O king, rejoicing in the honor which you have for my soul, I appreciate that you would present me with such an honor by your own counsel. And God has judged that I am not at all worthy of the chief-priesthood. But I am content to have put on the holy vestments once; for at that time, I arrayed myself in them with more regard for sacredness than would be shown if I were to receive them again. **3** But, if you desire that another, more worthy than myself, should receive the dignity, let me instruct you. I also have a brother, and one who is pure from all sin against *both* God and against you, O king. I recommend him to you, as one suitable for this honor."

4 The king, rejoicing at these words, indeed respected Jonathan for his decision, but bestowed the priesthood upon his brother Matthijah. And not long after this, Petronius was indeed succeeded by Marsus as dictator of Syria.

5 Now Silas, the prefect of the king's horse, had been faithful to him through every fortune, never refusing to share in any of his dangers, instead, he had often even undertaken the most hazardous task. Because of this, he was full of *self-confidence*, assuming that there could be no solid friendship without acquiring an equal standing *with the king*. **6** Moreover, he never deferred to the king, but spoke freely on every occasion. And even in friendly-gatherings, he proved himself a nuisance, exalting himself without measure, and frequently reminding the king of the gloomy *misfortunes* of the past, which gave him an opportunity to display his own devotion at the time; but he would incessantly relate at length how he had labored on his behalf.

7 Therefore, the abundance of such *talk* gave the impression of a reproach, which accounted for the king's resentment against this man's unstinted freedom of speech.¹ **8** Accordingly, Silas finally stirred the king to such a degree of anger, that *the king*, more out of fury than of rationalization, not only removed Silas from his position as prefect of his horse, *but* instead also sent him in bonds into his own fatherland.

9 But the edge of his fury wore off in time, and, allowing room for pristine rationalizations concerning all the hardships which that man had borne for his sake, he submitted his judgment regarding him to dispassionate reflection. In fact, when *Agrippa* was celebrating his birthday, *and* all of his subjects were participating in the festivities of gladness, he abruptly sent for Silas to share his table.

10 But *Silas* (for he was a frank individual), thinking that he had a righteous cause to be angry, did not conceal this from those who came to fetch him, saying, **11** "What honor is this to which the king invites me? An honor to quickly perish? For he has not *even* let me keep my former rewards for the goodwill which I showed to him, but has wantonly stripped me of them. **12** Or does he think that I have given up my freedom of speech? No, I keep it; and I shall shout even louder *than before*, relating how many terrible *situations* I rescued him from, how many hardships I have borne in securing both his salvation and honor—as a reward for which I received bonds and a dark dungeon. **13** I shall never forget these things. Not only this, but perhaps my very soul, even when released from the flesh, will carry with it the memory of my excellence."

This was the clamor *he made*, and what he ordered *the messengers* to say to the king. But when *the king* perceived that *Silas*' malady was beyond remedy, he decided to leave him in prison.

CHAPTER 123 [Ant19:326-337 / War2:218]

Now, quickly, as it would from a government of such magnitude, money was flowing to Agrippa; and it was not long before he exploited these resources. For, at public expense, he fortified the walls of Jerusalem on the side of the New City, increasing both their breadth and height. But before it could be brought to completion, Marsus, the leader of Syria, sent documents to Claudius Caesar about what was being done.

2 And Claudius, suspecting that a revolution was afoot, sent a *letter* to Agrippa, earnestly charging him to desist from the building of those walls. But *Agrippa*, thinking it proper not to disobey, forestalled the work before it reached its *proposed* height.

3 Now the king was naturally beneficent in his gifts, and his love-of-honor caused him to be generous² toward *other* nations. And by expending massive sums, he made himself very illustrious. He took pleasure in conferring favors, and rejoiced in popularity. In this way, he was not at all similar to that Héródés who had reigned before him.

4 *For that Héródés* was ill-natured, relentless in retributions and unmerciful against those whom he hated. Everyone admitted that he had been on more friendly terms with Hellenes than with Judeans. For instance, he had adorned the foreign cities by giving them money, building baths and theaters; not only this, but he had erected inner-sanctums in some *and* porticoes in others; instead, there was not a single Judean city which he had thought fit to be bestowed even with minor restoration, nor any gift worth mentioning.

5 But Agrippa had a gentle disposition, and he was a benefactor to everyone alike. He was humane to foreigners, exhibiting his love-of-giving to them as well; to his fellow-tribesmen, he was proportionately more kind and more sympathetic. **6** Accordingly, he took pleasure residing in Jerusalem, and did so constantly; and he carefully observed the laws of his fathers. Accordingly, he neglected no rite of purification; no day passed for him without its customary sacrifice.

7 And there was a certain man, a Jerusalem native, reputed to have accurate knowledge of their customs; his name was Simon. At a time when the king was absent at Caesarea, this man gathered together an assembly of the multitude, *and* had the audacity to denounce him as not sacred, but asserted that *the king* should

¹ Deleted remark "For it is unpleasant to be reminded of inglorious times; and the man who perpetually brings up his former services is a simpleton."

² Literally "great-minded"

rightly be excluded from the inner-sanctum, since *this privilege* was restricted to the natives.¹

8 Indeed, the general of the city sent documents to the king *informing him* that Simon had made this speech to the populace. But the king sent for him, and, since he was sitting in the theater, directed Simon to sit down beside him. But he declared with a quiet and gentle voice, “Tell me what is going on here that is contrary to the law.”

9 But he, having nothing to say, begged his pardon.

Instead, at this, the king was reconciled to him more quickly than one would have expected; *for* he esteemed mildness to be more of a royal trait than anger, and was convinced that reasonableness was more becoming in the great *ones* than fury. Accordingly, he also presented Simon with a gift before dismissing him.

10 Now *Agrippa* erected many buildings in many other places, conferring special favors on the Beirutians. For he built a theater for them, surpassing many others in both its extravagance and beauty; he also built an amphitheater at great expense; besides these, he *built them* baths and porticoes—and in none of these works did he allow either the beauty or the magnitude to suffer by stinting on the expenses. **11** But he was magnificently lavish in his provision at their dedication, indeed exhibiting spectacles within them, introducing every sort of music and everything which made for a varied entertainment; but in the amphitheater he showed his noble generosity by a multitude of gladiators provided.

12 And it was on this occasion, in order to gratify the spectators by ranging a multitude of combatants against each other, that he sent in 700 men to fight with another 700. All these men were malefactors set aside for this purpose; indeed, that while they were receiving their punishment, the feats of war might be a source of entertainment during peacetime. Therefore, this was indeed how he utterly-destroyed *these men* with all his force.

CHAPTER 124 [Ant19:338-353 / War2:219]

Now when *Agrippa* had completed the ceremonies at Beirut, he went to Tiberias, a city of Galilee. Now he was greatly admired by the other kings. Accordingly, he was visited not only by Antiochos, king of Kommuhu, but by Shemashgeram, king of Hames; and Kotus, king of Lesser Armenia; and Polemōn, who held sway over the Pontos; and his brother Hērōdēs, who was king of Chalkis. **2** Now while he both entertained all of them and gave them a friendly-treatment, his conversation demonstrated a height of sensibleness, and yet it seemed right for him to *receive* the honor which the kings had shown to him by their visit.

3 For instead, while he was still entertaining them, it happened that Marsus, the leader of Syria, arrived. Therefore, the king, in order to honor the Romans, advanced seven stadia outside the city to meet him. **4** But this *action* proved to be the beginning of a quarrel with Marsus. For *Agrippa* brought the other kings along with him, and sat with them in his carriage.

But Marsus was suspicious of such concord and intimate friendship among them. He did not think that such a close agreement among so many rulers would be in the Roman interests. Therefore, he immediately sent some of his associates to *each of the kings*, enjoining each *one* to set off without delay to his own territory. **5** This was grievously taken by *Agrippa*. And from this time onward, he was indeed at variance with Marsus.

Now he deprived Matthijah of the chief-priesthood, and appointed Elioenai the boy of Cantheras² to be chief-priest in his stead.

6 Now when *Agrippa* had reigned for three years over all of Judah (having led the tetrarchies for three additional years before that), he came to the city of Caesarea, which had formerly been called Stratōn's Tower. Now here he celebrated spectacles in honor of the Caesar, knowing that these had been instituted as a kind of festival on behalf of his salvation. And on this occasion, a multitude mustered, consisting of provincial magistrates and those who had advanced to some dignity in *his province*.

7 On the second day of the spectacles, *Agrippa*, clad in a garment woven completely of silver so that its texture was truly wondrous, entered the theater at daybreak. There, the silver, illuminated by the touch of the first rays of the sun, was wondrously radiant; and by its sparkle, it inspired fear; and those who gazed intently upon it shuddered.

8 But straightaway, his flatterers raised their voices from various directions (though hardly for his good), addressing him as a god. And they added, “Be gracious to us. And although we have, up till now, only feared you as a human; instead, from now on, we shall agree that you are superior to mortality.”

9 The king did not rebuke them, nor did he reject their flattery as impious. But shortly afterward, he looked up and saw an owl perched on a rope over his head. He immediately understood that this messenger³ was one⁴ of evil, as it had once been one of good. And he felt a heart-piercing pain, but his stomach was also gripped by an increasing pain, which was vehement from the start.

10 Therefore, he looked⁵ up, declaring to his friends, “I, who am a god in your eyes, am now enjoined to lay down my life. *For* foresight immediately reproves the lying words which you have addressed to me. I, who was called immortal by you, am already carried away by death. But I must accept my lot as God wills it: for I have also lived in no ordinary fashion, *but* instead in the splendid style which is considered to be a happy *one*.”

11 *Even* as he was speaking these words, he was overcome by more intense pain. Therefore, they hastened to convey him to the royal *palace*, and the rumor went abroad everywhere that he would die within a short time. **12** But straightaway, *the* multitude, including women and little-ones, sat in sackcloth in accordance with the ordinances of their fathers, entreating God on behalf of the king. Now everywhere was filled with the sound of wailing and lamentations. But the king, as he lay in his lofty bedchamber, and as he saw *the multitude* below as they fell prostrate, could not persist without tears.

13 Now exhausted after five straight days by the pain⁶ in his belly, he departed this lifetime in his fifty-fourth year,⁷ but the seventh of his reign. **14** Therefore, he had indeed reigned for four years under Gaius Caesar; three of them *he ruled* over the tetrarchy of Philippos, but also during the fourth year Hērōdēs' was annexed to it. But he reigned three more years under the emperorship of Claudius Caesar, during whose time he ruled over the previously mentioned territory, and had Judah, as well as Samaria and Caesarea, annexed to them. **15** But he derived as much revenue as possible from them, amounting to 12,000,000 *drachmas*. However, he borrowed much *from others*; for, due to his generosity, his expenditures were extravagant beyond his incomes, but his love-of-honor was boundless.

16 Yet, truly, while the multitude was *still* unaware that he had breathed his last, Hērōdēs, the ruler of Chalkis, conspiring together with Hilkiah, the prefect of his horse and friend of the king, sent Aristōn, the most faithful of their attendants, and slaughtered Silas (for he had been their enemy), pretending that it had been directed by the king.

CHAPTER 125 [Ant19:354-365 / War2:220a]

Therefore, this was indeed how King *Agrippa* departed his life. But he left behind a son who had been born from Kypros: indeed, *Agrippa*, a youth who was seventeen years old. But he *also* had three daughters from the same woman: Bereniké, and Miriam, and Drusilla. Indeed, Bereniké, who was sixteen years old, was married to her father's brother Hērōdēs. But the other two, both Miriam and Drusilla, were virgins: indeed, *Miriam* was ten years old, but Drusilla was six. **2** Now *these two daughters* had been promised by their father in marriage: indeed, Miriam to Julius Archelaos the boy of Hilkiah, but Drusilla to Eiphanēs son of Antiochos, king of Kommuhu.

3 For instead, when it became known that *Agrippa* had departed this life, the Caesareans and Sebasteans, forgetting his beneficence, behaved in the most hostile fashion. **4** For they also cast insults, too indecent to mention, at the deceased. And everyone who was currently enrolled in the army (which were a considerable number), went off to their homes; and seizing the human-images of the king's daughters, they carried them with one accord to the brothels, and set them up on the roofs, freely indulging with all their strength, doing things too indecorous to narrate. **5** They also reclined in the public places, celebrating festivals for all the people, wearing garlands and using scented ointments. And they poured out libations to Charōn, drinking before each other in celebration that the king had breathed *his last*. **6** But they were not only unmindful of *Agrippa*, who had treated them with much love-of-honor, but also of his grandfather Hērōdēs, who had built their cities, erecting both harbors and inner-sanctums at lavish expenses.

7 Now at this time, *Agrippa*, the son of the deceased, was at Roma, where he was being brought up beside Claudius Caesar. Yet, truly, when Caesar was informed that *Agrippa* had come-to-his-end, but that the Sebasteans and Caesareans had abused him, he indeed grieved for him, but was irritated with his ungrateful subjects. **8** Therefore, he was resolved to immediately send the younger *Agrippa* to take over the kingdom, wishing, at the same time, to maintain the sworn treaty with him.

Instead, his freedmen and friends who had the greatest influence with him, dissuaded him, saying, “It is dangerous to entrust such an important kingdom to one who is so young and has not even passed out of boyhood, and who would find it impossible to sustain the cares of its administration. But, therefore, even to a grown man, a kingdom is a heavy responsibility.”

9 Therefore, Caesar decided that their proposals were reasonable. Therefore, since *Agrippa* was still *like* an infant, he again made the kingdoms into a province. Accordingly, he sent Cuspius Fadus as prefect of Judah and of the entire kingdom, honoring the deceased by not bringing Marsus into his kingdom, who had been at variance with him. **10** But above all, he had resolved to send orders to Fadus, *stating*, “You should rebuke the Caesareans and Sebasteans for their

¹ [Ant] W / AME “nobility” / Lat “worthy”

² [Ant] A-margin, Lat (see also Ant20:16 / AMW “Cithaerus”)

³ [Ant] Eusebius “saw A MESSENGER perched over his head. He immediately understood that this”

⁴ [Ant] Eusebius “was a cause”

⁵ [Ant] MWE, Eusebius, Lat / A “leaped”

⁶ [Ant] MWA / A-margin, E, Eusebius “Exhausted after five days by the unremitting pain”

⁷ literally “leading 54 years from birth”

wanton-violence against the deceased, and for their drunken-behavior¹ toward his daughters who were still alive. **11** But you should transfer the swarm of cavalry composed of men from Caesarea and Sebasté, together with the five cohorts, to the Pontos, in order to serve in the army there. But you should enroll a proportionate number of soldiers from the Roman legions in Syria to also fill their place.”

12 Truly, *the soldiers* were not transferred as they had been directed; for they sent elders to Claudius, who appeased him, and obtained leave to remain in Judah. And these *men*, in the period which followed, proved to be a source of the greatest disasters to the Judeans by sowing the seed of the war in Florus’ time. For this reason, when Vespasianus *later* came to power, he deported them from the province.

CHAPTER 126 [Ant20:1-16]

Now when King Agrippa had come-to-his-end, Claudius Caesar sent Cassius Longinus as successor to Marsus. He did this out of regard to the memory of the king, who, while he was alive, had often sent him documents asking that he would no longer permit Marsus to be foremost over the affairs of Syria.

2 But Fadus, as soon as he arrived in Judah as procurator, found that the Judean inhabitants of Peraia had formed rivalries against the people of Philadelpheia over the boundaries of a village called Mia,² which was filled with warlike men.³ And the Peraians, who had taken up arms without the consent of their principal *men*, inflicted great destruction upon the Philadelpheians.

3 When Fadus was informed of this *assault*, he was greatly provoked that *the Peraians*, even if they thought that the Philadelpheians had acted unrighteously toward them, had not waited for him to give *his* judgment, *but* instead had taken up arms against them. **4** Therefore, he seized three of their principal *men*, who were in fact responsible for this sedition, *and* ordered them to be bound. Indeed, he did away with one of them, whose name was Hannibal; but he exiled the other two: Amram and Eleazar. **5** But not long afterwards, Tolmai, the chief-brigand, who had inflicted very severe mischief upon Edom and upon the Arabians, was brought before him bound,⁴ and done away with. But from then on, Judah *and Arab*⁵ was purged of brigandage by Fadus’ care and foresight.

6 And at this time, he sent for the chief-priests and the principal *men* of the Jerusalemites. He advised them to deposit *the following garments* inside Antônia Fortress: the full-length tunic and the consecrated vestment, which it was customary for no one but the chief-priest to wear. There, *these garments* were to be entrusted to the authority of the Romans, as, in fact, they had even previously been.

7 Now indeed, *the Judeans* did not dare to gainsay him, but they petitioned both Fadus and Longinus. For *Longinus*, out of fear that Fadus’ orders would force the Judeans to revolt, had himself come to Jerusalem and brought with him a large force. Indeed, *the Judeans* first *petitioned*, that they would have permission to send elders to Caesar in order to ask him *for permission* to keep the consecrated vestments under their own authority; but secondly, to wait until they knew what answer Claudius would make to this petition.

8 But *the two officials* answered, “We will grant permission for you to send your elders, provided that you give us your boys as hostages.”

Now promptly obeying, *the Judeans* gave them these *hostages*; and the elders were dispatched.

9 But when *the elders* arrived in Roma, Agrippa the Younger, *the boy* of the deceased king, who lived with Claudius Caesar, understood their reason for coming. Now he entreated Caesar to grant the Judeans their petition regarding the consecrated vestments, and to send *a message* to Fadus to that effect.

10 Now Claudius summoned the elders, informing them that he was granting their petition. And he directed them to thank Agrippa for *this favor*; for he was acting upon *Agrippa’s* entreaty. To also confirm his answer, he gave them the following letter:

11 Claudius Caesar Germanicus, of tribunician authority for the fifth time, designated consul for the fourth time, emperor for the tenth time, father of his fatherland.

To the chiefs, council, *and* populace of *the Jerusalemites*; to the whole nation of *the Judeans*, greetings.

12 My friend Agrippa, whom I have brought up and now have with me, a man of the greatest piety, brought your elders before me. They gave thanks for the tender-care which I have shown to your nation; and *they* entreated me, earnestly and with a love-of-honor, that the consecrated vestments and the crown might be placed under your authority. I grant

their entreaty, in accordance with the precedent set by Vitellius, that excellent *man* for whom I have the greatest honor.

13 Now this is why I have given my consent to this measure: First, because I cherish piety myself, and desire to see each *person* perform the religious-observances of their fathers. But, secondly, because I know that in doing so, I shall also greatly please King Héródés and Aristoboulos the Younger—whose piety toward me and whose effort concerning you, I have come to know; with whom I have the highest regard, the strongest friendship, *and* whom I hold in honor.

14 Now I am also writing about these affairs to my procurator Cuspius Fadus.

The bearers of these documents are Cornélius *son of Ceron*, Truphōn *son of Theudiōn*, Dōrotheos *son of Nethanel*, and Johanan *son of Johanan*.

Written on the fourth day before the calends of July,⁶ in the consulship of Rufus and Pompeius Silvanus.

15 Now Héródés (indeed, *the brother* of the deceased Agrippa; but was, at that time, charged with the government of Chalkis) also petitioned Claudius Caesar to give him authority over the inner-sanctum, and the consecrated money, and the election of the chief-priests. He also obtained everything *he petitioned for*. **16** Now from that time, this authority passed solely to his descendants until the end of the war. And Héródés removed the chief-priest, surnamed Cantheras, from his position and conferred the succession of this honor upon Joseph son of Camei.

CHAPTER 127 [Ant20:17-53]

Now about this time, Helené, queen of Hadyab, along with her son Izad, altered their *course of life* by embracing the Judean customs, for the following reasons:

2 Monobaz, king of Hadyab, also surnamed Bazai, passionately-desiring his sister Helené, took her for his wife and made her pregnant. But on one occasion, while he was sleeping beside his wife, he rested his hand upon her belly after she had gone to sleep. He thought he heard a voice directing him to remove his hand from her womb and not press the baby who was within it, who, by God’s foresight, would have a successful beginning, and would attain a fortunate end. **3** Therefore, disturbed by this voice, he immediately awoke, *and* told these things to his wife. And yet when his son was born, he called him Izad.

4 But he had an older son by Helené named Monobaz, and other boys by his other wives. However, it was clear that all of his goodwill rested upon Izad, as if he were his only-begotten. **5** But in consequence of this, *Izad’s* brothers, who had the same father *only*, grew envious of him. While they hated him more and more because of this, they were all vexed that their father preferred Izad before them.

6 Now although their father clearly perceived *their feelings*, he pardoned them; indeed, he attributed their feelings, not to any bad motive, but rather to the desire which each of them had to win their father’s goodwill for themselves. But he was greatly anxious about the youth, lest the hatred of his brothers would bring some harm upon him; *so* he gave him an abundance of presents, and sent him off to Abinerglos,⁷ *the king of Spasinus’-Palisade*, to whom he entrusted the salvation of his boy.

7 Now Abinerglos both gladly received the youth, and bore such goodwill toward him that he indeed gave him his daughter as his wife. Now her name was Symacho. But he *also* bestowed a country upon him, from which he would receive large revenues.

8 Now when Monobaz had grown old, and saw that he only had a little time left to live, he desired to see his boy before he died. Therefore, he sent for him, gave him most friendly welcomes, and presented him with the country called Kardu.⁸ **9** Now *this land* has excellent soil for the production of amomum in the greatest abundance. But *this land* possesses the remains of the ark, which it is reported that Noah *used* to escape the flood; and these *remains* are exhibited to those who are desirous to see them, even to this *present day*.

10 Therefore, Izad resided in this country until the end of his father. But on the day when Monobaz ceased this lifetime, Queen Helené sent for all the great *men* and satraps of the kingdom, and for those who were entrusted with the forces.

11 On their arrival, she said to them, “I certainly believe that you are not unaware that my husband prayed that Izad would succeed him in the kingdom, and had deemed him worthy to do so. But nevertheless, I also await your decision.

12 For he who receives the government is happy, not from a single person only, but from many who willingly give their consent.” She indeed said this in order to test the dispositions of those whom she had invited.

13 Now on hearing *her words*, they indeed first bowed-down-before the queen exactly as *dictated* by a custom, *and* next declared, “We support the king’s purpose. And we will, while rejoicing, obey Izad, who, according to the prayers of everyone, was rightly preferred by his father before *the rest of his brothers*.” **14**

¹ literally “ill-behavior-at-wine”

² [Ant] possible emendation “Zia”

³ [Ant] MWE / A “with their enemies” / Lat “with armed men”

⁴ [Ant] AE / MW omit “bound”

⁵ [Ant] MWA / E adds

⁶ [Ant] some Latin / Greek, some Latin omit “of July”

⁷ [Ant] Emendation from ancient coin / Josephus “Abennerigis”

⁸ Hebrew emendation (‘Karron’ and ‘Kardu’ look virtually the same in Hebrew // [Ant] A / MW “Kairon” / E “Kareon” / Lat “Carrorum”

They declared, "Our first wish is to kill his brothers and kinsmen beforehand, in order that Izad might obtain the government with security. For if they are destroyed, all of the fear arising from the hatred and envy which they bore toward him would be diminished."

15 Helené answered, "I certainly thank you for your goodwill to me and to Izad. But, nevertheless, it is my desire that you defer your decision to do away with his brothers, until after he has arrived *and* given his approval."

16 But since these men had failed to counsel her to do away with them, they instead, for their own safety, admonished her to at least keep them in chains until his arrival. But they counseled her, in the meantime, to set over them someone in whom she had the most confidence as a procurator of the government.

17 Helené complied with this, and set up her eldest boy Monobaz as king, placing the diadem upon his head, and giving him his father's signet ring, along with what they call the shamsir; she also exhorted him to administer the kingdom until his brother's arrival. 18 Now when Izad heard about his the end of his father, he quickly arrived and succeeded his brother Monobaz, who resigned the government over to him.

19 Now during the time when Izad resided at Spasinus'-Palisade, a certain Judean merchant named Hananiah visited the king's wives, and taught them to revere God according to the Judean traditions which had been handed down by their fathers. 20 And it was through their agency that *this man* became known to Izad; *and* with the assistance of his wives, *this man* similarly persuaded him to embrace those traditions. Also, when Izad was summoned by his father to Hadyab, Hananiah accompanied him in obedience to his urgent request. But it also happened, that Helené had likewise been taught by another Judean, *and* had been brought over to their laws.

21 But when Izad came to Hadyab in order to take over the kingdom, and saw his brothers and his other kinsmen in chains, he was distressed at what had been done. 22 And he indeed thought that it was impious either to do away with them or to keep them in chains, but thought that it was hazardous to let them remain with him if they were not in chains (as they certainly remembered the injuries which had been dealt to them). Indeed, he sent some of them as hostages, along with their children, to Claudius Caesar in Roma, but others to Ardavan the Parthian king with the same motive.

23 Now when *Izad* learned that his mother was highly pleased with the Judean customs, he hastened to change and to embrace them entirely. Since he supposed that he would not be a genuine Judean unless he was circumcised, he was ready to have it done.

24 But when his mother understood his intention, she endeavored to prevent him from doing it, "This is a dangerous move. For you are a king. And if your subjects were to discover that you desire rites which are strange and foreign to us, it would produce great repugnance; they also would never tolerate being ruled over by a Judean."

25 And indeed, by saying this to him, and by various *other means*,¹ she hindered him. But he reported what she had said to Hananiah.

But Hananiah agreed with *Izad's* mother, and at the same time threatened, "If I am unable to persuade you *not to be circumcised*, I will abandon you *and* leave you behind. 26 For I am terrified, that if this action became publicly known, that I would be in danger of *suffering* retribution, as being personally responsible, and because I would have taught the king in unseemly practices. But you can revere the Deity, even without being circumcised, if you truly make the decision to be zealous for the Judean traditions handed down by our fathers. It is this which has more authority than circumcision. 27 But God himself will forgive you, if, constrained in this way by necessity and by fear of your subjects, you fail to perform this rite."

Indeed, for the time, the king was convinced by his persuasions. 28 But afterwards (for he had not completely given up his desire *to do this*), another Judean named Eleazar, who came from Galilee, who had a reputation for being extremely accurate regarding the customs of their fathers, urged him to perform the rite of circumcision.

29 For when he went in to pay him his respects, and found him reading the law of Moses, he said, "O king, in your ignorance, you have acted unrighteously against the laws, and, because of this, against God himself. For you should not merely read them; instead, and primarily, you should practice what they order you to do. 30 How long will you continue to be uncircumcised? Instead, if you have not yet read *any* law concerning this matter, read it now, so that you may know for certain that what you are doing is an impiety."

31 When the king had heard these words, he postponed the deed no longer. But he withdrew into another room, and summoned his healer, and did what he was prescribed to do. Then he sent for both his brother and his teacher Hananiah, informing them that he had done this.

32 But they were immediately seized with consternation and fear to a great degree, that if what he had done was discovered, *the king* would indeed be in danger of losing his kingdom, since his subjects would not submit to the

government of a man who was zealous for other customs; but that they themselves would also be in danger, since the blame for his action would be attributed to them.

33 But it was God himself who prevented their fears from being realized. For although both Izad himself and his boys were often threatened with destruction, he saved them, opening a passage through *otherwise* impassable straits. In this way, *God* demonstrated that those who fix their eyes on him, and trust in him alone, do not lose the reward of their piety.

34 But as for Helené, the king's mother, she saw that peace was prevailing in the kingdom, but that her son was happy and envied among all men, and even among foreign-nations, due to God's foresight. She yearned to go to the city of the Jerusalemites in order to worship at the temple of God, which was famous among all of the humans, and to offer sacrifices of thanksgivings. Consequently, she also asked her boy to grant her permission *to go there*.

35 Now *Izad* eagerly consented to his mother's request, and made great preparations for her journey, and gave her lots of money. When she went down to the city of the Jerusalemites, her boy *even* escorted her for a considerable distance.

36 Now her arrival was very advantageous for the Jerusalemites. For at that time, the city was oppressed by famine, and many *people* were perishing due to a lack of expenses. Queen Helené sent some of her own attendants to Alexandria to buy grain for lots of money, but *sent* others to Kypros to bring back a cargo of dried figs. 37 Now *her attendants* quickly returned with these provisions, which she distributed among the needy. And, by bestowing this benefaction upon our entire nation, she left behind an excellent memorial. 38 Now when her boy Izad learned about the famine, he also sent lots of money to the principal *men* of the Jerusalemites. The distribution of this fund to the needy delivered many from the extremely severe oppression of the famine.²

CHAPTER 128 [Ant20:54-74]

Now Ardavan, king of the Parthians, discovered that the satraps had framed a plot against him. Additionally, thinking that it was not safe to remain with them, he decided to make his way to Izad. Additionally, his objective was to obtain some salvation from him, and, if possible, restoration to his own government. 2 So he reached *Izad*, bringing both a thousand of his kinsmen and attendants with him. He also met Izad on the road. 3 Now he knew Izad well, but *Izad* did not recognize him.

Ardavan halted beside him. Indeed, first of all, he prostrated *himself* before him according to the *custom of their* fathers. Then he declared, "O king, do not overlook me, your servant, nor scorn my request. For, because I have been brought low by a change of fortune, and have exchanged kingship for a private life, I stand in need of your assistance. 4 Therefore, look at the instability of fortune, and consider that your foresight for me is also for yourself. For if I am disregarded and left unavenged, many will grow even bolder toward other kings as well."

5 Indeed, he said this with tears in his eyes, and with a bowed head. But when Izad heard Ardavan's name, and saw him standing before him as a suppliant, he quickly leapt down from his horse, 6 and said, "Take courage, O king. But do not be confounded by your present condition as though it were incurable. For there will be a sudden change to *end* your sadness. But you will find me to be a greater friend and ally than you expected. For I will either restore you to the kingdom of Parthia, or I will abandon my own."

7 When he had said this, he aided Ardavan in mounting his horse, but he himself followed him on foot, honoring him in this way since he was the greater king. But when Ardavan saw this, he was weighed-down, and swore by the *misfortune* which had come upon him and by the honor shown toward him, that he would dismount unless *Izad* remounted and went ahead of him. 8 Now *Izad* complied, leaping on his horse.

And when he had brought him to his kingdom, he assigned him every *sort of* honor when they sat together, and gave him the first place at table during banquets. *Izad* had no regard for his present *misfortune*, but rather for his former dignity. And he also took this into consideration, that the changes of fortune are common to *all* the humans. 9 He also wrote to the Parthians *hoping* to persuade them to welcome Ardavan again, offering his right hand and oaths and meditations as security that *Ardavan* would not hold against them what they had done.

10 Now the Parthians were indeed not unwilling to receive him, but they were unable to do so because they had already entrusted the government to another *person*. Now Cinnamus was the name of the one who had acceded to it. And they were afraid that to do so would subject them to a civil war.

11 When Cinnamus learned of their intentions, he wrote to Ardavan himself. For he had been brought up by him, but also had an elegant and good nature. He invited him to put trust in him, *and* to come back to receive his government. 12 So trusting him, Ardavan returned home. Now when Cinnamus met him, he

¹ [Ant] A / MWE "And this is what she said; and, for the present"

² [Ant] A / MWE omit "The distribution...of the famine."

prostrated *himself* before him, and addressed him as a king, removing the diadem from his own head *and* placing it on Ardavan's.

13 And this was how Ardavan, by the means of Izad,¹ was reestablished in his government, after having been previously expelled from it by means of the great *men*. Truly, he was not unmindful of the benefits which *Izad* had conferred upon him, instead, he repaid him with the highest of honors recognized among them: 14 for he permitted him both to wear his tiara upright, and to sleep upon a golden couch—privileges and marks solely *reserved* for the Parthian kings. 15 But he also gave him a spacious and good country which he severed from the king of Armenia. Now that land is called Nisibin; and in it, the Makedonians had formerly founded the city of Antiocheia, which they named Epimugdonia.² These were indeed the honors which Izad received from the king of the Parthians.

16 But not long afterwards, Ardavan came-to-his-end, leaving his kingdom to his boy Verdean. Now *Verdean*, who was contemplating making war on the Romans, came to Izad, *attempting* to persuade him to join him and to prepare an auxiliary force. 17 Truly, he failed to convince him. For Izad, knowing full-well both the power and fortune of the Romans, thought that *Verdean's* attempt was impossible to accomplish. 18 Also, he was more reluctant because he had indeed sent five of his sons, who were young in age, to accurately learn the tongue and discipline of our fathers; but his mother had gone to worship in the temple. So he dissuaded Verdean by constantly describing to him both the power and achievements of the Romans, supposing that *such accounts* would be enough to make him fearful, and to curb his longing to make an expedition against them.

19 But the Parthian was provoked at this, immediately sending out messages which *declared* war on Izad. Truly, he did not derive any advantage from this expedition *against Izad*, since God cut off all his expectations. 20 For when the Parthians heard about Verdean's intentions, and about his decision to advance with his army on the Romans, they indeed did away with him, but gave his government to his brother Gudarz. 21 But not long afterwards, he also came-to-his-end via a conspiracy. He was succeeded by his brother Valash, who also assigned dominions to his two brothers by the same father: indeed, he gave Media to Pakor, *who was* the eldest; but Armenia to Tiridat, *who was* the younger.

CHAPTER 129 [Ant20:75-96]

Now the king's brother Monobaz and his kindred saw that Izad, due to his reverence toward God *and* the goodness of his heart in all his ways,³ had won the admiration⁴ of all humans. So they grew desirous to abandon the *traditions* of their fathers, and to adopt the customs of the Judeans. *And they carried out this project fully.*⁵ 2 But their action was detected by their subjects. The great *men*, though they were indeed angry at this, did not manifest their anger, but contained it; *and* they eagerly sought a convenient opportunity to bring a rightful-punishment upon them.

3 So they wrote to Abijah, the Arabian king, promising him lots of money if he would consent to make an expedition against their king. But they also professed to him, "At the first onset, we will desert our king." For they desired to wreak vengeance on him due to the hatred he had toward their customs. Then, after binding themselves by oaths to be faithful to each other, they urged him to make haste.

4 Now the Arabian was persuaded by them, and brought a great force against Izad. But at the start of the first engagement, before they came to *hand-to-hand combat*, the great *men*, at a prearranged signal, deserted Izad, pretending to be inflicted with terror. And turning their backs to their foes, they ran away.

5 Truly, Izad was not struck with dismay. But perceiving that the great *men* had betrayed him, he also withdrew to his encampment. And inquiring into the matter, he learned that they had joined forces with the Arabian. Indeed, he did away with the culprits.

But on the next day, he engaged them. Indeed, he killed most of *his enemies*, 6 but forced all of *the rest* to flee. But he pursued their king, and drove him into a certain fortress called Arsham. Then, after a vigorous siege, he captured the fortress. And after plundering it of all its property, which was great, he returned to Hadyab. He did not take Abijah alive. For when *Abijah* found himself surrounded on all sides, he did away with himself before he was completely trapped and in the hands of Izad.⁶

7 But although the great *men* of Hadyab had failed in their first attempt, God having delivered them over to the king, even then they would not keep quiet. Instead, they wrote another letter, *this time* to Valash, king of the Parthians, summoning him to indeed kill Izad, but to appoint for them another potentate, and one who was of Parthian descent. For they said, "We have come to hate our own king, not only for dissolving *the traditions* of our fathers, but for passionately-desiring foreign customs."

8 When the Parthian learned about this, he made war upon him. And having no righteous pretext *for this war*, he sent a *message* to him, demanding the return of those honorable privileges which had been bestowed upon him by his father; but if he refused to comply, he threatened to send out messages *declaring* war on him.

9 Now when Izad learned about this, his soul was deeply troubled, thinking that to surrender those privileges would be contemptible, indeed, it would appear that he would have done so out of fear. 10 But he knew, that even if the Parthian received these honors back, he would not refrain from action.

So, in the present danger of his soul, he decided to commit himself to God the protector. 11 And since he esteemed *God* to be his greatest ally, he indeed deposited his children and his wives in a very secure fortress, but indeed stored all of his grain in his castles, and set both the herbage and the pasturage on fire. Now after these preliminary *preparations*, he awaited his foes.

12 Now the Parthian arrived with a great force of both infantry and cavalry sooner than was expected; for he marched in great haste, *and* also threw up a palisade at the river which is the division between Hadyab and Media. And Izad, who had with him 6,000 cavalry, encamped not far off.

13 But a messenger sent by the Parthian made his way to Izad, telling him how expansive was the Parthian dominion, declaring in his message that it was bounded by the Euphrates⁷ River, reaching from there to Baxtris. He also enumerated the kings who were subject to it. 14 But he threatened him, that he would be rightly-punished for having shown ingratitude to his masters, and that even the God whom he was revering would be unable to deliver him from the king's hands.

15 After the messenger had delivered this *message*, Izad answered, "Indeed I know that the Parthian dominion is far larger than my own; but I also know even more certainly, that God is mightier than all humans."

And after giving this answer, he gave himself to make supplication to God. He both threw himself on the ground, and dishonored his head with ashes. Together with his wives and children, he fasted, calling upon God, *and* said, 16 "O Master Lord, if it was not in vain that I have *committed myself* to your goodness, but have determined that you alone are righteous and *the* foremost lord of all, come be my ally—not only for my sake, to defend me from my enemies; *but* instead, also because it is your power that they have had the audacity to challenge, *and* have *not feared* to lift up their proud and arrogant tongue against you."⁸

17 This was indeed how he cried, with tears and lamentation. But God listened to him. And immediately, that very night, Valash received letters, in which it was written that a great force of Dahae and Saka, despising him now that he had been gone, had marched against *him* and were plundering Parthia. So he retreated, unsuccessful. And this was how Izad, by God's foresight, escaped the threats of the Parthian.

18 Now it was not long before *Izad* died; indeed, he completed fifty-five years of his life, but held power for twenty-four years. He left behind him twenty-four boys and twenty-four daughters. 19 However, he directed that his brother Monobaz should succeed the government. This was how *Monobaz* was rewarded for faithfully watching the dominion, while he himself was absent following their father's death.

20 But when his mother Helené learned of her boy's death, she was indeed heavily weighed-down, as was to be expected of a mother bereft of such a pious son. But she was consoled when she learned that the succession had passed to their eldest son. So she hastened to join him. But when she arrived in Hadyab, she did not long outlive her boy Izad; for, weighed down with age and with the pain of her sorrow, she quickly breathed out her last.⁹ 21 But Monobaz sent *the* bones of both her and his brother to Jerusalem, ordering that they should be buried in the pyramids which his mother had erected. These were three in number, no more than three stadia from the city of the Jerusalemites.

CHAPTER 130 [Ant20:97-117 / War2:220b-231]

Now during the period when Fadus was procurator of Judah, it came to pass that a certain warlock named Theudas persuaded a majority of the crowd to take up their possessions *and* follow him to the Jordan River. For he said that he was a prophet, and that at his command the river would be parted, providing them an easy passage *through it*. 2 And many were deluded by his words.

Truly, Fadus did not permit them to profit from their senselessness; instead, he sent against them a swarm of cavalry. These fell upon them unexpectedly; indeed, they killed many of them, but took many alive. But they also captured Theudas, whose head they severed and brought to Jerusalem. 3 Therefore, these were indeed the things which befell the Judeans during the time of Cuspius Fadus' procuratorship.

4 Now Claudius sent Tiberius Alexandros as successor to Fadus. And he was *the* boy of that Alexandros who had been alabarch in Alexandria, and who surpassed all his contemporaries both in ancestry and in wealth. *The father* was

¹ [Ant] A / MWE "Ardavan, after six years"

² [Ant] AM "Epimugdonia" / WE, Latin "Mugdonia"

³ [Ant] E adds

⁴ may also be translated "envy"

⁵ [Ant] E adds

⁶ [Ant] A / MWE omit "before he was...Izad"

⁷ Greek / from Persian "Ufratu" / Hebrew "Furat"

⁸ [Ant] some add

⁹ [Ant] A / MWE omit "for, weighed down...her last."

also superior to his boy Alexandros in his reverence toward god, for *the son* did not continue in the customs of his fathers. *However, the son* preserved the nation in peace by disturbing nothing of the local customs, as his predecessor Fadus had done.

5 Now under these *procurators*,¹ the great famine also occurred in Judah, during which Queen Helené bought grain from Egypt at great expense, and distributed it to those who were in need. 6 Now besides this, the boys of Judah the Galilean were also brought up for trial.² This was the Judah, who had aroused the people to desert the Romans while Quirinius was taking the census in Judah. At the order of Alexandros, *these sons*, Jacob and Simon, were crucified.

7 Now Hérōdés, king of Chalkis, removed Joseph *son of Camei*³ from the chief-priesthood, and assigned it to Hananiah *son of Nadbai* as his successor.

8 And after these *events*, Hérōdés, king of Chalkis and brother of the great king Agrippa, came-to-his-end in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar. He left behind three sons: indeed, two boys *born* from his brother's daughter Bereniké: both Berenikianos and Hyrkanos; but *also* Aristoboulos from his previous *wife* Miriam. But a different brother of his also died, a commoner *named* Aristoboulos, leaving behind a daughter: Jotape. 9 Therefore, these were indeed the children of Aristoboulos *the boy* of Hérōdés: now Aristoboulos and Alexandros had been sons born to Hérōdés by Miriam; their father did away with them. But the family line of Alexandros reigned as kings of Greater Armenia.

10 Now after the end of Hérōdés, who had been ruling Chalkis, Claudius Caesar appointed the younger Agrippa, son of Agrippa, to his uncle's kingdom. But as for the rest of the province, Cumanus succeeded to the procuratorship after Tiberius Alexandros. 11 Under him disorders began, and again there was a loss of Judeans. For while Cumanus was administering affairs in Judah, an uprising occurred in the city of the Jerusalemites, and many of the Judeans were destroyed as a result. *This is what happened*:

12 Now at the time of the Festival of the Unleavened, *also* called the Passover, at which it is our custom to use unleavened bread, a great multitude had come together from every region into Jerusalem for it. And Cumanus, anxious that their presence might afford an occasion *for them* to attempt anything subversive, directed one company of the Roman cohort to take up arms and position itself above the temple porticoes; 13 but this was even the usual practice of the previous procurators of Judah at the festivals, to have armed soldiers always guarding them closely, to prevent the gathered multitude from attempting anything subversive, or to repress them if one was to occur.

14 But on the fourth day of the festival, one of the soldiers, pulling up his clothing to uncover his genitals, exhibited them to the multitude; and stooping over disgracefully, he turned his rear end toward the Judeans, and emitted a sound in keeping with his posture.

15 And at this, those who saw him were angered and infuriated; indeed, the whole multitude became indignant. And they insisted that it was not they who had been profaned, *but* rather God. And they kept yelling at Cumanus to punish the soldier. But some of the bolder ones reviled Cumanus, asserting that the soldier had been set up by him.

16 Now when Cumanus was informed, he was not a little provoked at the revilements. However, he merely exhorted them to put an end to these immature lustful-deeds, and not to raise a disorder during the festival. 17 But he failed to persuade them; for they only went on with their revilement. But the *ones who* were less sober of the youths, and the *ones of* the nation who were naturally factious, were advancing into a fight: they grabbed rocks and kept throwing them at the soldiers.

18 And Cumanus, becoming anxious that all of the people might make an assault against him, directed the whole army to wear full suits of armor, and summoned these heavy-armed *soldiers* to Antōnia (which was a fortress overlooking the temple). 19 But while the soldiers were pouring onto the porticoes, an uncontrollable fear attacked the Judean multitude who saw them, and they turned away from the temple, and kept trying to hastily escape into the city. 20 But since the exits were narrow, and *since* they supposed that they were being pursued by their foes, they pressed together in their flight. Now accordingly, the violence which occurred around the narrow exits was so great, that, having been trampled and battered by one another, more than 20,000⁴ of them died in this disturbance. 21 Now indeed, the festival turned into mourning for the whole nation; and everyone, after they forgot their prayers and sacrifices, turned to dirges, and weepings *filled* each house. Such indeed were *the sufferings* produced by *the licentiousness* of a single soldier.

22 But their first mourning had not yet ceased when another disorder, made by the brigands,⁵ succeeded⁶ this calamity and befell them. For while Stephanos, a certain slave of Caesar, was traveling on the public highway near Beth-Horon, at

a distance of about 100 stadia from the city, some of the revolutionary brigands struck at him, and plundered him of all the baggage in his care.

23 But when Cumanus heard about this, he immediately sent soldiers around, directing them not only to plunder the neighboring villages, but to bring back to him the most eminent *men* in chains, so that he might exact vengeance for their effrontery; *for he was* complaining that they had not pursued the brigands and arrested them.

24 But while the soldiers were sacking *the villages*, one of the soldiers⁷ found the sacred laws of Moses, which were being kept in a certain village. He brought them out where everyone could see, both ripped them to pieces and tossed them into a fire, *while* he uttered revilement and railed violently and indulged in uncontrolled clamor like a barking-dog.⁸

25 But the Judeans, as if their entire country had been incinerated, were devastated when they learned about this. And, as if being drawn together by some implement (their terror-of-demons), they, by one proclamation, all ran together in great numbers, and went down to Caesarea (for that was where Cumanus currently was). 26 They begged that he would avenge, not themselves, *but* rather God, whose laws had been subjected to outrage, by not leaving unpunished the one who had committed such an outrage against God and their law; for they could not endure to live, if the laws of their fathers were wantonly-insulted in this manner.

27 But since the multitude would not rest unless it found satisfaction, Cumanus was anxious that they would form a sedition. And after taking counsel with his friends, he deemed it best to bring forward the soldier who had outraged the laws to have him beheaded with an axe. And he directed that this man be led off to his death through the middle of those who had incriminated him. Then the Judeans indeed withdrew. This was how he prevented the sedition when it was on the verge of being kindled a second time.

CHAPTER 131 [Ant20:118-136 / War2:232-246]

Now after this, arose enmity of Samaritans against Judeans, and an engagement happened between them both, for the following reason:

For it was the custom of the Galileans at the time of a festival, to pass through the Samaritan country on their way to the consecrated city. And on one occasion, at a village called Gannim,⁹ which lies on the border between both Samaria and the Great Plain, while many Judeans were going up for the festival, its inhabitants joined in a battle with the Galileans, and a certain Galilean was done away with.¹⁰

2 Now in response to this, indeed most of those in Galilee ran together to make war on the Samaritans. But when the principal *men* of the Galileans were informed about what had been done, their notables went to Cumanus. They implored him, "Before the suffering becomes irremediable, go over into Galilee and punish those who are responsible for the murder of those who were done away with; for there is no other way that the multitude will be disbanded without coming to a war."

3 But therefore, Cumanus, indeed having been bribed with money by the Samaritans, neglected to do anything; he treated their pleas as less important than other affairs on his hands, and sent the pleaders away without success.

4 But when the unfortunate incident of this murder-victim was reported in Jerusalem, the Galileans, indignant at this, urged the Judean multitude to resort to arms and to assert their freedom, saying, "For slavery even in itself is indeed bitter, but when it involves wanton-violence, it is completely intolerable." 5 *Consequently*, the multitude stirred things up.

But while the magistrates *were* trying to mollify them and *were* professing, that they would induce Cumanus to rightfully-punish the killers,¹¹ they paid no heed to them. But abandoning the festival and taking up arms and slaughter,¹² they rushed out toward Samaria, without any generals, refusing to comply with anyone among the chiefs who were trying to restrain them.

6 Now there was Eleazar son of Dinai. But he was a brigand, who for many years had made his home in the mountains. And after inviting his assistance, he, along with Alexandros, took charge of their brigandage and factiousness. *These men* fell upon those who shared a border with the toparchy of Akrobat; and without distinction of age, they did away with them; and after plundering certain Samaritan villages, they set them ablaze.

7 Now when Cumanus heard about their action, he took from Caesarea one swarm of cavalry, which was called Sebasténoi, and four legions of infantry. And fully-arming the Samaritans, he marched out against the Judeans, in order to provide assistance to those who were being ravaged. And upon encountering¹³ them, he indeed killed many of Eleazar's party, but took most of them alive.¹⁴

⁷ [Ant] E "one of them, a rash youth"

⁸ [Ant] E adds

⁹ [Ant] // [War] L "Gema" / others each have a different variant of the name

¹⁰ [War] LVRC (supported by Latin / PAM "many of them were done away with" // [Ant] "many of them were done away with")

¹¹ literally "those who had done away with them"

¹² [Ant] E adds

¹³ [Ant] E / others "catching"

¹⁴ [Ant] // [War] "he arrested many of...but killed most of them"

¹ [Ant] E "Under the administration of Tiberius Alexandrus"

² [Ant] A / MWE, A-margin "were put to death" / Lat omits altogether

³ [Ant] Lat (see above / MWA "Camudus" / E "Camede")

⁴ [Ant] // [War] PAM, Lat, Eusebius "30,000" / LVRC "10,000"

⁵ [War] LVRC / PA "when a disorder, another made by the brigands" / M, Lat omit "another"

⁶ [War] PAM / LVRC "succeeds"

8 But as for the rest of the multitude who had rushed to make war on the Samaritans: when the chiefs of the Jerusalemites (those who were most principal due to their honor and birth) had seen to what height of calamity *these men* had reached, they covered themselves in sackcloth, surfaced their heads with ashes, and ran out after the rebels. And by every possible means, they kept begging them to withdraw, and not, for the sake of revenge against the Samaritans, provoke the Romans against Jerusalem. And they tried to persuade them, *saying*, 9 “Take pity. Indeed, set before your eyes that our fatherland will be utterly-demolished, but that the temple and the inner-sanctum will be consigned to the flames; but also that you yourselves, along with your own women and children, will be reduced to slavery—all of which you risk destroying merely for the sake of avenging a single Galilean. Reconsider, and throw down your weapons, returning to your homes to lead a quiet *life* in the future.”

10 Now by these words, they prevailed *with them*. So the Judeans, *now* persuaded, indeed dispersed themselves. But the brigands returned to their strongholds, *and* due to an absence of terror, many *more of them* turned to brigandage. And from that time onward, all of Judah was infested with brigands; there were both raids throughout the whole country, and uprisings caused by the bolder ones.

11 But *both* the principal *men* and the powerful *men* of the Samaritans went to Ummidius Quadratus, the leader and *foremost* man of Syria, who at that time was at Zor. And they accused the Judeans of setting their villages ablaze and plundering them. And they asked for him to rightfully-punish those who had ravaged their country. 12 Indeed, they said, “We are not so much indignant due to what we have suffered, as we are at the contempts which they have shown for the Romans. *For* if we had done anything unrighteous against them, they should have let *the Romans* be judges of the matter; they should not, as at present, commit such devastation, as if they did not have the Romans for their leaders. Therefore, we have come to you to obtain a decision.” This was indeed how the Samaritans accused *them*.

13 But the Judean notables and the chief-priest Jonathan son of Hanan were also present, *saying*, “The Samaritans were responsible for this tumult and the battle, having originated the disturbance on account of the murder. But Cumanus was bribed by them to silently pass over the murder of those who had been done away with. And due to his unwillingness to go out against the perpetrators of the slaughtered *man*, he has become responsible for the consequences.”

14 And after the hearing, Quadratus indeed postponed both *cases* for the time, claiming that whenever he came to those sites in Judah, he would thoroughly examine each *case*; *and* when he had gained a more accurate understanding of the case, he would give his judgment. So *these men* indeed left without success.

15 But it was not long before Quadratus reached Samaria, where, after a full hearing, he came to the conclusion that the Samaritans had been responsible for that disturbance. But he was informed that certain Samaritans and¹ Judeans had taken part in the revolt; *so* went to Caesarea, *and* crucified all of these who had been taken alive as prisoners by Cumanus.

16 From there he went to Lod, a village whose *size* was not inferior to a city, *and* sat on his platform, where he heard out the Samaritans’ case a second time. He was informed by a certain Samaritan that a principal Judean named Doetos,² together with four other revolutionaries, had instigated the multitude to revolt against the Romans. So after summoning *these, together with other* Judeans whom he had learned had taken part in the battle (making a total of eighteen), he indeed did away with³ them with an axe.

17 But two others of the most powerful *men*, along with the chief-priests Jonathan, and Hananiah, and the general Hanan *the boy of this Hananiah*, and their group, he sent up in chains to Roma, to render an account of their actions to Claudius Caesar. 18 But he also transmitted a message to the principal *men*, both the Judean notables and the most eminent *men* of the Samaritans, and both Cumanus the procurator, and Celer the tribune, directing them to sail to Roma in Italia, in order to give an account to Claudius concerning what had happened; *and* that the emperor might render a decision concerning the dispute between them.

19 Now after he had fully dealt with these matters, he, anxious that the Judean multitude might start a *new* revolution, went up from Lod to the city of the Jerusalemites. But on his arrival, he found it at peace, the multitude conducting one of their customary festivals to God, the Festival of the Unleavened, without *any* disorder. Therefore, believing that they would not start any revolution, he left them celebrating the festival, *and* returned to Antiocheia.

20 Now in Roma, Caesar gave a hearing to Cumanus and the principal *men* of the Samaritans who had been sent there. The emperor assigned them a day on which they were to state their case in the present matters involving them. 21 But Caesar’s freedmen and friends made great effort on behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans. They would have prevailed over the Judeans, had not Agrippa the Younger also been at Roma.

For seeing that many of the powerful *men* were standing in support of Cumanus, and that the principal *men* of the Judeans were in great want, he contended vehemently for them by urgently entreating Agrippina, the emperor’s wife, to persuade her husband to hear out the case in a manner befitting righteousness, and to wreak vengeance upon those who were responsible for the revolt.

22 And Claudius was favorably impressed by this petition. So he heard out the case, *and* discovered that the Samaritans were the instigators⁴ in stirring up trouble. Indeed, he passed judgment against the Samaritans, directing⁵ that their three most powerful *men* who had come before him be done away with, but he threw out and banished Cumanus. 23 But he sent Celer the tribune back to Jerusalem in chains, directing that he be handed over to the Judeans for torture, *and* that, after he had been dragged around the city in sight of everyone, for his head to be hacked off⁶ in this way.

CHAPTER 132 [Ant20:137-159 / War2:247-252]

Now also after these *events*, Claudius indeed sent Félix,⁷ the brother of Pallas, to be set foremost over matters in Judah by being its procurator, as well as that of Samaria, and Galilee, and Peraia. 2 Now when he had completed the twelfth year of his government, he gave Agrippa the tetrarchy⁸ which had belonged to Philippos (which *contained* Trachōn and Bashan and Golan); and he annexed to it both Abel,⁹ *that is*, the tetrarchy¹⁰ of Lusania, as well as the tetrarchy which had been Varus’; but he shifted Agrippa from Chalkis, after he had ruled it for four years, to this greater kingdom.

3 Now when Agrippa had received these gifts from Caesar, he gave his sister Drusilla in marriage to Aziz king of Hames, who had consented to be circumcised. For Epiphānēs *the* boy of King Antiochos had refused to marry her since he was not willing to convert to the Judean customs, although he had previously contracted with her father to do so. 4 But he also gave his daughter Miriam in marriage to Archelaos *the* boy of Hilkiah, to whom he had previously betrothed her; and this *marriage* produced a daughter named Bereniké.

5 But not long afterwards, Drusilla’s marriage to Aziz was dissolved due to the following circumstances: 6 During the time when Félix was procurator of Judah, he saw *Drusilla*; and since she surpassed all other women in beauty, he lusted after her. And he sent her one of his friends, a Judean of Cyprian ancestry named Atomos,¹¹ who pretended to be a magician, in an effort to persuade her to leave her husband *and* to marry him; *and* he professed, that he would make her supremely happy if she did not disdain him.

7 Now because she was evil, and desired to escape the malice of her sister Bereniké (for *Bereniké* treated *Drusilla* very ill on account of her beauty), she was persuaded both to transgress the laws of her fathers and to marry Félix. Now by him she gave birth to a boy whom she named Agrippa. 8 Instead, this youth and his wife indeed disappeared at the conflagration of Mount Vesuvius in the days of Titus Caesar.

9 But as for Bereniké, after the end of Hērōdēs (who had been both her uncle and her husband), she lived as a widow for a long time. But when a report circulated that she had an illicit sexual relationship with her brother, she persuaded Polemōn, king of Kilikia, to be circumcised *and* to take her in marriage; for she supposed that by doing this she would prove that these slanders were false. 10 And Polemōn was prevailed upon, primarily on account of her wealth. Truly, the marriage did not last long; instead, Bereniké, out of licentiousness, deserted Polemōn. But at the same time, he delivered himself both from this marriage and of the Judean customs.

11 But at the same time, Miriam obtained permission to leave Archelaos *and* married Dēmétrios, an Alexandrean Judean who was a principal *man* both in ancestry and wealth; he was also their alabarch at that time. Now by him she had a son whom she called Agrippinus.

12 Now after *Claudius* had administered the leadership for thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, he came-to-his-end; and he left behind Nerō as *his* successor to the government. And a report circulated that *Claudius* had been drugged by his own wife Agrippina.

Indeed, her father was Germanicus, the brother of Caesar; but her *previous* husband had been Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was one of the most distinguished *men* in the city of Roma. 13 After *Domitius* had come-to-his-end, she remained a widow for a long time until Claudius married her. And she brought with her a boy, Domitius, who had the same name as his father. But *Claudius*, out of envy, had beforehand done away with his *second* wife Messalina, by whom he already had two little-ones: a legitimate son, Britannicus, and a daughter, Octavia; 14 for

⁴ may also be translated “chief-captains”

⁵ [Ant] // [War] “ordering”

⁶ [War] // [Ant] “to be killed”

⁷ [Ant] E / others “he sent Claudius Félix” // [War] “he sent Félix”

⁸ [Ant] // [War] “province”

⁹ [Ant] AE, Lat / MW “united it”

¹⁰ [Ant] // [War] “kingdom”

¹¹ [Ant] AE / MW, A-margin, Lat “Simon”

¹ [Ant] E omits “Samaritans and”

² [Ant] A / MW “Dortus” / E, Lat “Doitus”

³ [Ant] (“did away with”) // [War] “laid hands on”

their eldest sister was Antōnia, whom he had from his first wife Paetina.¹ Now after Caesar had adopted *Domitius* as his son as heir of the government through the delusions of his wife Agrippina, he gave him the name Nerō; and he also had Octavia yoked in marriage to him.

15 But Agrippina was anxious that, when Britannicus reached manhood, he might succeed his father in the government; but she wished to forestall this by snatching the leadership for her own boy. According to report, this was why she contrived the death of Claudius. 16 And she immediately sent Burrus, the prefect of the expedition, and with him both the tribunes and the most powerful freemen, to conduct Nerō to the camp in order to proclaim him emperor.

17 Now when Nerō had succeeded to the government in this manner, he became deranged on account of a superabundance of both prosperity and wealth, and abused his fortune. Indeed, he did away with² his brother Britannicus, drugging him to keep it hidden from the multitude. But not long afterwards, he openly murdered his own mother, compensating her, not only for *giving birth to him*, but also for using her devices to obtain the Roman leadership for him. But he also put to death his own wife Octavia. 18 Then he transferred his savagery from them to the nobles, *killing* many distinguished men, as if they had laid plots against him. And finally, by reason of insanity, he drifted into stage and theater.

19 For in the first year of Nerō's reign, Aziz, king of Hames, came-to-his-end, and was succeeded in his government by his brother Suhaym. Therefore, Nerō indeed entrusted Lesser Armenia into the hands of Aristoboulos the boy of Hērōdēs, king of Chalkis, to rule as king. 20 Now *Caesar* also bestowed on Agrippa a certain portion of Galilee, annexing four cities to his kingdom with their toparchies: indeed Abel; and Julias, a city in Peraia, and its fourteen surrounding villages; as well as Tarichea and Tiberias of Galilee—and directed them to submit to him. But for the remainder of Judah, he established Félix as procurator.

CHAPTER 133 [Ant20:160-178 / War2:253-270]

Now in Judah, the matters were constantly growing worse. For the country was again filled with bands of brigands and humans who were warlocks who deluded the crowd. 2 Instead, Félix indeed daily captured and did away with many of these impostors and brigands. He also captured alive both the chief-brigand Eleazar the boy of Dinai (who had organized the contingent of the brigands and had been plundering the country for twenty years), and many of those who were with him; but he did this by a ruse. 3 For by offering a pledge that he would suffer no harm, Félix induced him to appear before him. Then he bound him, and sent them up to Roma. But the number of the brigands who were crucified by him, and of the commoners discovered to be in league with them whom he punished, was a countless multitude.

4 But after the country had been purged, a different species of brigands was creeping up in Jerusalem, those called Sicarii. 5 Therefore, the first who was slaughtered by them was indeed Jonathan the chief-priest. For Félix also bore a grudge against him, on account of his frequent admonition to improve the administration of the affairs of Judah. And Jonathan had done this, because he feared that he himself might incur the censure of the multitude, since it was he who had requested Caesar to send Félix as procurator of Judah. So Félix devised a pretext which would remove from his presence this man who was now constantly troublesome to him. (For incessant rebukes are burdensome to those who are disposed to act unrighteously.)

6 So for these reasons, Félix persuaded Jonathan's most trustworthy friend, a Jerusalemite by race, named Dōras, to bring in these brigands against Jonathan in order to do away with him. He was able to persuade him by promising to give him a great sum of money. Dōras agreed, and machinated to have him murdered by the brigands in the following way: 7 Certain of these brigands went up to the city as if they intended to worship God. With daggers concealed under their clothes, which they used to poke those who were at variance with them, they mingled with the multitude and killed Jonathan.

8 Now since this murder remained unavenged, from that time onward, many were done away with every day. For³ these brigands with perfect impunity, went up to the city, especially during the festivals; and mingling with the multitude and concealing daggers as they had done before, they did away with their enemies, but were also subservient to other men for money. Then, when their victims had fallen, these murderers would join in with those who were indignant at the murder; and so, by virtue of their credibility, they would go completely undiscovered. 9 They committed these murders of humans during the day, and not only in the remote parts of the city, but in the middle; and also in the temple itself. For they even had the audacity to slaughter their victims without any thought of this being an impiety.⁴

10 And the fear of these calamities was even more afflicting than the calamities themselves: each man expected death every hour, exactly like a man in war. But they would scrutinize those who were at variance with them from a distance, and they would not even trust their friends when they approached; but in the midst of their suspicions and efforts at security, they would still be done away with. Such was the alacrity of these plotters, and their skill at concealing themselves; therefore, their works indeed filled the city with all sorts of impiety.

11 Now a different band of worthless men united with these. They certainly had purer hands, but their intentions were more impious. They, no less than the previous slaughterers, spoiled the city's prosperity. 12 For these warlocks and deceitful humans and cheats, by-means-of a pretext of divination, were busying themselves with revolutionary matters and upheavals, persuaded the multitude to become-demon-possessed. And they led them out into the desert. For they declared, that they would show evident portents, and signs of freedom would be performed by the foresight of God.

13 And many who were persuaded by them suffered the retribution of their senselessness. For Félix, calculating this to be a founding for a rebellion, sent cavalry and heavy-armed infantry against them; and a vast multitude were brought back. Then he chastised them by utterly-destroying them.

14 But about this time, there was the Egyptian false-prophet who damaged the Judeans with a worse blow than the former. For this human, a warlock, came from Egypt and appeared in the country around Jerusalem. He said that he was a prophet; and after he had gained the trust of a prophet, he mustered about 30,000 of those who had been deluded by him. And he counseled the multitude of the populace to go out with him up to the Mount of Olives, which faces the city at a distance of five stadia. 15 For he asserted that he would demonstrate from there, that at his directive, the walls of the Jerusalemites would fall down; and, through them, he was professing, that he would provide them an entrance into the city. Now he led them around, out from the desert up to the mountain. From there, he was ready to forcibly enter Jerusalem. And after he overcame the Roman garrison and the populace, he intended to exercise tyranny, employing those who had shared in the assault as his spearmen.

16 But Félix, having been informed of these things, anticipated his attack. He directed his soldiers to take up their arms. And setting out from Jerusalem, he went out to meet him with a large Roman force of both cavalry and heavy-armed infantry. He assaulted the Egyptian's party. 17 And all the populace joined in the defense, so that after the engagement had occurred, he indeed did away with⁵ 400 of those who were with him, but 200 were taken alive; but the rest of the multitude escaped notice, each having been scattered to his own home. But indeed, the Egyptian himself escaped from the battle, fleeing with a few men, and disappeared.

18 But even when these had been put in order, it happened, as it does in a diseased body, that a different part was again becoming inflamed. For the warlocks and brigands got together, and were inciting many of the populace to rebellion and prodding them toward freedom by making war with the Romans, telling them not to obey them. They threatened death to those who submitted to the Roman leadership, and said that they would use force in removing any one who willingly chose to be enslaved. 19 But dividing themselves by companies into the country they moved against anyone who refused to comply with them; they both plundered the homes of the powerful men and did away with them, and set their villages ablaze, so that all Judah was being filled up with their madness. And this was indeed how this war was being fanned every day.

20 But now, a different kind of disturbance involving Caesarea also emerged: the Judeans who had been mixed with the Syrians formed a faction against the Syrian inhabitants of Caesarea on the subject of equal civic rights. For indeed, the Judeans claimed the precedence, considering that the city of Caesarea was theirs, saying that its founder, Hērōdēs their king, had been of Judean ancestry. 21 But the Syrians, they indeed confessed that its colonizer was Hērōdēs, a Judean, but however, they yet insisted, that the city was certainly one of the Hellenes; for if it had been dedicated to Judeans, he would not have set up human-images and inner-sanctums. And they further asserted, that Caesarea had formerly been called Stratōn's Tower, and, that, at that time, it did not contain a single Judean inhabitant.

22 Now on this account, both sides kept contending with one another. Yet truly,⁶ when the prefects of the district heard about this love-of-strife, they knew that it was their concern to obstruct the disturbance. So whenever they arrested the more belligerent sort on both sides who were responsible for the disturbance, they would punish them with lashes and chains. And by these means, they put a temporary stop to the disturbance. Truly, the sufferings of those who were arrested did not produce a permanent turnaround, or instill anxiety in those who remained; instead, they were provoked even more toward civil strife.

23 Now⁷ these Judeans indeed had the advantage in wealth and strength of body; and emboldened by these assets, began abusing the Syrians, expecting to

¹ [Ant], [War] Greek // [War] Lat "Agrippina"

² [Ant] // [War] "he went through"

³ [War] Eusebius / some "But" / PALV omit altogether

⁴ Deleted remark "This seems to me to be the reason why God himself, loathing their impiety, turned away from our city; and because he no longer deemed the temple to be a clean dwelling place for him, brought the Romans upon us, and a purification by fire upon the city; while he inflicted slavery upon us together with our women and children. For he wished to chasten us by these calamities."

⁵ [Ant] ("did away with" // [War] "utterly-destroyed")

⁶ [War] // [Ant] "But"

⁷ [War] // [Ant] "For"

provoke them. **24** But the Hellenic *part*, were indeed inferior in wealth, but they highly valued the fact that the bulk of those there who served in the army under the Romans had been enlisted from Syria, from Caesarea and Sebasté. *So their advantage lay* in protection by the soldiers, who, exactly like relatives, were ready for acts of assistance.

25 Indeed, for some time, *the Syrians* retaliated by wantonly-insulting the Judeans, until their rivalry progressed to *the point of taking up arms*. They first began to throw stones at one another; indeed, several were wounded, and many fell on both sides. Yet truly the Judeans were the victorious *ones*. **26** And every day, the more audacious ones from both sides plunged ahead into battle. For the older Judeans were not able to restrain their own insurgents; and the Hellenes thought it a disgrace to be in a weaker position than the Judeans.

27 Now on one occasion, when the Judeans had been victorious, Félix, having seen that this love-of-strife was taking the form of a war, went into the marketplace. He personally appealed to the Judeans to desist, and directed them, with a threat, to withdraw. But when they refused to comply, he armed his soldiers and sent them in against *them*; indeed they did away with a great number of them, but captured more alive. But he allowed *his soldiers* to plunder the property of certain civilian homes which were filled with lots of money.

28 But the more moderate Judeans, and the superior *men* of dignity among them, anxious on their own behalf, desired that Félix would sound the war-trumpet to recall his soldiers, and to spare them for the future, and give them a chance to have a change-of-mind for what they had done. And Félix was prevailed upon to do so.

29 But since the civil strife was *still* continuing, he selected the notables from both *sides* and sent them as elders to Nerō, so that they could negotiate concerning their rights.

CHAPTER 134 [Ant20:179-196 / War2:271]

At this time, King Agrippa conferred the chief-priesthood upon Ishmael *the boy* of Phiabi. **2** And now enmity arose between the chief-priests *and their rivals*, who were the priests and the principal *men* of the multitude of the Jerusalemites. Each *faction* formed and collected for itself a band of the most audacious and revolutionary humans, *and acted as their leaders and prime movers of strife*.¹ And when they clashed together, they both hurled abusive language, and threw stones at one another. But there was not even one person to rebuke them *and put an end to the strife*.² Instead, it was as if there was no one in charge of the city, so that they acted as if they had full authority to do so.

3 But such was the shamelessness and hardihood which possessed the chief-priests, that they actually were so brazen as to send slaves to the threshing-floors to receive the tenths which were due to the priests; and the result was that the poorest priests came-to-their-end from deprivation. This was how the violence of the contending factions prevailed over all righteousness.

4 Now when Porcius Féstus was sent by Nerō to succeed Félix in the procuratorship, the principal *men* of the Judean inhabitants of Caesarea went up to Roma to accuse Félix. And he certainly would have received retribution for his unrighteous-deeds against the Judeans, had not Nerō yielded to the urgent entreaty of Félix's brother Pallas, who, at that time, was held in the highest honor by him.

5 But also two of the principal *men* of the Syrians in Caesarea, managed to persuade Bérullos with lots of money (now he was Nerō's tutor, *and had been appointed secretary for Hellenic letters*), to apply *for a letter* from Nerō to disannul the Judeans' equality of civic-privileges. **6** And Bérullos, by exhorting the emperor, succeeded in obtaining his permission for writing this letter. This *letter* provided the occasion which led to the subsequent evils which befell our nation. For when the Judeans of Caesarea were informed about what had been written to the Syrians, they were more disorderly than before, until they *finally* kindled a war.

7 Now when Féstus arrived in Judah, it happened that Judah was being devastated by the brigands, while all the villages were both being set on fire and being plundered *by them*. **8** But also at that time, the sicarii, who are brigands, were particularly numerous. They used daggers, whose size is similar to the Persian falchion, but is curved, and more similar to what is called the Roman sicai, from which these brigands took their name, because they did away with so many in this way. **9** For at the festivals they would mingle with the multitude who were coming up into the city from every region to worship, easily slaughtering anyone whom they pleased. But they also would frequently appear with arms in the villages of their enemies, plundering them and setting them on fire.

10 But Féstus went out against those who were especially despoiling the country: accordingly, he arrested the majority of the brigands, and also destroyed not a few. Now there was a certain human, a warlock, who *was* professing to those whom he had deluded: salvation and rest from their troubles, if they would follow him into the desert. So Féstus sent a force of both cavalry and infantry to

fall upon them. And *this force* which had been sent, utterly-destroyed both the deluder himself and his followers.

11 Now about this time, King Agrippa built a great chamber for himself in the royal *palace* at Jerusalem adjoining the covered-colonnade. **12** Now this royal *palace* had been erected long ago by the boys of Hasimoni, but, being situated on a lofty site, afforded a most delightful view to anyone who chose to survey the city from it. The king was enamored of this view; and, as he reclined for meals there, used to observe everything which was being done in the temple.

13 But when the superior *men* of the Jerusalemites saw this, they were terribly displeased; for it was contrary to our fathers *and to the law*³ for temple proceedings to be spied on, and especially the sacrifices. Therefore, they erected a high wall upon the arcade, which was in the inner temple facing west. **14** Now when this *wall* was built, it did not only block the view from the royal dining-room; instead, *it also blocked the view* from the western portico of the outer temple, where the Romans used to post their guards at the temple during the festivals.

15 At this, both King Agrippa, and especially Féstus the prefect, were indignant. And Féstus ordered them to pull *the wall* down. But *the Judeans* entreated him for permission to send a body of elders to Nerō on this matter. "For we cannot endure to live *any longer*, if any portion of the temple is demolished."

16 Now when Féstus granted them permission, they sent ten of their principal *men* to Nerō, along with Ishmael the chief-priest, and Hilkiah the treasurer. **17** But when Nerō heard them out, he not only agreed with what they had done, *but* instead also gave them permission to leave the building as it was. This was *granted* in order to gratify his own wife Poppaea. For she was God-revering, *and one* who pleaded on behalf of the Judeans. She indeed instructed the ten to depart, but detained Hilkiah and Ishmael in her house as hostages. **18** But as soon as the king heard about this, he gave the chief-priesthood to Joseph, who was surnamed Kabi, but was *the boy* of the chief-priest Simon.

CHAPTER 135 [Ant20:197-223 / War2:272-276]

Now when Caesar learned about the end of Féstus, he sent Albinus into Judah as prefect. But the king removed Joseph from the priesthood, and bestowed the succession of the chief-priesthood upon *the boy* of Hanan, who was likewise called Hanan. **2** Now it was reported that the elder Hanan was extremely fortunate. For he had five boys, all of whom, after he himself had previously enjoyed this office for a very long time, became chief-priests of God, a thing which had never happened to any other of our chief-priests.

3 But this younger Hanan, who had been appointed to the chief-priesthood, was audacious in his temper, and unusually daring. But he followed the sect of the Zadokim, who are certainly more coarse than any of the other Judeans when they sit in judgment. **4** Therefore, having this disposition, Hanan thought that he had a favorable opportunity, indeed because Féstus had come-to-his-end, while Albinus was still on the way.

So he convened the judges of the congress, and brought before them a *man* named Jacob,⁴ the brother of Jeshua who was called an anointed-one, along with certain others. He, after making an accusation against them of having transgressed the law, delivered them up to be stoned.⁵

5 But the citizens who were considered the most equitable, and who were the most precise in the laws, were weighed-down by this. So they secretly sent to the king, urging him to order Hanan to desist from doing anything else like this; for this was not the first time that he had acted crookedly.

6 Now some of them also went to meet Albinus, who was on his way from Alexandria, and informed him that Hanan was not allowed to convene the congress without his consent. **7** But Albinus, persuaded by their words, angrily wrote to Hanan, threatening to wreak vengeance upon him. And because of this, King Agrippa deposed him from the chief-priesthood, which he had held for three months, replacing him with Jeshua *son of Damnai*.

³ [Ant] AE adds

⁴ traditionally incorrectly translated in English as "James" (the same error is found in the NT and other writings)

⁵ [Ant] Origen (Commentary on Matthew, Bk10.6) states, "And to so great a reputation among the people for righteousness did this Jacob rise, that Flavius Joseph, who wrote the "Antiquities of the Jews" in twenty books, when wishing to exhibit the cause why the people suffered so great misfortunes that even the temple was razed to the ground, said, that these things happened to them in accordance with the wrath of God in consequence of the things which they had dared to do against Jacob the brother of Jeshua who is called the Anointed-One. And the wonderful thing is, that... he... gave testimony that the righteousness of Jacob was so great; and he says that the people thought that they had suffered these things because of Jacob."

Origen (Against Celsus, Bk1.XLVII) states, "For in the 18th book of his Antiquities of the Jews, Joseph... in seeking after the cause of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple... says... that these disasters happened to the Judeans as a punishment for the death of Jacob the Righteous, who was a brother of Jeshua—the Judeans having put him to death, although he was a man most distinguished for his righteousness."

Eusebius (Church History) states, "Jacob had such great sanctity and reputation among the people for his righteousness, that the more sensible even of the Judeans were of the opinion that the siege and downfall of Jerusalem were a result of his death. Joseph the Historian did not hesitate to bear witness to this in his writings, stating, "And these things happened to the Judeans to avenge Jacob the Righteous, who was a brother of Jeshua, who is called the Anointed-One, since the Judeans killed the man who was most righteous."

¹ [Ant] E adds

² [Ant] E adds

8 Now as soon as Albinus reached the city of the Jerusalemites, he introduced every method and provision for bringing peace to the country by utterly-destroying most of the sicarii. 9 *Despite this*, Albinus was not a leader of the affairs in the same way as Féstus; nor did he neglect any conceivable form of sordid behavior. Accordingly, in connection with political affairs, he stole and plundered the property of each person, and burdened the entire nation with tax levies.

10 But every day the chief-priest Hananiah greatly advanced his reputation, and was splendidly rewarded by both the goodwill and honor of the citizens; for he was able to supply them with money. Accordingly, he daily paid court with gifts to Albinus and the chief-priest. 11 But he had domestic-slaves who were very wicked, who, combining operations with the most audacious men, would go to the threshing-floors where they would, by force, take the tenths of the priests; and they did not refrain from beating those who refused to give *it to them*. 12 The *other* chief-priests also acted in the same manner as his slaves, without anyone preventing them *from doing so*. So at that time, it happened that *the* priests, who in the past were maintained by those tenths, now died from deprivation of food.

13 Now at the festival (for it was now going on), the sicarii entered the city by night and seized the secretary of the general Eleazar, who was *the* boy of Hananiah¹ the chief-priest, and led him away in chains. 14 Then they sent to Hananiah, saying, “We will release the secretary to you, if you induce Albinus to release ten of our number who were taken prisoner.”

So Hananiah was plainly forced to persuade Albinus, and obtained this request from him.

15 This was the beginning of greater troubles: for the brigands contrived in every way to capture some of *the members* of Hananiah’s house; and taking them alive, they refused to release them until they had received in exchange some of the sicarii. When they had once more become no small number, they also regained their courage and proceeded to afflict every part of the country.

16 Now at this time, King Agrippa enlarged Caesarea-Philippoi, and renamed it Neronias in honor of Nerō. But he also built, at great expense, a theater for the Beirutians to present them with annual spectacles; he spent many tens of thousands of *drachmas* upon this project. 17 For he gave the populace grain, and distributed olive oil. But he also adorned the entire city by setting up human-images, and replicas of ancient sculptures. And in this way, he transferred nearly all of the ornaments in the kingdom to that place. Therefore, his subjects’ hatred of him increased, because he had removed them of their possessions in order to ornament a foreign city.

18 And now, the king deposed Jeshua *son of* Damnai from the chief-priesthood, and appointed Jeshua *son of* Gamaliel as his successor. And because of this, a sedition arose between both of these *men*. For they each collected a band of the most audacious men; and it frequently happened, that after exchanging revilements, they went further and hurled stones at each other. But Hananiah retained the prominence by using his wealth, which enabled him to gain those who were ready to receive *bribes*.

19 But Kostobar and Saul themselves collected a multitude of villains. Indeed, they themselves were royalty, and found favor due to their kinship with Agrippa. But they were violent, and ready to plunder the property of those who were weaker than themselves. From that time particularly, sickness fell upon our city; everything steadily grew worse and worse.

20 And at this time, the audacious actions of those who wanted to foment revolution in Jerusalem became more courageous: and indeed, the powerful *men* were cultivating Albinus with money to procure impunity to go on with their seditiousness, while *that part of* the populace who were not happy with tranquility, were turning away to Albinus’ associates. 21 But every one of these wicked *men*, undergirding himself with his own brigade, indeed like a chief-brigand or a tyrant, rose up over his company but made full use of his spearmen for plundering the reasonable *individuals*.

22 Now the result was, that indeed those who had lost their *property* continued to remain silent about these things, when they should have been indignant *about them*. But those *who had escaped* unscathed, in their anxiety not to suffer in the same way, even flattered those who deserved to be punished. Now indeed everyone’s outspokenness was being circumscribed, but tyranny was everywhere at once, and the seeds of the imminent capture were being scattered in the city from that moment onward.

23 But when Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him, he wished to have the appearance of someone who had done some service to the Jerusalemites. So he brought out the prisoners who clearly deserved to die, sentencing them to be done away with. But those who had been cast into prison on some minor and incidental causes, or detained for brigandage, *either* by the local council in each *region* or by former procurators, he dismissed them to their relatives, on ransom. And the individual who did not pay was left in the prisons,

oppressed. So this was indeed how the prison was cleared, but the country was filled with brigands.

24 Now those of the Levites who were hymn-singers, urged the king to convene a congress in order to grant them permission to wear linen garments equally with the priests; for they said, that it was fitting for him to mark his reign by introducing some innovation by which he would be remembered.

25 And they did not fail to obtain their desire. For the king, with the consent of those who attended the congress, allowed the hymn-singers to lay-aside their former garments *and* to wear the linen ones as they desired. 26 Now a part of the tribe which performed-public-service in the temple were also permitted to thoroughly learn the hymns, as they had requested. But all of this was contrary to the laws of our fathers; in fact, such transgression was bound to make us liable to righteous-judgment.

27 Now at this time, the temple was also completed. Therefore, the populace saw that the workmen, numbering over 18,000, were *now* unemployed, and would no longer be receiving *any* wages; for they earned their food by working on the temple. 28 And indeed, due to their fear of the Romans, they were unwilling to have any money kept on deposit. But, out of regard for the workmen, they also choose to expend their treasures upon them. For even if anyone worked for a single hour of the day, he received his pay immediately. So they urged *the king* to raise *the height* of the eastern porticoes. 29 Now these porticoes were indeed part of the outer temple, but were situated in a deep ravine. The walls were 400 cubits *long*, being constructed of completely white quadrangular stones. Indeed, each stone was 20 cubits in length, but six cubits in height.

30 This was *originally* the work of King Solomon, who was the first to build the entire temple. But King Agrippa (for he had been appointed by Claudius Caesar to be the caretaker of the temple), reasoned that it is always easy to demolish any building, but difficult to construct *one*; but especially so in the case of this portico; for the work would require time and lots of money. Indeed, he denied this request of theirs; but he did not prevent them from paving the city with white stone.

31 But he deprived Jeshua *son of* Gamaliel of the chief-priesthood, giving it to Matthijah *son of* Theophilos, under whom the Judeans’ war with the Romans began.

CHAPTER 136 [Ant20:252-267 / War2:277-283]

Now Gessius Florus, the one who was sent by Nerō to succeed Albinus, filled Judah with an abundance of misfortunes. Indeed, he was a native of Klazomenai, but brought along with him his wife Kleopatra, who was not different in any way from him in wickedness. It was through her friendship with Poppaea, Nerō’s wife, that he obtained this government.

2 Now although Albinus had acted *wickedly*, the miseries which Gessius Florus brought upon the Judeans were so extreme, that he showed him to be a most excellent man in comparison, causing the Judeans to praise Albinus as their benefactor. For indeed Albinus would still conceal his wickedness, practicing much of his sordid behavior covertly and with evasion, and he would take precautions so as not to be completely obvious. 3 But Gessius Florus was so sordid and violent in his use of authority, that he paraded his crimes to our nation, exactly as if he had been sent for a demonstration of wickedness, and as a public executioner for retribution against the condemned, neglecting no form whatsoever of plunder or unrighteous punishment and torture. 4 For indeed pity could not soften him; but toward those who deserved *to have it shown*, he was most savage. But among the shameful, he was most shameless. Nor was anyone able to pour out a more distrust of the truth, or contrive more deceitful ways of acting the villain.

5 But there was no *degree* of gain able to satiate him. Indeed, to him, it seemed trivial to make his gains one man at a time; but he stripped entire cities, and despoiled *entire* populations at once. Yet, being unable to distinguish between great gains and small, he instead even joined in partnership with the brigands; and he all but declared throughout the entire country that everyone had permission to practice brigandage, on the condition that he himself took a share of their spoils. For most of the people practiced this with an absence of terror, having become convinced that their salvation was secure with him in return for his share *of the spoils*.

6 Accordingly, due to this *man’s* greed, it happened that all the toparchies² were made desolate, and there was no limit in sight. Instead, many of the unfortunate Judeans, unable to bear the depredations of the brigands, were forced to flee, rising up from their own habitations, hoping that it would be better to settle among foreigners, no matter in what province.

7 Therefore indeed, as long as Cestius Gallus was in Syria, managing the province, no one dared to send a body of elders to him against Florus. But when Cestius came to Jerusalem, at the onset of the Festival of the Unleavened, the populace, not less than 3,000,000, stood around him, constantly begging him to

¹ [Ant] A, Lat / MWE “Hanan”

² [War] LVRC, Exc, Latin / PAM “cities”

take pity on the nation's calamities. And they shouted, that Florus was the despoiler of the country.

8 But *Florus* was present; and standing next to Cestius, he ridiculed their cries.¹ Yet truly, Cestius firmly repulsed the surge of the multitude, and, after giving the impression that he would see to it that Florus was more restrained in the future, began to return to Antiocheia.

9 Now Florus escorted him as far as Caesarea, deceiving *him*, and *at the same time*, contemplating war against the nation, by which *means* alone he supposed that he could conceal his own crimes. **10** For indeed, if peace was obtained, he expected that the Judeans would place their own accusers before Caesar. But if he busied himself with *provoking* their rebellion, by this greater evil, he would divert scrutiny away from his more modest ones. Therefore indeed, in order that the nation might be broken off, he intensified their calamities every day.

11 *Now* it was this Florus who forced us to make war with the Romans, while we preferred to be destroyed all at once, rather than little by little. And this war began in the second year of the procuratorship of Florus, but in the twelfth year of Nerō's government. **12** Instead, everything which we were indeed forced to do, or the sufferings which we endured, may be accurately known by those who are willing to peruse the books which I have written about the Judean war.

13 But this will be the end of the Antiquities; and after this, is the beginning of my written account of the war. Now the present work contains the recorded history, from *the time of Johanan Hyrkanos* up to the twelfth year of the leadership of Nerō, and the harsh treatment which we received from the *surrounding nations*. For I have drawn up the whole story in full and accurate detail.

14 And if the Deity wills it, I shall once more compose a running account both of the war, and of the later events of our history up to the present day, which belongs to the thirteenth year of the government of Domitianus Caesar, but to the fifty-sixth of my life.²

¹ [War] P omits "And they cried out that Florus...cries."

² literally "to the fifty-sixth from my birth"