

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
New York School

Report on the Dissertation Submitted by Norman Patz for the
Master of Arts in Hebrew Literature Degree and Ordination

THE JOSIPPON OF JOSEPH BEN GORION:
A TRANSLATION OF PART II WITH AN INTRODUCTION
AND SOURCE ANALYSIS

I write a single report on the theses of Messrs. Rubinstein, Patz and Zoll because though they worked separately and independently, theirs was an effort unified by zeal and devotion to scholarship, exemplary eagerness to complete a difficult task, and the praiseworthy intention of providing together the first full translation made in English of any version of the Yossippon. Regularly these men consulted with me individually or in a group to work out problems involved in the handling of the texts so that the finished copy might have a unified format and a relative uniformity of expression.

The work done by each of these men was massive, and the time they spent went far beyond the requirements of duty. Each man translated one third of the Yossippon. Each studied a number of the major sources which the pseudonymous author of the Yossippon used. Each prepared a lengthy section of notes and an introduction to accompany the translation.

The work of all three men is of an exceptionally high quality. To be sure there are a number of mistranslations in the work of each, as well as a misunderstanding of proper names, sentence structure and the like. There are also several infelicitous translations. The theses at present are not ready for publication: they require editing, a completion of source analysis and a much more detailed introduction. But they should be published.

The faults that I have indicated are relatively few and minor, and my mention of them should not be so construed as to detract from the value of the theses or from their real contribution to Jewish learning.

It is therefore with great pleasure that I recommend the acceptance of this thesis.

Respectfully submitted,



Martin A. Cohen

April 30, 1965

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The Yosippon of Joseph ben Gorion:

A Translation of Part II

With an Introduction and Source Analysis

Norman Patz

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
for the Master of Arts in Hebrew Literature Degree
and Ordination

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Advisor: Dr. Martin A. Cohen

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Stephen Steinlight, my brother-in-law, assisted in the preparation of the final version of the manuscript.

Naomi, my wife, served as my untiring amenuensis and faithful support in every step of my work. My gratitude to her can never match her devotion.

Norman Patz

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Introduction

An accurate translation into English of the Yosippon has never, to this date, been made. Apart from translations of short passages, there exists only one English translation, done by Peter Morvyn, published in London in 1558. His work is not a complete translation, for it is based on an abstract of the Yosippon, made in 1161 by Abraham ibn Daud for use in his Sefer Seder ha-Kabbalah. To correct this situation, we have undertaken to translate what Solomon Grayzel describes as "the most popular history book" of the Jewish Middle Ages.

According to Marx and Margolis, "for nearly 1,000 years, almost all the information the Jews had concerning the events from Nehemiah to the destruction of the Second Temple was derived from that book" (Max Marx and Alexander Margolis, History of the Jewish People, Phila., 1927, p. 300). This thesis deals with the middle section of the text, columns 181-361 in the Günzburg edition of 1896-1913. The period of Jewish history covered extends from the illness of Aristobulus I in 105-104 B.C.E. through the reign of Herod to the banishment of Herod Antipas in 30 C.E.

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 105-104 B.C.E. | Illness of King Aristobulus I; death of his brother, Antigonus; death of the king (columns 161-166). |
| 104-78 B.C.E. | Accession of Alexander Yannai, brother of Aristobulus I; his external and civil wars (cols. 166-197). |
| 78-69 B.C.E. | Rule of Salome Alexandra, widow of Alexander Yannai; assumption of control by the Pharisees; alliance of Aristobulus II, Alexandra's son, with the Sadducees; alliance of Hyrcanus II, her son, with the Pharisees; beginnings of civil war (cols. 197-204). |
| 69-63 B.C.E. | Aristobulus II, king; Hyrcanus II, high priest; civil war between the brothers; rise of Antipater, ally of Hyrcanus II (cols. 204-212). |

- 63 B.C.E. Negotiations by both brothers with Pompey; Hyrcanus II and Antipater favored by Pompey; Jerusalem entered by Pompey (cols. 212-222).
- 63 B.C.E. Hyrcanus II, king, but as a Roman vassal; arrival of Mark Antony in the East; revolt of Aristobulus II and his son, Antigonus; assassination of Aristobulus II (cols. 222-233).
- 48 B.C.E. Alliance of Hyrcanus II and Antipater with Caesar's party (cols. 233-237).
- 47 B.C.E. Antipater, procurator of Judea; appointment of his son Herod as governor of Galilee; Herod's campaign against Hezekiah; Herod's trial and flight (cols. 237-242).
- 44 B.C.E. Assassination of Caesar; poisoning of Antipater by Malichus; coming to power of Augustus and Antony; alliance of Hyrcanus II with them (cols. 242-251).
- 40 B.C.E. Rebellion of Antigonus; invasion of Syria and Judea by the Parthians; capture of Hyrcanus II and Phasaelus, Herod's older brother; flight of Herod to Rome; designation of Herod as king of Judea. (cols. 251-260).
- 40-37 B.C.E. Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II, king; Herod's campaigns against Antigonus; Jerusalem taken by Herod and Sosius (cols. 260-269).
- 37-4 B.C.E. Reign of Herod the Great; death of Hyrcanus II; Aristobulus, grandson of Hyrcanus II, high priest; assassination of Aristobulus; Antony to Actium; Herod in Arabia; the treachery of Cleopatra; an earthquake in Judea; battle of Actium; alliance of Herod with Augustus (cols. 269-293).
- 29 B.C.E. Execution of Mariamne; famine in Judea; construction of the Temple (cols. 293-311).
- 18-17 B.C.E. Return of Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of Mariamne and Herod, from Rome; accusation of Alexander by Herod before Augustus; involvement of Antipater, son of Doris and Herod, in the family struggles; intervention of Archelaus of Cappadocia; death of Alexander and Aristobulus (Cols. 311-325).
- 7 B.C.E. Collaboration of Antipater, all powerful, with Pheroras, Herod's brother; exile of Pheroras; Antipater to Rome; death of Pheroras; discovery by Herod of Antipater's designs (cols. 325-333).
- 5 B.C.E. Recall of Antipater from Rome by Herod; the vain defense of Antipater before Herod and Varus; imprisonment of Antipater; illness of Herod; death of Antipater; death

of Herod (Cols. 333-349).

- 4 B.C.E.-6 C.E. Archelaus, son of Herod, ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea; funeral of Herod; confirmation of Archelaus' position by Augustus; removal of Archelaus to Rome; death of Archelaus (cols. 349-357).
- 26 C.E. Appointment by Tiberius of Pontius Pilate as procurator; Herod Antipas (4 B.C.E.-39 C.E.), son of Herod, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; execution of John the Baptist; exile of Herod Antipas to Spain; death of Herod Antipas (cols. 357-361).

The Yosippon, described by Salo Baron as "an abridged, semi-folkloristic paraphrase of Josephus," (Salo W. Baron, History and Jewish Historians, Phila., 1964, p. 205) is attributed to Joseph ben Gorion, a contemporary of Josephus. (See War II, 20, 3.) Its popularity through the years is attested to be the descriptions of the book in Grayzel and in Marx and Margolis, both popular one-volume Jewish history books. Scholarly opinion, while denying Joseph ben Gorion the authorship, suggests dates of composition ranging from the third to the tenth century C.E. It is not within the scope of this thesis to ascertain a date; however, the source analysis presented here will serve as the groundwork for a future attempt of that nature. The bulk of the material in this section of the Yosippon comes from Josephus. No attempt has been made to trace other sources. The source analysis below is based exclusively on the Günzburg edition, with no reference to any of the previous editions of the Yosippon.

Notes on the Translation

Analysis of the Yosippon's sources must be preceded by an analysis of the text itself. The text in the Günzburg edition is unvocalized and, for the most part, unpunctuated, although there are some periods and a few paragraph indentations.

The translation attempts to render the Yosippon in a style faithful to that of the original. This creates great difficulty for the translator because of the "semi-folkloristic", heroic approach to history which the text presents, and the limits of the author's Hebrew in the handling of complex sentences. The lack of synonyms together with the non-existence of certain words needed by the author forced the constant repetition of words and phrases, on the one hand, and the substitution of less accurate words, on the other. The effect of both is to blur the meaning. Moreover, because of the Yosippon's use of the vav consecutive, in imitation of the Biblical style, the sense of past time suffers greatly. Perfect and pluperfect tenses and dependent clauses produce remarkably awkward sentences.

The distortions in the text which can be ascertained by comparison to Josephus have been handled by this translator in either of two ways, depending upon the nature of the item. Names of people and places which are present in both Yosippon and Josephus appear in the translation in the form used by Josephus, with a transliteration of the Yosippon's form footnoted. Other items, like numbers, or a discrepancy in the report of an incident, are left as Yosippon presents them, and Josephus' version is footnoted. Apart from a few minor emendations of the text, there is only

one major passage that needed reconstruction, the list of Herod's wives and children in columns 327-328. Yosippon's hopelessly garbled version is presented in a footnote along with an analysis.

A translation forces the making of choices in ambiguous places in the text. These choices have been made, however cautiously. On the whole, changes have been kept to a minimum, although some divergences from a literal translation, such as indenting more paragraphs for easier reading, breaking up overly long sentences, punctuating speeches, and reworking sentences which would otherwise sound clumsy in English, have been made. This translator has attempted to cope with all these problems in order to achieve a translation which keeps the simple dramatic tone of the story, the conciseness of the chronicle, and the rhetoric of the speeches of the Yosippon.

Source Analysis

Solomon Zeitlin describes the Yosippon as a "free translation of a devoutly Jewish character of Josephus' Jewish Wars." (Introduction to The First Book of Maccabees, Phila., 1950, p. 58). The clear implication is that the Yosippon draws the bulk of its material from Jewish Wars, that it follows the sequential order of Jewish Wars, and that it imitates the style of Jewish Wars. In the section under discussion, this is not the case.

1. The Yosippon's material is drawn from both Antiquities and Jewish Wars.

- A. Antiquities (XIII, 11, 1--XVIII, 7, 2) and Jewish Wars (I, 3, 2--II, 9, 6) both provide Yosippon with material for this section. He relies so heavily on both sources that he uses information from approximately 85 percent of the chapters of each of them in his work. The figures given here represent the results of a computation based on those footnotes to the translated text which cite the source in Josephus on which the Yosippon draws. The purpose of the computation is merely to present a general picture, with no claim to scientific precision.

Antiquities: The Yosippon draws from 53 of a total of 64 chapters in the portion of Antiquities under discussion. These 53 chapters contain 307 paragraphs; the Yosippon uses parts of 222 of these paragraphs. Quantitatively, this means that the Yosippon uses 84 percent of Josephus' chapters and 72 percent of the paragraphs in those chapters.

Jewish Wars: The Yosippon draws from 35 of a total of 40 chapters in the portion of Wars under discussion. These 35 chapters contain 228 paragraphs. The Yosippon uses parts of 181 of these paragraphs. Quantitatively, this means that the Yosippon uses 87 percent of Josephus' chapters, and 79 percent of the paragraphs in those chapters.

- B. There is a pattern to the Yosippon's omissions which holds true for both Antiquities and Jewish Wars. Generally, the Yosippon omits those items which are extraneous to the author's plan or superfluous in it. Here are five categories of the Yosippon's omissions with two or three examples for each:

1. Chapters not dealing with the land of Israel:
 - a. Ant. XVI, 6, 1-2: An embassy of the Jews in Cyrene and Asia to Caesar, concerning the complaints they had to make against the Greeks; with copies of the epistles which Caesar and Agrippa wrote to the cities for them.
 - b. War I, 10, 10: Sextus Caesar is treacherously killed by Basus, and is succeeded by Marcus. And the like.
2. Chapters dealing with minor revolts:
 - a. War II, 4, 1-3" Herod's veteran soldiers become tumultuous; the robberies of Judas; Simon and Athrongeus take the name of king upon them.
 - b. Ant. XVII, 12, 1-2; War II, 7, 1-2: Concerning a spurious Alexander (Ant.); the history of the spurious Alexander (War). And the like.
3. Chapters containing embarrassing information:
 - a. Ant. XV, 11, 4: The sacerdotal vestments kept under Roman control in the Tower of Antonia.
 - b. Ant. XVIII, 3, 3: Concerning Christ.
 - c. War II, 8, 1: Archelaus' Ethnarchy is reduced into a (Roman) province. And the like.
4. Chapters presenting information unnecessary for his audience, or not in accord with his point of view:
 - a. Ant. XVIII, 1, 3-6; War II, 8, 2-14: Concerning the sects that were among the Jews (Ant.); the three sects of the Jews (War). And the like.
5. Chapters which furnish additional instances of already given information:
 - a. Ant. XIV, 10, 5-25: The honors that were paid the Jews; and the leagues that were made by the Romans and other nations with them.
 - b. Ant. XVI, 5, 1-14: How Herod celebrated the games that were to return every fifth year; upon the building of Caesarea; and how he built and adorned many other places after a magnificent manner; and how he did many other actions gloriously.
 - c. War I, 21, 3-13: Of the ... cities that were built by Herod and erected from the very foundations; as also of those other

edifices that were erected by him; and what magnificence he showed to foreigners. And the like.

- C. It is incorrect to assert that the Yosippon epitomizes Jewish Wars and does not use Antiquities as a source. Often, the Yosippon reproduces incidents which appear in Antiquities alone. Below are a few citations:
1. Ant. XIV, 1, 1: Josephus' avowal of sincerity appears in sequence in Yosippon 204.
 2. Ant. XIV, 3, 1: Josephus' inclusion of Strabo's description of the gifts Aristobulus sent to Rome appears in sequence in Yosippon 213.
 3. Ant. XIV, 7, 1-2: Josephus' description of Crassus, Eleazar and the golden beam in the Temple, and Strabo's description of the money collected by Jews outside Israel for the Temple, appears in sequence in Yosippon 229-230.
 4. Ant. XIV, 10, 2-7: Josephus' enumeration of the numerous leagues made with the Jews by the Romans and other nations, appears in sequence in Yosippon 243-244.
 5. Ant. XIV, 12, 3: Josephus' report of an eclipse of the sun appears in sequence in a garbled version in Yosippon 250.
 6. Ant. XIV, 16, 4: Josephus' citation of the date "the hundred eighty fifth olympiad" appears in sequence, although in a corrupted form, in Yosippon 268.
 7. Ant. XV, 2, 6: Josephus' description of Dellius' attempt to procure Mariamne and Aristobulus her brother for Antony appears in sequence in Yosippon 275-276.
 8. Ant. XV, 4, 1-2: Josephus' report of Herod's attempt to kill Queen Cleopatra when she is in Judea appears in sequence in Yosippon 281-282.
 9. Ant. XV, 10, 4: Josephus' description of how Herod would disguise himself as a private citizen in order to ascertain the people's true feelings about him, appears in sequence in Yosippon 301.
 10. Ant. XV, 10, 5: Josephus' report of Menahem the Essene's vision concerning Herod's future appears in sequence in Yosippon 302-303.
 11. Ant. XVIII, 3, 1: Josephus' account of Pontius Pilate's attempt to introduce effigies of Caesar into Jerusalem appears in sequence in Yosippon 357.

II. The Yosippon's order follows the order of both Antiquities and Jewish Wars.

Despite the different focus of each work, where Antiquities and Jewish Wars cover the same period of time, the order of presentation of both is approximately the same. Therefore, when the Yosippon's presentation differs in order from that of Antiquities, it also differs from that of Jewish Wars.

For example, when the Yosippon reports the murder of Hyrcanus, son of Mariamme (columns 269-273), the author unites the separated elements of the story in Antiquities, where it appears in XIV, 13, 10, but is completed in XV, 6, 1-4. The insertion of this story breaks up the parallel sequence to Antiquities which the Yosippon had been following up to the point of its introduction (up to XV, 2, 3) and which is resumed after its completion, (XV, 2, 4-5).

Similarly in Jewish Wars, the Yosippon unites the account which appears first in I, 13, 9, and then continues in I, 22, 1-2. The insertion of this story also breaks up the parallel sequence to Jewish Wars which the Yosippon had been following up to the point of its introduction (up to I, 18, 3) and which is resumed after its completion (I, 18, 4-5).

Hence, one cannot conclude that the Yosippon prefers the order in one or the other of Josephus' works.

III. The Yosippon's style is drawn from both Antiquities and Jewish Wars.

Two distinct strands of style can be detected in the Yosippon. The first is the style of the chronicle, a dry report of events which have transpired, with the details exaggerated or distorted in certain ways. The second is the rhetorical style, a heroic approach often melodramatic

in tone, always popular in appeal. Both styles are characteristic of Josephus' work in general; examples of each can be found in Antiquities and in Jewish Wars.

Evinced a preference for the dramatic, the Yosippon chooses the more exciting account when an incident he is reporting appears in both Antiquities and Jewish Wars. The mechanical feature which distinguishes this difference in the instances cited is the use of direct discourse in one account and indirect discourse in the other. For example:

1. The account of Herod's torture of Pheroras' female slaves in Yosippon 329-330 comes from War I, 30, 1-4 rather than from Ant. XVII, 4, 1.
2. The report of Antipater's speech before Varus and Herod in Yosippon 339-345 comes from War I, 32, 3 rather than from Ant. XVII, 5, 4.

When the Yosippon is compared to its sources in Josephus' works, a number of specific characteristics in content and method can be determined. For example:

A. Content

1. The Yosippon identifies with the Jewish people:
 - a. In the description of Herod's Temple, he says (cols. 309-310): "Only in holiness and purity did we enter it in those days....we would enter the hall.... We did not approach the Temple."
 - b. The eulogy for Herod which the author presents as the open remarks of the people (cols. 352-353) is so passionately vindictive that, despite its idealized form, it seems as if the author was alive at the time and had suffered.
2. The Yosippon praises the Jewish people:
 - a. Upon introducing the story of Menahem the Essene (col. 302), the author remarks: "There were no so wise in the world as the Lord's people...."
 - b. Pompey, upon seeing Aristobulus' witnesses (col. 216),

exclaims: "These people are all kings. Happy the king who rules this people, and happy are we to be able to rule over these people. Now, because we have subdued this people, our reputation will spread throughout the entire land and the fear and awe of us will dominate all the nations."

3. The Yosippon is pious:
 - a. To the mention of Moses (col. 343) is appended the phrase: "may he rest in peace."
 - b. In the description of the Temple's dedication (col. 311), he adds: "may it be rebuilt speedily in our day."
4. The Yosippon greatly exaggerates Jewish victories, while minimizing Jewish defeats:
 - a. In the account of Herod's war with the Arabians (col. 284), our author reports that Herod "smote the Arabian forces very severely, felling many of them as corpses...." In Ant. XV, 5, 1, Herod's army is beaten so badly that his role is temporarily reduced to that of a "private robber." War I, 19, 2 concurs.
 - b. In the report of Herod's and Sosius' war against Antigonus (col. 265), Herod takes 12,000 Romans and 20,000 Jews to Libanus (Lebanon). In Ant. XIV, 15, 11 and War I, 17, 3, Herod takes one Roman legion and 800 Jews with him.
5. The Yosippon simplifies the story-line:
 - a. The only item the Yosippon describes in his report of the decorations in the theatres Herod builds for Jerusalem (col. 298) is "the images of the nations he had conquered." The Yosippon wisely mentions this alone of a number listed by Josephus because, as Josephus says, "above all the rest, the trophies gave the most distaste to the Jews" (Ant. XV, 8, 1).
 - b. Antipater is reported to have said (col. 316): "how long will you rely upon that old man whose hair has fallen out from old age?" In Ant. XVI, 8, 1, Herod is described as dyeing his hair black.
 - c. Often the Yosippon simplifies out of ignorance. A good example is the list of Herod's wives (col. 327). Another is his lack of understanding of the structure of the Roman government (col. 264) and the origin of the name "July" (col. 231).
6. The Yosippon slavishly follows Josephus' text at times:

- a. The Latin genitive form of Jove (Jovis) appears in the phrase "temple of Jove" (col. 213).
- b. The name "Lake Asphaltites" instead of the normal Hebrew name (Yam Ha-Melah) serves as the basis for "Agam Ha-Homer" (col. 272).
- c. In Josephus' description of the vine (Ant. XIV, 3, 1), he quotes Strabo: "...we ourselves saw that present." The Yosippon says (col. 213): "This is the vine and the garden which you saw...."
- d. Shammai is described as Hillel's disciple by the Yosippon (col. 268) in imitation of Ant. XV, 1, 1.

B. Method

1. The most common fault in the Yosippon is the distortion of names, both of cities and of persons. In some cases the names are so distorted that only by position in the corresponding passages in Josephus can they be corrected. Most are due to copyists' errors. Josephus' Eurycles becomes the Yosippon's Aeribilus (col. 322). The kaf becomes a bet, among other errors. Other names are much simpler, e.g. Pheroda for Pheroras (substitution of a dalet for a resh); or Felus for Felix. The Yosippon also separates double names to create two individuals: Sylla's son, Cornelius Faustus, for example, becomes Cornelius and Faustus, sons of Sylla (col. 221). For a prolonged list of distorted names, see the Yosippon's list of cities which Alexander did not destroy in battle (cols. 195-196). Few of the errors in name should be ascribed to the original author. The misspelling of one name (Herodium) two different ways in one column (as Ikorion and as Irodion in column 351), merely highlights the corruptions of the text through the years.

2. At times the Yosippon uses grammar which cannot be classified as a pure Biblical style:

- a. The use of the verb 'azav to mean permit can be seen in cols. 241, line 7; 249, line 23; 288, line 19; 321, lines 8-9; 344, line 4; 344, lines 6-7.
- b. The use of et (indicating the objective case) for the subject of a sentence can be seen in cols. 220, line 28 to col. 221, lines 1-2; 274, lines 7-9; 296, lines 8-9.
- c. For awkward handling of a complex thought, see cols. 259, lines 5-6; 289, lines 18-19; 296, lines 4-5; 312, lines 2-3; 331, lines 21-22.
- d. For medieval usages, see cols. 269, line 16; 321, line 18; 331, lines 13-14; 339, line 17.

The source analysis as well as the translation have been prepared in order to shed light on what has been an unknown factor in Jewish history. The translation of the Yosippon makes this long-concealed masterpiece accessible to the English-speaking world, Jewish as well as non-Jewish, to scholars and laymen alike. The source analysis lays the groundwork for an intensive study aimed at determining the time and the circumstances of the book's composition. A further study, of how history was written when the Yosippon was composed, will then be possible.

Horace wrote: "Many heroes lived before Agamemnon, but they are all unmentioned and consigned to a long night of oblivion, because they lacked a sacred bard." For the Jews of the Middle Ages, the author of the Yosippon was the only bard who sang of the heroes of the Second Commonwealth. When all his secrets are revealed, he will shed light on his own era as well as for later generations.

Now King Aristobulus fell ill; the malady lay heavily upon him. When Antigonus, who was traveling, heard that his brother the king was sick, he became very frightened and (he) went to Jerusalem.

When the young man came to the city, he did not go to the palace. Instead, (he) went to the Temple of the Lord to pray for his brother's recovery; for he could not bear his brother's suffering. That day was the holiday of Sukkot which Judah, by law, must observe with dignity, and do honor to God with the four species of trees. (1) Present were a large crowd of the Israelites. Antigonus, armed, wearing a silver coat of mail, rode together with his troops through the crowds in the Temple courtyard. Everyone was stunned by his magnificent appearance.

A man who was there, Judah by name, one of the prominent Hasidim, (2) upon seeing Antigonus go through the Temple courtyard, said to his students: "Would that I die today before I see the death of this youth Antigonus. Perhaps I will die before seeing him dead. For I certainly (predict) that Antigonus will die in a place called Strato's Tower." (3) His students remarked to him: "Master - you speak falsehood now, for Strato's Tower which you mentioned is five (Column 182) hundred ris' (4) distance from Jerusalem, and half the day is gone already. How can this thing you have predicted come to pass?" He answered: "Would that I were lying in this matter." And while he was speaking he fell to the ground, silent, as if asleep, tired and wearied of the great cares in his heart. (5)

Afterwards certain evildoers went and told the king: "Your brother Antigonus has come to kill you. He is standing armed and armored in the Temple courtyard. He is prepared to fall upon you suddenly with his

troops, and to imprison you and all your household." The king, trembling violently, stationed guards at the gates and the roads and at all the boundary lines which lead to the palace.

He commanded the guards: "Every man wishing to come to me who is armed, neither question nor answer him at all. Instead draw your swords and kill him immediately. As for the others who are unarmed, do not kill them. But prevent everyone except Antigonus my brother alone from coming to me, since I am ill. I will question and examine him as to whether the rumor I have heard is true or false." At that point the king gave his orders to the guards, all of whom were brave and (Column 183) battle-tested. Afterwards, the king summoned his brother Antigonus, saying: "Remove your coat of mail and put off your arms, and hurry to me; do not wait."

But the queen, Aristobulus' wife, and her wicked advisors cruelly reversed the king's message by summoning the king's messenger and telling him: "When you go to Antigonus, say this to him: 'Hear (the words of) your brother: wear your arms and armor, for the king desires to see the ornaments of war which are on you. So he has commanded that you come to him armed and armored for battle.'" (6)

The messenger went and told Antigonus all that the queen, wife of Aristobulus, had commanded him to say. Believing him, the youth went confidently, for he was sure of the love of his brother the king. He hastened along the boundary roads to reach his brother the king; armed and armored. There was a tower called Strato's 600 ris' distant from Jerusalem, and one in Jerusalem by the same name, close to the palace. Antigonus passed this (latter) place. The guards leaped upon him, struck him down, and spilled the blood of the innocent youth (Column 184) who

had not sinned or transgressed. On that spot they killed an innocent and righteous (person), as predicted by Judah, one of the prominent Hasidim. Afterwards, when Aristobulus was told that his brother had been killed, feeling compassion for his brother, he cried out very loudly and bitterly, beating his breast with his two fists. He threw himself to the ground, breaking the lungs within him. (7) The fountains in his breast opened, and the king vomited blood at his lips. As he vomited blood from day to day into a golden basin, (8) he would give the basin to a lad to take the blood to the king's doctor. (9) While the boy was carrying the vessel, he passed the spot where the king's brother had been killed. The blood which had been shed was still on the marble pavement. The entire pavement was colored with Antigonus' blood, which tripped up the legs of the lad, who overturned the basin and spilled the blood of the king on the blood of his slain brother. The troops of the king cried out and took issue with the lad, saying: "Criminal! Empty lad! have you no understanding? What have you done, spilling the king's blood on top of the blood of his slain brother?" The boy answered: "I did not do this on purpose; I (was) tripped on the marble and the basin in my hands overturned, spilling the blood as you have seen." (10)

When Aristobulus heard (Column 185) the people shouting, he inquired: "What is the shouting and reproof and quarrel I hear?"

The troops and officers in his presence remained silent. But their silence only agitated the king further. The king asked again forcefully: "Tell me what the shouting of the people is about. If you do not, you will be put to death."

Answering, they told the king all that was done when his blood was

spilled on the blood of his brother. The king gasped and cried: "Blessed be the righteous and true Judge, and blessed be the Avenger of innocent blood, who spilled the blood of the villain on top of the blood of the righteous one who was purposelessly slain." The king addressing his (own) body, said: "How long will evil imprison the soul within you and not permit it to leave and go to the souls of her people? If you must draw my blood, do not draw out my blood and spill it except to sacrifice it and give it to be licked by ghosts who are with the devil--for they have thrust me and pushed me in this affair to do things like this--(the) killing (of) my brother." (11)

And when he had said these things, his soul was at rest and he was gathered to his people. The period of his rule was one full year. All of Judah mourned him greatly, because he was generous and had conquered the great nation (Column 186) called Iturea, circumcising them and subjecting them to Judea's power. The Greeks called him Aristobulus Philhellenus, which means "lover of the Greeks." (12) The rest of his words and deeds are recorded in the book of "Roman Kings," and in the book of Strabo the Cappadocian, and in that of Timagenes the Jerusalemite. (13)

His successor to the throne was his brother Alexander, the very one whom his father, Hyrcanus, had hated since the Lord had told him in a nocturnal dream that he would rule. When they released him from the prison in which his brother had put him, he ascended the throne. (14) He led an army against Ptolemais, (15) for at that time the people of Ptolemais were rebellious. So King Alexander went to war against Ptolemais, setting siege to it. The people of the city sent (this message) to (Ptolemy) Lathyrus, son of Cleopatra: "If you come and save us from

Alexander, King of Judea, who is warring against us, we will be your vassals." But Lathyrus refused to come, because he was afraid to fight with the Judeans, recalling the defeat Hyrcanus, King of Judea, had inflicted upon him when he went to the aid of the Cutheans in Samaria. Hence he was afraid to come to their aid. The people of Ptolemais said to him: "Do not be afraid to come to save your vassals, for if you come over (Column 187) and go with us, then other kings will aid us, (such as) Zoilus, (16) King of Sidon, and other kings (as well)."

When he heard these things, Lathyrus promised to come by ship and go with them. His forces consisted of 30,000 (men). Alexander withdrew from Ptolemais in the face of Lathyrus, so that Lathyrus and all his forces entered Ptolemais. (17)

Then a wise man there, Demenetus, (18) came and spoke to the elders of Ptolemais: "Is it not better for you to be subject to Alexander, who is a Judean, than to give yourselves to a foreigner?" As a result of his speaking to them, they rebelled and did not receive Lathyrus. (19)

Dismayed (at this), he sent (this message) to Zoilus, King of Sidon: "Come, let us confederate and make war on Alexander, King of Judea." But he (Zoilus) was not willing, so Lathyrus dispatched other messengers to Alexander, King of Judea: "Let there be an alliance between you and me; do not lend aid to Zoilus, King of Sidon, my enemy. Let there be peace between you and me." He included a gift of 4,000 talents of gold. (20) Accepting Lathyrus' alliance, Alexander made war on Zoilus, King of Sidon, treading upon so many corpses of his camp that Zoilus fled from before him. (Thus) Alexander took his whole land from his power, and (then) returned to Jerusalem in triumph and honor. (21)

(Column 188) After these things, Alexander sent (this message) secretly to Cleopatra, mother of Lathyrus: "Your son, Lathyrus, has rebelled against you. He is near me now. If it suits you, hurry, come with your army; I will come out with all my forces and capture him, as you desire."

When Lathyrus heard of this he was enraged, and, raiding in Galilee on the Sabbath day, he captured Asochis, (22) a city in Galilee, taking its 2,200 (23) residents captive.

From there he went to Sepphoris. There, many of Lathyrus' men were trampled. Turning from there, they went to face Alexander in battle, who when he had heard these things, had assembled 50,000 Judean warriors, (24) selecting from them 6,000 (25) warriors with shields of brass, called hecatontomachi (who can each slay a hundred with one blow).

Thus King Alexander went out proudly and confidently on that day, and he defeated Lathyrus at the Jordan. Now Alexander said to his warriors: "Let us fall upon them suddenly, while the river is at their backs, so that if they flee from us the river will close off their escape route. None will be spared. Are we not all warriors and men of war? We will die together as one." So Alexander relied (Column 189) on his bravery and did not rely on the Lord our God.

While Lathyrus was very afraid of Alexander, there was a military expert, skilled in fighting, Philostephanus (26) by name, who, when Alexander and his camp attacked Lathyrus' camp, divided his forces. The battle was joined. Many of Lathyrus' camp were trampled. They fought from morning until afternoon, with the Judeans victorious (and) many of Lathyrus' camp were trampled. They smote the half of Lathyrus' camp which

stood before them. Only Philostephanus remained with the half of the camp which he had divided. They did not join the battle until afternoon.

(But) in the afternoon, Philostephanus and his camp (did) join battle with the Judeans. Coming upon Alexander's men and finding them tired, he inflicted a severe defeat upon them, treading that day on 30,000 men, all warriors. Those remaining fled hurriedly. Alexander (too) fled from battle and escaped to Jerusalem. Now the ruin of the Judeans on that day was owing to their lack of trust in the God of their fathers. (27) That night, Lathyrus came to one of the villages, and, finding women and children there, he commanded that they be killed. He took some women and some children, and ordered them cooked in cauldrons in order to terrify the Judean people, who would say (Column 190) that they ate human flesh. (28)

At that time Queen Cleopatra went to war with Lathyrus, her son. Alexander went out to greet her and the two confederated to war on Lathyrus. When Lathyrus heard, he fled from them and, going by ship, escaped to Cyprus, leaving many of his camp on the shore. (29) Hilkihah and Hananiah the Judeans, (30) officers of Cleopatra, killed (them). Then the queen returned to Egypt.

The king then went raiding in the table land in Aramea, laying siege to Gadara (31) in Aramea. After ten months' siege he took the city and its daughters. Traveling from there he went to Amathus (32) and encamped against it. That night, Theodorus (33) and his forces left Amathus and fell upon the camp of the Judeans, casting 10,000 of the Judeans to the ground dead. The Judeans arose at morning's light to battle Theodorus, forcing him to flee and inflicting a very serious defeat upon his camp. When he had fled from them, the king captured Amathus and its daughters.

Then the king went and encamped against Raphia, (34) capturing it and its daughters. Traveling from there, they (the Judeans) camped in Antiochia, (35) then went to Jerusalem.

After a year elapsed, he went out and, arriving at Gaza, (36) encamped against the city, laying siege to it, for the king remembered the wickedness of the people of Gaza. The people of (Column 191) Gaza had been with Lathyrus against the Judeans. (So) they oppressed the people of Gaza, entirely filling in the moats of Gaza, and erecting a siege-wall around it, placing the city in siege. Now the people of Gaza sent (this message) to Aretas, (37) King of Arabia: "If you will come and save us from Alexander and the Judeans who are fighting us, we will be your vassals." Aretas, King of Arabia, came (to the aid of Gaza) with his entire people. When Alexander heard that Aretas was coming to war against him, he left an officer to guard Gaza, while he and all his warriors went out to meet Aretas, King of Arabia. The battle was joined. Alexander triumphed in battle; Aretas fled from him, returning to his (own) land, to Petra in the desert. Many corpses from his host were cast earthward at that time. (38) Returning to Gaza, the king besieged it for a year.

Now Lysimachus (39) arose and slew his brother Apollodotus, (40) general of Gaza. When the people of the city arose to kill Lysimachus, he ran to the gate and, opening the gate of Gaza, called to Alexander and the Judeans. They shouted, came to the gate and captured the city. When Alexander came into the city, he ordered all the inhabitants of the city (to be) killed without mercy. He put all its males to the sword, (Column 192) except Lysimachus and his household. Only they lived. Five hundred officers of the city fled to the temple of Apollo. (41) When this

was told to Alexander, he sent and had them taken from the temple, ordering them to be killed within the city. He burnt the temple and all its priests. And, by command of the king, they hurled the idol (of) Apollo, an image of gold, into the fire. (42) Only after a few days did they collect the gold from the fire. Then the king returned to Jerusalem and his throne, ruling securely.

When it was the Feast of Tabernacles, the king ascended the altar according to the law of the priests. Then the Pharisees (43) (they are the sages) began to wave the citrons and the date-palm stalks joyfully and goodheartedly, for it is a rule for the Jews to wave the fruit of goodly trees and date-palms. But then one of the Pharisees decided to throw a citron at the king. His troops became wrathful, saying to the Pharisees: "Why do you thus dishonor the king by throwing the citron and the stalk of the date-palm at him?" They said: "This is no dishonor; for it is a law for us to do so." And thus they reproached the king, saying: "Son of a harlot, you are not fitted for the priesthood." The king became very wroth, and, turning from the altar, he said: "To sword, to sword!" The king's troops drew their swords (Column 193) and struck dead 6,000 of the Pharisees in the area of the Temple court. Then the king commanded that a wall of acacia wood be built between the altar and the rest of the Temple, and from that day on he forbade the people to come into the Temple. The people had to stand in the court of the Temple, and only the priests could come into the Temple by right. (44)

After these things, Alexander assembled all his forces and his people, and, heading to Petra in the wilderness which belongs to Arabia, he smote the Arabian people and captured the Arabians' fortified cities. Coming

to Medeba, he captured it. He smote Moab and put them into a forced labor levy. Then Amathus rebelled, so the king went and razed it. He also slew Theodorus who was in Amathus. (45) Then the king returned to Jerusalem.

Now war was joined between Alexander and the Pharisees, lasting six years. (46) During those years Alexander killed 50,000 Judeans who were with the Pharisees, in this war. Alexander summoned all the people and said to them: "Purify your hearts, and cast hatred away. Do not hate me. All the instructions you give me I will do." The Judeans, answering, said to the king: "If you would die, then (Column 194) we would purify our hearts, for you are a man of death, and a sentence of death is upon you." (47)

So they rebelled against King Alexander; they went to Demetrius, who came and camped in Shechem. Demetrius had a force of 43,000 (48) cavalry, Macedonian warriors. When Alexander saw that the Judeans had rebelled against him, he hired 6,000 Macedonian warriors (49) and took 20,000 Judean warriors who were with him. Demetrius went and tried to entice the Jews who were with Alexander, while Alexander tried to entice the Jews who were with Demetrius. A great battle was joined; the forces of Alexander fell; only Alexander remained, for on that day all of his warriors fell, and many of Demetrius' warriors as well, because they stood to the death and did not retreat; thus they all died.

Alexander fled to the hills alone and desolate, but 6,000 Judean warriors gathered to him, along with many of the Judeans who were with Demetrius, who also came to his assistance. (50) He sought to battle Demetrius again. Demetrius fled, for a great multitude of Judeans had come to his (Alexander's) aid. But the war between him and the Pharisees

continued. They fled to Bethshemesh; (51) he pursued them and, capturing the city, he took 800 prominent Pharisees and brought them to Jerusalem. (Column 195) While he was at a banquet on a high place with his wives and concubines, he had them hanged, the 800 Pharisaic elders, on trees. Hence the Jews called Alexander Thracidus. (52)

He ruled the Judeans harshly. Afterwards, gathering his nation, he besieged Dios, (53) taking it. From there he traveled to Essa, (54) taking it by a show of force. From there he went and besieged Golan (55) and Seleucia, (56) and took them. He captured Gamala (57) and the Valley of Antiochus, namely the great city, killing Demetrius at that place.

When he returned to Jerusalem after three years of war, the Judeans welcomed him with great honor, skipping in the Greek manner to honor his bravery.

The Judeans ruled the entire land of Aramea; they ruled in the palace of the land of Idumea, and the whole land of Idumea, and the whole land of Moab and Ammon, and the entire land of Arabia up to Petra in the wilderness. These are the names of the cities which Alexander did not destroy when he captured them in war: those on the coast are, Strato's Tower, Apollonia (58), Ashdod, Gaza, Amthodon, (59) Raphia, (60) Rhinocolura; (61) Hebron and Marissa of Idumea; Scythopolis (62) of Idumea; Gedara (63) and Seleucia (64) and Gabala (65) of Moab; Heshbon (Column 196) Medeba, Oronas, (66) Megon, Zara, (67) and Cilices, (68) Azlan and Pella. (69) These are the cities which Alexander did not destroy. They entered into a treaty with him, circumcising their foreskins and remaining in their cities. The other cities of Aramea the king destroyed.

At this time, the king fell ill with a quartan ague, (70) but even

though the ague lasted for three years, he did not absent himself from the wars, attacking the height which is Ligiris, besieging it for days. He would go to camp with his wife and his concubine. When the day of his death (71) arrived, the queen Alexandra, wife of Alexander, approached and said to him: "You are aware of the enmity you had with the Pharisees. Your sons are small. To whose help will you leave me?" Queen Alexandra cried. The king said: "Come, I will give you advice. If you do not depart from it, it will go well for you and for your sons after me. When I die, conceal my body from all these people until you capture this city. Anoint my body with spices so that it will not decay and then, when you take the city, bring me to the holy place, Jerusalem, like a man who was sick. Do not reveal the secret except to those officers (Column 197) who are faithful to you. Then, when you come to Jerusalem, summon the Pharisees, my enemies, reveal the secret to them, put my body into their hands, and say to them: 'Alexander your enemy is dead; here is his body. Do with it what you consider proper.' If you speak thusly to them, they will honor you most highly, and they will bury me with honor. I know their nature; they will not preserve their enmity, for they are merciful. They will help you with the government, for the people listen to their words. They have (enough) authority over the people of God to carry out their will. If you do all that they command you, follow their advice, turning neither to the right nor to the left, you will rule the city until the lads grow up." (72) The queen did so. When she had captured the city, she went to Jerusalem and, summoning the Pharisees, told them everything that Alexander had commanded. The Pharisees summoned the people and they buried the king with great honor, and, winning over the

people, they made Alexandra, wife of Alexander, queen, ruler of the entire Judean nation. (73)

Now King Alexander had ruled for 27 years (74) when he died and was gathered to his people. And are not the rest of his acts and deeds written in the Kings of Rome? The king lay with his ancestors and Alexandra, his wife, ruled in his place. When she ascended the throne (Column 198) she summoned the leaders of the Pharisees and gave them power over all the nation. She recalled the Pharisees from all the places whence they had fled from Hyrcanus her father-in-law, and Alexander her husband.

When the queen realized that her two sons were beginning to mature she gave the priesthood to Hyrcanus, for he (was) modest and quiet in spirit, and she appointed Aristobulus, her younger son, general of the army, (75) for he was a handsome lad, fair to look upon, and fleet of foot. Therefore she appointed him head of the Sadducees, to be general of the army. Furthermore she released from prison all the prisoners adhering to the Pharisees and she permitted all the customs which Hyrcanus her father-in-law, and Alexander her husband had prohibited. (76) And, sending to all the kings whom Hyrcanus her father-in-law and Alexander her husband had captured, the queen took their fine great houses into her hands as security. (77)

So the queen ruled in gentleness and peace. There was no disturber or evil attacker in her days.

All the kings around her sent annual gifts of silver and gold to the queen all her days. There was peace and truth in the days of Alexandra, because of her great wisdom and the excellent order she gave with her good advice. Only the leaders of the Pharisees incited disturbances

(Column 199) and strife (78) with the officials of the Sadducees. The officials of the Pharisees, Hyrcanus her son with them, came and spoke to the queen: "May the queen live and be victorious forever! Put into our hands the officials of the Sadducees, the advisors of Alexander the king, who are our enemies, who advised him to hang the 800 Pharisees whom your husband Alexander hanged." (79) The queen said to them: "Do what you consider proper." So the leaders of the Pharisees went and killed Diogenes, (80) the officer of the Sadducees, and many others with him. Then the officers of the Sadducees, with Aristobulus, her younger son along, came and spoke to the queen: "Do not forget, holy queen, all the difficulties which beset us in the days of Alexander your husband; all the troubles we saw with him in the great and awful wars which we fought for him. We took our lives in our hands for his life; we fought his war and we saved him from the hand of all who sought his life. Now why should we die as sheep led to the slaughter, without sin or transgression on our hands by your raising the enemies of your husband Alexander and bringing low his adherents. Now, by degrading us, your enemies will rejoice; Aretas, (81) king of Arabia, will be pleased; those who used to see our bravery and our fighting-when one mentions (Column 200) our name in the presence of Aretas (82) and your enemies, they would shake, become pale, and tremble in their dwelling places, without even seeing our faces.

Far be it from us to disobey your command and to rebel against you; for you are our queen. Now know, O queen: we will no longer suffer the sins of the leaders of the Pharisees; nor will we die like sheep led to the slaughter by them. If it pleases you we will depart Jerusalem to other cities of Judea and live in lowliness. Let us not witness the evil

of our people anymore." And, raising their voices, they cried. She too wept with them. (83) Then Aristobulus cursed his mother with words of evil and curses. He gave vent to all his spirit and thoughts. The queen, as it is with women, did not know what to do. She said to them: "Leave Jerusalem and choose yourselves cities from among the cities of Judea; dwell there and do not settle in Jerusalem with the leaders of the Pharisees, for they are your enemies." Thus they did. The officers of the Sadducees, the military officers with them, left Jerusalem and took cities for themselves. There the Sadducees dwelled. (84)

At that time, Damascus rebelled by not paying its annual tribute to the queen as usual. The queen sent Aristobulus her son with the forces of the people who were with the leaders of the Pharisees; they did not have the army of the Sadducees with them. They left (Column 201) Jerusalem, sent to Damascus, and returned in shame and disgrace. (85)

And at that time, Tigranes, (86) king of Armenia, with 300,000 (87) armed men and a vast and mighty people came in the direction of the land of Judea. The queen and the people were very frightened of Tigranes. She sent ambassadors and a gift to greet him. They found him fighting at Acre, that is Ptolemais. (88) Tigranes sent ambassadors in return for the gift, inquiring after the health of the queen, praising and blessing her, to make a treaty with the ambassadors of the queen.

At this time it was told to Tigranes that Lucullus, (89) officer of Rome, his enemy, unsuccessful in his pursuit of Mithradates, who had fled to the mountains of Persia, was at large in his (Tigranes') land. So he hurried back to save his land; to save it from the hands of Lucullus. Tigranes said: "It is better to protect our land than to covet a foreign

land." (90)

In those days, Queen Alexandra fell ill with the illness which caused her death. When Aristobulus saw that his mother's death was approaching, he left his wife and children in Jerusalem with her family to assist him from within the city, while he took with him one servant, and left Jerusalem at night. He went to the Judean cities to dwell where the Sadducees, his father's allies, dwelled. At the beginning of his flight he came to Agaba (91) (Column 202) the place where Galestes, (92) his ally, a Sadducean warrior, was. He went with him from Agaba to gather the Sadducean forces.

Afterwards, the queen was told that her son Aristobulus had fled, and that he was gathering the Sadducean forces. They told her: "In fifteen days he has taken twenty-two cities." (93) Then the queen and all the Judean people began to be in great fear and dread that the inhabitants of the rest of the cities were falling in with him to help him. The queen ordered that Aristobulus' wife and children be taken, along with all his wife's family, and put into the prison opposite the palace, from which there was no escape. (94)

Afterwards, the power of the Sadducean warriors became stronger than the warriors of Judea. They (the former) joined Aristobulus, and, meeting in a field, sounded the trumpet and gave the signal for war. A great number had gathered around him, from Mt. Lebanon and from the mountains of Galilee, and from all the land of the kingdom of Israel. Then trembling gripped Hyrcanus and the elders of the Pharisees; the queen too greatly feared Aristobulus her son. The queen fell into a state of anxiety about her son which reached her heart. The walls of her heart were reduced and

at this old age, the illness ultimately killed her.

Some of the warriors of Judea along with (Column 203) the officers of the Pharisees, Hyrcanus, her older son, with them, came before the queen. They said: "We would consider it a great wrong to do anything without your advice while you are still alive, O holy queen. Aristobulus your son has instilled great fear in us, for now he is about to move powerfully against us, to wipe out our name and to kill his older brother. Now, O holy queen, give us your advice and your aid." Answering, the queen said: "Leave me; leave me alone. My spirit is very tired. I am not within the realm of life. I am about to return my soul to the king who gave it. You do what you consider proper. Here are silver and gold and vast treasures for you, the army of warriors which is stationed in my palace. Act according to your desires. I am unable to advise you on these matters for I am going the way of all flesh." And, as she spoke these words, her life ended, she died and was gathered to her people. (95) She ruled for nine years, and had lived seventy-three years in all. Her inclination (to act) as a woman was weak. (96) She did not sin or transgress against her God, for she possessed wisdom, knowledge and prudence. In her vast wisdom she knew the future, time after time. But not by her wisdom did she raise her enemies and humiliate her allies and friends; therefore (Column 204) difficulties, troubles, and wars proliferated in her family. During her days the land was quiet, because she did not seek other lands; only those lands of the nations whom Alexander her husband and Hyrcanus her father-in-law had conquered and returned to Israel did the queen protect very carefully. None of them slipped out of her hand until the day of her death. This is the conclusion of the affairs of

Alexandra the queen. (97)

And now we proceed to relate the deeds which took place after her, for every author who writes books and tells ancient matters is obliged to write, in proper order, with grace, without forgetting the deeds which were done. Above all, the man who makes books is obliged to write the truth, for thus the Former Scribes commanded. And the Latter Scribes accepted and observed it as well. For it is fit and proper that every book he writes should revolve about the poles of the holy and perfect Torah and the other books of prophecy which are true and righteous. On them the world is built and through them man is man. Without them, all is vanity and the evil spirit. Why should a man of understanding speak falsehood? Speakers of falsehood will not stand. (98)

In the 177th olympiad, (99) in the days of Hortensius, (100) officer of Rome, in his renewing of the treaty of the officers of Rome with the Judean nation, written on a tablet of (Column 205) bronze in Jerusalem and Rome; in the days of this officer, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, sons of Alexander, engaged in war. This war took place on the Jordan at Jericho; numberless lives were lost there, many corpses from the multitude of Israel were trampled upon. Aristobulus pressed the army of Hyrcanus. They could not bear the pressure of Aristobulus and his warriors, nor the force of their battle; they turned their backs and fled toward Jerusalem. Thus Aristobulus vanquished Hyrcanus and his army in that battle. He and his warriors pursued them with an increasing slaughter up to the gates of Jerusalem. The remnants of Hyrcanus' army joined Aristobulus, and he and the entire Judean people fought against Jerusalem to topple its walls, to get Hyrcanus who had escaped within. They closed off the city with great

power; they girdled it round like a buckler with men of war. When it became difficult for him, and the battle burdensome, Hyrcanus brought forth the wife and children of Aristobulus from the prison in which queen Alexandra had put them. He took the woman and the children with him as a safeguard for his own life against the sword of his brother.

Then the (Column 206) elders of Israel and the elders of the priests went out to Aristobulus and, crying, they pleaded with him to make a treaty with his brother; Aristobulus to be king of the entire Judean people, and Hyrcanus to be priest in the Temple of the Lord, and to be docile under his hand, but to be his second-in-command. Aristobulus agreed to this, and they acted accordingly. (101)

Entering the city, Aristobulus accepted the throne and concluded a treaty with his brother Hyrcanus. In the Temple of the Lord, they took oaths to each other, with the entire people watching. Then each man returned to his city and land, and the war was settled.

Now, after these things, there was an ally of Hyrcanus, Antipater by name, a wealthy man, very rich in silver and gold and livestock and many servants. This man was a warrior, a man of cunning strategies, skilled in all guiles, deceiver (102) of men, a man of intrigues. This Antipater was the general of the people of Idumea, who put them into a forced labor levy. This Antipater was appointed over it while he was still a young man by Alexander the king. He took a wife from the royal stock of Idumea. Four sons were born to him. Here are their names: the first, Phasaelus, (103) the second Herod, (104) who ruled; the third, Pheroras; (105) and the fourth, Joseph. (Column 207) The name of his daughter was Salome; (106) the name of his wife, Cypros (107) the Idumean. For this

reason the scribes said that this man was an Idumean, but Nicolaus (108) the scribe says that this man Antipater was from the aristocracy of Judea, out of those Judeans who returned to Jerusalem from Babylonia in the days of Nehemiah ben Hacaliah and Ezra the scribe and the priest. (109)

Now, since this man was an ally of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus determined to kill Antipater.

When Antipater heard this thing, he became very afraid of Aristobulus and, speaking persuasively to the warriors of Judea, he convinced them with these words: "I have a word for you, holy ones of the Lord. I see violence and robbery in the holy nation, much transgression and guilt. Great is the sin; wickedness is widespread. Truth has been cast out and there is no justice. Why should the younger rule over the older? Aristobulus rules this day. The kingdom was captured not by God's word nor by the will of the elders of Israel but by the sword and weapons of war, and the spilled blood of the Lord's people. So now, Israel, listen to the words of justice and truth." The more he spoke, (the more) he convinced the elders of Israel. He also stirred up Hyrcanus secretly, saying: "Choose flight; escape, for Aristobulus, your brother, is considering killing you. His advisors say: (Column 208) 'As long as Hyrcanus is living, you and your kingdom will not be permanent, for he is older than you. Only when you put him to death will your kingdom be established.' (Otherwise,) the plan to kill you will be realized." Hyrcanus listened to these things, but he did not believe them, for he was simple, upright and very kind. Since Antipater saw that Hyrcanus did not believe his words, he did not cease speaking words like this to Hyrcanus day and night. He also spent silver and gold to hire allies to speak the words

of Antipater to him. When he had convinced him (Hyrchanus) by his scheming, he encouraged him to flee, saying: "Stay here until I go and find a place where you will find refuge."

Leaving Jerusalem, Antipater went to Petra, (110) in the wilderness, to the location of the palace of Aretas, the king of Arabia. Aretas was delighted to greet him, for he had been his ally from before. He made a treaty with him (Aretas), making him promise that he would not deliver Hyrchanus into the hands of those who sought his life. Then, returning to Jerusalem, Antipater told Hyrchanus all he had done, (111) and, leaving Jerusalem, they traveled the many days' distance to Petra in the wilderness to the palace of Aretas, the king of Arabia. Aretas came out to greet Hyrchanus with horsemen and chariots. He received him with great honor, and he stayed in his (Aretas') house (Column 209) for many days.

After this, Antipater helped convince the king of Arabia to come to Jerusalem with Hyrchanus to make war upon Aristobulus and to return the throne to Hyrchanus. Aretas refused to come to fight with the Jews, because Alexander had beaten him three times in war, taking from him Arabia's fortified cities. Antipater said to him: "Do not be tender-hearted about going to war with us, because we have the elite of the Israelite warriors to fight Aristobulus." Aretas, answering, said: "If you return all the land to me, along with the ten store-cities, the cities which Alexander took from me, I will make war upon your enemies." Hyrchanus swore to return all the land and the ten cities to him. (112) Aretas gathered his army of warriors properly, and, traveling with them, went to war against Jerusalem with a force of 3,000 cavalry and a very great and vast host. Traveling from Petra in the wilderness, they arrived in

the land of Judea. But Aristobulus came forth to meet them, and engaged them in battle. On the day of battle, a great host fell in with Hyrcanus and Antipater to help them. When Aristobulus saw that a great multitude had deserted to Hyrcanus from the Judean forces, he left the camp and fled to Jerusalem alone and desolate, for all his forces were added to (those of) (Column 210) Hyrcanus and Antipater. Aretas, king of Arabia, then went and camped against Jerusalem with all the people of Judea and Arabia with him. Only the people of Jerusalem and the priests remained with Aristobulus. From day to day the war spread and grew much bigger. And the din of war extended to the first month. (113) On the 15th of the month many of the Hasidim and the Zaddikim left the land of Judea, going to stay in Egypt, because of the wars in the land of Judea, to celebrate the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

At this time, the Judean and Arabian people, each under its own flag, surrounded Jerusalem. Hidden among the Judean people was a man, Onias (114) by name, righteous and beloved of his God, whom He tested and found pure. He would stand in the breach and pray for the people of the Lord. When the heavens were shut and there was no rain, this man, Onias, would pray, asking the Lord for rain. And the Lord would answer his request, but no other. He had done this many times when there was famine in the land of Judea. On the day of the war, they found Onias hidden in the Judean camp, and taking him, the leaders of the Judeans stood him in the midst of the people. Then the leaders and the people told him: "Pray for this matter which is going badly for us. Perhaps the Lord will act for the sake of His name and answer you, as He answered you on the request (Column 211) for rain, and put Aristobulus and the priests with him in our power."

Answering, Onias said: "You are the people of the Lord and they are His priests. I will pray for you, (but) I will not curse or damn the priests of the Lord." They threatened him, saying: "If you do not do as we want, know that you will die." And when it became difficult for him he lifted his eyes heavenward, spread out his hands and prayed: "O Lord, God of the heaven, King of all the people, in whose hands are the souls of all living beings, who creates the thoughts in the heart of an upright man, and the thoughts of Your people and Your priests, attune their hearts to You; do not answer these against those for evil, but rather for good, for these are Your people and those are Your priests." When he prayed in this way, some wicked people of Judea fell upon Onias and put him to death. (115) But the Lord did not delay His vengeance. He smote the camp of Judea and a great multitude died for the blood of Onias. Afterwards, the priests, speaking to the people from the wall (of the city) said: "Israel is the people of the Lord; help your God and His temple. Give us sheep and he-goats and rams so that we may make sacrifices according to the law, for it is the Feast of Unleavened Bread today. Let them not cease from the altar of the Lord; the guilt will be upon you." Answering, the people said: "Pay us silver and gold, 1,000 drachmae (116) of gold for each ram; likewise for each sheep and he-goat, and we (Column 212) will grant you your request." Aristobulus and the priests gave the gold, but they (the people) did not give them the sacrifices, rather, these wicked sinners stole it.

They (Aristobulus and the priests) prayed and cried about the people's stealing the sacrifices of the Lord, and the Lord did not delay His vengeance. He smote the people with a great famine until an ephah of wheat

was worth one drachma of gold. (117)

In those days, Pompey the great, general of the Roman army, moved with very great, vast forces against Tigranes, king of Armenia. He sent Scaurus, (118) one of his servants, with orders to give pursuit to Aramea. When he had arrived in Damascus, Aristobulus sent him ambassadors to come to his aid. He did not want to aid Hyrcanus. He desired to be with Aristobulus, for Aristobulus had given him 400 talents of gold to aid him. (119) Scaurus took the gold and sent a letter to Aretas, king of Arabia, to Jerusalem, saying: "Cease (fighting) against Jerusalem, for if you do not cease, I warn you that Romans will come and kill you." Now when Aretas read the letter which Scaurus had written, he ceased (fighting) at Jerusalem and left, Hyrcanus and Antipater with him, for their ally had defaulted.

Then Aristobulus came forth out of Jerusalem, a small number of people with him. He pursued Aretas, (Column 213) Hyrcanus and Antipater. He caught up to them at the valley of Papyron (120) and, engaging in battle, he vanquished them. He killed 6,000 Arabian and Judean warriors who were with Hyrcanus, trampling many corpses. He also killed Phalion, (121) the brother of Antipater, in that battle. Then Aristobulus returned to Jerusalem and ruled over Judea. (122)

After these things, Pompey the great, too, came to Damascus. All the nations sent him ambassadors. Aristobulus too sent a tribute to him, a golden vine, which was (valued at) 500 talents of gold, and a garden of gold, called a Tryphon. (123) This is the vine and the garden which you saw (124) in the Temple of Jove, an idol which is in Rome. (125) Inscribed on the vine were these words: "This is the vine sent by Aristobulus,

king of Judea, to Rome." (126)

After these things, ambassador came from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus to Pompey. Hyrcanus sent Antipater, and Aristobulus sent Nicodemus. (127) He (Nicodemus) pleaded with him to aid Aristobulus, for he had given him 400 talents of gold. Antipater, too, when he saw that Nicodemus was winning help for Aristobulus, spoke to him secretly, saying: "Why should you help (Column 214) Aristobulus, and take gifts from him? Is it not better for you to rule over the nation of Judea? You will acquire a reputation and do great thing(s) which your ancestors did not do. If you assist Hyrcanus to power he will be your vassal; the whole Judean people will be your vassals." When Pompey heard these words he rejoiced greatly. He said to Antipater: "If this is your desire, be still until I entice them with words. Perhaps Aristobulus will come to me. I am afraid to engage him in battle, lest he extend the war in the plains of the Judeans and cut us (128) off from his land. Just wait until he comes to me; I will deceive him and come with him to Jerusalem, and then I will give the throne to Hyrcanus, only on condition that you pay me a tax every year."

Afterwards, Pompey said: "Call Nicodemus and let us deceive him. (129) Tell him: 'Say to Aristobulus, your master: thus says Pompey, general of the Roman army. Make haste come to me; do not delay. Antipater is waiting for you in Damascus until you come to me. I will place the Judean throne firmly in your hands. Thus has decreed the Consul, (130) and his 320 advisors.'" These are the contents of the letter Pompey sent to (Column 215) Aristobulus: "Pompey, general of the Roman army to Aristobulus the king and to the seed of the throne which belongs to

the priests of the Lord, and Judea - peace. Let it be known to you that the vine and the garden which you sent to me I have received, and I have sent them to Rome. The Consul and his 320 advisors will be pleased. They will put your present in the temple of Jove. They will praise you and pray for you in that place. The Consul has written to me to make the throne firm in your hands. Now, if it pleases you, make haste, come to me in Damascus and I will fulfill your wishes in a way which is good and proper in your eyes." This letter is recorded in the book of the Kings of Rome. (131)

Afterwards, Aristobulus went to Damascus to (see) Pompey, the great, hero of Rome. Hyrcanus went too, and Antipater and the elders of Judea who were with Hyrcanus and Antipater. (132) They said to Pompey: "Let the great general, a man of compassion, decide. Aristobulus has engaged in violence against his elder in taking the throne by the sword and the spear and by war. Still this is not enough for him. Ruling by force over the Judean people, he smote treacherously all the nations (which are) our neighbors, spilling much blood in their land. For they were our allies from beforehand. He is cruel to his people and to Gentiles." Antipater brought forth 1,000 elders as witnesses who confirmed all these things. (132) (Column 216) Answering, Aristobulus said: "It is true that my brother is older than I am, but he is lazy and weak and he is not fit to rule. I did not covet the throne for myself and I did not love it, but I saw a weakening of power among the people. Then the vassals of Judea, whom our ancestors had conquered, rebelled; they became rebellious, (134) ceaselessly so. And I, when I saw that thus, (by default,) I received the throne, I fought and brought them back under Judean power. Moreover,

my father, before the day of his death commanded that I should rule after the death of my mother, for he saw the laziness of my brother and his lack of sense." Then Aristobulus brought forth witnesses to confirm all these things. The witnesses he gave were young men, all dressed in blue and purple, all (wearing) gold ornaments and precious stones. Pompey was astonished (135) at the ornaments of the young men and their glorious beauty. Answering, he said to the elders: "These people are all kings. Happy the king who rules this people, and happy are we to be able to rule over a people like this. Now, because we have subdued this people our reputation will spread throughout the entire land and the fear and awe of us will dominate all the nations." (136)

Afterwards, Pompey left Damascus to go to Jerusalem, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus with him. (137) While on the road, the two brothers quarreled (Column 217) about the throne. The nations, men of the cities he (Pompey) took, also complained to Pompey, who subdued them. Pompey called upon Aristobulus to return the cities to their masters, and to write a personal order to effectuate the order that he would not go to war with them. Complying, Aristobulus returned the cities to them and wrote them a personal order according to all that Pompey had commanded. He (again) quarreled with Hyrcanus his brother about the throne, and Pompey said to them: "Be still until I come to your city and determine what to do with you." This Aristobulus understood, and with no question on his lips, he fled to Delius, (138) then to Pella (139) and Scythopolis (140) and finally to Alexandria, (141) where he stayed. Pompey became very angry and he shifted the burden of the war which he had planned to send against Persia, (142) and pursued him, catching up with him at Alexandria, and

surrounding the city. Then Aristobulus' wise men said: "Why should you rebel against Rome, which rules nearly all the world? Note also that most of our people are not with us; they are on their side." Heeding them, he went out to Pompey and sued for peace. But he quarreled again with his brother about the throne, and he returned to Alexandrium, the fortress, with Pompey's permission. (143) (Column 218) The next day Aristobulus left the city and, blowing the horn, he rebelled, proceeding to Jerusalem. Pompey went after him with the full complement of the Roman force and all the weight of their army. (144) And so it went, until Jericho, the city of scents, where they camped. (Jericho is so-called) because there blossoms the balsam, (145) that good oil which is called balsam, (146) that is, pannag. (147) This tree has never been observed anywhere except Jericho. Many kings, including the kings of Egypt, took grafts of the tree, which however, did not take for they were dry. This tree was found in Jericho until the destruction of the Temple. When the Temple was destroyed, the tree was moved to Egypt and other places. (148)

Afterwards, Pompey left Jericho for Jerusalem. When Pompey saw the height of the city's walls, the loftiness of its towers, how its stones sparkled and how its pinnacles (149) glistened, and the splendor of its beauty, and the brilliant dignity of its splendor, when he saw the majesty of the city, he was dumbfounded. Pompey said: "Who would hurl stones or shoot arrows on this, the holy city? Happy the king who rules this city."

Afterwards, Aristobulus appeared before him and sued for peace. He was sorry that he had rebelled. Pompey received him and made (Column 219) peace with him. Aristobulus said to him: "Everything you tell me,

I shall do, and everything that you levy on me I will give if you will only aid me with the throne. Do not bring me low before my enemies."

Pompey said to him: "Bring the gold vessels and precious jewels in your palace to me and I will send them to Rome by way of Actium (150) to the temple of Jove. Then I will fulfill all your desires." Aristobulus agreed to do so. Pompey sent Gabinius, (151) a mighty warrior, a strong force of the Roman warriors with him, to take the vessels and the precious stones from the Temple of the Lord which is in Jerusalem. But the priests and the people refused to give anything that Pompey asked. They ejected Gabinius from the city. (152) Many Roman warriors died in battle in Jerusalem. Pompey therefore got angry, and put Aristobulus under guard and bound him in chains, (153) and he approached the city with great power to do battle. He observed that the city was very well fortified on all sides, since it is situated on the highest of the mountains, except for the northern side where it is level. There Pompey arranged all his weapons of war and all his army with him, a very strong force, for the Roman force which had been sent to Persia had joined (them) directly in Jerusalem. (153a)

The men of Jerusalem went to battle against (Column 220) Pompey suddenly, and shouting, they gave hot pursuit to his camp, hurling many dead to the ground. Pompey, taken aback by the bravery of the men and the young men's swiftness, considered departing from the city.

Afterwards a battle took place within the city of Jerusalem between the men of Aristobulus and the men of Hyrcanus, for they (the latter) said to open the gate of the city to receive Pompey, but the men of Aristobulus refused him entrance. This internal war became worse than the

external war. Many men of Judea died in this war. (154) When Pompey heard of this, he approached the gate, and many Judeans opened the gate by hand and received Pompey. Thus he took Jerusalem and the king's palace. Only the Temple of the Lord did they (the Roman army) not take, for the priests had closed the gates of the Temple and its house. They took the approaches to the Temple and fought with strength. Now in the fourth month, (155) the priests fought until the 17th day. On the day of the fast at the time of the offering, while the priests were making the offerings before the altar, Pompey drew up the iron ram to breach the tower of the Temple. Hitting the tower, he destroyed it and they (the soldiers) opened the crypts of the Temple. (Column 221) Cornelius Faustus, (156) son of Sylla was first to enter. He came into the Temple when the priests were sacrificing the peace-offering and the burnt-offerings before the Lord. After Cornelius came Furius and Fabius, (157) a strong force of Pompey's warriors with them, their drawn swords in their hands. They moved through the Temple, killing the priests of the Lord. The priests did not tremble or become frightened by the drawn swords, nor were they scared by the shining spears, nor did they shake at the dead bodies falling in the Temple of the Lord. Over the dead bodies, the priests went to worship in the service of the Lord, and to make peace-offerings and burnt-offerings and sacrifices. The priests said to each other: "Be strong, let us be strengthened, Priests of the Lord; let us be killed before His altar. It is good to die in His service. Let us not leave the service of the Lord, nor cast off His worship." So the priests of the Lord proceeded without fear or dread or pain during the battle, like a man who walks in the depths of peace. When the priest making the peace-offering would fall,

his companion would come and take the sacrifice from his hand and offer it, and when he was killed, his companion would come and do what he had done for his, until the service of the Lord was completed by the priests on the fast day. (Column 222) They slaughtered all the priests wearing the linen ephod, dressed in holy vestments. The corpses of the priests fell on the carcasses of the burnt-offerings, their blood mixing with the blood of the burnt-offerings. Thus they died in holiness before the altar of the Lord.

All which I have spoken about the priests of the Lord I have not falsified, and all who read my book and do not believe, let them go and read the books of other writers, for many writers testified in this way. It is recorded, for example, in the book of Nicholas of Damascus and Strabo the Cappadocian, (158) and in the book of Titus the scribe, who recorded the deeds of Pompey the Roman, and in other books as well. (159) When the priests were gone from the Temple, the officers of Rome entered the sanctuary and occupied it. (160) Here are their names: Gaius, Antonius, Scaurus, (160a) Sullius, and Cicerius; he is the officer who was a scribe and recorded in his book all that he saw with his own eyes about the priests of the Lord and His sanctuary.

Afterwards, Pompey too, with many Romans, entered the sanctuary of the Lord and viewed the Holy of Holies. He had mercy and did not destroy anything in the sanctuary. Even though they came upon a great amount of gold, and 2,000 talents of gold drachmae, Pompey did not wish to touch anything he found in the Temple. He commanded the remaining priests to purify the Temple and to make a sacrifice (Column 223) and offerings, and they did so. He gave the throne to Hyrcanus (161) and killed all the

allies of Aristobulus, and imprisoned him in chains to take to Rome. All the cities of Aramea which the Judeans had taken he returned to the Arameans, and all the land laid waste by the Hasmoneans, Pompey returned to its inhabitants, and all who were oppressed by Jerusalem, Pompey freed from vassalage to Jerusalem, and Jerusalem, which was the mistress of all states, became a work levy. (162)

All this came upon us because of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the brothers, for it was they who first brought on this evil in Jerusalem: we have become servants of Rome. From then on, we have lost our greatness and have become oppressed. (163)

Afterwards, Pompey went and returned to his land, to Rome, taking with him Aristobulus, two of his sons, and two of his daughters. The third son, Alexander, had fled to safety. (164) Pompey left Hyrcanus and Antipater ruling in the land of Israel, and he left with them Scaurus, (165) giving him the entire land of Egypt. Pompey went on his way to Rome. Scaurus had gone to Petra in the wilderness beforehand. (166)

It was when Hyrcanus and Antipater (Column 224) were at Petra in the wilderness with Scaurus, general of Pompey's army, to fight in Arabia, that Alexander fled from Pompey, and going to Jerusalem, he rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem that Pompey had leveled. And, gathering a force of Judeans, he fought Hyrcanus and Antipater and put them to flight. Nor did Scaurus stand up before him. (167) Then Gabinius came up from Rome to the land of Aramea. He heard all that Alexander, son of Aristobulus, had done, that he had fought with Scaurus and killed many Romans, that he had put Hyrcanus and Antipater to flight, and that he was rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem which Pompey the great had leveled. Gabinius

approached him with a very strong force of Roman soldiers, with the force of Aramea, and a very great, strong force from the Judean army with Antipater and Hyrcanus. Mark Antony joined them as well. He had two names on account of his bravery, for he was a brave man and skilled in war. These officers joined battle with Alexander, son of Aristobulus, at Jerusalem. He came out to meet them with a small force: 10,000 footsoldiers and 500 cavalry. (168) In the battle with these officers 6,000 of his warriors were trampled. (Column 225) He fled with the rest of his men to Alexandrium. (169) When Gabinius approached this city to do battle, he (Alexander) came out of the city and put the camp of Gabinius to flight, killing many; 9,000 and 300 of Gabinius' camp in the battle. (170) Then Mark Antony stood in that battle, the battle became great; 25,000 from the Roman camp fell, but they turned Alexander back and forced him to flee into the city, laying out many of his men in the battle. (171) Gabinius besieged the city and fought it. Then the mother of Alexander, the wife of Aristobulus, came to him, crying, pleading with him to make peace between Gabinius and Alexander. And they made peace.

He divided (the country) into (five) parts: Hyrcanus would rule in Jerusalem. He put another in Gedara, the second part; in Amathus (172) another, in Sepphoris another ruler, and another ruler in Jericho. (173)

At that time, Aristobulus and Antigonus, his son, fled from the city of Rome to the land of Judea, and reached the border of the land of Judea. Pitholaus, (174) the commander of Jerusalem, deserted to him with 1,000 warriors, for he remembered his first honor. Aristobulus, seeing the great multitude with him, separated the weaker people from himself, (Column 226) and, choosing from all the people 8,000 men of the warriors

who would never flee or run from anything, went out to do battle with Gabinius, who came with a very large force of Romans. A Judean force came with Gabinius to battle against Aristobulus in great strength.

Aristobulus joined battle with them with his 8,000 warriors and smote the Romans very severely and cast many of the Roman force earthward, dead. Seven thousand of Aristobulus' warriors were tread upon in the fight, leaving Aristobulus with 1,000 warriors. But he broke through the Roman camp over and over again, until he took refuge at the top of the mountain. The Roman force pursued him and caught up with him. Turning about, Aristobulus fought with them for two days. On the third day, the other 1,000 of his warriors, who had continued to kill more in the Roman camp, fell, leaving Aristobulus by himself. He fought and killed many. They inflicted great wounds upon him to the point that the iron hat on his head was cut off and he fell to the ground. They captured him and took him to Gabinius. They healed him of the wounds, and binding him again, they sent him in chains to Rome. (175) They brought him to (Column 227) Rome to the Consul and his 320 advisors. Aristobulus ruled 3 years and 6 months; a man of honor, brave and generous, good eyes and handsome to see. (176)

Afterwards, the Consul sent the sons of Aristobulus from Rome to Jerusalem, for he had mercy on the wife of Aristobulus, their mother. Gabinius had written about the wisdom of the woman. Therefore, the Consul who was in Rome had mercy upon her, sending her sons and daughters to her. (177)

Afterwards, Gabinius went and crossed the river Euphrates. He fought against Persia and Medea and subdued them, for Pompey the Great had

conquered them, but when he left, they rebelled. Therefore Gabinius went and subdued them and placed a work levy upon them. (178)

At that time, the people of Egypt rebelled, not paying tax to Rome anymore. Ptolemy sent to Gabinius to help him and Gabinius came with all his force to help Ptolemy, King of Egypt. Gabinius sent to Hyrcanus and Antipater to aid him. Antipater left Jerusalem with a very great force of the mercenaries who were vassals to Rome; also the entire force of Judea and Benjamin. Going to the aid of Gabinius, he found him in Damascus whence he had returned from the land of Persia. Gabinius said to him: "Peace (Column 228) and welcome." Gabinius told him to precede him, to open the way; then Gabinius would come to Egypt and restore Ptolemy to the throne. (179) At that time, Antony was with Gabinius in Egypt.

Alexander, son of Aristobulus, started in again. He gathered a great force of Judean young men and, raiding Mt. Gerizim, he smote the Roman garrison which Gabinius had left there, (180) and he expelled all Romans from the land of Judea. (181) When Gabinius heard this, he sent Antipater to speak words of peace to the people who had rebelled. Antipater went and reproved the people, thus bringing them back to Gabinius. (182) But Alexander, not wishing to listen to him, took 30,000 young men from Judea and, proceeding to Mt. Tabor, arranged battle lines to meet Gabinius. Ten thousand of his men fell. He fled with 20,000 and Gabinius returned to Jerusalem, and confirmed Hyrcanus on the throne. (183) He also set Antipater in power over all the people of Judea. Then, traveling from there, he returned to Rome.

Now, after a year had elapsed, when the Consul and his 320 advisors heard that Persia and Medea had revolted, they dispatched Crassus (184)

with a very strong force. On his way, Crassus came to Jerusalem, and entering the (Column 229) Temple of the Lord, he took the gold in the Temple of the Lord by force. He found 2,000 talents of drachmae in gold there.

(185) In those days there was a high priest, Eleazar by name, a righteous, God-fearing man. The priest said to Crassus: "Why must you rob the Temple of the Lord by force and take the gold which Pompey and other officers did not touch. Now if you swear to me not to take this gold, I will give you one beam, which in gold weighs 300 minae." From it were hung all the curtains of blue and purple which covered the gates of the Holy of Holies, hence this beam was hidden from all, and not seen. Crassus swore to him that he would neither touch nor take any of the gold in the Temple except the beam. So Eleazar (186) the priest gave the beam, handcrafted by artisans, 300 minae of gold in weight. A mina is $2\frac{1}{2}$ rotoli. (187) The rotolo equals 60 ounces.

When Crassus (188) took the beam, he broke his oath and, returning, he took all the gold found in the house of God; there were 2,000 talents of pure gold. (189) Many are the enemies and antagonists who hate the Jewish nation like that.

And if you (190) do not believe my words in the matter of (Column 230) the wealth of our God's sanctuary, you had better believe my words and not find falsehood in them. For many great kings sent offerings to the Temple of the Lord from year to year; vessels of silver and gold, to seek the presence of the Lord. Moreover, many nations gave tributes to the Temple of our God, vessels of silver and gold. And in those days there were very many wealthy Jews. And this was from the stringent supervision of this holy place. Even the nations who came to war on and destroy it, ultimately

gave honor to the place. When they perceived that our Temple site is exalted and holy, they would bring offerings of gold and precious stones. Many writers have testified as I do, like Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo of Cappodocia (191) writing about the wealth of the Jews who said: (192) Mithradates, king of Armenia, sent to the city of Cos (193) which is on the border of Asia, and he took from them the gold which Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had deposited there. He also took the gold which the Jews had set aside to send to the Temple of our God. The weight of that gold was 800 talents, that is only the silver and gold and precious stones which the Jews living in the land of Asia had set aside. No gold from the land of Judea was there, nor from the land of (Column 231) Alexandria; only from the land of Asia did that gold come. (194)

Now after Crassus had taken the gold which was in the Temple of the Lord, he went to war against Persia and Medea. There his whole force fell on that day as one; the men of Persia were victorious by the sword. (195) Coming into Aramea, Cassius rescued it from incursions by Persia and returned it to Roman rule by putting the Persian army to flight from Aramea. Returning, Cassius came into the land of Judea to find the Judean people fighting with Hyrcanus and Antipater.

He aided Hyrcanus and Antipater and settled the kingdom in Hyrcanus' power. Cassius, traveling from there, crossed the Euphrates river, and roused Arabia against Persia and Medea, stirring up great battles between them, until he returned them to Roman rule, just as Pompey had subdued them when he was in the East. (196)

In those days, a pregnant woman in Rome, wife of one of the 320 advisors, of Rome, died. As she died, the child in her womb stirred and

struggled. Opening her womb, they took the child out. He lived and grew up. They called him Julius, for he came out of his mother's belly in the month of Ab. (197) They also called him Caesar, because she was cut. Caesar means "cut" in the holy tongue, in the Roman language "Caesar". This lad was a brave warrior and when the (Column 232) Consul sent Pompey to the East, he also sent this Julius Caesar to the West to subdue the kings of the West. Fighting in the West, Caesar subdued the nation of Frantus and Frictus and all the West up to the Atlantic Ocean. (198)

Upon his return to Rome in glory and triumph, he became haughty and he said: "I will be king over all Rome." But the Consul and his 320 advisors said: "We will not suffer a king over us, for a king has not ruled over us since the days of Tarquin (199) the king, who took a man's wife by force. When the woman grieved, he pierced her belly, taking her life. Since then our ancestors swore not to put a king over them. From then to the present, a king has not ruled over us these many years. (Now) you seek to desecrate the command of our ancestors. Pompey, your colleague, has also won glory and triumph in the East, having conquered twenty-two great, mighty kings, accomplished men before whom the rest of the kings of the earth had trembled from ancient days. He also subdued the people of Judea, a great and mighty nation, but he has not asked to be king. Now let it be known by you that we will not accept you nor will you be king over us." Haughtily, Caesar said: "No, I will be king over you. You (will be) my servants and I your king." A great war was waged in Rome; countless lives were lost. (Column 233) Ruling by force, he put the royal crown on his head. Caesar, whose name is Julius, ruled. Thus all the kings who ruled after him were called Caesar because of his name. (200)

When Pompey, in the land of Cyprus, heard that Caesar was king in Rome and that he had coerced the Consul and killed his 320 advisors, he summoned all the kingdoms of the land under his control to go and fight Caesar. When Caesar heard this, he released Aristobulus from prison and appointed him commander of two legions of 10,000 men, ordering him to go to Aramea to destroy and kill, and to join with the Judean people to harass Pompey from behind. (201) When Pompey heard this, he became very frightened because of Aristobulus, so he sent a letter to let this thing be known to his allies in Jerusalem. The people of Jerusalem sent words of peace as a greeting to Aristobulus in Aramea. They dined and drank with him and made him drunk with deadly poison, thus they killed him there. (202) Pompey crossed to Actium and gave battle to Caesar. Many of Pompey's force fell. Pompey fled from Caesar, but Caesar, pursuing him, put him to death. Caesar ruled all the land of Rome. Caesar went through Aramea and sought to enter Egypt, but the men of Egypt would (Column 234) not receive him, for they were still under the control of Pompey's officers. Antipater, taking a strong force of Judean warriors, went to the aid of Mithradates (Caesar's ally). The two joined together and marched on Egypt, camping at Pelusium (203) and warring against it. Mithradates attacked the walls of the city, and Antipater attacked the gate. Antipater took the gate, and, entering the city, he and the Judean warriors smote the city with the sword and took all its booty. They traveled to a place called the city Onion. (204) There they found Egyptian Jews dwelling in Egypt; a very strong force, which did not permit Mithradates and Antipater to cross into Egypt. Antipater showed them the letter which Hyrcanus had written to them, a message of friendship and peace, (asking

them) to add their power to Caesar's and to accept Mithradates. Doing this, the Egyptian Jews accepted Mithradates. (205)

From there Mithradates and Antipater traveled to a place called Delta. (206) There, there was a very strong and vast force. Taken aback, Mithradates turned to flee. They gave pursuit and joined battle with him. The right wing which was his, was subdued, and the hearts of his people became weak because of the burden of their fierce battle and their downfall at the hands of the forces of the Egyptian king. When Antipater saw the flight of Mithradates and the downfall of his officers, (Column 235) Antipater ran with three chosen men of Judea (207) and saved Mithradates from death. He turned back all of Egypt. They fled from him. Pursuing, he inflicted upon them a great and enormous blow. He pressed them on the banks of the Nile. The Egyptians fell by the sword on the banks of the Nile; those who escaped from the sword died in the Nile. Thus Antipater captured all the kingdom of Egypt, Mithradates with him. Mithradates wrote to Caesar about the bravery and the victory which Antipater achieved in Egypt; how he subdued the pride of Egypt and returned them to the rule of Caesar, how he fought, how he was taken in battle and wounded severely, and was healed. (208) When Caesar heard this, he liked Antipater very much and praised him. He sent messengers to bring him (Antipater) in to honor him. Antipater and Mithradates went to Caesar at Damascus. He said to him (Antipater): "I have heard all the trouble which you found and the bravery and the victory which you achieved in Egypt on our behalf, how you returned Egypt to our rule. Now we must honor you for your strength and bravery." (209)

Then Antigonus, younger son of Aristobulus came before Caesar and,

crying, he told him about his father, how allies of Pompey, men of Jerusalem, had made him drunk (Column 236) with deadly poison on the advice of Hyrcanus and Antipater, allies of Pompey and his advisors. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, continued speaking, saying to Caesar: "You know that Hyrcanus my uncle and Antipater were allies of Pompey and his advisors; they are your enemies." Answering before the king, Antipater said: "I was an ally of Pompey because he treated me favorably and (because) Roman rule was in his hands in those days. I fought his war. But this war I fought now, in which I took my life in my hands and returned all the glory of Egypt to the rule of Caesar, I fought in the name of Caesar, and I sustained wounds, as your eyes can see." And he removed his clothes and showed the scars in his flesh and the wounds on his head. Continuing, he said: "Let my wounds testify for me, as faithful witnesses, and let my scars vouch for me, that I fought this war in the name of Caesar and not in the name of Pompey, for he is dead." (210)

Answering, Caesar said to Antipater: "Peace be upon you, warrior of Judea, and peace be upon all those who seek your peace and your good, for the truth is yours about everything you said. Your words testify to your bravery and victory, and your scars tell of your strength. Now I appoint you general of (Column 237) all the men of war which are mine until I make war upon the nations beyond the Euphrates River and subdue them. Then you will return to your land and your city." So Caesar appointed Antipater over the Roman army from that day on, until he would subdue the pride of the East and the entire land of India. Then Antipater returned to his land to his city, Jerusalem, the holy city. (211)

Other writers have testified as I do about Antipater's bravery at

that time. Thus Nicolaus of Damascus, and Strabo the Cappadocian, (212) and others as well. (213) Then Antipater returned to Jerusalem to Hyrcanus, king of Judea, who had sent him. Hyrcanus rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem which Pompey had destroyed and ruled securely. But Hyrcanus was a simple, just man and very lazy about affairs. (214) Antipater, seeing his laziness, appointed his sons over all Judea, by the word of Hyrcanus; Phasaelus, the eldest, governor of Jerusalem. Taking his second son, whose name was Herod, he made him governor of Galilee. He was a young lad, 15 years old. (215)

At this time, a robber, a young man named Hezekiah, head of (Column 238) the marauders, left Jerusalem. This man was a marauder and a robber who, in his arrogance, overran all Aramea, continually putting their young men to the sword, destroying their cities, and their fortifications, pitilessly laying waste their land. Wherever there were Arameans, Hezekiah was there to plunder them. Many marauders were with him. All the inhabitants of Aramea were terrified of his arrogance; they had no safety from him. When Herod, the son of Antipater, became officer and governor of Galilee, Sextus, (216) cousin of Caesar, sent him a letter: "To Herod, son of Antipater, let it be known to you that we have heard that you have been appointed governor in Galilee. We are very pleased. Now, remember the owe of Caesar, who loves your father who honored him and fought the war of Caesar. For here is Hezekiah, head of the marauders from your land, destroying all the land of Aramea, over which I am the governor. There is no safety for the Arameans from him. Now go and make war upon him and kill him, and you will receive a large gift and great honor and greatness from the Caesar and from me." Herod heeded Sextus, and went quickly and powerfully to attack Hezekiah. He came without trouble, for he (Hezekiah) was not on guard against him.

He smote (Column 239) and killed him and his friends, the marauders. (217) Hearing this, Sextus sent him a gift of silver and gold and precious stones because he had fought and killed Hezekiah. Therefore he honored him. The young man became very wealthy in silver and gold. The Arameans made him rich because he killed Hezekiah.

When the officers of Judea heard of all that Herod had done to Hezekiah, they grieved greatly and said to Hyrcanus: "How long will you bear the trouble of Antipater and his sons. The entire realm is in their hands, and they accomplish all that they seek to do, for Antipater ingratiates himself with the kings of Rome with your wealth and our treasures. Phasaelus, his son, has been made governor in Jerusalem. You have no part in the rule of Judea, only the name, for the entire kingdom is in their hands. His son Herod has killed Hezekiah, a brave man in whose dread all the nations stood, (218) and in whose fear they trembled. And does Herod, the son of Antipater, now come to judgment before the holy Sanhedrin?" (219) Day by day they said things like that and more. (220) The mothers of the young men along with the mother of Hezekiah would cry out before Hyrcanus whenever he would come to the Temple of the Lord, about how Herod had killed their sons. (221) When it suited Hyrcanus, he summoned Herod to come to justice, to bring him before (Column 240) the elders of those days. (222)

When Antipater heard this, he sent this message to his son: "When Hyrcanus calls you to come to him, hasten, do not delay. But be careful; do not come alone but with legions. When you enter the city come not with many but with a few warriors." Herod did as his father had instructed him. (223) Coming with few warriors, he stood before the

Sanhedrin. His standing before them, dressed in purple, his hair combed, with his legions, bearing a sword, stunned the judges and the men of the Sanhedrin into silence. On all the matters they had accused him of before his coming they were silent; they did not open their mouths. Then Sameas, (224) a student of Hillel the elder, said before the elders and the Sanhedrin, the major Sanhedrin and the minor Sanhedrin, in the presence of all the gathered people: "I speak to you, the chosen of God, the great, holy ones of the Lord: I have seen this day a new thing among you. Every sinner who stands for trial must appear in black dress, the hair of his head full of dust and ashes, to ask for mercy for the crime he committed or for the transgression he perpetrated. But this young man Herod (Column 241) stands before you in purple dress, his hair combed, his legions around him, bearing a sword, that if he is condemned by the law he would turn and kill them. I am not afraid of Herod, for he would not do this; rather he would flee for his life. You have sinned, for you have shown deference to him in that you have let (him) do these things. Days are coming when this Herod, whom you deferred to in justice, and whom Hyrcanus had mercy upon, will kill you and take over the kingdom." (225)

When Sameas had said these things, Hyrcanus said to the Sanhedrin: "Let us each go home, for the sun has already set. Tomorrow we will return to the place of judgment to examine and to ascertain the judgment in detail." Hyrcanus said this only to rescue Herod from the judgment for he saw that the party of judges had joined together to sentence Herod to death. So Hyrcanus left, and all the judges went home. (226) That night, he (Herod) left Jerusalem with his legions and fled to Damascus in Aramea, to Sextus, who was in charge of all Aramea. He told him all that

had happened to him in Jerusalem. Then Sextus appointed him governor of all Aramea. (227)

Now after a year had elapsed, Herod assembled all (Column 242) the army of Aramea and went to war against Hyrcanus. But Antipater his father and Phasaelus his brother came out to meet him. They said to him: "You are not treating Hyrcanus the way he treated you. He saved you from death by not bringing you to judgment. You are doing this on the advice of bad advisors. He loves you like his son. Now leave him alone lest you be guilty and sin before God if you do not. Do not say that you fought with strength of hand and that you won, for all wars are from God, and He gives victory to the one He wants." When Herod heard this, he returned to Aramea after having made a show of strength. (228)

After these things, Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to Rome to renew the treaty with Julius Caesar. Now it is proper for us to tell of the friendship of Roman officers. They loved our ancestors because of their strength and their faithfulness, for they were brave and faithful. Therefore all the kings of the earth loved to make treaties with them because of their strength and faith. The kings of Persia and Medea, too, sent them gifts and many letters with words of peace to Jerusalem because of the fame of the people of Jerusalem and their bravery.

Other writers have recorded all this (Column 243) in their writings. I have shirked the labor of writing them all; rather I have recorded a few of their letters. (229) Here are the words of the treaty, a letter which Julius Caesar sent to the officers of Rome who resided in Tyre and Sidon: "Peace. Let it be known to you that I have received the letters of Hyrcanus, king of Judea, and I am pleased with his letters and his loyalty.

I am sending you copies of all the matters which were written in the letter(s) of Hyrcanus. Therefore, I am sending them to you and I command you to write them in the Roman language or in the Greek language on a tablet of brass and put them in a high place in the temple of Jove which is in Sidon. Let it be always read so that the matters in the letters will not be forgotten; to make known to everyone the love of the Romans and the people of Judea. Hyrcanus, the king of the Jews, he and the Jewish people were the arm of the Roman people, for when I fought in Egypt, he sent Antipater, a warrior of Judea, who saved Mithradates from death and smote the pride of Egypt and opened up all Egypt for us. The Jews helped us in all our wars upon the land of India. Therefore, I Julius Caesar, (command) all the inhabitants of the sea-coast from Gaza to Sidon to give a yearly tribute to the temple of the great God in Jerusalem, (Column 244) excluding Sidon. The Sidonians, for their part, will give the Temple of the great God in Jerusalem, 20,555 ephahs of wheat yearly. (230) I have commanded that all the land of Lydda (231) which the officers of Rome and Pompey the great gave to the kings of Aramea, be taken from the control of Aramea and returned to Hyrcanus the son of Alexander, king of Judea. And I, Julius, command that all the land unto the Euphrates which the Hasmonean kings took in war, and which Pompey returned to their owners be returned to Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, for their fathers took it with their swords. Therefore all that they took in war shall be theirs. And any king or officer, of any language, any people, and any state under my government who violates my treaty and advice, and criticizes (232) and presses the matter against them and consciously plans not to follow my commands--that king or officer will die by the sword, his land will be

left a wasteland, uninhabited by man or beast." (233)

The ambassador whom Hyrcanus sent to Rome sat with Julius Caesar before all the ambassadors of the nations; they sat with him opposite him, wearing wreaths, to see the race of mighty horses breathing war, and the chariots, and the battles of the beasts which were performed (Column 245) before Julius Caesar, including naked men fighting; everything which was done before him to delight him. These are the names of the ambassadors whom he sent: Lysimachus, son of Pausanias, (234) Alexander, son of Theodorus, Epitroclos, son of Suriah, and Jonathan, son of Onias. (235)

At that time, when Julius Caesar had peace and quiet, while he was praying in the temple of Jove in Rome, enemies, who remained from Pompey's friends, arose and drove 30 spears into his body and his side; thus they killed him in the temple. These are the names (sic) of the men who killed him: Pius Achodotus. (236) Then Cassius left Rome, and crossing the sea with a very strong force, he came to the land of Asia and conquered it. Traveling from there, he went to the land of Judea and exacted from the land a punishment of 70 talents of gold. (237) When Antipater learned that Julius Caesar was dead, he sought to avenge him by fighting Cassius, but he was unable, for with Cassius was a force greater and stronger than all the nations. Then Antipater divided the whole land of Judea between his two sons to produce the tax and to give it to Cassius. (238) Herod produced the tax from the land of Judea and gave it to Cassius. He found favor in his (Cassius') eyes and he loved him dearly. (239) Taking the gold from the land of Judea, Cassius went to Macedonia, (Column 246) because he was afraid to return to Rome. Then

the officers of Judea plotted to kill Antipater. Malichus (240) arose and sought to attack Antipater, but the matter was known to Antipater, and he gathered his legions and warriors to battle Malichus. Malichus feared Antipater, so when he took an oath on the matter, Antipater believed his words and made a reconciliation with him. But when they called both of them to a banquet of wine with Hyrcanus, Malichus hired Hyrcanus' wine butler, giving him much gold, to give Antipater a deadly poison and murder him. Thus died Antipater, a great and heroic man. At this point, his days ended; his life found its limit, a man who defended the people of Judea and the holy city with his sword. Thus he received his fate.

(241)

When Herod heard all that Malichus had done to his father, he came at him with a strong force to avenge his father('s death). But Phasaëlus, his brother, dissuaded him, saying: "Let there not be a great war and much blood spilled in the holy city of Jerusalem."

But together they planned to kill Malichus by cunning. Herod sent (a message) to Cassius, informing him about this matter, all that Malichus had done to his father. Cassius sent (this message) to Herod: "Avenge your father, who begat you, who raised you on his knees, upon Malichus. When I come to the city of Tyre, and when Hyrcanus (Column 247) and Malichus come to me, you and your brother come to me there and avenge your father upon Malichus." So Herod did. When Cassius came to the city of Tyre, Hyrcanus, the officers of Judea, and Malichus came to him. Phasaëlus and Herod were with him, for he swore to them: "I am innocent of your father('s death), I was not in on the plot to kill him." The young men believed him in his presence, but secretly they planned to kill him,

for they knew that Malichus had sworn falsely; that he had killed their father. When they went to Tyre with Hyrcanus, they came to Cassius, the Roman warrior, and he ordered his legions: "Listen to everything that Herod tells you and do not disobey on penalty of death."

Now after the banquet they lay down for the afternoon rest. When the shadows lengthened, at the breezy part of the day, Hyrcanus went out to the gate of the city, commanding Malichus to come sit in front of him; he also summoned Phasaelus and Herod and they sat before him. Then Herod signalled to the Roman legions, who jumped upon them with swords drawn. Raising their swords over the heads of the four of them, they slew Malichus alone. They did not touch Hyrcanus and his officers. Hyrcanus was so astonished that his senses left him and he nearly died. When his senses returned to him he asked Herod: "What is this? Why was Malichus slain?" Herod (Column 248) said: "I do not know, but Cassius commanded that he be killed." Hyrcanus, answering said: "Malichus was certainly an evil, wicked man." Hyrcanus had never said these things before out of his fear. (242)

After these things, Cassius traveled to Macedonia to confront Octavian, son of Julius Caesar's brother, (243) and Antony, a military hero in Rome, who sought to fight to avenge (the death of) Julius Caesar upon Cassius who had murdered Julius Caesar.

At that time a great war broke out in Judea because Felix (244) came from Damascus with a very strong force to rule in the land of Judea. Now Phasaelus the son of Antipater, said to Felix, the Roman: "Go to Damascus, where Cassius stationed you, for you have no share in the land of Judea." But Felix did not listen to Phasaelus, instead, he waged war

against him. In fighting with Felix, Phasaelus sent many Romans earthward; even Felix nearly fell in battle. He fled and hid in a small town, but Phasaelus took the town and captured Felix alive, and he sent him off. (245)

Now Cassius was fighting with Octavian, the young man, and Antony, the hero of the Romans. A great and mighty battle took place. More than 100,000 corpses were trampled that day (Column 249) in battle. Cassius fled from them, but Octavian and Antony pursued him, smote him, and put him to death. So Octavian ruled in place of Julius Caesar, for he was his brother's son. This Octavian was called Augustus because he had more power than all who were before him. It is "Augustus" in the Roman tongue. In the holy tongue, the interpretation of this is "he increased over all the kings of Rome". Thereafter, they (the kings) were called Augustus after Octavian. They were also called Caesar, after Julius, his uncle.

Now when Octavian Augustus and Antony had conquered Cassius and Brutus in the land of Macedonia, in the valley of Philippus, they went then into the land of Ephesus. Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to them, in their hands a gift of a royal crown and precious stones. (246) They gave them to Augustus, his ally, and renewed the treaty which existed between Hyrcanus and Julius Caesar. They requested that Augustus return the captives whom Cassius had exiled from the land of Judea and to permit (247) all the Jews who were sold in the days of Cassius to be set free, and to permit all the rest of the Jews dwelling in the whole land of Greece and Asia to dwell in peace and quiet. Augustus and Antony harkened to all (Column 250) Hyrcanus asked. (248)

Here are the contents of the letter sent by Augustus and Antony to

Hyrcanus, King of Judea: Octavian Augustus, the king, and Mark Antony, his ally, to Hyrcanus, king of Judea; "Peace and redemption. Let it be known to you that we have received your letters at the hands of Lysimachus, son of Pausanias (249) and with him Joseph, son of Menneus, and Alexander, son of Theodorus, (250) the ambassadors whom you sent to us in Ephesus (251) to make a treaty with us as you desire. We are pleased at your health and redemption. Now we have fought with Cassius who wickedly killed Caesar. We have returned the evil of his having done violence to Caesar, by attacking the sun and casting it to the earth. (252) Therefore we fought great and mighty battles with him. We conquered his wickedness in the valley of Philippus and we killed him, and Brutus (253) his ally. Thus the land of Asia has been rescued from their hands, just as a woman is rescued from her agony on the day she gives birth, and just as the sick one is saved from the burden of his ailment. For they made the land of Asia a treading ground, like the outside mud in the course of the wicked, which they ran in. Nor did they spare the innocent, or temples, or cities; neither did they keep oaths with the men they promised. They ruled over the land of Macedonia. Cursed be the land of Macedonia (Column 251) which received them and hid them and their wickedness between her thighs like a woman hides her prostitution under her dresses. (254) Thus the land of Macedonia hid in her midst all the evil of Cassius. Now seeing all they did in Judea, to all our confederates, (255) let it be known to you that we have killed the villains and the destroyers who ravaged the whole land. Let King Hyrcanus and all the Jewish people rejoice, the holy city and all its inhabitants be glad. Let the priests of the great and mighty God who is in the Temple of Jerusalem be

glad. Let them take the gift we have sent, and pray for the life of Augustus, King of Rome, and Antony, his ally. For I, Augustus, have sent throughout my kingdom from beyond the sea in India to the westerners beyond Briton, that is the Atlantic Ocean: (256) wherever a man or woman of Jewish stock is a servant or maidservant, they are to be set free, without ransom, by order of Augustus and Antony, his ally. Now, long life and success to you and to our confederates." (257)

Afterwards, Augustus returned to the city of Rome and occupied his throne, while Antony returned to Ephesus. He sent a letter to the officers of the Roman army in Tyre: "Why have you not returned to the land which (Column 252) you took from the land of Judea in the days of Cassius, the evil man? Now, know that the sword of the Romans will soon be upon you if you do not return the land to the Jews, our confederates. If you do not hasten to make peace with them, (there will be) a great thing against your land and you. I, Mark Antony, swear it, and I will not change." (258) Afterwards, Antony went to Aramea. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, came to him. Antony lay with her and loved her. Cleopatra turned the heart of Antony with her charms; Antony would do everything Cleopatra asked from that day on, for she turned him by her many charms. (259)

Then 100 of the great men of Judea came to Antony, because he had made Herod and his brother Phasaelus rulers. They said: "These sons of Antipater took the kingdom away from Hyrcanus, leaving Hyrcanus with nothing but the name." Antony asked Hyrcanus if the matter were true. Hyrcanus answered: "God forbid! Herod and Phasaelus are my servants, and they are very faithful to me." Antony was pleased by Hyrcanus' words, because he loved the young men on account of Antipater, their father, for

Antony loved Antipater their father. (260)

When Antony came (Column 253) to the fortress of Tyre, which is on the shores of the sea, many great men (261) of Judea came to him again to slander the young men. Angered by them, Antony put some of them in prison, fifteen men who had cried out about Herod and Phasaëlus. (261a) He also killed many of those who cried out, for he favored Phasaëlus and Herod his brother, and he honored them, raised them up, and sent them to Jerusalem with honor. (262) After he had conquered all the kingdom of Persia, Antony returned to Rome.

After these things, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, left Jerusalem and rebelled against his uncle Hyrcanus. Going to the land of Persia with a big force of the elite of Judea, he went to Pacorus, (263) king of Persia. Antigonus vowed (to give) him 1,000 talents of gold and 800 of the elite and most noble women in Judea (264) if he would join forces with him to help him take the kingdom from Hyrcanus, and to kill Herod and Phasaëlus his brother. Pacorus harkened to Antigonus, son of Aristobulus. He assembled his forces, most of the forces of Persia and Medea. Coming into Aramea, they took it and smote all the Romans whom they found there along with Antoninus, general of the Roman army. Now Pacorus, king of Persia, sent his butler (265) into the force at Jerusalem, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus (Column 254) with him. The king of Persia commanded them: "Do this. When you come unto the city, proclaim the peace of the city until you enter the city. When you have entered the city, start fighting; slay Hyrcanus and Herod and Phasaëlus his brother, and transfer the government to Antigonus, son of Aristobulus." The butler of the king of Persia, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, with him, traveled to Jerusalem.

Proclaiming the peace of the city and the people, they entered the city and started fighting Hyrcanus within the city. Then Herod and Phasaelus his brother divided the places between them. Herod was assigned the palace to defend, and Phasaelus mounted the wall to guard against scaling the wall. (266) The men of Persia and Antigonus began to smite the people and to plunder the city. Herod descended from the palace, he and his young men, and joined battle with the men of Persia and the men of Antigonus, in the street of the city, and he smote them severely, putting them to flight. Phasaelus, too, descended from the wall and smote all who stood against him, and fighting with strength, they vanquished the men of Persia and the men of Antigonus.

At the end of seven days, the butler of the king of Persia called Herod and Phasaelus, and he said to them: "How long will this (Column 255) war in the holy city last? Stop fighting and come greet Pacorus, king of Persia, my lord, and confederate with him, and aid him. It would be better for me if you would be his allies, for you are warriors, rather than (our) being allies of Antigonus, who does not equal your bravery." Herod did not believe his words, but Hyrcanus and Phasaelus did believe him, and did that which the butler of the king said. (267) They went to greet Pacorus, finding him in Aramea. He welcomed them with great honor in their presence, but in secret, he plotted to place guards about them at night, and to put them in chains. When Hyrcanus and Phasaelus awoke during the night, seeing guards about the house in their battle dress, they did not know that it was on account of them that they were standing (duty). Then Ophellius and Saramalla, wealthy Arameans, came to Phasaelus and informed him of all the treachery of Pacorus, king of

Persia; how Antigonus had won his heart with 1,000 talents of gold; and how he had vowed to give him 800 of the elite women of Judea. The wealthy Arameans said to Phasaelus: "There is a ship waiting for you in the sea, ready to travel; flee to the land of Judea." In those days Pacorus was on the coast. Phasaelus refused to flee and leave Hyrcanus. (Column 256) Going to Pacorus, king of Persia, he said: "You have violated your treaty with us. Now we know that there is no faith in the Persian people. We have heard and seen with our own eyes the plots you planned against us. You are (collaborating) with a penniless man. If you do not have gold and silver, here, Hyrcanus can give you twice as much gold as Antigonus said. Only do not do violence to the men with whom you have a treaty."

When Pacorus, king of Persia, heard this, he vowed deceitfully, assuring them in these words: "You have heard a false, lying oath about me. I did not think this, nor did I consider doing this great evil, especially to our confederates." He encouraged them and assured them with these words. They returned and lay down confidently. While they were lying, the Persian troops fell upon them, taking them and binding them in chains. (268) When Phasaelus awoke from his sleep, his hands were bound in iron; he jumped here and there, and hopping, he sought to unsheaf his sword, but was unable, for his hands were bound. Lifting his eyes, he beheld a large rock. Running toward the rock, he hopped high above the ground, breaking his head on the rock by the force of his anger. Thus he died. (269) Before he died, a woman told him that Herod was safe. Phasaelus was pleased. (Column 257) He said: "I am pleased for now I know that I leave one who will redeem my blood and seek vengeance for me." When he had said these things, he died and was gathered to his people. (270)

Herod was in Jerusalem when he heard all that Pacorus, king of Persia, had done to Phasaelus his brother and to Hyrcanus, king of Judea. He took his mother and his father-in-law and Mariamne, (271) his betrothed. She was the daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus; her mother was Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, whom we have mentioned above. The girl was comely and very good-looking. Herod put the women on horses and mules and they left Jerusalem at night, 10,000 warriors of Judea with them. He headed toward the land of Idumea. (272) On the trip, the women and children dismounted. His mother turned the wagon in which she was riding around and stood still. For the women said: "Let us die in Jerusalem, the holy city. Let us not go away from it." Herod drew his sword and sought to kill himself, for he was afraid that his enemies would come and capture the women. His young men ran and caught his hand. They said to him: "This is a disgrace for a man like you to kill yourself dishonorably. Rather let the women go before us and we will stand here until the Persian force which left Jerusalem to pursue us comes. They will know (Column 258) whom they are chasing." When they finished (speaking) the women passed on, and Herod, with all of his men of war--10,000 of them--stood.

After a while, the butler of the Persian king, with a great and very strong force, came upon them. Herod and his men battled them and smote them and spread them out on the earth, putting the butler to flight. He fled from Herod to Jerusalem. (273) Many Jews, Antigonus' men, harrassed him as well. They caught him and gave battle, but they fell by his hand. He smote them very severely. On that spot where he smote the Jews, Herod built a city and a great palace in the first year of his reign,

calling the city Herodium. (274) It is 60 ris distant from Jerusalem.

(275)

Then Herod continued his trip to the land of Idumea. His brother Joseph came out to greet him and to take counsel with him. They brought the women into Massada which belonged to Idumea. They supplied the city with wheat, water, and wood, and men of war as well, his brother Joseph among them. He ordered the rest of the people to go throughout Idumea to find provisions among them. He gave 35 drachmae of gold according to their needs (276) while he, with a few (of his men), journeyed to Petra in the wilderness to Malchus, (277) king of Arabia. Malchus had been an ally of Hyrcanus and Herod from aforetimes, but (Column 259) Malchus did not remember the loyalty which Hyrcanus had shown him. (278) So Herod went to Egypt to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who received him with honor. She wanted to make him general of her army, but Herod refused, for he was hurrying to Rome. The queen gave him great riches and ships to carry him by way of Actium to Italy. (279) Herod boarded ship, but he was returned to Egypt twice because it was winter, and the winds were too strong for him. The third time the wind subsided, and, crossing the sea, he came to the great harbor in Brundisium, (280) on the border of the land of Italy. An official of Augustus, king of Rome, was there. He received him with honor and gave him horses and men and led him to Rome. So he went to Rome and stayed in the home of Antony, his ally, Mark, the hero of Rome. He told him everything that had happened to him; how Antigonus had rebelled against Hyrcanus, putting him in chains and cutting off his ear so that he could no longer be priest, how he had joined Pacorus, king of Persia, rejecting the Roman kingdom and relying on the king of Persia. (281)

When Antony and Augustus and the Consul in Rome heard that Pacorus, king of Persia, had invaded (282) the Roman kingdom, they took counsel together without delay. (Column 260) Calling Herod, they placed the crown of sovereignty on his head and ordered the people to sound the trumpets. They sounded the trumpets, and raised their voices and shouted: "Herod rules in Judea and Jerusalem the holy city." (283)

Then Augustus and Antony went out, Herod in their midst, to the house of Antony, where Antony prepared a great feast for them. Augustus called the Consul and all the elders of Rome. They ate and drank and rejoiced greatly that Herod was to rule. (284) They recorded that day as the beginning of Herod's reign and they concluded a treaty with him, writing the treaty on a bronze tablet which they put in the palace in Rome, so that the treaty might be read for all time.

After these things, Antony and Herod boarded ships to go to battle with Pacorus, King of Persia, and Antigonus, king of Judea. Many ships and boats were with them, as well as a huge army, very mighty and well-equipped. Antony disembarked at Antochia and then went on to fight Pacorus, king of Persia; Herod went to Ptolemais, that is Acre, a strong and large force of Romans with him. Also with him were Ventidius, (285) Macheras, (286) and Silo, (287) a Roman hero whom Augustus had sent with him. At that time (Column 261) Antigonus and his entire army were encamped against Massada which belonged to Idumea, for all the people of Herod's household were there, his mother, his father-in-law, his betrothed, and Joseph, his brother. The people of the city suffered from lack of water, for Antigonus had destroyed all the water channels which come into the city. The men of the city were thinking of opening up the city,

while Joseph, Herod's brother, considered fleeing to the king of Arabia, for he had heard that the king of Arabia had repented for not having received Herod in his flight from Antigonus.

But the Lord prevented him from fleeing by giving rain to the earth at night, which filled all the cisterns, so he did not flee. (288)

Then Herod left Acre with all the officers of Rome, Antony included. When they came to Massada to the camp of Antigonus, Joseph his brother came out of the city and joined them to fight Antigonus. They smote his camp and Antigonus fled to Jerusalem. Herod took all the people of his household out of Massada, and, gathering all his forces, for many Jews had joined (289) him, a great force, he came to Jerusalem and camped against it. The Roman officers whom Antony had sent to help him were with them. The Roman officers did not hesitate to fight Antigonus. But they violated the orders of Antony, for Antigonus had given them bribes. (290)

Nonetheless there was no lack of their help for Herod, for there was a (Column 262) great army with him, very many, a large force of all the Jews and men of Galilee who had joined him to help him. Herod encamped against Jerusalem and fought Antigonus. He ordered, and the command went through his camp, that the city be surrounded. They surrounded the city, but the officers Bynthareus, Silo, and Dellius, (290a) who had taken bribes from Antigonus, were not willing to reveal the matter. Herod approached the wall and called out in a loud voice: "Listen well. It is for your (own) good to make peace with me." (291). They answered nothing. He encamped there and ordered the artisans to build instruments of iron and great chests of wood. They bound them with chains of iron which they had made. They filled the chests with young men, warriors girded for war. They also

put bread and nourishment in them. They gave them long hooks to take the robbers out of the caves. The chests were lowered from the top of the mountain and positioned at the mouths of the caves. The robbers were afraid to come out of the caves. Then one of the young men, armed with a sword, grasped the iron chain by which the chest was hung. Hopping up on the chain, he jumped into the cave and he killed many of the robbers, and, grasping the bodies with his hook, he cast them into the valley. All the young men did the same. They killed the robbers in all the caves. Only one cave was left, because they had not positioned a (Column 263) chest in front of its mouth. In it was an old man, with his wife and his seven sons. The old man stood at the mouth of the cave, and he said to his sons: "Go out." One of them went out, and the old man, drawing his sword, killed him, likewise with the second and all seven of his sons. Even King Herod had compassion, and crying out, he entreated the old man not to kill his sons, but the old man did not listen. He reviled and blasphemed and cursed the king. Afterwards he killed his wife and cast her into the valley after her sons. Then he killed himself, and, falling into the valley onto the corpses of his sons, he died. (292)

After these things, it was told to Herod that Antony had fought Pacorus, king of Persia, and had killed him, and that he was now resting at the River Euphrates. Going to greet him, Herod discovered a very great host who wanted to go to Antony but were unable because there were Arabians along the way killing everyone they found going to the aid of Antony. When this was made known to Herod, he and his young men went, found them and fought them, smiting them by the sword. Thus he opened the road, and all who sought to go to Antony went. (293) The king took all their booty

and went (on his way). Then Antony sent a cavalry force and a wreath of gold as a gift to King Herod, on account of (Column 264) the help he had given him, and because he had tread upon the Arabians and opened up the road. Antony, going out to greet him, embraced and kissed him, and enjoyed a great celebration with him. After Mark Antony had smitten Pacorus, king of Persia, he headed toward Egypt. To King Herod he gave Sosius, (294) the general of his army, with a very well-equipped force of Roman warriors, vast and very strong. He sent a letter throughout all Aramea saying: "Mark Antony, ruler of kings, to all the officers of Aramea: Let it be known to you that Herod has been made king of Judea, according to the command of Octavian Augustus, king of kings, and as I, Mark Antony, commanded, and according to the advice of the Consul in Rome. Take care not to refuse to send your men of war to his aid when he comes to fight Antigonus, for if you do not hasten to go to his aid as I have commanded, the sword will be upon you, and (it will be a) great thing, for I, Mark Antony, have sworn it and I will not change." (295)

Afterwards, Herod went with Sosius to war on Antigonus. With them was the Roman force and all the army of Aramea. On the road, it was reported to Herod that his brother Joseph had died in war, that Pappus and all (Column 265) the Roman army in Judea who had come at first with Herod had killed him, and had put all of their officers to flight. But Joseph, the brother of Herod, stood (fast) because he did not wish to flee. He fought Pappus, who cut off the head of Joseph, the brother of Herod, and sent it to Jerusalem to Antigonus, king of Jerusalem. Pheroras, the brother of Herod, redeemed it with 50 talents of gold, and buried him in the tomb of his ancestors. (296) The king was told these things, but he

already knew these things, because he saw everything that happened to his brother in a dream. (297) Taken aback, the king mourned little, and did not delay vengeance. Leaving Sosius with the whole army, he took 12,000 Romans and 20,000 Jews and went to Libanus. (298) Crossing over and moving from there, he went to fight the army which Pappus had sent to confront him. He found them in the remote regions of Galilee and smote them very severely, from noon to evening.

In the evening, the king commanded his young men to eat and drink while he and his commanders (299) went to a barrack. While the king was eating, suddenly the whole house fell on the king and his commanders but the king was not killed or wounded, nor were his commanders, neither he nor one of his commanders; therefore, all the people believed that Herod was beloved of God. (300) The next day Herod went out (Column 266) to fight Antigonus and Pappus who stood opposed to him with a very well-equipped camp. A great battle was joined; Antigonus fled to Jerusalem, but Pappus stood and fought with Herod. That day many corpses were trampled upon. Pappus, too, the warrior of Jerusalem, was hit, and wounded in that battle. Pheroras cut off his head and brought it before King Herod, his brother. The king ordered it buried. (301)

Now the young men who fled the battle hid in the houses of the locality. The king commanded that the houses be destroyed over them. They died; thus he was avenged for his brother. (302).

In the evening, the king commanded his legions to eat and drink while he went to the bath with two small lads. Hidden there were some warriors of Pappus, men who had fled from the battle. Their drawn swords were in their hands, but they did not touch the king. Thus the people knew more

certainly that he was crowned by God's will. (303)

Traveling from there, Herod and all his camp with him, 30,000 men of the elite of Judea, went to Jerusalem. In addition, Sosius, whom Antony had ordered to the help of Herod came, with a well-equipped people, and a strong force. With him were the Roman force and two kings of Aramea. They encamped against Jerusalem until the beginning of the fourth year of his reign. (304) They fought many battles, because they went out to war against them many times, smiting some of them very severely. (Column 267) However, they were unable to put them to flight from Jerusalem. Many times they burned the ramparts and made a victory outside the wall. Afterwards, the force of Herod overpowered Antigonus and put them to flight toward the city to within the wall, because only a few were with Antigonus. Many of his warriors had fallen in battle. Afterwards, twenty of Herod's young men arose at night, and they raised ladders onto the wall. (305) After them the warriors of Sosius climbed up. The watchmen of the wall were sleeping, exhausted. When they had climbed up, they smote the guards and, rousing the camp with Herod, they shattered the gate. The men of the city were taken aback and the holy city was taken: Herod and Sosius entered the city and smote the men of the city widely and severely. They had no pity on boys or girls, old men or women. Herod became angry at the officers of Sosius. He said to Sosius: "If you devour the entire people with the sword, where will I rule?" When Sosius heard this, he issued this command: "He who slays one soul in Israel shall be put to death." (306) The officers of Sosius went to the Temple and sought to open the Temple and see the Holy of Holies, but they were unable, because King Herod drew his sword and stood before the gate of the

Temple, he and his young men. They prevented (Column 268) the Romans from seeing the Holy of Holies, for the king said: "It is better for us to die than that the foreigners see the secret (places) of the Lord in the Holy of Holies. (307) Then the king gave some of his wealth to Sosius and his officers, gold and silver, the reward for the help they gave him. The rest of the booty of the city he thus saved. (308)

At that time Sosius gave to the Temple of the Lord a large wreath of gold, for he was very afraid that God would do something to him, (309) in that he fought in the city of the Lord. And this is the evil which came upon Jerusalem, the holy city, in the days of the officers of Rome Marcus Agrippus and Caninius Gallus (310) in the year 181 of the Olympiad, (311) in the fourth month, (312) on a fast day. Afterwards Sosius went to Antony, to Egypt. Antigonus was bound in chains. Herod sent a great deal of silver and gold to Antony, that he might kill Antigonus. (313) Herod was afraid that the kingdom would return to him. When Antigonus was killed, Herod ruled Judea securely. He ruled as he pleased, honoring all the Jews who were first to help him. He honored greatly Hillel the elder, (314) the leader of the Pharisees, also Shammai (315) his disciple, for they were the ones who first advised the people to crown Herod. The Pharisees said that he was (sent) from (Column 269) the Lord on account of the transgressions of the people; that it was good to fulfill this before much blood were spilled in Jerusalem. Therefore, Herod honored the Pharisees, and he did not spare any of their enemies. He killed them by the sword and took their gold and silver, and put it into his house. He gathered much gold and silver. Moreover, he fought with all the nations around them, was victorious, and took their gold and put it into his house.

He placed guards at the gates to search everyone leaving Jerusalem. The silver or gold which they found on anyone, the guards took and brought to the king. The guards also searched the dead, lest people hide gold in the coffins they were carrying to the graves. Thus Herod became richer than all the kings before him in the Second Commonwealth. (316)

In those days, Hyrcanus, son of Alexander the king, was with Pacorus, king of Persia, his ally. He had taken him to Babylonia amidst a large number of Jews who were there. He dwelled among them. The Jews on the further side of the river received him sympathetically, as a king, and they honored him as the anointed of the Lord. He lacked no regality, but that he was not ruling in Jerusalem, and could not see the Temple of the Lord. When Hyrcanus heard that Herod, son of Antipater his ally, whom he had raised, and loved like a son, was ruling, he desired to go to Jerusalem. Desire for the sanctuary of the Lord grasped him. (Column 270) When Herod heard that Hyrcanus was in Babylonia, with great honor, he became very afraid that accusations would come, and the kingdom of Judea would return to him. (317) He sent messengers to the king of Persia: "Hyrcanus, who is with you in your land, raised me, and he is as important to me as my father. He is loyal. He is now in the exile into which Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, his brother cast him along with Pacorus, who escaped me into Persia. Now that I have been crowned, I recall before you his faithfulness and his goodness which he exercised in Judea. Behold, I have sent you a gift of gold and silver. Do not prevent him from coming to me. I will honor him and give him his due. I will repay the good deeds he did for my father and for me. If you do not send him, know that great wars will come upon you (by the) Romans and Jews." (318)

When the king of Persia heard this he sent to Hyrcanus in Babylonia, where his refuge of safety was, when he had fled from Antigonus (318a) and where he was thought of as king: "If you wish to go to Jerusalem, I do not prevent you. However, I advise you not to go. Beware of Herod, for he is a bloody man; he will destroy your old age." In addition, the Jews living in Babylonia spoke words like this to Hyrcanus: "Do not think that Herod has sent (messages) to bring you to him out of love (Column 271) but rather out of jealousy about the kingdom. Kings never show favors to men who did them favors when they were in a low condition. Honor changes them, and greatness turns their hearts." They also said: "You know that you cannot be priest in Jerusalem because of the imperfection which Antigonus, son of Aristobulus your brother, inflicted upon you by cutting off your ear. (319) Stay with us here. You will lack nothing. You will be as king in our eyes. Stay in your place and do not get involved in the battles of Jerusalem." (320) Hyrcanus, not wishing to listen to them, went to Jerusalem. Herod and all his officers came out to greet him. He embraced him and kissed him, and he brought him to his house and honored him greatly in the presence of all. He made feasts for him continually, and called him "my father" in the presence of all the people, but secretly he ordered that his life be taken. (321)

Now when Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, mother of Herod's wife, Mariamne, (322) whom she bore to Alexander, son of Aristobulus, (323) brother of Hyrcanus her father, heard, she said to Hyrcanus her father: (324) "Beware of Herod. He is doing all this only to kill you. Listen to me. Go and flee to Malchus, (325) king of Arabia, lest this bloody man destroy your old age by the sword." But Hyrcanus did not wish to

listen to her. (Column 272) She urged him and afflicted him. They called Dositheus, (326) one of the aristocracy of Judea, whom they trusted, and revealed the secret to him. For Dositheus was an enemy of Herod's in that he (Herod) had killed his brother. Therefore, they revealed the secret to him, and, giving him a bribe, they sent (a message) to Malchus (to ask) that he send men and horses to him in secret, to stand at Lake Asphaltites (327) to take Hyrcanus to Malchus, king of Arabia, and flee from Herod.

Now, when Dositheus received this letter from him, he used it to gain the favor of the king. Dositheus gave the letter to Herod as it was, sealed with Hyrcanus' seal. He told him the whole secret which Hyrcanus and Alexandra, his daughter, had told him. When the king received this letter from Dositheus, he praised him and blessed him, giving him a large gift of gold and silver. The king said to him: "Go on your way to the place Hyrcanus sent you. Take the letter which he gave you, as it was, sealed with Hyrcanus' seal. When you get the letter which Malchus, king of Arabia, will give to you, bring it to me and show me the men and horses he will send to take Hyrcanus, and I will capture them. (Column 273) So Dositheus did all that the king told him. He went to Malchus, king of Arabia. Returning to Herod the king, he gave him that letter which Malchus sent to Hyrcanus, (inviting him) to come to him. When the king received the letter, he sent troops to Lake Asphaltites to capture the men and the horses which the king of Arabia had sent to take Hyrcanus. The king summoned the 70 elders. He spoke to Hyrcanus and asked him if there were a treaty between him and Malchus, king of Arabia. Hyrcanus said: "There is no treaty between him and me." The king said: "Did

you send this? Is this the letter which Malchus sent you?" He said: "No letter has come to me, nor have I sent a messenger to him." Then the king brought Dositheus out as well as the letter and the men and horses of Malchus whom he had captured, and he showed them to the 70 elders. He commanded one of his troops to remove Hyrcanus' head from him. Smiting him the soldier chopped his head off. (328) Thus died Hyrcanus, a righteous and good man, an old man who, when he was ruling, never did evil to anyone. Many troubles followed him from his youth, when his mother died and he received the kingdom. He ruled three months, when Aristobulus his brother, fought him and took the kingdom from his hand. At the end of three years his kingdom was returned. (329) (Column 274) He had ruled for 40 years (330) when Antigonus, son of his brother Aristobulus, fought and captured him, cutting off his ear so that he could not be a priest, and exiling him in disgrace. And at the end of three years, Herod, whom he had raised with the sustenance of a son, ruled, and he killed him, repaying him evil for good. After these things, the women grieved; Mariamne, wife of Herod, and Alexandra, her mother, hated him greatly for his killing their aged father.

King Herod gave the priesthood to Ananelus, (331) one of the pure priests, for he was not of the Hasmoneans. Alexandra sent to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, (332) her friend, wife of Antony, warrior of Rome, to speak to Antony to send messengers to Herod, commanding him to take the priesthood from Ananelus and to give it to Aristobulus, her son, a lad fifteen years old, (333) handsome and good-looking, diligent and clear of understanding, who was fleet as a deer. None in his day could be found like him in his good looks. He was the brother of Mariamne the queen,

wife of Herod the king, and son of Alexandra, her mother, who was born to Alexander, son of Aristobulus. Queen Cleopatra did according to the words of Alexandra her friend. She interceded with her husband Antony to send messengers (Column 275) to Herod to take the priesthood from Ananelus and to give it to Aristobulus the lad, so that he would be high priest. Antony sent Dellius, one of his officers, to Jerusalem, to Herod, to carry out the will of Cleopatra, his wife, and of Alexandra. Dellius, coming to Jerusalem, spoke these words to Herod, but Herod refused to give the priesthood to Aristobulus. He said: "It is not right to remove a high priest while he is alive, and to put another in his place."

When Dellius was in Jerusalem, he saw the lad Aristobulus and his good looks and beauty, as well as Mariamne, his sister. She too was beautiful and very good-looking. Dellius was astonished at their beauty for he had never seen any like them in all lands and all peoples. Dellius said to Alexandra: "By whom did you bear these? It was not a man who joined with you but an angel of God. That is why you gave birth to children such as these. Now listen to me. Take their measurements, and draw a likeness of the two. Send it by my hand to Antony. When he sees the likenesses of the lad and the maiden, he will perform all their desires." Alexandra did what Dellius said. She sent the likenesses of her children to Antony. When he saw the images, his abominable urge was aroused. He sent a letter to Herod (Column 276) "Mark Antony, warrior of Rome, to Herod, king of Judea, Peace. Recall the loyalty which I have shown you. I helped you become king over all Judea. Now do not refuse to send Aristobulus to me. If you do not send him quickly, know that the wars of Rome are upon you." When Herod read the letter, he knew that he desired the

lad for his abominations, so he hurriedly gave the priesthood to the lad and he wrote to Antony: "The lad cannot leave the country because he is high priest in place of Ananelus. If the lad leaves the country now, the Jews will stir up wars. Much blood will be spilt, for they would die before releasing the lad." (334) When Antony heard this, he stopped asking for the lad.

King Herod removed Ananelus from the priesthood, and gave it to Aristobulus, brother of his wife. He was a sixteen year old lad. In the beginning the high priests stayed until the day of their death, but Antiochus Epiphanes desecrated the priesthood by removing the high priest and putting Onias (335) in his place. Second, Aristobulus removed his brother Hyrcanus, and third, Herod cast Ananelus from the priesthood and gave it to his wife's brother. (336)

He did this because of the quarrels which were within his house, to heal the argument in his house. But (Column 277) he could not rest in his house, for his brother-in-law (337) and his wife hated him for killing their grandfather Hyrcanus. (338) Herod commanded that Alexandra be guarded secretly, for he was afraid that she would stir up the people against him. (339) Alexandra sent to Cleopatra (in order) to flee from Herod, to come to Egypt. Alexandra made two coffins as for burial to leave Jerusalem among the coffins of the dead which leave Jerusalem to be buried in Hebron or in other places. Aristobulus lay in one coffin and Alexandra lay in another coffin to leave Jerusalem to go to Ipolis, (340) the place to which Cleopatra had sent to meet Alexandra and her son. Sabion, one of Alexandra's advisors, went and told the king. The king said to Sabion: "Take the coffins in which Alexandra and her son are,

as Alexandra told you, but when you carry them in their covering, bring the coffins before me, and I will catch them in the coffins." Sabion did so. They brought the coffins before the king. The king opened the coffins and behold, Alexandra and her son were within. The king said: "Alexandra, how long will you not be embarrassed to do things like this?" And the king forgave this transgression too. (341)

At the end of (Column 278) one year, on the festival of Booths, Aristobulus the priest, ascended the altar to sacrifice, in the clothing of the officers of the priests, to perform the service of the high priest. The people saw the lad, standing on his stand, the ephod on his waist, his features and his beauty, and his likeness to an angel of God, they rejoiced and cried from their great joy. They praised the Lord and the priest. (342) The king trembled greatly and said to himself: "If I do not remove this lad from before me quickly, the kingdom will return to him, for in the heart of all the people is (the desire) to make him king." (343)

After the festival, the king and all his household left Jerusalem and went to Jericho, a great city, a place where there are balsams, from which comes fine oil. Hence the city is called Jericho because of the odor. (344) When he arrived, the king made a banquet for all the officers going with him. The king sat at the banquet and he said to Aristobulus the high priest: "Be seated." So Aristobulus the high priest sat next to the king, while all the officers and servants sat each man according to his rank, and the king and all his officers rejoiced greatly. After the banquet, in the afternoon, the king, Aristobulus the priest, and the officers of the king went out to the gardens and the pools; the king, to see the

servants of the king swimming. There were very great deep pools of water (Column 279) which were filled by the waters of the wells.

The king stood at one pool, watching his servants swimming in the water and playing. They engaged in dipping one another. The young men called to Aristobulus. This was according to the plan of the king. "Let me go and swim with the young men," (Aristobulus said). The king said to him, "Why are you going down now?" But he (Aristobulus) pressed him. "Go," the king said to him: "Do as you wish." The lad went down and swam in the water with the young men while the king left and went to his house. The servants of the king played in the water with Aristobulus until nightfall. Then in accordance with the plan of King Herod, they dipped him in the water until they killed him. (345) When the people heard that Aristobulus was dead, they raised their voices and wept. The king's officers and his servants wept, too.

The women Alexandra and Mariamne cried out. (346) Mariamne the queen said to the king, within hearing of all the people: "How have I been left alone of all my family whom you have taken by your sword! You did not have pity on the old age of my mother, nor on the boy, my brother. I am the ruin of my whole family." She cried out greatly in the presence of all the people. King Herod also wept, for his compassion for the beauty of the lad was aroused. He made his burial a great thing and he performed great honor at his death. (347) Alexandra, mother (Column 280) of the boy wanted to kill herself, but she chose life in order to find a pretext to seek vengeance on Herod. (348) From that day on, Mariamne did not speak with Cypros, (349) mother of the king, or with Salome, (350) his sister, out of her hatred for them. She continually cursed them; she

slyly reviled them with the family disgrace, by saying that they were (of) mixed (parents), Cypros, mother of the king, and Salome, his sister. Salome maliciously reported her to the king, but the king would not listen to her words. Nor did he reprove Mariamne his wife, because of his love for her. His love for her was unsurpassed. Therefore, Mariamne, relying upon his love, cursed and reviled the king's family.

At that time wars broke out in Aramea and Persia. They rebelled against the kingdom of Rome, because Mark Antony, the warrior who dwelled in Egypt, was oppressing them. He had given them as a gift to Cleopatra his wife, because Antony did everything Cleopatra told him to do. She stirred him up about the kings in order to take their land, to give her their gold and silver and all the property which they held as the reserve of the kings. And so he did. Antony killed mighty kings and gave (their wealth) to her. She also urged him to kill the kings of Judea and Arabia and to give them (Column 281) and their booty to her. Now this matter reached the heart of Antony and his reason returned to him, just as a crazy man returns to his senses from his illness. Antony said: "It is not good to kill great kings like this. We cannot do it without losing Romans and spilling blood. Herod, king of Judea, is my ally. He was crowned with the consent of Augustus and the Consul in Rome. This is not proper to do." But Antony had no pity on the king of Aramea. He gave his booty and his land to Cleopatra. (351)

Again he went out to kill many kings. He went out to fight against Persia. Cleopatra went out with him. She led him to Persia, then the queen turned back to Egypt. (352) She arrived in the land of Judea. King Herod received her in Jericho, the city of odors, (353) which produces

fine oil. He made a great feast for her and her servants. Queen Cleopatra urged him to lie with her, but King Herod refused. He secretly told his advisors to bring her into a room under his control and kill her and save the nations from her evil-doing. His advisors refused. They said to him: "God forbid that you do such a thing. If you kill her, you would immediately stir up great wars between you and Antony." When the king heard this, he decided against doing (Column 282) so. Instead he gave her silver, gold, and precious stones with regal generosity, (and) after escorting her to Egypt, the king returned to Jerusalem. (354)

Antony fought Armenia, and captured it. From there he went and fought Persia and captured it. Antony brought Artabazes, king of Armenia (355) and the rest of the king(s) of Persia, bound in chains, with all their ornaments, and gave them as a gift to Cleopatra, as slaves. (356)

Therefore, all the nations hated Antony, because the Lord had put into his power great and mighty kings whom he insulted by giving them to Cleopatra as slaves.

After these things, Cleopatra incited Antony to fight Octavian Augustus, who ruled in Rome and who ruled from beyond the land of India to Britain, on the Atlantic Ocean (357) in the west. Antony prepared to fight him. In the 87th year of the Olympiad, (358) he came with a vast, well-equipped force, for he had listened to the words of Cleopatra, his wife. King Herod gathered a great force from all of Judea and the nations he had conquered, a huge force, as well as very many ships. He went to Egypt to aid Antony, to go with him to Actium to fight Octavian Augustus. (359)

When King (Column 283) Herod arrived in Egypt, Antony said to him:

"Do not come with us, lest all these kingdoms revolt when I go to Actium to fight Augustus. You be our aid on this side. Go and smite Arabia, for the king of Arabia has rebelled." (360) When Herod heard these words, he assembled his cavalry and infantry and went into the land of Arabia. He put the land of Arabia to the sword and fire. Now Cleopatra sent Athenio, (361) the general of her army, to the aid of Herod. Secretly she told him: "Take counsel with the king of Arabia. When you approach the battle, when it has been joined, stand behind the Jewish camp and smite them from behind. Go among the Jews and they will fall with Herod their king. Then I will take the land of Judea and rule over it." So Herod went into the land of Arabia, Athenio with him. Athenio secretly sent these words to the king of Arabia who came out to meet them with a vast number of people. Staying in camp, Herod sent the general of the Jewish army out of camp to confront the king of Arabia. A very great battle was joined. In the beginning the Jews were superior. They smote Arabia severely; a vast multitude fled from them. Then Athenio smote the tents of the Jews from behind as Cleopatra the queen had (Column 284) commanded him. Turning, the Jews discovered themselves embattled in front and behind. They faced about to fight Athenio and the Egyptians, but the Arabians came into their midst, as well as the Egyptians, Athenio's men. These came from this side, those from that, and the Jews were in the middle. The loss of the Jews was great; many fell in that battle. Herod the king hurriedly left the camp with his cavalry. He smote the forces of Athenio, who fled from him. He also smote the Arabian force very severely, treading upon many of them as corpses. He pursued them as far as their fortresses, then returned to Jerusalem. (362)

Now in those days, the entire land of Judea trembled when a great and mighty earthquake occurred, the likes of which had not occurred since the days of Uzziah, king of Judea. (363) Many died in the land of Judea. Much cattle also died in the earthquake. Men, women and children died in the outskirts of Jerusalem. Ten thousand died in the cities of Judea alone. (364) King Herod and all the Jewish people were appalled; both the king and the people trembled greatly. They shook like trees of the forest before the wind, (365) and all said: "It is time to find a way to seek peace with all our neighbors, so that no obstacle will prevent us from returning to the Lord." They sent ambassadors to the nations around them who made peace all around. (Column 285) Herod sent ambassadors to the king of Arabia, to make peace with him, but the king of Arabia siezed Herod's ambassadors and killed them outside the city called Petra, in the wilderness, his capital city. He assembled his whole army, the army of Arabia, and the force of Barbary, a host as numerous as the sand on the seashore, to go to the land of Judea to conquer it, for he had heard how the pride of Judea had been lost in the earthquake. When Herod heard that the king of Arabia had slaughtered his ambassadors, he was very saddened. He called his officers, his warriors, and all the people, and spoke these words to them: "Listen to what I say to you today, my brothers and friends, you holy ones of the Lord. I know that a great tragedy has struck us this year. For that reason I have been afraid to speak to you, lest (my words) trouble you, or cause you concern, for you are embittered. But listen carefully. Up to now we have fought descendents of captives. We have expended our strength and bravery to take booty and loot. At times we conquered, at times we fell, like any nation. When we were victorious

we would take their land and their wealth. But now, we go to war not for booty nor for property but for vengeance for the innocent blood spilled in their land. They have killed the ambassadors we sent to make peace with them. (Column 286) Now I will be astonished if you are afraid of their crowd. You know that we have beaten them in every war. If you say that your hearts are weak because of the earthquake, you are worried, and you have fear in your hearts for nothing. This earthquake did not harm us; it was good for us, for it brings the Arabians out to war. If not for this earthquake, they would not come to fight us. Just listen. Since we sustained losses in the earthquake, they come out confidently. Know that this war is God's will. Think of those who died in the earthquake. Not one of our men of war died, only old men, women and children. They have been encouraged by the trouble which came upon us. They rely on vanity. Woe to him who trusts in vanity for the fall of his enemy. In one moment the situations of man can change. Out of trouble man can go to relief, and from relief to trouble; that is the situation of man. Consider what the Arabians did to us in the first war and not in the last. Did they stand before us? Instead they fled. Afterwards Athenio smote us; then those who fled returned to us and faced us to battle us. Now, this fear which grips you, because of the houses which fell in the earthquake and which killed many (Column 287) people, if God seeks to punish us more, He surely can. Who can stand before him? It was His desire to punish us because of our sins. Now we are free of sin and transgression, for we have suffered in the earthquake. God will not punish us anymore than this, because (His) mercy always follows (His) wrath. Now be strong and take heart, O holy people, just as your early ancestors did. We may

have lost cattle, but our enemy has lost his counsels and his faith. They dealt violently with our ambassadors. They have violated not only our law but also the laws of all peoples; the Roman law, the Greek law, and even their own law. They have dealt violently with sacred ones, for ambassadors are sacred. The Greeks call them sacred. We call ambassadors like these messengers of God who make peace between peoples, so that blood is not spilled. (366) Now be strong and take courage to seek vengeance, since they slew the messengers of God."

Thus he called them to hasten to war, by the will of the Lord, until vengeance was achieved.

"Therefore let us hurry, while their blood helps. The angels of God are with us; they will fight with us for the blood that was spilled. They will help us against the enemy." (367)

When the Jews heard these words, they were stirred up for battle. (Column 288) Herod saw that the people wanted, to a man, to make war on Arabia. He sacrificed burnt offerings and whole offerings to the Lord. And, crossing the Jordan with cavalry and a very great, vast force from the army of Judea and Benjamin, all warriors who would never retreat, he went into the land of Arabia. The king of Arabia came out to meet him with a force as vast in number as the sand on the shores of the sea. They joined in battle. In the first battle 5,000 men fell by the sword. And they took up positions and fought. Another 4,000 Arabians fell. The Jews pursued the Arabians who fled up to their camp. They did not come out of the camp for days, but the Jews could not enter the camp, because it was fortified all about. The Arabians fought from within the camp. King Herod set the camp of the Jews in front of the camp of the Arabians,

and he did not let them leave their camp to carry water. The camp made approaches to the king, but he did not receive them, for he had determined to seek vengeance upon them. The Arabians said to one another: "Let us go out and fight. It is better for us to die in battle than to die of thirst." Going out, they joined in a very great battle. The Jews came out to meet the Arabians; the battle was joined. The Jews killed (Column 289) 7,000 Arabians. (368) The Arabians turned then to flee. King Herod and his people pursued them to their fortified cities, and smote them so severely that (the defeat) could not, in its magnitude, be estimated. King Herod took their fortified cities, including Petra, in the wilderness, as well as all their cities. They became vassals of Herod for his lifetime. The king went back to Jerusalem, with his camp, in peace, for not one man had been taken from them. They gave thanks and praise to the Lord their God, and they gave an offering in the house of the Lord, because they had brought great booty, very great riches, which they had taken from Arabia and from Barbary.

In those days, Antony fought Octavian Augustus. Augustus grew stronger than Antony and was victorious over him. Augustus captured all the government. He came by boat to Rhodes (369) on his way to Egypt. When Herod was told that Antony had lost, he was very distressed. But he took his life in his hands by traveling to Augustus, at the city of Rhodes, the city of the Greeks. He anticipated his arrival with a gift. He set his household in order. He gave Cypros, his mother, and Salome, his sister, to Pheroras, his brother, commanding him to take them to Massada in Idumea, and he gave Mariamne, his wife and her mother Alexandra to Joseph, (370) the husband of Salome his sister, and to Sohemus of Iturea, (371)

(Column 290) commanding them to bear them to the city called Alexandrium, (372) and he made them swear that if they heard that an accident had befallen him, they should kill Mariamne his wife, and Alexandra her mother. He would go by ship to Augustus, who might seek to kill Herod on account of the love Herod had for Antony.

In his appearance before Augustus, he removed none of his royal jewelry except the crown, and he said to Augustus: "If it is because of the love I had for Antony that you are angry with me, I will not hide from you the fact that I was an ally of Antony. If he is still alive, I am still his ally, because with his wealth he helped me in becoming king. Everything my mouth says about Antony and me, my hand showed in war. I would have gone with him to Actium to battle you, but I did not go with him to Actium. I could not, because of the Arabian wars and the evil advice Cleopatra, his wife gave him, that I should not come with him. Therefore I did not raise my sword against you nor did I fight you. However, it was not from fear of war, or from the heart's fear of you. It was not as a man who abandons his friend in a time of trouble that I left Antony. I would be ashamed if I were not with him. Instead I sent an army of troops and ships carrying (Column 291) all weapons of war, quantities of food and sustenance. You see all the friendship with which I loved him. Was I with him in the valley of Asia in the land of Actium in the place of battle? I was not there. See? I will not hide anything from you lest I appear to your eyes as a man who abandons his friend in time of trouble. You speak to me in judgment and in battle. I fear your judgment, but not your war. But, in judgment a man's strength will not help him; rather he is captured by his sin. Hence, I want to show you

the friend. Look, even though you have now vanquished Antony, and he has been brought low and he is in flight, if I find him, I will not leave him. Instead, I will help him. Even though he lost by his lack of wits, you conquered with your forces; you were successful with the help of Roman warriors.

But, in the larger sense, he was beaten by his lack of wits. Cleopatra conquered him with her voluptuousness and her sorcery. He did not heed my advice to kill her. She was his enemy who incited him to fight you. If he had listened to me and killed her, it would have been well for him. I would have gone to war against you, with him, but they listened to her advice. He left me; I did not leave him. He was the one who put the royal crown on my head. I have come to you and I have removed it from my head. But know that I have removed it in your honor; not because (Column 292) I am standing before your judgment. If he is alive, I am the enemy of his enemies and the ally of all his allies. We have many allies, therefore they all will be reliable and they will save us in the day of trouble." (373)

When he had spoken these things, he (Augustus) said to Herod: "It is most fitting that you rule, for you are faithful to your allies; you cherish friendship. You are not ashamed to reveal the friendship you had with Antony, our enemy. But from now on you will be our ally. We will give you a gift, the reward for your friendship. Everything Antony gave you we will double. I was victorious over him in battle. Now I will conquer him by generosity. I will give you everything you ask me, for Antony did not treat you in kind. He listened to Cleopatra. He did not listen to your advice. He chose her charms and did not have faith in

you. Do not wonder, for what he did to you, he did to me. Because of Cleopatra he left my friendship and became an enemy of mine." (374)

Taking the royal crown, Augustus put it on Herod's head. He increased his kingdom two-fold. Herod went with him to Egypt where Augustus took all the kingdoms which Antony had given to Cleopatra, enthroning Herod there. (Column 293) Augustus also gave him 400 warriors from the nation called Gaul, and he honored him greatly. (375)

When Herod returned to Jerusalem, he found his entire household in upheaval. His brother-in-law Joseph and Sohemus of Iturea, whom the king had assigned to guard Mariamne, his wife, had revealed the secrets of the king; that they were to kill Mariamne his wife, so that no man could take her after his death. When the woman heard this, she was very grieved and whenever the king spoke to her about the honor and the greatness which were tendered to him, she did not appear pleased, nor did she lift her face, or listen to his words. Instead she cursed his family. When Herod saw his wife's hatred, he was very upset, for the king loved her very much.

The next day, Mariamne caused an argument with Salome, the king's sister, wife of Joseph. She (Salome) reviled the queen severely and she reviled her family. Salome slandered (her) to the king. Salome said: "When the king was with Augustus, Joseph my husband lay with Mariamne the queen." The king did not believe (this) for he knew that his wife had always been chaste. But because of the hatred his wife bore him, the king took these words to heart a bit. Calling his wife, he asked her: "Tell me, (Column 294) do you bear me this hatred for nothing? You do not love me as you used to. I love you more than all women. I swear to you that

from the day I came to you, the desire for another woman has not come up-
on me, except for my love and desire for you." Mariamne said: "If you
loved me as you said, you would not be my enemy. Who ever heard of such
a thing? For a man to be a lover and to kill his lover. Why did you
order Joseph to kill me when you went to Augustus, king of Rome?" (376)

When the king heard this, he trembled greatly, and releasing her
from the embrace in which he held her, he cried out: "Here is surely a
sign of the matter I heard. Joseph would not have revealed my secret
unless he had lain with her." The king left the house to sleep in an-
other house. When Salome, the king's sister, saw that the king believed
what he heard from his wife, she took one of the eunuchs of the king,
from the cupbearers, and giving him a bribe of silver and gold, she said
to him: "Take this deadly poison and go to the king. Tell him 'Mar-
iamne your wife has given me silver and gold and this potion. She told
me: go and cause the king to drink this potion. It is a love potion to
bring back the King's (good) opinion of me.'" The eunuch did all that
Salome commanded him. The king trembled and said: "Where (Column 295)
is the potion?" He came before him bringing the potion. They gave it
to a man under sentence of death, who drank of the potion and died im-
mediately. (377)

Then the king ordered that Mariamne, Joseph his brother-in-law, and
Sohemus of Iturea be arrested. He also arrested one of Mariamne's eu-
nuchs, giving orders that he be tortured severely to make him confess
about the drink. About that, he said nothing. But he did tell of the
hatred his wife (Mariamne) had for him (Herod) because of the king's se-
cret which Joseph and Sohemus had revealed to her. The king ordered that

Joseph and Schemus of Iturea be killed. (378) The king ordered that Mariamne be kept under guard until they had called together the seventy men who were elders in those days, to have her stand trial and to put her to death according to their judgment. But Salome and her advisors hastened to tell the king: "Let it be known to you that if you let Mariamne live one day (longer) now, the people will join against you. The followers of the queen will assemble from all over, and they will not give her over to death, without agitation and battle." (379)

The king said: "Do as you wish." They led her for execution outside the city. Her mother Alexandra came. She cried out: "Go! Go! rebellious woman who rebelled against your husband!" She defamed and cursed her (daughter) in a voice of crying and lamentation. But Alexandra spoke in (Column 296) deceit in order to survive a bit longer; perhaps she might be able to seek her vengeance by finding a pretext for killing Herod. Many other women reviled and defamed (Mariamne), because they thought her guilty. (380) Mariamne answered nothing. Silently she went to her death, without fear or dread, as if she were going to a house of rejoicing. Her expression did not change, nor did she change the measure of her step. The queen disdained death just as all her family, the Hasmonaeans, did. Thus she showed to all the nobility of her family and the greatness of her ancestors. She was decapitated and she died, and she was gathered to her people. (381) She outshone all women in beauty, appearance and holiness. Her fear of God surpassed all women of those days. Only meekness was lacking in her. She would always curse the king when she saw him. Thus she sinned; but no man could describe her beauty (adequately). (382)

The Lord did not long delay her vengeance. He smote the king's household with pestilence, from which many of the king's followers, his rich men and officers, died. All the cities of Judea were hit with the pestilence at that time. The people prayed: "God of the world, for one life, let not many of your people's lives be taken." Then the Lord healed the people and the plague ceased. (383)

(Column 297) Afterwards, Herod relented of having killed Mariamne, his wife. The king's anger was changed to desire. In his desire for Mariamne, the king would call her name as if she were alive. He ordered her servants to make her a banquet house, and to set up a chair for her next to the king's (chair) as in life. (384) The king fell very sick from his love for Mariamne and his desire for her, which he could not bear. When Alexandra saw that the king was sick, she plotted to kill him. When the king heard of this, he ordered her put to death. (385)

The sons of Herod, Aristobulus and Alexander, born to Mariamne, were in Rome at that time, to learn Roman letters. When they heard about this, they mourned and became very angry that their mother had been killed. But we shall tell of their deeds after this. (386)

When the king was cured of his illness, he gave his sister Salome in marriage to Costobarus, an Idumean. He appointed him governor over Idumea (which) from the days of Hyrcanus, son of Simeon, who circumcised them, binding them with chains of circumcision (was a Judean possession). While Costobarus was ruling in Idumea, he sought to take Idumea out of the hands of Judea. He raised the early image of Edom (387) and sent (a message) to Egypt to request cavalry in order to rebel against Herod. This was told to Herod who sought to kill him (Column 298). But his mother and

his sister pleaded with him so the king had mercy on Costobarus this time. (388)

Afterwards, a quarrel developed between Costobarus and Salome, his wife. She brought bad reports about him to the king, and entreated him to speak to Costobarus, to write her a bill of divorce. The king ordered Costobarus to do so; thus he made a bill of divorce at the command of the king. This was not according to the Torah of Moses: the wife cannot leave her husband, but the man can leave his wife, but only because of hatred. (389)

After this, Salome spoke to the king about the men whom Costobarus had hidden in one of his villages, men of royal descent. (390) They had been hidden for 12 years from the day Herod took Jerusalem. When she told this to the king, he ordered that Costobarus, who had hidden (them) be killed, and also Lysimachus and Dositheus, Judean noblemen. He did not leave one who could stand against his iniquities.

He desecrated the Torah by making theatres for Jerusalem out of marble and white stone, engraving upon them the trophies of the nations he had conquered. (392) In the valley, he built a huge hippodrome. (393) He made chariots for horses and he made pens for them. He built pens for wild animals and put (Colmn 299) into the pen, lions, leopards, wolves, and pigs. He would send into them sheep and cattle to stir up battles among them. He also pitted men against the wild animals from time to time. One time the man would be victorious, another time the animal would be victorious, and they would kill each other. The king would give great treasure to the victors. To the foreigners, this thing was a delight, but to the Jews it was a sorrowful (thing).

Now ten young men of Judea, Shimei (394) and his friends, became inflamed with zeal. They jumped upon him (the king) with drawn swords. But the king already knew of the plot; he had been told a day beforehand. For that reason, they were unable to kill him as they wished. The king's troops surrounded them and put them to death. And the one who reported this matter, on the third day, sinned against the king, who (then) commanded that his flesh be cut off and he be thrown to the dogs. (395)

Herod did many things; he conquered many cities, and built many cities. He rebuilt Samaria to its original length and width, calling it Sebaste. (396) Within it, he built a great temple to Augustus the king. He built Caesarea of marble stones; he beautified the city greatly. He built a harbor (397) for the ships coming there. He built so many cities that they cannot be numbered. (398)

In the thirteenth year of his reign, there was a hard, severe famine (Column 300) in the land of Judea, and in the lands of all the nations which Herod had conquered and was ruling. There was great plenty in Egypt. The king took silver and gold from his treasury, and many precious stones, to help the people, for the people had become very needy because of the famine. The king sent to all his kingdom and he sent to Egypt to gather wheat as plentiful as the sand on the seashore. He distributed it at the mill at Jaffa and the mill at Caesarea, making it cheap and plentiful in our land. Augustus, king of the Romans, had sent a letter to Petronius who was in Egypt to send very many large ships bearing wheat to be sold only in the land of Judea. The full ships which Augustus sent to Herod the king were a gift. Petronius went many (times) in the ships. He found it (being sold) cheaply in the land of Judea; they sold the

wheat cheaply as Augustus had ordered. Thus Herod satisfied the whole land of Judea. The king ordered the bakers (399) to give bread to the elderly and the sick. And to the rest of the people, (his) young men gave wheat. So the king proceeded throughout the famine, sustaining the people with his wealth. (400) The king gave to other foreigners the farts 1,000 asses (could carry), each ass (bearing) 10 ephahs. The people of Judea loved him from that day on, with all the nations around them loving him as well. His name went out among all (Column 301) lands as the one who defended his people as a wall by saving them from the famine. The people forgot all the evil he had done in the past. They praised him as they saw him in their distress. They did not remember him in a bad light, rather in a good light. (401)

Even his enemies did not speak ill of him out of fear and dread; for he would always change his royal clothing and go amidst the people in poor clothing, so that they would not recognize him. He would speak with the people and test them. When he found an admirer, he would honor him and make him wealthy. When he found an enemy he would put him to death with terrible tortures.

He made the people swear (fealty to him), and he bound them by oath. Many did not want to swear, but no one escaped without his forcing them to swear to be faithful to him. He crushed those of the people who did not swear, excepting only the Pharisaic elders, Hillel and Shammai, and their colleagues. He did not make them undergo the oath, for they were (already?) allies of the king. When Herod and Antony had besieged Jerusalem, they, with the Pharisees, had convinced the people to accept Herod, to bring him into the city, and to make him king. They had said: "To

prevent the ruin of the nation, let this one rule." Therefore the king did not make them undergo the oath. Moreover, he did not make the Essenes, (402) members of the Hassideans, undergo the oath, for the sake of Menahem the Essene, (403) of the Hassideans. Menahem was a righteous and wise man in those days. (Column 302)

We also have many things to write of the ways of the Lord's people. There were none so wise in the world as the Lord's people, nor did wisdom rule another people as it did the Lord's people. But now let the nations know and acknowledge what wisdom Israel had in this Menahem and his associates.

When Herod was a lad, going to wise men to learn, Menahem sat in the assembly of elders and the arbiters of justice. When Menahem saw the lad, he bowed down to him and said: "Long live the king." The king thought that Menahem was joking with him, so he cursed the wise man. The sage grabbed him and struck him on the buttocks with his hand, in the way one hits boys, and he said, "You surely will rule in great wealth, and you will greatly enlarge the kingdom of the Lord's people. When you sit on your throne, be sure to remember the blow I gave you. It is a sign of the sins and the transgressions you will commit, sinning and doing evil. You will also do much good. But hear me: embrace the good and leave the bad. But in vain do I burden you with words. I see the future. You will not leave the evil." Menahem cried a great deal and grabbed him again and hit him on his buttocks. The boy cried and went away. (404)

When Herod ruled, (Column 303) just as the sage had said, he remembered these words. He sent for Menahem and said to him: "The words which you spoke to me were true! Since you have the wisdom of God, speak now.

Tell me how many years I shall rule and how many I shall live." The sage remained silent, not answering. When the king realized that he would not answer, he was taken aback. He said to himself: "Surely this sage is silent because he sees that my days are numbered." The king asked him once again, "Please tell me. Shall I rule ten years?" Menahem answered: "Ten and twenty and thirty and more." The king said: "How many more?" The sage was silent, answering no more on these matters. The king was pleased by Menahem's words. He believed him. He honored him and gave him great wealth.

This is the affair that took place among the Lord's people at that time, in the 18th year of King Herod, (405) after he had smitten all the kings with whom he fought, and after he had built all the great cities and fortresses which he built, when the Lord God of Israel gave him rest from all his enemies roundabout.

He assembled all of the Lord's people, his officers and servants, his warriors, and the rest of the people, and he addressed them with these words: "Listen and give ear, O people whom the Lord chose to be His special people of all peoples, (Column 304) for the sake of the love of your forefathers and for the sake of the oath which was made to you He has kept the oath and the covenant. Hence, He has saved us from great wars and has conquered many nations before us and mighty kings, excepting the kings of Rome who are our friends and allies, and masters of all kingdoms. Now my brothers and friends, the Lord has given us rest roundabout and has prospered us as you can see this day. Why do we not repay Him measure for measure, according to the good deeds He has done for us and performed for us? Why should we shirk the trouble of (re)building His Temple and His

house like the first building. Our ancestors who returned from exile rebuilt it, but not to the size of the first. It is not proper for us to speak badly of our ancestors in this matter. They were servants to the kings of Persia. They built it to the size that the kings of Persia permitted them. Later, they were servants of the kings of Greece until the Hasmoneans rose and became free. They took over the kingdom, but they were unable to rebuild the Temple because of the wars which surrounded them. Now there is no one hostile, or any evil occurrence. I have built great cities to increase your prestige. Nor for my (own) prestige have I built them. I am but one; you are many, a vast and mighty people. Now, holy ones of the Lord, let us not shirk the trouble of building. The building is not for man (Column 305) but for the King of all the world. Be strong and of good courage my brothers and friends. Let us rebuild His house as the first was; let us make it like its length, its width and its height. Let us succeed in doing it." (406)

The people were silent; they answered nothing. They were afraid that he would destroy the Temple and postpone rebuilding. The king said: "We will not destroy until we have arranged for the whole building, and all the repairs." And so the king did. He arranged all the repairs for building the Temple with his wealth and his treasury; wood, stones, and wagons to carry the stones, silver, gold and precious stones, 10,000 artisans, skilled workers, and 1,000 priests to enter the Holy of Holies, which no strange man may approach. When he had prepared it all, the people rejoiced and said to the king: "Let us succeed in doing it." When the king saw that the people were wholeheartedly with him to a man for building the House of the Lord, he razed its foundations, made (new)

foundations from great stones, and built the Temple upon them.

The Temple which King Herod built was 100 cubits in length, 100 cubits in width, and 120 cubits in height, only within the roof of the Temple the height was 20 cubits more. The foundations were on 10 cubits beneath, and the stones with which the king built the Temple (Column 306) were like snow (in color). The length and the width of each stone from the foundation of the Temple to its very end was 25 cubits; their height 8 cubits. It was very high inside, and the Temple could be seen from afar. (407) He made the doors with fine detail work, their doorposts and their locks worked in silver. He made veils, woven of blue, purple and crimson yarns, precious stones, and points of gold. He placed on the curtain a wreath of gold which made a flower. He made the Holy of Holies in its length and width the same measure as the first, positioning it along the width of the Temple, as it should be. The king made pillars of silver, their capitals silver and their hooks of gold. The king made a vine of pure gold, placing it at the head of the columns above; 1,000 talents of gold was its weight. The vine was a work of art; its inter-twinings, its leaves, its blossoms of glistening gold, its clusters greenish gold, its berries and the exterior of its grapes, and the interiors were precious stones, all precise work. That vine astonished all who beheld it, and rejoiced the hearts of all who looked upon it. Many Roman writers testified that they saw it in the destruction of the Temple. He made the inner hall, putting it along (Column 307) the width of the Temple. He built on its face two walls, works of art, binding it up with iron outside. No more could one know the plan of the work. The king made the area around the Temple level, and he filled all the hollow places. He

made the entire place level and surrounded the Temple with four halls. The eastern hall he made along the eastern side; its rear to the east, its front to the Temple. It was 250 cubits in length, (408) 100 cubits in width, corresponding to the measure of the Temple. Its height was 120 cubits. He made the court before the eastern hall, constructing an intricate floor. He built 160 columns (409) in four rows; 40 columns to the first row, 40 columns to the second row, 40 columns to the third row, and 40 columns to the fourth row. The length of one column was 50 cubits. It was 3 cubits thick, this being the measure of one of the 160 columns. Between each pillar was 15 cubits distance. (410) The length of the east court was 720 cubits; it drew the building out to the Valley of Kidron. He built arches to the valley, and on them he built bridges with floors of stones. Then he built the building (Column 308) on them. He enlarged the building greatly over the valley, facing the Temple, making it with three roofs. Whoever stood in those days on the third roof could not see into the depth of the valley because of the great height of the building. Only darkness could be seen in the depths of the valley. (411) Between the hall and the Temple, the king built the silver wall, making a door of gold for it. Over the door, he raised a sword, weighing a talent of pure gold. Written on the sword was: The stranger who approaches will be put to death. (412)

On the southern side of the Temple he made the south court, its rear to the south, its front to the Temple. Two hundred and fifty cubits was its length; its width 100 cubits, corresponding to the measure of the Temple. Its height was 120 cubits. Placing the hall in the court, he made it higher than the court. He enclosed the court and attached it to

the east court. He made gates for it as he had done for the east court.

On the western side, he built the west court, its rear to the west, its face to the Temple. Two hundred and fifty cubits was its length, 100 cubits its width, corresponding to the measurement of the Temple. He built the west court, positioning it to face the hall westward. In it he made four (Column 309) gates. The first gate led to the palace of King Herod and to a valley within which were routes leading outside the city. One led to a descent by stairs into the valley and from there up again to the city. The city (lay over) against the Temple appearing like an arena, surrounded by a deep valley to the south. (413) He built the hall to the north on the north side of the Temple, the hall to the rear, its face to the Temple. Two hundred and fifty cubits was its length, 100 cubits its width, 120 cubits its height. He built the court, putting it on the northern face of the hall. Its length was 27 cubits, its width like the length and width of the east court and the south court. Each hall matched the others in measurement; the same measurements for all the courts applied. (414) Only the fourth court did not correspond to their measurements. Its site was very rocky. For that reason the king did not extend it. The king put four gates in the western corner; four gates he gave to the south court facing south, four gates to the north court. (Together) twelve gates. One gate was large, the one which we use with our wives and our children and our wood. Only in holiness and purity did we enter it in those days. Going on the floor of the court before the (Column 310) hall facing the Temple, we would enter the hall. Only women could not enter. We did not approach the Temple, for that was the place of the priests. Nor could the priests approach the Holy of Holies; only the

high priest could do so, once a year. (415) But we could see everything in the Temple when we stood in the middle of the hall in those days, every work of gold which was in the Temple, when the gate of the Temple was open, up to the court, could be seen, including the vine of gold and all the gold work the Temple had, all the ornaments of gold which the king affixed to the walls of the Temple, booty from the nations, the Lord had put into his power. When we saw it we rejoiced.

All the work was complete at the end of eight years. During those eight years, from the beginning of the building of the Temple to the end of it all, the Lord did not make rain fall during the days on Jerusalem. It would fall only at night so as not to impede the building of the Temple. (416)

King Herod made burnt-offerings and whole-offerings to the Lord. He gave 300 bullocks, in addition to peace offerings, whole offerings, and burnt-offerings by his own hand. For the king set the day of the annual celebration on the day he accepted the kingdom. On that day all the work on the house of the Lord was completed. (417) The king made the rejoicing for the house of the Lord (Column 311) one whole year, a celebration for that entire year in all the cities of Judea. The people rejoiced greatly. They exalted the Lord in joy and with praises, with instruments of song and harps, lyres, horns, and trumpets; with the sound of blowing the trumpet for the building of the Lord's Temple, may it be rebuilt speedily in our day. About the building of the Temple we have recorded but part; the work was great. Therefore we have not written a half or even a third of it. (418)

After these things, the sons of Herod, whom Mariamne his wife had

borne him, came from the city of Rome. (419) One was named Alexander; the second was named Aristobulus. These young men came, filled with feverish anger (420) over the murder of their mother. They had strength and force from the women in the family, for Alexander took as his wife Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. (421) Aristobulus too took a wife, the daughter of Salome, sister of Herod the king of Judea. (422) They did not give honor to their father, the king, out of the hatred they had toward him because of their mother. King Herod recognized their feelings. (423) In addition, many speakers warned (424) the king to beware (Column 312) of his sons. They said to him: "They will always be seeking vengeance for their mother." Trembling, the king met at home with Antipater, the son borne to him by Doris, (425) his first wife, whom he had (married) before he became king. She was from an ignoble (426) family. Long ago, Herod had sent her and her son away because of his love for Mariamne, his (second) wife. When he realized that the sons (427) of Mariamne hated him, he brought her and Antipater her son back, putting Antipater in charge of his entire household, making him first in the line of succession for the throne. (428) Antipater always entreated the king. He would say: "I am from a poor family; my brothers (429) are from a wealthy family. They are seeking to kill you and me." Antipater became very sly and an evil advisor.

Now King Herod became angry with his son Alexander, so he took him to Rome with him to stand before Augustus, king of Rome, in trial, in order to punish him before Augustus. Alexander spoke wisely before Augustus and his father who were sitting together. He said: "Augustus Caesar and my father the king agree about what (ought) to be said, for there is a

God who commands respect for parents. Nature also requires (me to mourn for her) who created me, for my mother who (Column 313) was killed in her innocence. Man's heart is not made of stone, that he should not pine about the downfall of his ancestors. Even wild beasts and animals feel compassion for their flesh and blood. How can I not have pity and worry when I recall my mother who bore me? God forbid, however, that I curse my father; his honor is great. When he is cursed, will he put his son to death? The king has been cursed. Will he put his son to death? Antipater my brother is the one who will vent the anger of our father upon us by killing us, just as our mother was killed." He continued speaking, crying and wailing as well. Augustus and his officers too wept at Alexander's words. Augustus begged Herod, king of Judea, to embrace his son and to kiss him. So Herod was reconciled to his son Alexander, and he embraced and kissed him, as Augustus had asked. Augustus, king of Rome, also gave to Herod, king of Judea, a great gift of much silver and gold; then the king returned to Jerusalem. (430)

Summoning the people, he addressed these words to them: "Listen, my friends. I went to Rome to Augustus to join with him in decision. I did not want to decide alone which of my sons will rule after me. He and I have decided that my three sons shall jointly (Column 314) rule the kingdom after me. Antipater is the eldest, but his mother was not from a noble family, while Alexander's and Aristobulus' mother was from a noble family. Therefore they shall not rule over him, nor will he rule over them, the three of them will be joint (rulers). You are witnesses with the Lord, this day, that I have given the kingdom to the three of my sons. (431) The kingdom is great and the land is the generous gift of the Lord. You

are to give honor to my sons. It would be most disgraceful if (you) were not proper while I am still alive. Remain on good terms with my sons and with God, who rewards each man according to his deeds. Beware of the malicious tongue and of doing evil. Do not talk too much with my sons, for (too) much talk and attendance at banquets brings man evil advice. Words bring anger into the heart of man. Anger in turn brings a man to evil thoughts. Just as a wind stirs up the sea when it is motionless, and makes it rough, so do words stir up the hearts of men. You, my officers and my warriors, advise my sons well, speak good things to them so that they do not rebel against their father and sin. You, my sons, honor your father, that your lives be long, and love one another." He kissed the three of them again in the presence of the people, binding them together in one love. Then he left the people (432) (Column 315) and everyone went on his way. However, the jealousy did not subside in the house of Herod. The sons of Mariamne said: "It is not proper for Antipater to rule jointly with us because," they said, "he is from a low family." Antipater too was wickedly clever. He would flatter his brothers to their faces, and speak peace(ful) words with them. But he planted spies to (over) hear the words of his brothers, to tell his father. These spies told what the brothers did and did not say, for Antipater gave the spies a reward. Antipater's deeds were not good. He was always in the company of wicked men and evil advisors. He always ate and drank with them. He hired them to witness falsely against his brothers by saying "They seek to kill the king their father." They told this to the king in the presence of Antipater, who spoke out before his father deceitfully: "Let the king not believe these words. No evil lies in my brothers' hearts." Thus he deceived the king, who believed him. He caught the heart of the king in

his trap by his cleverness. (433)

He hired others to give evil reports on Pheroras, brother of the king, and Salome, his sister, in addition to his (Antipater's) brothers. (434) The king used to give him (Pheroras) 100 talents annually from the state across the Euphrates river. (435) The king loved him very much. (Column 316) He gave him his own wife's sister as a wife, and, after her death, he gave him his (own) daughter as a wife. (436) When Pheroras refused her because of his concubine, the king became very angry with his brother. They also told evil reports about him, saying that he wished to give the king fatal poison to drink. (437) They also made evil reports about Salome, his sister, saying that she had sent a letter to Sylleus, an enemy of the king, to have unchaste relations with her. (438) However, both Pheroras and Salome quickly appeased the king, so that all the king's anger was poured onto Alexander. (439) Antipater had hired evil men to say to the king: "We saw Alexander standing, his drawn sword in his hand, to kill Antipater his brother." (440) Antipater spoke to the king: "My father, you know that until now I have come to the aid of my brothers, and have spoken well of them before you. Now behold, my brother Alexander has arisen to kill me." Three eunuchs came, one the wine butler of the king, another the butler who set his plates before him the other who kept his bed. (441) They said to him, "He gave us a bribe, and said to us, how long will you rely upon that old man whose hair has fallen out from old age? (442) Trust in me and do my will. Kill my father, and I will give you great wealth when I become king. I have a great force of Judean warriors." When Herod heard this, his anger burned. He arrested many of his servants and killed many of them. He also

(Column 317) arrested his son Alexander and threw him into chains and irons, under guard. He arrested many of his servants, supporters of Alexander, and commanded that they be beaten and tortured cruelly until they spoke the truth and revealed the secret plans of Alexander. Many of them who did not confess died of blows and wicked tortures. One of them, who could not stand the beatings, confessed. (443) He said: "It is true that Alexander and Aristobulus planned to kill the king at meal time. When the king is absorbed in eating, sitting securely, Alexander and Aristobulus (planned) to jump him with drawn swords to kill him and then flee to Rome. There, perhaps, they would find the favor of Augustus, king of Rome, so that they could request forces from him to go fight Antipater, the king's son." (444) The king believing what he heard, arrested Aristobulus and put him in chains with Alexander, his brother.

When Alexander realized that he had become odious in the eyes of his father, he wrote four letters, putting in them his own slander about the advisors of Antipater, his brother, about Pheroras, brother of the king, and about Salome, sister of the king. He said: "It is true that I have sinned, but it was Pheroras (Column 318) and Salome who urged me to do these things. Pheroras has been an enemy of the king since the day he had a quarrel with his wife, the daughter of the king, on account of his concubine, whom the king had removed from his house. From that day on he has been an enemy of the king." He wrote many other things about him as well. He also slandered Salome about an unchaste affair she had with one young man (445) and he wrote many (other) things. About the officers of the king and his advisors (he wrote) things like these and he sent them to the king. (446)

At that time, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, father of Glaphyra, the wife of Alexander, came to save his son-in-law from the hand of Herod by cunning and guile, for he knew that he would be unable to save him by supplications. When he came before King Herod, he came shouting in anger: "If my murdering son-in-law Alexander is still alive, I will take his head off with my hands. He had not compassion for his father. How can he have compassion for me? Where is he? I will take the insides of my son(-in-law?) and (then) I will give my daughter to another man if she has not done wrong. If she has done wrong, she too will die. I did not give her to help the murderer. I am surprised at you, O king, if he is still alive. It was God's desire to bring me to join with you in this vengeance, for when you kill your son, I will kill my daughter. (Column 319) I put her into your hands to be as a daughter to you, but she loves evil and has wronged you. Therefore, the death penalty applies to her. She did not tell you of the wicked plans. Let us hasten and kill the two of them. It is not fitting to pity them. Have no pity on your son. Come let us make an exchange: you kill my daughter and I will kill your son, the murderer." When the king heard Archelaus' words, he believed him, and his anger at his sons abated a little. He accepted the affection, consenting to eat and drink in a friendship with him. (Thus) Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, changed the mind of the king, (447) who believed him like his brother. When Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, saw that he had found favor with Herod, he said to him: "Listen carefully to my words, King Herod. Why do your sons seek to kill the king? What do they lack with you? Not gold or silver or even the kingdom, for even the kingdom you have given to them. They would not have thought ill of you had they not (fallen) in

the counsel of the wicked and of Pheroras, your brother. Just as they stirred you up about the young men, so they stirred up young men against you. They changed their minds and yours too. Now that you are old and you want to be at rest, they have set strife between you and your sons, so that you cannot be in peace and quiet. (Column 320) It is those wicked advisors, setters of strife, who have deceived your old age and destroyed your sons." The king believed Archelaus' words, and as his anger against Alexander and Archelaus abated, it burned very strongly against Pheroras, his brother. (448) Now, when Pheroras, brother of the king, saw that the king's anger was burning against him, and when he realized that the king was listening to Archelaus, he entreated him to speak to the king, to remove the anger of the king against him. Archelaus said: "I will speak to the king, but when you come to the king, do not hide your sins. Confess everything you have done, and the strife you set between the king and his sons." So Pheroras came before the king, and throwing himself at his feet, he confessed everything he had done, saying: "On account of my concubine whom the king took away from me, I became angry and did all this." Archelaus said to the king: "Forgive your brother's transgression, for both of you come from one womb. I too have a brother who sinned against me, but I forgave him. What can a man do to his own flesh and blood? If a man's hand or leg hurts him, it is proper to cure it, not to cut off his flesh." The king listened to Archelaus and forgave his brother and he was reconciled. The king said: "You have come to us as a doctor to the sick to cure him. You have cured and made me forget all the (Column 321) anger in my heart against my sons and my brother. So I beg you to forgive Alexander, my son. Do not take your daughter from

him. I love her as my own daughter. Moreover, my son Alexander is not an old man. Your daughter is a woman who will chastise him about these things. He will listen to her and not sin." Archelaus said to Herod: "Permit me to take my daughter from him. I will give her to one of your servants. I will not leave her to Alexander, for I hate him intensely." King Herod said: "King of Cappadocia, pardon his transgression now and forgive him." Archelaus said: "I will do the will of the king." Soon after, Alexander and Aristobulus came. The king embraced and kissed him. He embraced and kissed Aristobulus too. The trouble was changed to joy and celebration. By this strategy, Archelaus saved Alexander from his father.

The king made a great banquet. King Herod gave to Archelaus 1,000 talents of gold, a golden couch with precious stones, (449) handsome eunuchs and his concubine, a good-looking woman named Pannychis. He ordered all his officers to give him gifts. They gave him great wealth. The king accompanied him to Antioch, then the king returned home in peace. (450)

(Column 322) After these things, a man of Lacedomonian stock named Eurycles came to Jerusalem. (451) (He was) a corrupt man who loved gold. He brought the king a gift, and the king gave him double his gift, (but) this was not enough (for him?). He stood before the king and served him. Thus he gained the favor of the king who accepted him as one of his advisors. (452) Eurycles observed the hatred between Antipater, the king's eldest son and Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne. Antipater hired Eurycles to do evil to his brothers. So Eurycles flattered Alexander by these words: "It is proper for you to rule over all Judea, for you are a brave young man from a noble family. It is not proper for

Antipater to be joint ruler with you. His mother is from a low family." Alexander spoke openly (453) to him. Eurycles was cunning about how he had been saved from his father. Alexander (then) told Eurycles things about his father.

Then Eurycles came and said to King Herod: "It is not fitting for me to cover up all the evils I see in your household. Alexander your son told me: 'God will not make my death His vengeance on my father who killed my mother.' He also told of the plans his father-in-law Archelaus had to kill Herod. He spoke of him as the redeemer of his mother's blood and (his) grandfather (454) whom he killed." He said (Column 323) things which the young Alexander had not said.

Eurycles said: "Let it be known to you, O king, that your sons have made plans with the officers of your forces to rise against you to kill you when you are comfortably at rest." The king investigated the matter and he found a letter written in the names of Alexander and Aristobulus, sent to the officer of one of the forts saying "When we kill our father, we will flee to you, and stay within the fort until we assemble men to assist us." The king arrested the officer of the fort and tortured him cruelly to make him confess. But the officer did not confess, and nothing was found. (455) But the king in the great heat of his anger ordered Alexander and Aristobulus arrested and put in chains. He gave Eurycles 50 talents of gold and he went on his way. (456)

In those days, Herod went to Tyre on the coast, and from there he came to Caesarea. Everywhere he went, he brought his sons, bound in chains, with him. His forces and all his camp had pity on them, but he had no pity upon his young sons. (457) Among the armed forces of the king was a great

warrior, skilled in battle from his youth, who had grown old in bravery and in battle, named Tero. (458) He had a son who loved Alexander, the king's son, and was his friend. On account of his son's love (Column 324) he had compassion for Alexander, the son of King Herod. When he saw him dragged in chains of iron, he cried out loud: "Lost is pity, gone is mercy, cast out is truth!" He said to King Herod: "Woe to the father like you who does not have pity upon the children of his loins. You believe evil advisors. They are your enemies, who seek to take your sons away from you and leave you alone, barren, without children. After that, they will rise up against you and kill you. Where is your wisdom, Herod; where is your heart that you cannot understand how your evil advisors have deceived you, to arouse you to spill your sons' blood?" Thus Tero finished speaking to the king. The king's advisors said to the king: "Let it be known to you, O king, that he said these things only to show the hostility in his heart toward you. This Tero advised the man who usually trims your beard: 'When you trim the king's beard with a sharp razor, pull the razor across his throat and kill him; Alexander, the king's son will give you great riches as a reward for your deed.'" The king gave orders to take Tero and Trypho, (459) who usually trimmed the king's beard, and to beat them cruelly and with tortures. When the young son of Tero saw the beating and the tortures of his father, his sympathy was aroused (Column 325) for his father, and he said to the king: "If you have compassion for my father, do not torture him. Forgive him and I will tell you all, and reveal all the secrets." The king said: "See, I forgive your father, I will torture him no more. Only you must tell the truth." The lad answered: "It is true that Alexander your son incited my father to kill

but my father never sought to hurt you, so he spoke to Trypho to do what you have heard." The lad only said these things to save his father, but they did not help him. The king summoned all his officers and servants and spoke to them about Tero and Trypho. He aroused them against them and they put Tero, his son, and Trypho to death by stoning in the presence of the king that day. He commanded that Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons born to Mariamne his wife, be taken to Samaria, called Sebaste, (460) where they hanged them on a tree, by command of their father the king. Thus they died. (461)

Antipater, son of Herod, rejoiced over the downfall of his brothers. For this, the hatred of the entire people was stirred up against him. But Antipater did not cease scheming and planning in his thoughts, because the Jews had begun to raise the children of the slain Alexander and Aristobulus. The sons of Alexander (Column 326) were Tigranes and Alexander, after his father, to whom Glaphyra, daughter of the king of Cappadocia gave birth. The sons of Aristobulus were one named Herod, the second, Agrippa, and the third Aristobulus, after his father, to whom Bernice, (462) Salome's daughter, had given birth, with two daughters as well, one named Herodias, the second Mariamne. When Antipater saw these children, he realized that the king was coming to have pity on the children of his two slain sons. One day, he (Herod) assembled his officers and warriors and said to them: "I know that I have reached old age, and my end is near. I am continually seeing the children of my slain sons and I cannot look upon them without tears and crying. For I am the one who caused this crying. By my hand it was done. I had them removed from my presence in my anger. Now I have pity on these children because they are

small and orphans. Therefore it is fitting for them to have helpers who will be like fathers to them." He said to Pheroras: "Give your daughter in betrothal to the eldest son of Alexander, and you be as a father to him." He said to Antipater; "My son, take the daughter of Aristobulus for your oldest son in betrothal, and let your little son Herod take in betrothal the other daughter of Aristobulus. (463) Then Herod the king joined their hands together, and performed the wedding. All who stood before the king rejoiced (Column 237) except Antipater, who was very wroth. (464) His face fell because the son of Alexander had taken the daughter of Pheroras, brother of King Herod, (thus giving) him great authority. Moreover, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, was the grandfather of Alexander's young son. Antipater feared that they would help Alexander's young son. He wept continually before the king, his father, saying: "What purpose is there in giving me the kingdom when you have given power to the son of Alexander by giving him the daughter of your brother Pheroras? He is the son of the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. I cannot stand before these mighty officers." His father said to him: "I have commanded that you will reign after me. Why do you fear? The kingdom is yours and it is in your hands." But Antipater was afraid of all of King Herod's children, for the king had nine wives, (465) (seven) who bore sons and daughters to King Herod. Only two were barren and childless. The others bore sons and daughters. (466) Doris, his wife, bore Antipater. Mariamne, his wife, bore the little Herod. The two (other sons) were slain. Malthace, his wife, bore him Antipas and Archelaus, and a daughter named Olympias. Cleopatra of Jerusalem also bore him Herod and Philip; (Column 328) Pallas, his wife, bore him two daughters, one named Roxana, the second Salome.

The king's other wives were named Phedra and Elpis. Therefore, Antipater was afraid of King Herod's whole family.

Antipater associated with wicked advisors, giving them gifts of silver, gold, and precious stones. Both Antipater and Pheroras, with the wicked advisors, and evil men, joined in entreating King Herod. They changed his mind. Thus they undid the marriages which the king had made for the children of (his) murdered (sons). (467)

Antipater and Pheroras, the king's brother, were continually preparing every day. The two of them made plans for many days. (468) One day, King Herod became angry at Pheroras, his brother. He said to him: "Go to your home. Take care that you do not see my face again." Pheroras went to his home, and did not see the king. (469)

The king sent Antipater, his son, to Rome, to Augustus, king of Rome, to inquire after his health. (470) He sent him a large gift.

During those days Pheroras, brother of the king, contracted a fatal illness. He sent words of entreaty to the king, (to the effect that) King Herod should come to him, that the king (might) have pity upon his house and his children. The king had compassion (Column 329) upon his brother. He went to him. The king wept over his over his brother. Pheroras died. He appointed a great mourning for him and, bringing (his body) to Jerusalem, he buried him with great honor in the crypt of his ancestors. (471)

However, the king remembered the rumor he had heard about his brother while he was alive, that he had sought to make him drink deadly poison. He set out to investigate the matter. He arrested his brother's eunuchs and maids and ordered that they be tortured cruelly, with all kinds of

blows and foul tortures. Then one of the maids who was in torture cried out: "God of all the world, in Whose hands are the souls of every living being, as well as strength and bravery, save us from this cruelty. We will die for nothing, free of transgression. God of the world, return this transgression upon the head of Doris, wife of the king, mother of Antipater, who caused all of these evils by constantly entertaining Pheroras, the king's brother, and her son Antipater, at banquets. They would come to Doris' house with Antipater, and drink all night and make plans against the king; Antipater would go to Rome and Pheroras was to stay with the king to make him drink deadly poison to kill the king. Then afterwards Antipater would return from Rome to rule, for Antipater said: 'If we do not (Column 330) kill him, we shall not escape from his hands. (We will be) like his children who did not escape from his hands. He killed them. For whom will he have compassion? He who had no compassion for his wife, whom he loved, and her children? We can do nothing but get away from him, to flee from this wild beast. He has made me king deceitfully. When shall I rule? While I see (him) grow younger? (472) I am already old. Gray hairs have begun to sprout on my head. Who knows which of us will die first? What is more: the children of my slain brothers have begun to grow up. It is like a man who cuts off the head of a snake but it continues to live and bite. (473) And his little son Herod, whom Mariamme bore, is beloved by my father. I know he will not give me the kingdom. He will only deceive me. He is not looking for good, but for bad. He is the enemy of all his sons, his wives, his brothers and all his family. Pheroras, his brother, who served him from his youth is his enemy.' Herod said to him (Antipater) (474) secretly: 'If you are not friendly with

your uncle and do not speak to him, I will give you 100 talents of gold, (475) for he is the enemy of all creatures.' Pheroras said: 'Who can suffer his wickedness? Perhaps we will be transformed into beasts or animals in order to save our souls from him, for how can a man who had no compassion for his wife and sons have compassion for (Column 331) his brother? But here, after all that, is relief and rescue-our right hands and our swords. Let us be strong and take courage to kill him before he kills us.'"

The maid spoke all these things to the king. Thus she saved her life and the lives of her friends from cruel blows. The king believed her words because of the 100 talents of gold he promised to give Antipater, a matter which no one except the king and Antipater had heard. Therefore, King Herod believed Pheroras' maid. (476)

The king ordered the arrest of his son Antipater's steward, his faithful servant, (477) and he beat him with cruel blows. When he could suffer no more, he confessed. He said: "It is true that Theudion, (478) an ally of Antipater, the king's son, sent him from Egypt a small container filled with deadly poison to give the king to drink. Antipater took the container and gave it to Pheroras, the king's brother, with these instructions: (479) 'When I go to Rome, give it to my father, so that it will not be said of me that I killed my father.' Pheroras took the container and gave it to his wife for safekeeping." (480) The king then sent orders to Pheroras' wife: "Bring the container of deadly poison which my brother Pheroras gave you for safekeeping. (Column 332) Hurry and bring it to me." When the woman heard, she said to the men the king had sent to (fetch) her: "Wait until I get the container in which the deadly poison

is; then I will go to the king with you." The woman went to the upper story of the house, where the roof is, to get the container, but, afraid to go to the king, she threw herself from the height of the roof earthward. But she did not fall on her head, nor did she die. (481) It was God's doing, to pay Antipater back for what he had done to his brothers. (482) They brought the woman before the king and they placed her in a bed before him. The king said to her: "Tell the truth or I will cut off your flesh and throw it to the dogs. (483) If you reveal the secret and tell the truth, I will pardon you and all the men of your household." (484) The woman answered: "Listen, O king, whom God has chosen, I will not hide a thing from you now. For with whom am I keeping faith? Pheroras, my husband, is dead. When he was still alive, I would not reveal his secret before I gave my neck to the sword. But now he has escaped from your hands and gone to the place where the slave is rescued from his master. Now why should I conceal (it) from you? Perhaps out of love for Antipater, your wicked son, who brought me to this ruin?"

The woman said: "Remember, O king, the day you came to Pheroras, (Column 333) your brother, when he contracted the malady of which he died? You shed tears as brothers do. When you ceased, in the evening, you went to your house to sleep until morning. Your brother called me at night and said: 'My wife?' I said: 'Your handmaid is here, my lord.' He said: 'Did you see the tears my brother, the king shed?' I said: 'I saw.' He said: 'I was caught in the wicked Antipater's trap. He hunted me, and I was caught in his slyness, just as he would hunt a bird. I was thinking of killing the king, my brother, of paying my brother, the king who raised me and treated me well, evil for good. Now go and bring the

container in which the deadly poison is, which the wicked Antipater gave me, and pour it out on the ground before my eyes. Then the wicked Antipater will not find it to kill my brother, the king.' I brought the container, and I poured the deadly poison in it out on the ground before his eyes, but I left a bit in it, and I kept it in the same container in order to show it to you, O king. (485) I feared this day which has now come to pass." Raising her hand, the woman held out the container to the king. The king took the container from the hand of the woman, and he pardoned her. He commanded the doctors to heal her, and he sent her home. (486)

At that time, King Herod sent a letter to Rome (Column 33⁴) to Antipater, his son: "Come. Do not stay. I cannot govern the kingdom without you here." (487) In those days, Archelaus and Philip, sons of the king, were in Rome too, with Antipater, his oldest son. Antipater became jealous of them and he wrote a letter to the king that "these too, your sons, are your enemies, for they speak evil of you before Augustus and his officers." (488)

Again the king wrote to Antipater, his son: "It is true; I know that they are my enemies. But hurry. You come to me. Do not stay. Bring your brothers with you. I will take vengeance upon them and make you king alone before my death." Seven months after the king had sent his letter, (489) Antipater left Rome. When he arrived at Tarentum, (490) he heard that his uncle Pheroras (491) was dead. He wept and mourned greatly. Not for love of Pheroras did he weep, but at being left alone, with no one to help him kill his father. (492) From there he traveled by ship and arrived at the harbor of Celenderis. (493) There he heard that

the king had ejected his mother from being (the) mistress. Antipater trembled greatly and he wept, because he knew that all his secret had been revealed. He considered fleeing by ship, but his eunuchs who were with him wanted to go to their homes. (494) They said to him: "Do not flee now. (Column 335) Your enemies will say many evil things about you to the king. It is not good for you to give a place to your enemies. When you go to the king, all your enemies will fall. Those who slandered you will fall. They (will) sink in ruin. When the king sees you he will praise and honor you as he used to. He will cast down all your enemies." He believed their advice, and he disembarked from the ship, proceeding by foot on the land. No one came out to greet him for some were afraid lest they meet the king, while others (did not come) because of the hatred they bore him. Hence, not a man came out. He saw that he was caught like a fish in the net. (495)

He traveled to Jerusalem without finding a man on the road who would speak to him. In addition, the king's guards went with him so he would not flee. (496) Coming into the city, he did not go to his home. He went to the palace, and went before the king immediately (497) and fell at his feet. The king averted his face so as not to see him. Antipater arose and sought to embrace his father, but the king thrust the embrace of Antipater away from him and said: "Murderer, are you not embarrassed to embrace the one you sought to kill? You touched me with your blood-filled hands! Wash your hands first in innocence, if you can, and cast off from yourself the rumors I have heard about you. Tomorrow you will come before me and the ambassador whom Augustus, king of Rome, sent me, named Varus, (498) (Column 336) to speak your piece. Even though you

are a murderer, I have given you a place to speak tomorrow. I will hear your words at ease." Antipater left the king in fear and trembling. He went home, not knowing anything from the beginning to the end of the matter. His heart was in a commotion. His mother and his wife came to him and explained the matter to Antipater. He listened and tried to arrange how to escape with words from his guilt. (499)

The next day the king assembled his officers and his allies, as well as those slanderers who spoke against Antipater. The king summoned Varus, the Roman whom Augustus, king of Rome, had sent to inquire after the health of Herod, king of Judea. (500) Varus was seated before the king. The king said: "Have you heard, Varus, how my son Antipater rose against me and sought to kill me?" Varus said to the king: "Let the king judge with mercy." The letter which Doris, mother of Antipater, sent to her son was read: "Your father has heard about all your plans to kill him. Be careful not to come here except with great strength and vast forces. Ask Augustus for forces, for there is no relief and rescue except with vast forces and war." (501) The king ordered Antipater brought before him. He fell heavily at the feet of his father, like a man falls when smitten by the (Column 337) sword. The king said to those standing before him: "Be silent," and they were all silent. The king deliberated and then said: "No just man in the land could suffer this evil. No patient man would be patient with Antipater. But I know his wilful sin. He hates me because I fathered sons like those, and (because) I killed my two sons. But they died innocent, as I understand it. They did not sin. I killed them because of this slander(er). They did not sin against him either. He hated them for nothing and aroused me against them

by his jealousy of them, caused by the fact that their mother was from a noble family fit to rule. I was transformed into a brute. I designated this evil son to rule and he became an enemy to me and (to) his brothers. He influenced them to incite them against me so that they became enemies of mine by the words of this Antipater. I, too, was turned into my sons' enemy by Antipater's tongue. It is true that I killed them. They died to the sorrow of their father and the joy of their brother Antipater. I cried over my sons but he was glad about his brothers. How could I not weep, Varus? The wives of my sons, widows, and my sons' children, orphans, were always in my house. I killed my sons because they rose up against me for the kingdom which I gave to this one, and I would always see their orphaned children and (Column 338) their widowed wives. I took pity. But there was nothing to be done. I had uprooted everyone from my house, and had made a place for this wicked one. It was not enough for him to kill his brothers by his plots and guile; this wicked one rose against me as well to kill me! I did all this, for I set him over all my sons and designated him to be king after me. He did not wait until my natural death; (502) he desired to rule quickly, by spilling blood, the blood of his father, to pay me evil for good. As I loved him, this repulsive creature, I hate him. I gave him the kingdom while I was still alive. I gave him 300 talents of gold. I sent him to be loved to Rome, to Augustus, the king of Rome. And if you say that his brothers whom I killed rose against me as he has - God forbid - this one has caused all the evils; (he is) an abhorrent man of blood and deceit. Take care, Varus, take care lest you believe his words, his voice of entreaty, lest you have pity on his tears. He is skilled in deceiving and influencing

creatures. He influenced me and many (others) to arouse me against his brothers, always telling me slanders about them, deceiving me. He has brought me to the (death) bed! I am undisturbed to appear as (firm as) a wall to men, and in secret to be a plotter and an enemy. (Column 339) But I believed him. I put my life, my bones, and my flesh in his hands. How did I escape from him? It seems to me that I am not alive but dead. Only in a dream am I alive. Who would believe that I escaped from him, whom I enthroned and loved, and made noble and greater than all the (other) sons of my loins! But because of great transgressions and much bloodshed I did not forgive them or take pity on them." King Herod spoke in anger and heat. The king's voice was cut off in anger and he fell silent.

(503) Antipater raised his head slightly from the ground, like a man smitten by a sword would lift his, and he began to speak: "My father, your words of accusation and reproof will aid me. They will stand before me as a righteous defender. Though you sought to condemn me, you vindicated me with your words. Whay you said was true. I was your guardian. I am not a murderer. I always watched over you so that none of your enemies would touch you openly or in secret. Who does not know that God will wreak vengeance on the man who seeks evil for his father? Even if I were the most execrable of all creatures, I would know it to be so. If I did not know, I must learn from the fate of my brothers, lest what befell them, befall me. In your words, they sought to kill you because of the jealousy they bore for me (Column 340) because I was chosen to be king along with them. They were from a noble family. When they saw that I was chosen to be king, they arose to do evil to you. They died for their transgression. It is not proper for me to rule without knowing if

it is your wish. (504) Why would I plan to kill you? To get the kingdom? You have already made me king. For the honor? You have already honored me. They, my brothers, were angered because I was chosen to be king. If you had given them the kingdom they would not have risen to do evil to you. What brought them to harm you? (505) When they saw that I had been chosen to be king. But I, as your voice testifies, did not fear for myself but for you. What thing would incite (me) to kill you? Poverty? Poverty does incite man to kill another, (506) to take wealth, but you have already given me great wealth. You have made me rich. You sent me to Rome where I saw the kings who come there to seek the health of Augustus Caesar. They were kings as I am, but they were not as rich as I am. That very Augustus has made peace with you. I made him your ally, without the knowledge of Sylleus who fought against you. Even though Sylleus gave him much gold to get soldiers to fight you, Caesar did not choose to listen to him. My going there, because he respected me, made Caesar your ally, and changed him into an enemy of Sylleus who fought against you. (Column 341) Who revealed the secret of others who plotted to kill you? Only I revealed their secret. How can I, who caught the threads he wove for you, be a murderer? Did I not catch him and make him undergo evil tortures and cruel blows to get a confession? He confessed, and spoke truth, so I took vengeance on him. If I had kept silent, would he not have killed in silence? But I saved you from him, as you know, even if there was cruelty or anger in me.

"Have pity out of the many good favors which you have done for me. I ought to clothe myself with humility for your many good favors. You removed my brothers, the kings, from kingship and chose me, who was not

fit to rule. And not only to succeed you did you choose me, but with you did I rule. I was part of your rule, and a king like you. Woe, I am robbed of your great generosity and favors which you showed me. For these I aroused jealousy against me. Woe is me for my lack of sense. I left you and went, thus giving room to those jealous of me, and the rule to those who lie in wait for my life. For when I went on behalf of your life, I cast my life away. I did not go for my pleasure, nor did I journey for myself. You sent me; I became a stranger on your behalf, my father; not on mine. It was (done) in order that Sylleus might not bring you low or oppress your old age and not (Column 342) take the kingdom from you while you are still alive, and not estrange Caesar from you. (507)

Behold, Augustus Caesar, who dwells in Rome and rules all the peoples of the earth, will testify for me. Even though he is not here, he knows my will, and the words which I spoke to him about my father." Antipater called out: "Caesar, Caesar, even though you are not here, come and testify for me before my father about what I told Caesar about my father and what you said, Caesar, about the murderers who stood before you in trial. Did you not take vengeance upon them? Did you not hate murderers? (Tell) how I spoke before you, about (those who wanted) to kill my father. Speak and testify, Caesar, about all you heard. Even though you are far away in Rome and I am in Jerusalem, without you I will be punished before my father. Behold, you are here. Your letters are here. In my hands are your letters which every murderer fears; which will identify all my enemies (as) murderers. Accept, my father, the letter of Caesar, your ally. He will inform you how I helped you before him. Accept the letter of Caesar which calls for your health, written by Caesar's right hand, the

right hand which has not done evil to you, which put the regal crown upon your head. Who would hate me more than Caesar if he were to find this transgression in me. But, God forbid! Because of Sylleus I went, not to do evil to you. You sent me. Remember, my father, that I did not (Column 343) want to go, for then I saw those jealous (of me) setting pitfalls at my feet. I accepted the trouble which found me on the road on your behalf, and I did not hate it. I call upon Caesar. He will not hear my words, but with his letters he will clear me from this wrong.

"Here I am, my father, I have traveled from Caesar and I have come before you. I hastened to come, for I would not have gone away from you. But you sent me and I went. Here (I am) my father, and here are my witnesses. Do not say that I have brought before you human witnesses, some of whom are afraid to witness the truth, some of whom take bribes. The witnesses who will testify for me, who will give testimony are not so afraid of you that they will hide the truth, nor will they take bribes from me to tell falsehoods and lies as men do. Every man is a liar, just as it is written. But behold, I call before you three witnesses who will testify for me. The three are the heaven, the earth, and the sea, which will not have compassion on a man who seeks (508) the blood of his father. I came traveling under the heaven. Why did the heaven not thunder and rain lightning upon me to kill me? Moreover, I came across the sea, in the very middle of the sea. Why did it not drown me? I came out, going on the earth. Why did the earth not open its mouth and swallow me as it did to Dathan and Abiram when they rose against Moses, (509) may he rest in peace. (Column 344) He did not do evil to them (in the eyes) of Israel, and he was a father and judge to Israel. When Absalom fled from

battle to save his life, the earth did not let him alone. It commanded one of its trees to grasp him by the hair of his head and it hanged him until a murderer came and killed him. (510) He was not allowed to flee to safety, to his father; rather, one who was saved came to his father. (511) But here I am; I have come before you. Why should I die? David took vengeance for the murder of his son, commanding that the murderers be killed. I will not wait for vengeance from my enemies. Only in one matter respect me (512) and listen to my voice. Do not give me over to others to do vengeance upon me. Before your eyes, take vengeance upon me, without compassion. Do not respect me any more. Bring out the sons of my loins and ask them if they think evil of you. Take my heart out of me; cut it out with a sword, and cut it into pieces. Then search all the hidden things which are in my heart. Spill out my blood, and when it is removed, ask it to tell you the truth. Also, test my flesh and bones by fire to find out the truth. Seek, search, investigate, and ask all my limbs carefully, for the truth, whether I thought evil of you or not. Now, why do you wait, my father? If you will have compassion upon your son, clear me of guilt. If you will not (Column 345) have compassion, hurry, take vengeance upon me. If you are saying in your heart: 'I will not harm my son for he is my own flesh and blood,' how can your flesh and blood seek to harm you cruelly?" (513)

When he finished speaking, those who attended the king (514) raised their voices and wept. Only the king did not weep. Nor did Nicolaus the scribe, because he was fond of the lads, the sons of Herod who were slain. Then Nicolaus the scribe, by command of the king, answered. (515) He said to those who were weeping at Antipater's words: "You cry because of his

cunning and his lies. Why do you cry? (516) Whom are you pitying? If you have compassion and pity, take pity on the lads, noble children, who died needlessly, killed by this slanderer, with his wicked cleverness. If this one is saved, the entire house of the king will fall in ruins. Why should one who killed his brothers and had no compassion for his father be saved?"

Nicolaus lifted his voice in the melody (517) with which one mourns the dead, and, calling upon the slain ones, he said: "Arise, Alexander; stand, Aristobulus; and see your enemy who seeks to be saved by words. He killed you innocents by his bringing false witness to testify against you, by writing a false letter to punish you, in his speaking slander to his father about you. His father did not think that he would lie about his brothers. (Column 346) Now you must die for killing your brothers; he who advised his father to estrange them from him so that he would not be implicated in their death. Then he killed them from afar. If this one is saved, all the sons of the king will die, for he is skilled in giving men deadly poison, in influencing creatures and deceiving men. Pheroras, brother of the king, was faithful to the king, and loved him, but this cruel one influenced him to become an enemy of the king." Nicolaus added many more things to fix his evil upon him (518) and to bring the evils he did upon him. (519)

When Nicolaus had finished speaking and was silent, the king said to Varus: "Ask him if he has anything more to say." Antipater did not answer any more except: "Let God be witness that I am innocent of all this." The king said: "Bring the container which the deadly poison is in." (520) They brought that which Antipater gave to Pheroras, brother of the

king. King Herod said: "Bring a man sentenced to death before me." He was brought before the king who ordered that he be made to drink it. They made him drink it. When the man drank it, he died immediately. (521) The king took some of the drink and gave it to Varus to bring it before Augustus to show him Antipater's wickedness.

The king also commanded that Antipater be bound (Column 347) in chains and they conducted him to prison. (522) And even though Antipater was in prison, he did not stop his cunning and slander. He wrote a letter in the name of Acme, the wife of Caesar, (523) a letter full of curses and revilements, written to the king, (saying) that Salome, sister of the king, had sent (a letter) to Acme her friend, (which stated) that Salome had cursed and reviled the king. When this letter was found, he almost killed Salome, his sister; but another letter, which Acme had sent to Antipater, was found. "As you told me," (it said) "I wrote a letter filled with curses and revilements to your father about Salome, his sister. I know that the king will kill her. You send me the gold you vowed to me on condition that I testify to the king so that he would kill his sister." When the king found this letter, he saw that it was Antipater's plan to kill Salome by his scheming letter as he had killed Alexander and Aristobulus, his brothers. (524)

In those days the king was smitten with a disease. When the disease lay heavily upon him, he wrote in the testament that Antipater his son would rule after him. (525) The king called Salome, his sister. He gave her silver and gold and commanded her to take care of the children of the officers, those whom he had shut in the hippodrome (Column 348) to kill them, so that (the people) would weep many days when King Herod

died. (526) The king was 70 years old when he fell ill. The illness became more severe from day to day. He wanted to take vengeance on Antipater, his son, before he died, but he awaited the messengers he had sent to Augustus Caesar to tell him about Acme, the maid servant of Augustus, king of kings. (527) Acme was in the plots of Antipater, so King Herod wrote to tell Augustus Caesar to take vengeance on Acme, and afterwards, on Antipater. (528)

The next day, the disease was very heavy on him. He was in great pain, and he hated his life. He chose to die. He said to his servants: "Bring an apple and give it to me." His servants did so. The king said: "Give me a knife. I will peel it myself (529) for I am hungry." They gave him the knife. He raised himself slightly, took courage, and leaning on his left arm, he raised his right hand with the knife with which he had peeled the apple, and sought to drive it into his belly. But Achiabus (530) ran and grasped his right hand and took it (the knife) from the king, thus saving him. All those who attended the king raised their voices and wept. All his servants, too, and all the men of his house cried out loudly, and the sound was heard from afar. A rumor spread that King Herod had died. (531) (Column 349)

Antipater rejoiced at the sound of the people's outcries. He said to the officer who was in charge of the prison: "Set me free," (532) but the official not only did not set him free, he also came before King Herod and told him what Antipater had said. King Herod cried out in anger. The king said: "Shall the murderer still be glad and rejoice on the day of my misfortune and my death?" So he commanded that he be killed. They put him to death at the command of the king. Thus wicked Antipater died.

He was buried in a city named Hyrcania (533) as King Herod commanded. And he removed him from being king after him in the testament. (534)

The king lived days after Antipater died, then he died and was gathered to his people. (535) King Herod ruled over all Judea 37 years. (536) Herod died a successful man. Who would have thought that God would have prospered him? Outside and around he would be humble to the men of his house, but in his house, he was a man of strife. He was a successful man from his youth. Even though the kingdom was not properly his because of his ancestors, it was not enough for him. Ruling for many years, he gave to his son the kingdom which he did not take from his father. When he died, he left his house in tears and in lamentation, for he killed his sons. But the decree which he gave Salome and Alexas, (537) making them swear to kill the officers of the people and their children so that many would weep (Column 350) at his death was not carried out by Salome. Salome spoke to the troops: "The king commanded that the hippodrome be opened and the officers of the people and their children be set free, because the king has repented of the evil which he said he would do to them." They set them free, and they went to their homes. (538) From this decree which he issued, you can understand the cruelty of this King Herod who ordered the death of his officers and servants, his men of degree who were the honor and glory of his greatness, and their children, who had not sinned, the treasure of their fathers, the joy of their mothers, the ladies and princesses. (He decreed it) in order to change the joy into grief, the happiness into great mourning, so that many would mourn at his death, and so that on the day of his burial, the people would appear to be weeping for him while mourning these great

officers. (539)

Afterwards, the entire people assembled. Herod's faithful servant, Ptolemy, came out and spoke good and right things to the people, showing them his nature. He said to the troops: "The king has commanded that his ring be given to Archelaus; (540) that he rule after him." He opened the testament and read it to them as the king had commanded Archelaus. All the troops clapped hands and they shouted (Column 351) "Long live King Archelaus." (541)

Then Archelaus and all the people went to bury the king in the city (543) named Herodium, (542) 200 furlongs/away from Jerusalem. They carried the king's bier on which he lay dead. The bier was made of pure gold with precious stones on it; the coverings of the bier had gold embroidery set with precious stones; there was a wreath of gold on his head, and on it the royal crown. His scepter was in his right hand, and he was seated on his dining couch on the bier, as if he were alive. There was a band of troops before him, the warriors of Judea; after his troops came a band from Germany, then Gaul, (544) who are Franks, (545) all wearing swords and coats of mail as if they were going into battle. (546) The weepers and mourners walked about (them), crying as they went. The rest of the people went after him. The officers walked at the bier, each man with his ornaments on him, gold, fine gold and precious stones, girded with weapons of war. Fifty (547) of his servants were scattering myrrh and perfumes and all the scents of Arabia all along the way. The king faced the front of the bier. He was buried in the city of Herodium. (548) as he had commanded. The way was 200 furlongs long. They made great honor all along the road but all of this (would not have occurred) except out

of fear of him. Many of the people had hostility in their hearts toward Herod and his sons, and, even though a man is afraid to speak with his lips, in his heart he has the power to think (Column 352) good or evil of him. When Herod was buried, the people brought the thoughts of their hearts out into the open, including the hatred borne him for a long time. They spoke about him openly: "Herod was a man of trouble and wickedness, whose trouble and whose yoke bore very heavily upon us. The cruelties he decreed upon his people! Proud and cruel, he did not rule until he killed a man in his old age. He stripped the coverings of his people. He did not permit any man to have wealth by virtue of the tax with which he burdened us. He made foreigners rich and Jews poor. He brought anguish to the holy and defiled the holy and the sanctified, Happy the one who died beforehand and was not taken in Herod's cruelty. In few of the years of our distress in the exile in the land of our enemies, where the kings of Babylonia ruled over us, were we troubled as when Herod troubled us in our own land. (He afflicted us) with the troubles we saw in exile in the lands of our enemies, in the days of the kings of Medea and Persia, Darius and Artaxerxes. From exile they sent us to our land, but this King Herod has exiled many from our land, and put them into his war levies and (given them) to many nations. Herod was more cruel than Darius and more violent than Artaxerxes, more greedy than Medea. We awaited the day of his death to go free, but he troubled us with servitude, because he made Archelaus king in his place. (Column 353) To all the evil his father had done, he adds new ones. That Archelaus should be king? Woe is the king and woe are those whom he rules. For one whom we did not choose rules us. It is better for us to be without a king than have Archelaus

rule us. He is just like Herod, and he has gotten the kingdom." Not in Judea alone did Jews say these things. In Rome too, they slandered Archelaus before Caesar and before the Consul in the Temple of Apollo (549) built by Augustus Caesar.

When Antipater, son of Salome, the king's sister, perceived (this), he said: "I am astonished at you, Caesar, that you should accept the words of Archelaus, when he says to you: 'Aid me to rule Judea,' for he is already ruling. He did not ask your permission. (550) He sits on the throne of Judea not by your decision. What is it to him to ride the chariot enclosed in gold? Is he not king? Why did he place the royal crown on his head? Is he not king? Why does he gratify his desire (551) to sit on the lofty throne, and from the throne to bless the people, surrounded by his troops in the manner of kings. Has he not crowned himself and not awaited your decision? Did not Herod rule by your decision and the decision of the Consul, as it is written on the tablets of the treaty between us and you? As long as he did not fall ill, while his senses were still in him, he had chosen Antipater, his son, (552) to be king. (Column 354) But when the disease had severely burdened him, and he lost his senses, he chose Archelaus to be king, an insane man who acted in the manner of insane men when he ruled. On the festival of unleavened bread, he entered the Temple of the Lord with his troops and oppressed the people. He gave his troops the command and they drew their swords, and laid out a layer of 9,000 corpses (553) in the midst of the Temple on the festival. This is the slaughter that Archelaus made at the beginning of his reign. Have pity on us, Caesar and Consul. Take this cruel king away from us. Only those of Judean stock, from the nobility of the royal stock,

are fit to rule Judea. But this Archelaus is the son of Herod, whose mother was an Idumean. Prevent him from ruling. Antipater the great, father of Herod, who fought the wars of the first Caesar, and was esteemed by Caesar and the Romans, never asked to rule. He knew it was not fitting for him. Herod, his son, ruled the ruin of his people. It was not enough for him to rule. He also gave to his son the kingdom which he had not received from his father." The son of Salome said many more things to slander Archelaus. "Now, Caesar, give us leaders from your land as you gave to Aramea. We will listen to them. We will not rebel." (556) Nicolaus, (Column 355) King Herod's scribe, answering, said to the son of Salome: "You spoke of this tumultuous family out of malice, and not out of ethics. All these things with which you arouse jealousy of Archelaus are because this is your habit, to destroy the peace and to stir up wars. If you wish to oppose (557) the kingdom of the Romans, why do you slander Archelaus? Why is it astonishing that in the tablets it is written that the last shall rule before the first? This has been done many times. The power is Caesar's. If he seeks to make the last king over the first, it is fitting that Caesar make king the one he chooses; not the one you choose. You accept Caesar's choice of Herod, his father; Archelaus is his also. For when did he treat Herod favorably? When Caesar was angry or when he was satisfied? When he chose Antipater to be king, Caesar became angry, and when he chose Archelaus to be king, Caesar was satisfied. The matter is established. Consider carefully, Caesar. Have the words of your father making you king been confirmed, or has his command that you be king after him not been confirmed? Your father knew the future, and you too know the future. The power to make the best one king is in

your hands." (558)

When the king had heard their words, he took counsel with the Consul. He gave the ethnarchate (559) to Archelaus (Column 356) but he did not give him the kingship. He said he would give him the kingship if he would be faithful, (560) for Caesar was then told that the men of Judea were already stirred to rebellion. Archelaus came into Judea and he committed many barbarities. He ruled nine years. (561)

He heard that King Juba of Libya (562) had died. He had married Glaphyra, wife of the slain Alexander, son of Herod, brother of Archelaus. After the death of Juba, king of Libya, (563) she had children by Alexander, brother of Archelaus. Now when Archelaus took Glaphyra, his brother's widow, (564) and had brought her to Jerusalem to his house, the woman had a dream. She beheld Alexander, her first husband, standing before her. She desired to embrace him, but Alexander thrust her away and said: "Leave me alone; do not touch me. Are you not ashamed to embrace me? You had intercourse with Juba, King of Libya, after me. That was not enough for you, for (then) you had intercourse with Archelaus, my brother. You came into my house to disgrace me, for you have intercourse before me." Taking an oath he said: "I will not (be able to) bear this disgrace until I take vengeance upon you and upon Archelaus, my brother, who has acted obscenely with you." (565) When the woman woke up, she told the dream to her female companions. (566) Glaphyra lived for two days after her dream. Glaphyra died and was gathered to her ancestors two days after she had seen the dream. (Column 357)

Archelaus too had a dream. He beheld nine ears of corn, good and ripe, (567) standing on one stalk. Lifting his eyes, he saw a great ox standing

in front of the ears. The ox stuck out his tongue and, licking the ears, he swallowed them. (568) When he awoke from his dream, he told it to one of his wise men. The sage said to him: "The nine sheaves are the nine years you have ruled. The ox you saw licking is Caesar, the king who will take your kingdom this year." After five days, a force of Caesar, king of Rome, came, bound him in chains, and took him to Rome where he died. (569) His brother Antipas ruled after him. He changed his name to Herod. (570)

In those days Caesar died, and after him Tiberius Caesar, an evil and wicked man, ruled. He sent Pilate, (571) the general of his army, to Jerusalem, bearing the images of Tiberius. He sought to bring the image into the city, but the people prevented him from coming into the city. The people said: "The image of a man must not come into the holy city." (572) Pilate, the general of his army, became angry, and he killed many of the people by the sword. Also, many of his troops were taken out as corpses. (573) For in the days of Tiberius Caesar, not only in Judea were barbarities performed, (but) in Rome, the capital city, many barbarities were performed (as well). (Column 358)

Now I will relate one of the barbarities which took place in the days of Tiberius Caesar. In his days there was a woman in Rome, handsome and very good-looking. This woman was full of grace and beauty. Everyone who saw her would stop his work and look at her. Many desired to lie with her but were unable, for she was chaste and married. Her name was Paulina. The woman attended her house of worship religiously.

A young man named Mundus saw her. He was an officer of Tiberius Caesar's chariots. His love for the good looks of the woman burned like

a fire within him. He asked her to lie with him for 20,000 drachmae, (574) but the woman refused to listen to him. She revealed the secret to her husband. (575) When Mundus saw that she would not listen to him, he went to the priest who was in charge of the temple which was in Rome. In those days, in that temple, there were two images, the name of the first Isis (576) and the name of the second Anubis, (577) who was more important than Isis to the people. The young man went to the priest and gave him 1,000 gold drachmae to deceive her and bring her to the temple. (578) The priest went and spoke to the woman: "Thus sayeth the great god Anubis: 'come to my temple and lie at my altar. I will arise at night and speak to you secretly, because I love you. (Column 359) Be my prophetess.'" The woman was very pleased and she told her husband. Her husband said to her: "Who can withhold what god asks?" The woman went to the temple. Her female companions left her at the altar, and the woman lay down. Her companions left the temple, for so the priest had commanded. When she had lain down, the young man arose from behind the altar, disguised as Anubis., (579) He went under her clothing and fell (upon her) with a kiss which could not be satisfied. The woman woke up and asked him: "Who are you?" He said: "I am Anubis, I have come because I love you." The woman said: "If you are god, why do you desire women? Can a god mix with women?" The young man said: "Let him who can establish it. A woman as beautiful as you did receive a god and she bore him Jove, a god like me. And another woman gave birth by a god. Also many women have given birth to many gods." The woman believed (him) and she said: "I am the happiest of women if my god loves me." Therefore the woman did not withhold anything that the young man asked. He lay with her until morning. She went

home very happy. She told her husband all that happened to her in the temple. The man was very happy. He said: "Happy are we whom god has visited." All the women, too, praised her. They said: "Happy are you, (Column 360) Paulina, for having associated with god." (580)

Afterwards, Mundus went and spoke to Paulina: "Happy are you, for having associated with Anubis, the great god. Learn now that as you did not refuse god his request, so you did not refuse the request of a man. Just as you did not withhold your secrets from god, so now you cannot hide them from man. For the great god gave me what you withheld. What you denied me he gave me, all my desire. His name is Anubis. He brought you to the temple and gave you to me to do my will and desire with you. Although you would not fulfill my desire by my will, and you would not take the 20,000 gold drachmae which I brought you, god did it for me for nothing, without money; he did that which I asked of him. When my name was Mundus, you did not wish to do my will. When I changed my name to Anubis, you fulfilled all my desire. Learn, Paulina, from now on to do my will." (581)

When the woman heard she was very grieved, for she had been abused. She went and told her husband. He was unable to argue with his wife, because he had commanded her to go to the temple. When Caesar heard all these things, he killed the priests and destroyed the temple. He sank the images in the river Tiber. (582) (Column 361) He did not kill the young man, because, the king, Caesar said, his love burned within him and his passion overwhelmed him. He drove him far away. (583) So we have written about the barbarity which was done in Rome in the days of Tiberius Caesar. In his days many barbarities like this were performed.

In those days, Archelaus, son of Herod, died, and Antipas, his brother, ruled after him. He changed his name to Herod. (584) He acted more wickedly than all those before him. There was no abomination that he did not do. In the eleventh year of his rule, he married the wife of Philip, his brother who was still alive. (585) And she had children by his brother. (586) He took her as his wife. He killed many wise men of Israel. He also killed John, who had told him: "It is forbidden for you to take the wife of Philip." He killed him. This was John who performed baptism. (587) Tiberius Caesar, king of Rome, exiled Herod to the land of Spain, where he died. (588)

FOOTNOTES TO YOSIPPON COLUMNS 181 - 361

- (1) The appearance of Antigonus at the Temple is found in Flavius Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews, translated by William Whiston, New York, n.d., XIII, 11, 1 (referred to in subsequent notes as Ant.). Cf. Flavius Josephus, The Wars of the Jews, translated by William Whiston, New York, n.d., I, 3, 2 (referred to in subsequent notes as War).
- (2) Ant. XIII, 11, 2, and War I, 3, 5 identify Judas as an Essene.
- (3) In Yosippon, ed. D. Günzburg, Berditschev, 1896-1913, column 181, Sitatron. (Subsequent references in Yosippon will be identified according to the columns in this edition.)
- (4) In Ant. loc. cit., War loc. cit., 600 furlongs.
- (5) Cf. Ant. loc. cit., "This event (the news of Antigonus' murder) put the prophet into a great disorder." Cf. also War loc. cit. In Yosippon 182, the old man seems to fall into a trance-like stupor.
- (6) Yosippon 183 reconstructs these passages of direct discourse from those which appear as indirect discourse in Josephus. The facts are the same. Cf. Ant. XIII, 11, 1-2; War I, 3, 3.
- (7) According to Josephus (Ant. XIII, 11, 3), the king vomited blood "because his entrails were corrupted" as a result of his "guilt of such wickedness." The specific mention of lungs and the gold basin are details absent in Josephus. Cf. also War I, 3, 6.
- (8) Ant. loc. cit.
- (9) Josephus does not stipulate where the blood was to be taken.
- (10) This dialogue is not in Josephus. In addition to his practice of transposing indirect discourse into direct discourse (see n. 6 above), Yosippon also creates de novo, or draws from a different source, whole monologues and dialogues. They are usually very melodramatic in tone.
- (11) A more concise and sophisticated speech is reported in Ant. loc. cit., and in War loc. cit.
- (12) Josephus simply records "lover of the Grecians," Ant. loc. cit.
- (13) Josephus says "Strabo bears witness, in the name of Timagenes," Ant. loc. cit. Yosippon 186 indicates two separate sources.

- (14) Cf. Ant. XIII, 12, 1.
- (15) In Yosippon 186, Talmyra. Cf. also columns 201 and 260.
- (16) In Ant. XIII, 12, 2, Zoilus was tyrant of Strato's Tower and Dora. In Yosippon 187, Voilus, king of Sidon.
- (17) In Ant. XIII, 12, 3, Demenetus convinces the Ptolemaians of the dangers involved in accepting aid from Lathyrus, so that when he comes, they "neither received his ambassadors nor would hear what they had to say."
- (18) In Yosippon 187, Demeresus.
- (19) A contradiction, because Lathyrus enters the city first, then the people rebel and do not receive him. Josephus avoids this difficulty.
- (20) In Ant. XIII, 12, 4, by a ruse, Alexander seeks an alliance and he promises 400 talents of silver to Lathyrus. Yosippon reverses the direction of the gift.
- (21) In Ant. loc. cit., Alexander merely retires from the scene. He does not return to Jerusalem.
- (22) In Yosippon 188, Seken.
- (23) Ibid. Josephus records 10,000 captives.
- (24) Ibid., "some writers have said, 80,000."
- (25) Ant. XIII, 12, 5, "8,000 men in the first rank...styled Hecatontomachi." Yosippon 188 calls them Ivtonah.
- (26) In Yosippon 189, Philostephus.
- (27) The theological reason for the defeat is not Josephus'. Moreover, Yosippon does not recount the extensive destruction wrought by Lathyrus in Judea prior to this battle.
- (28) Cf. Ant. XIII, 12, 6.
- (29) Josephus' report of Ptolemy Lathyrus' activities reveals that he put up a stiff fight against his mother's armies before he finally fled. Cf. Ant. XIII, 13, 1-3. Yosippon condenses considerably here, as elsewhere.
- (30) "Chelcias and Ananias, the Jews" were "generals of her whole army," Ant. XIII, 13, 1.
- (31) In Yosippon 190, Gerara.

- (32) In Yosippon 190, Hamath.
- (33) In Yosippon 190, Theorodus.
- (34) In Yosippon 190, Raphis.
- (35) It is possible that Yosippon 190 says that Alexander encamped at Antiochia because the corresponding passage in Josephus speaks of the death of Antiochus Grypus. Cf. Ant. XIII, 13, 4.
- (36) In Josephus, Alexander goes to Gaza when Ptolemy retires to Cyprus, and his mother to Egypt. No other interval is recorded, nor does Alexander return to Jerusalem. See Ant. XIII, 13, 3; War I, 4, 2.
- (37) In Yosippon 191, Haretas.
- (38) In Josephus, *ibid.*, Aretas' promise of aid never materializes.
- (39) In Yosippon 191, Psimachus.
- (40) In Yosippon 191, Apilotopolus.
- (41) In Ant. *loc. cit.* 500 senators flee to the temple. Yosippon 192 describes the temple as dedicated to "Apilinus."
- (42) This detail does not appear in Josephus *ibid.*
- (43) Josephus does not stipulate that it was the Pharisees who opposed him. Instead he says, "the nation rose up against him." Cf. Ant. XIII, 5, 13; War I, 4, 6.
- (44) Ant. *loc. cit.*
- (45) In Ant. *loc. cit.*, Theodorus "durst not fight with him."
- (46) Josephus, *ibid.*, describes Alexander's opponents as "the nation." In his account (Ant. XIII, 14, 1), Demetrius' incursion takes place before Alexander's deathbed scene. Cf. also War I, 4, 7.
- (47) In Ant. XIII, 15, 5, Alexander does make a final speech, as it were, but to his wife alone. He advises her to curry favor with the Pharisees by giving them control of his dead body, and to share the government with them. "When it is in their power to abuse my dead body, they will do it no injury at all, and thou wilt rule in safety."
- (48) In Ant. XIII, 14, 1, Demetrius has 43,000 men: 3,000 horsemen and 40,000 footmen, whose nationalities are unnamed, except for "the Jews that were with Demetrius."
- (49) In Ant. *ibid.*, Alexander has 6,200 mercenaries.

- (50) The number 6,000 in Josephus (Ant. XIII, 14, 2) refers to those Jews who deserted Demetrius "out of pity at the change of his (Alexander's) fortune."
- (51) In Josephus, *ibid.*, the town named is Bethome, and it is not the Pharisees who are named, only "the Jews."
- (52) "The name of a Thracian" in Josephus, *ibid.* Josephus' account is even more gruesome. While the men were crucified yet still alive, Alexander "ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes." Cf. also War I, 4, 6.
- (53) In Yosippon 195, Ris.
- (54) In Yosippon 195, Hashmona.
- (55) In Yosippon 195, Golus.
- (56) In Yosippon 195, Seleucius.
- (57) In Yosippon 195, Gasala.
- (58) In Yosippon 195, Apilonius.
- (59) In Yosippon 195, Antiremus.
- (60) In Yosippon 195, Rephaim.
- (61) In Yosippon 195, Rhinocora. The complete list is in Ant. XIII, 15, 3-4. See also War I, 4, 8.
- (62) In Yosippon 195, Stipolis.
- (63) In Yosippon 195, Geraran.
- (64) In Yosippon 195, Silionia.
- (65) In Yosippon 195, Gabola.
- (66) In Yosippon 196, Behoron.
- (67) In Yosippon 196, En Zora.
- (68) In Yosippon 196, Kolikus.
- (69) In Yosippon 196, Pilon.
- (70) Cf. Ant. XIII, 15, 5; War I, 4, 8.
- (71) In Ant. XIII, 15, 5, Alexander dies "in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond the Jordan."

- (72) Cf. Ant. XIII, 15, 5.
- (73) Cf. Ant. XIII, 16, 1; War I, 5, 1-2.
- (74) Cf. Ant. XIII, 15, 5; War I, 4, 8.
- (75) In Ant. XIII, 16, 1-2; War I, 5, 1, Aristobulus "by reason of the warmth of his temper" (War) remained a private person. However, cf. Ant. XIII, 16, 3.
- (76) Ant. XIII, 16, 2.
- (77) Ibid.
- (78) In Yosippon 199, minahot.
- (79) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (80) In Yosippon 199, Rayonis.
- (81) In Yosippon 199, Hartam.
- (82) Idem.
- (83) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (84) Cf. Ant. XIII, 16, 3.
- (85) Ibid. But cf. War I, 5, 3.
- (86) In Yosippon 201, Tigran.
- (87) In Ant. XIII, 16, 4, 500,000 men are in Tigranes' army.
- (88) In Yosippon 201, Talmyra.
- (89) In Yosippon 201, Lucus and then Lubullus. Yosippon presents Lucus and Lubullus as two separate people, both enemies of Tigranes, in the first part of the sentence. In the second part, however, Lucus has disappeared.
- (90) Ant. loc. cit., and War loc. cit.
- (91) In Yosippon 201, Gibeah.
- (92) In Yosippon 202, Galustus.
- (93) Ant. XIII, 16, 5. Cf. also War I, 5, 4.
- (94) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (95) Ibid. In Yosippon 203, literally "her day ended...."

- (96) Yosippon is trying to say what Josephus said in Ant. XIII, 16,6: she "showed no signs of the weakness of her sex...."
- (97) Cf. Ant. XIII, 16, 6.
- (98) This is Yosippon's parallel to Josephus' declaration of virtue in Ant. XIV, 1, 1.
- (99) Yosippon 204: "in the 73rd year of Olyprus...."
- (100) In Yosippon 204, this name becomes two: Rinetsius and Ortensius. The adjectives which refer to them in the sentence are plural in form.
- (101) In Ant. XIV, 1, 2, and War I, 6, 1, Hyrcanus agrees to retire completely from public life. If Josephus' account is correct, we can understand more readily why the priests support Aristobulus. Cf. Yosippon 210.
- (102) In Yosippon 206, the word is Gogev.
- (103) In Yosippon 206, Phaesiah.
- (104) In Yosippon 206, Urudus.
- (105) In Yosippon 206, Pheroda.
- (106) In Yosippon 207, Sh'lomit. Cf. also column 280 below, and throughout.
- (107) In Yosippon 207, Cypron. Cf. also columns 213, 280 and throughout.
- (108) In Yosippon 207, Micolaus. Cf. Ant. XIV, 1, 3.
- (109) Cf. Ant. XIV, 1, 3-4; War I, 6, 2-3.
- (110) In Yosippon 208, Sela, which means stone. This is Yosippon's usage throughout.
- (111) In Ant. XIV, 1, 4, when he is finally persuaded, Hyrcanus sends Antipater to Aretas first, to receive assurances from him. In War I, 6, 2, this is less clear.
- (112) In Ant. loc. cit., Hyrcanus promises to return all twelve cities which his father, Alexander, had taken. But cf. War I, 6, 2.
- (113) Cf. Ant. XIV, 2, 1.
- (114) In Yosippon 210, Honi.
- (115) Ant. loc. cit.
- (116) In Yosippon 211, drachmonae.

- (117) Cf. Ant. XIV, 2, 2.
- (118) In Yosippon 212, Sevorus.
- (119) Ant. XIV, 2, 3 reports that each brother offered 400 talents of gold, but that Scaurus accepted Aristobulus' offer, "for he was rich, and had a great soul, and deserved to obtain nothing but what was moderate...." War I, 6, 3 indicates that only Aristobulus offered a gift of 300 talents, which "had more weight with him (Scaurus) than the justice of the cause...."
- (120) In Yosippon 213, Cypron.
- (121) In Yosippon 213, Coplus.
- (122) Cf. Ant. XIV, 2, 3; War I, 6, 2-3.
- (123) Ant. XIV, 3, 1 quotes Strabo: "...whether you call it a vine or a garden, they call the thing Terpole, the Delight." Yosippon sees this one item as two, due, probably to Strabo's description. Tryphon, in Yosippon 213, appears as Tarfon.
- (124) Yosippon seems to be addressing Josephus or Strabo here, for in Ant. loc. cit., it says: "However, we ourselves saw that present repositied at Rome...."
- (125) In Yosippon 213, the Latin genitive form of Jove appears--Jovis.
- (126) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.: "...with this inscription, 'The gift of Alexander, the king of the Jews'...the report is that Aristobulus, the governor of the Jews, sent it." So Josephus concludes his quotation of Strabo.
- (127) In Yosippon 213, Nicomedus.
- (128) In Yosippon 214, "them."
- (129) In Yosippon 214, literally: "let him be deceived."
- (130) In Yosippon 214, the Roman official is described by the words "the venerable." Yosippon follows this usage throughout.
- (131) This deception incident and the letter are lacking in Josephus.
- (132) In Ant. XIV, 3, 2, these elders represent a third position, against Aristobulus and Hyrcanus and "kingly government." They wanted "the form of government they received from their forefathers...that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshiped...." While both brothers were of priestly descent, they wanted to change the form of government from theocracy to monarchy "in order to enslave" the nation.

- (133) Cf. Ant. XIV, 3, 2. War I, 6, 4 has a very shortened account.
- (134) In Yosippon 216, literally "they gave a rebellious shoulder."
- (135) In Ant. XIV, 3, 2-3 the young witnesses Aristobulus calls are "young and insolent; whose purple garments, fine heads of hair, and other ornaments, were detested (by the court)...." Pompey, far from being impressed, "condemned Aristobulus for his violent procedure...."
- (136) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (137) In Ant. XIV, 3, 3-4 Pompey goes to fight the Nabateans, Aristobulus goes to Judea by way of Delius, and the whereabouts of Hyrcanus and Antipater are unrecorded. Pompey, angered by Aristobulus' moves, marches on him at Alexandrium, a fortress to which Aristobulus has fled. In this sequence of events, Hyrcanus plays no part personally. Cf. also War I, 6, 5.
- (138) In Yosippon 217, Daliona.
- (139) In Yosippon 217, Pilus.
- (140) In Yosippon 217, Stypolis.
- (141) In Yosippon 217, Alexandron.
- (142) In Ant. XIV, 3, 4 the campaign is against the Nabateans.
- (143) In Yosippon 217, literally "by Pompey's word."
- (144) Cf. Ant. XIV, 3, 2-4; War I, 6, 4-6.
- (145) In Yosippon 218, balsamo.
- (146) In Yosippon 218, apharsimon.
- (147) This word is a hapax legomenon, in Ezekiel 27:17. From context there, it apparently refers to a kind of food. The King James version leaves it untranslated--pannag--while the Revised Standard Version translates it as "early figs." The Jewish Publication Society version renders it "balsam." The Even-Shoshan dictionary of modern Hebrew (Abraham Even-Shoshan, Milon Hadash, Jerusalem, 12th ed., 1963-4) says that the word comes from the Persian "pannigu," and that it is a type of flour or something baked. Ezekiel is cited for this meaning. The second meaning suggested is that pannag refers to a type of corn.
- (148) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 1; War I, 6, 6.
- (149) Cf. Isaiah 54:12.

- (150) This word appears in no other form in Yosippon even when direction is not involved in the sense of the word. Cf. below, column 233. The one exception is in column 271, in Herod's speech to Augustus.
- (151) In Yosippon 219, Gavionus. Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 1; War I, 6, 6.
- (152) Ibid.
- (153) Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 7, 1.
- (154) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 1; War I, 7, 2-3.
- (155) Josephus dates the attack to the "third month, on the day of the fast;" Ant. XIV, 4, 3. Cf. also War I, 7, 4.
- (156) In Yosippon 221, Cornelius and Faustus, sons of Sylla.
- (157) In Yosippon 221, Firius.
- (158) In Yosippon 222, Strabon the Caftorite. See below, columns 230 and 237.
- (159) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 3; War I, 7, 5.
- (160) In Yosippon 222, literally "they dwelled there."
- (160a) In Yosippon 222, Sarcus.
- (161) In Josephus, Pompey gives Hyrcanus the high priesthood. See Ant. XIV, 4, 4; War I, 7, 6.
- (162) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 4-5; War I, 7, 6-7.
- (163) Cf. Ant. XIV, 4, 5.
- (164) Cf. Ant. XIV, 5, 2; War I, 8, 2.
- (165) In Yosippon 224, Sebaurus.
- (166) Cf. Ant. XIV, 5, 1; War I, 8, 1.
- (167) Cf. Ant. XIV, 5, 2; War I, 8, 2.
- (168) Josephus records 1,500 horsemen. See Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (169) In Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 8, 3, 3,000 men fall, 3,000 are taken alive. Alexander flees with the remainder.
- (170) No figures appear in Josephus.

- (171) No figures appear in Josephus.
- (172) In Yosippon 225, Hamath.
- (173) Cf. Ant. XIV, 5, 3-4; War I, 8, 4-5.
- (174) In Yosippon 225, Psilius.
- (175) Cf. Ant. XIV, 6, 1; War I, 8, 6.
- (176) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (177) According to Josephus (Ant. loc. cit; War loc. cit.), this was part of Gabinius' agreement with Alexander.
- (178) Cf. Ant. XIV, 6, 2; War I, 8, 7. According to Josephus, Gabinius turns back when he reaches the Euphrates, without fighting a battle.
- (179) Cf. Ant. loc. cit; War loc. cit.
- (180) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (181) Cf. War loc. cit.
- (182) Cf. Ant. XIV, 6, 3; War loc. cit.
- (183) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (184) In Yosippon 228, Grassus.
- (185) Cf. Ant. XIV, 7, 1; War I, 8, 8.
- (186) In Yosippon 229, Eliezer.
- (187) In English a rotl is equivalent to one pound. The word comes from the Arabic ratl, and its use extended throughout the North African area. There was a small Roman coin called a rutilus.
- (188) In Yosippon 229, Girsus.
- (189) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (190) This avowal of Yosippon's parallels Josephus' protestations in Ant. XIV, 7, 2. In these cases Yosippon often changes Josephus' "one" or "we" to another person. Here Josephus says: "And let no one wonder...." Yosippon says (column 229): "if they do not believe...." His sense is better rendered by "if you do not believe...."
- (191) In Yosippon 230, Strabon of Caftor. Similarly columns 222, 237.

- (192) Cf. Ant. XIV, 7, 2. The following is a paraphrase of Strabo as it appears in Josephus.
- (193) In Yosippon 230, Caio.
- (194) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (195) Cf. Ant. XIV, 7, 3.
- (196) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 8, 9.
- (197) That is, in the month of July. Yosippon seems unaware that the month received its name from the man, not vice versa.
- (198) In Yosippon 232, the Oceanus sea.
- (199) In Yosippon 232, Tarcianus.
- (200) This account, absent from Josephus, is needed for the non-Roman audience to whom Yosippon appealed.
- (201) Cf. Ant. XIV, 7, 4; War I, 9, 1.
- (202) In Ant. loc. cit. and War loc. cit., Aristobulus is poisoned by "those of Pompey's party" in Rome.
- (203) In Yosippon 234, Pelusio.
- (204) In Yosippon 234, Oni.
- (205) Cf. Ant. XIV, 8, 1; War I, 9, 3-4.
- (206) In Yosippon 234, Helta.
- (207) No number is given in Josephus. See Ant. XIV, 8, 2; War I, 9, 4.
- (208) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (209) Cf. Ant. XIV, 8, 3; War I, 9, 5.
- (210) Cf. Ant. XIV, 8, 4; War I, 10, 1-2.
- (211) In Josephus, Caesar appoints Antipater procurator of Judea. See Ant. XIV, 8, 5; War I, 10, 3.
- (212) In Yosippon 237, Strabon the Caftorite. See above, columns 222 and 230.
- (213) Cf. Ant. XIV, 8, 3.
- (214) In Yosippon 237, literally "about going and coming."

- (215) Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 2; War I, 10, 4.
- (216) In Yosippon 239, Siktus, while in Josephus (Ant. XIV, 9, 4 and War I, 10, 5), Sextus Caesar, president of Syria and kinsman of the great Caesar. In Josephus' account, he writes after the event.
- (217) Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 2; War I, 10, 5.
- (218) In Yosippon 239, literally "were astonished."
- (219) To get a post facto death warrant for Hezekiah. Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 3; War I, 10, 6.
- (220) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (221) Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 4.
- (222) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 10, 7.
- (223) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (224) In Yosippon 240, Shammai, possibly Simeon ben Shetah. Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (225) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (226) Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 5. But contrast War loc. cit.
- (227) In Josephus, Sextus appoints Herod general of the army of Celsyria (and Samaria). See Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 10, 8.
- (228) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 10, 9.
- (229) Cf. Ant. XIV, 10, 1.
- (230) In Ant. XIV, 10, 6, it is the city of Joppa which is required to give in tribute the 20,675 modii which the inhabitants would otherwise have exported to Sidon.
- (231) In Yosippon 244, Luria.
- (232) In Yosippon 244, literally "opens his mouth."
- (233) Cf. Ant. XIV, 10, 2-25.
- (234) In Yosippon 245, Paumias.
- (235) The first two names given here are the ambassadors sent by Hyrcanus to meet Mark Antony at Ephesus. Cf. Ant. XIV, 12, 2-3. The latter two names do not appear in Ant. No names are given

in War I, 12, 4-5 for the Mark Antony meeting. The names of the Jewish ambassadors to Caesar are nowhere given.

- (236) Yosippon 245 lists only one name. No names appear in Josephus' references to Caesar's death (Ant. XIV, 11, 1; War I, 11, 1).
- (237) The figure in Ant. XIV, 11, 2 is 700 talents. See also War I, 11, 2.
- (238) Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (239) Herod found favor by producing the taxes from the Galilee with dispatch. Cf. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (240) In Yosippon 246, Malchiah.
- (241) Cf. Ant. XIV, 11, 3-4; War I, 11, 3-4.
- (242) Cf. Ant. XIV, 11, 4-6; War I, 11, 5-8.
- (243) In Yosippon 248, Atavianus, son of Tullius Caesar's brother.
- (244) In Yosippon 248, Felus.
- (245) Cf. Ant. XIV, 11, 7; War I, 12, 1-2.
- (246) Cf. Ant. XIV, 12, 2.
- (247) Yosippon 249 uses the verb "to leave."
- (248) Cf. Ant. loc. cit. Josephus has only Antony come to Syria, while Octavian goes to Gaul.
- (249) In Yosippon 250, Pimius.
- (250) In Yosippon 250, Todros.
- (251) In Yosippon 250, Ephesia. See above also, column 249.
- (252) A garbled allusion to Josephus' description of an unusual natural phenomenon, "the sun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Caesar...." Cf. Ant. XIV, 12, 3.
- (253) In Yosippon 250, Britus. See above also, column 249.
- (254) In Yosippon 251, the text literally reads "like a woman hides a prostitute, the prostitute with her under her dresses."
- (255) In Yosippon 251, literally "all the men of our peace."
- (256) In Yosippon 251, literally the Oceanus sea. See above also, column 232.

- (257) See note 255. Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (258) Cf. Ant. XIV, 12, 4-5.
- (259) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 1; War I, 12, 4.
- (260) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 12, 4.
- (261) In Ant. XIV, 13, 2 and War I, 12, 6 the number of Jews who came to see Antony at Tyre was 1,000. An earlier incident is reported in War I, 12, 5 and Ant. XIV, 13, 1 at Daphne by Antioch. One hundred of the principal men of the Jews come there.
- (261a) The incident of the fifteen men belongs to the meeting at Daphne. Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 1; War I, 12, 6.
- (262) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 12, 5.
- (263) In Yosippon 253, Pegorus.
- (264) Josephus (Ant. XIV, 13, 3 and War I, 13, 1) reports an offer of 1,000 talents and 500 women.
- (265) In Yosippon 253, literally "his butler (general)," the latter in the military sense. Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 6 and War I, 13, 1 and 6.
- (266) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 4; War I, 13, 3.
- (267) Ibid.
- (268) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 5-6; War I, 13, 3-5.
- (269) In Josephus (Ant. XIV, 13, 10 and War I, 13, 9-10), Phasaëlus does not commit suicide until he is delivered into Antigonus' hands.
- (270) Cf. War I, 13, 10; Ant. loc. cit.
- (271) In Yosippon 257, Mariame.
- (272) In Yosippon 257, Edom. Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 7; War I, 13, 7-8.
- (273) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 8-9; War loc. cit.
- (274) In Yosippon 258, Eroin.
- (275) In Ant. XIV, 13, 9, the distance is 60 furlongs. War I, 13, 8 concurs. A ris is equal to a furlong.
- (276) For winter quarters. Cf. Ant. loc. cit. and War loc. cit.

- (277) In Yosippon 258, Malok. Josephus also describes him as Malichus. See above, column 246, and below, column 271.
- (278) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 1; War I, 14, 1-2.
- (279) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 2; War I, 14, 2.
- (280) In Yosippon 259, Ancona (another port of southern Italy).
- (281) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 3.
- (282) In Yosippon 259, literally "had violated."
- (283) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 4; War I, 14, 4. In Yosippon 260, literally "Herod rules in Jerusalem and Judea, the holy city."
- (284) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 5; War loc. cit.
- (285) In Yosippon 260, Antero-us.
- (286) In Yosippon 260, Machda.
- (287) In Yosippon 260, Selek.
- (288) Cf. Ant. XIV, 14, 6; War I, 15, 1.
- (289) In Yosippon 261, literally "had fallen upon." Similarly columns 202 and 209.
- (290) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 3; War I, 15, 6.
- (290a) In Yosippon 262, Ferdelaus. Cf. below column 275 where it appears as Gellius.
- (291) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 2; War I, 15, 5 for Herod's proclamation. At this point, the account of Herod at the walls of Jerusalem is apparently conflated with the account of his expedition against the cave-dwelling robbers. Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 4-5; War I, 16, 2-5.
- (292) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 5; War I, 16, 4.
- (293) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 8; War I, 16, 7.
- (294) In Yosippon 264, Sosio.
- (295) The wreath of gold and the text of the letter are not found in Josephus. Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 9; War I, 16, 7.
- (296) In Josephus' account, Pheroras is willing to but is unable to redeem Joseph's head. Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 10; War I, 17, 2.

- (297) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 11; War I, 17, 3.
- (298) In Yosippon 265, Lebanon. In Josephus' accounts (Ant. loc. cit. and War loc. cit.) Herod takes one Roman legion and 800 Jews with him.
- (299) In Yosippon 265, literally "the men of his house."
- (300) In the account in Ant. XIV, 15, 11 and in War I, 17, 4, no one is in the house when it falls.
- (301) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 12-13; War I, 17, 8.
- (302) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 12; War I, 17, 6.
- (303) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 13; War I, 17, 7.
- (304) Cf. Ant. XIV, 15, 14; XIV, 16, 1; War I, 17, 8-9.
- (305) Cf. Ant. XIV, 16, 2; War I, 18, 2.
- (306) Cf. Ant. XIV, 16, 3; War I, 18, 3.
- (307) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (308) Ibid.
- (309) In Yosippon 268, literally: "that something from God would happen to him."
- (310) In Yosippon 268, Vanidia and Gallus.
- (311) The date according to Ant. XIV, 16, 4 is in the 185th Olympiad. Yosippon 268 describes the Olympiad as Olipiorus.
- (312) Ant. loc. cit.; the third month.
- (313) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.: "by giving Antony a great deal of money, (he) endeavored to persuade him to have Antigonus slain...." See also Ant. XV, 1, 2; War I, 18, 3.
- (314) Josephus says he honored Pollio, i.e. Abtalion, one of Hillel's teachers. See Ant. XV, 1, 1.
- (315) In Ant. loc. cit.: "Sameas, a disciple of his...."
- (316) Cf. Ant. XV, 1, 2.
- (317) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 1-2. See also War I, 22, 1 for a brief reference.
- (318) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 3.

- (318a) Yosippon 270 reads "Herod" mistakenly.
- (319) Cf. Ant. XIV, 13, 10. According to the account in War I, 13, 9: "Antigonus himself bit off Hyrcanus' ears with his own teeth, as he fell down upon his knees to him so that he might never be able upon any mutation of affairs to take the high priesthood again...."
- (320) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 2.
- (321) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 4.
- (322) This translation omits a redundant and confusing phrase: "daughter of Alexandra."
- (323) Yosippon 271 reads daughter.
- (324) Ant. XV, 2, 4 concludes with Herod's appointing Ananelus high priest. The next section starts with a similar description of Alexandra, but proceeds to describe her negative reaction to Ananelus' appointment. The material Yosippon introduces does not appear in Josephus until XV, 6, 1 ff.
- (325) In Yosippon 271, Malok. See above columns 246 and 258.
- (326) In Yosippon 272, Rositheus.
- (327) In Yosippon 272, "the lake of tar." This is Yosippon's Hebrew rendering of the Latin name for the Dead Sea. The ordinary Hebrew name for the Dead Sea is Yam ha-Melah, the Salt Sea.
- (328) In Yosippon 273, literally "his head flew off." Cf. Ant. XV, 6, 1-3.
- (329) Josephus gives no indication of when Pompey restored his throne here. See Ant. XV, 6, 4.
- (330) In Yosippon 274, 40 days. Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (331) In Yosippon 274, Hananel. Josephus (Ant. XV, 2, 4) describes him as an "obscure priest out of Babylonia." At this point, Josephus' sequence is resumed by Yosippon.
- (332) At this point, Josephus (Ant. XV, 2, 5) names a Cleopatra whom he describes in a parentheses as "a musician assisting in taking care to have her letters carried." Nonetheless, he speaks of Alexandra's seeking her intercession with Antony, as if she were queen. Yosippon clears up the confusion straightaway.
- (333) In Ant. XV, 2, 6 Aristobulus' age is given as sixteen.

- (334) Cf. Ant. XV, 2, 6.
- (335) In Yosippon 276, Uriah.
- (336) This paragraph is the parallel of Ant. XV, 3, 1.
- (337) In Yosippon 277, literally "his father-in-law," unless Yosippon takes the word hotan to mean any immediate relative by marriage.
- (338) In Yosippon 277, literally "the old Hyrcanus, their father."
- (339) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 2.
- (340) Josephus (ibid.) mentions the name of no city, only "to the sea-side."
- (341) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (342) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 3.
- (343) Ibid.
- (344) This is a pun on the word Jericho in Hebrew: y'ree-ho, which also means "its odor," from re-ah, odor.
- (345) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 3. War I, 22, 2 has Aristobulus "dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command."
- (346) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 4.
- (347) Cf. Ant. XV, 3, 4.
- (348) Ibid.
- (349) In Yosippon 280, Cypron.
- (350) In Yosippon 280, Sh'lomit.
- (351) Cf. Ant. XV, 4, 1; War I, 18, 4-5.
- (352) Ant. XV, 4, 2; War loc. cit.
- (353) Cf. above, column 278.
- (354) Cf. Ant. XV, 4, 2; War I, 18, 5.
- (355) In Yosippon 282, Artaban.
- (356) Cf. Ant. XV, 4, 3; War loc. cit. Neither citation mentions that the kings were made slaves.
- (357) In Yosippon 282, literally the Ocean Sea.

- (358) In Ant. XV, 5, 1 the olympiad is the 187th. Here Yosippon (col. 282) describes the olympiad as an Oliporus.
- (359) Cf. War I, 19, 1.
- (360) In Josephus, Herod turns back upon receiving the order to attack Arabia from Antony (Ant. XV, 5, 1).
- (361) In Yosippon 283, Anthio.
- (362) In Ant. XV, 5, 1 Herod's army is beaten so badly that his role is temporarily reduced to that of a "private robber." See also War I, 19, 2.
- (363) In Ant. XV, 5, 2 the earthquake was "such a one as had not happened at any other time." Cf. also Zechariah 14: 4-5, and Ant. IX, 10, 4.
- (364) This jibes with Josephus (ibid.): "About 10,000 men also perished by the fall of the houses...."
- (365) Cf. Ant. XV, 5, 2; War I, 19, 3. So great was the reputation of this earthquake that two medieval commentators to the Bible, Rashi and David Kimhi, cite it as the fulfillment of the prophecy in Haggai: 1:6.
- (366) In Ant. XV, 5, 3 Herod calls the ambassadors sacred, comparing them to God's angels, whose task it is to bring God's message to men. This perhaps accounts for Yosippon's mention of angels a few sentences below.
- (367) Cf. ibid. for the entire lengthy speech. Also see War I, 19, 4.
- (368) In Yosippon, three battles are indicated: the first, in which the Arabians lose 5,000 men; the second, described as a fixed battle, in which they lose 4,000 men; and a third which the beleaguered Arabians stage as an act of desperate honor. In this last 7,000 men fall. Josephus (Ant. XV, 5, 4) tells of only two battles. He attributes the 4,000 number to the Arabians driven to surrender by their thirst, who are captured between the first and the last battles (the sally from the camp). Cf. also War I, 19, 5-6.
- (369) In Yosippon 289, Rodos. Cf. Ant. XV, 6, 6; War I, 20, 1-4.
- (370) Cf. note below.
- (371) Yosippon has Shomi, man of Tyre, but in such a way as to indicate the copy error. Phonetically, in Yosippon 289, man of Tyre reads ish tzoori, close to what was probably i-toori.
- (372) In Yosippon 290, Alexandrona.
- (373) Cf. Ant. XV, 6, 6 where this speech, on a far more sophisticated level, is reported. Cf. also War I, 20, 1.

- (374) This speech by Augustus is absent in Ant. Cf. however War I, 20, 2.
- (375) In Ant. XV, 7, 3 the territories added to Herod's rule are enumerated. Josephus calls the 400 warriors Galatians. Moreover, this assignation takes place during a second trip which Herod makes to Augustus, after he had returned home from Rhodes and had difficulties with Mariamne. Yosippon presents the two trips as one, just as he fuses the two times Herod puts Mariamne's life into another's hands; first with his uncle Joseph (Ant. XV, 3, 5) and then with his treasurer Joseph and with Sohemus of Iturea (Ant. XV, 6, 5). In War I, 22, 4 Herod, prior to his going to see Antony, puts Mariamne's life in the hands of Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, who reveals his secret instructions. Cf. also War I, 22, 3-4.
- (376) In Josephus (War I, 22, 4), Mariamne, when Herod professes his love for her, says: "Yes, thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest to Joseph, when thou commandedst him to kill me."
- (377) This last detail is not reported in Ant. XV, 7, 4. Instead, Mariamne's eunuch (hence Yosippon's introduction of the term) is tortured in order for the king to discover the truth. The eunuch of course knows nothing, but indicates that Mariamne's sullenness is owing to a remark Sohemus had made to his mistress. Herod has Sohemus executed, and he brings Mariamne to trial.
- (378) In War I, 22, 5 Herod orders Joseph and Mariamne executed immediately. Sohemus is absent from this account.
- (379) In Ant. XV, 7, 4 the trial of Mariamne takes place, the court sentences her to death, but Herod refuses to carry out the sentence hastily. Instead he puts her in prison. Then Salome and her party prevail on the king not to delay "lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live." In War I, 22, 5 Herod has Mariamne killed without trial.
- (380) Cf. Ant. XV, 7, 5.
- (381) Ibid.
- (382) Cf. Ant. XV, 7, 6 for his eulogy of Mariamne.
- (383) Cf. Ant. XV, 7, 7.
- (384) In War I, 22, 5 Josephus says: "as soon as his passion was over, he repented of what he had done; as soon as his anger was worn off, his affections were kindled again. And indeed, the flame of his desires for her was so ardent, that he could not think she was dead, but would appear, under his disorders, to speak to her as if she were still alive...."

- (385) Cf. Ant. XV, 7, 7.
- (386) Cf. Ant. XV, 10, 1; XVI, 1, 2; War I, 23, 1.
- (387) Perhaps a reference to "the Koze...whom the Idumeans (formerly) revered as a god." (See Ant. XV, 7, 9.)
- (388) Ant. loc. cit.
- (389) In Ant. XV, 7, 10 Salome herself sends a bill of divorce to her husband and thus dissolves the marriage. Upon this, Josephus remarks: "This was not according to the Jewish laws."
- (390) Josephus (ibid.) describes them as "sons of Babas."
- (391) In Yosippon 298, Lymarus and Rositheus.
- (392) Yosippon wisely mentions this activity first, because, as Josephus says, "above all the rest, the trophies gave the most distaste to the Jews;" Ant. XV, 8, 1.
- (393) In Yosippon 298, Podromia.
- (394) In Ant. XV, 8, 3 the names of the conspirators are not supplied.
- (395) Yosippon confuses the story presented in Ant. XV, 8, 4. In that account, the spy who had informed the king of the plot "was seized on by the people, out of the hatred they bore to him; and was not only slain by them, but pulled to pieces, limb from limb, and given to the dogs." No specific time is given ("Nor was it long ..."). Herod discovers who participated in this deed by torturing the witnesses severely, and the perpetrators were "so terribly punished by the king, that their entire families were destroyed."
- (396) Yosippon 299, Sebastia. Cf. War I, 21, 2.
- (397) In Yosippon 299, alman v'mahoz, a harbor and a harbor, or market.
- (398) Cf. Josephus' account in War I, 21, 5.
- (399) In Yosippon 300, the word appears l'ofis. The samekh and the final mem are easily mistaken.
- (400) In Yosippon 300, literally "out of his multitude."
- (401) Cf. Ant. XV, 9, 1 and 2 for the account of the famine.
- (402) In Yosippon 301, the Shonim, "ones who differed." Cf. Ant. XV, 10, 4-5 for the account of Herod's suspicions.
- (403) Menahem (Ant. XV, 10, 5 and War II, 17, 8) was the son of Judas

the Galilean, founder of the fourth philosophy (Ant. XVIII, 1,6). Josephus mentions (Ant. XX, 5, 1) two "sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain...James and Simon, whom Alexander (the alabarch of Alexandria) commanded to be crucified." Menahem, the third son, survived to become "the leader of the sedition (War *ibid.*). Shortly after the revolt began, in 66 C.E., he was captured by Eleazar, the governor of the Temple (War II, 17, 2) and put to death (War II, 17, 9). Judas, in turn, was the son of Hezekiah, or Ezekias, who had been the head of the robbers in Galilee whom Herod had put down. Cf. Ant. XIV, 9, 2; XVII, 10, 5; and War I, 10, 5.

- (404) Cf. Ant. XV, 10, 5.
- (405) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 1. In War I, 21, 1 Josephus assigns the rebuilding of the Temple in Herod's rule to the 15th year.
- (406) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 1; War I, 21, 1.
- (407) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 2-3.
- (408) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 5. This measurement does not appear in Josephus.
- (409) *Ibid.* The descriptions of Josephus and Yosippon vary considerably, but this is the first numerical item of disagreement. Josephus records 162 columns, each 27 feet high, its thickness "such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it around, and join their hands again."
- (410) *Ibid.* Josephus records 30 foot intervals for two of the three walks, 45 feet for the middle one.
- (411) *Ibid.*
- (412) In Josephus (*ibid.*) the wall was stone. It contained such an inscription, but no gold sword is mentioned.
- (413) *Ibid.*
- (414) Cf. the dimensions of the east court in Yosippon 307.
- (415) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 5. Yosippon confuses Josephus' description of the Temple considerably, almost to the point of nonsense. When Josephus, however, speaks in the first person plural, Yosippon usually follows.
- (416) In Ant. XV, 11, 6-7 Josephus tells that the building was completed "in a year and six months." The report of the rain is found here.
- (417) Cf. Ant. XV, 11, 6.

- (418) Ibid. Josephus makes this comment: "...is not possible to set down, for it cannot be that we should truly relate it," but he does so in reference to the number of sacrifices offered upon the completion of the rebuilding.
- (419) In Ant. XVI, 1, 3 Herod collects his sons on a visit he makes to Rome to meet with Caesar.
- (420) Literally "with fever and with anger."
- (421) In Yosippon 311, king of Kaftor.
- (422) Cf. Ant. XVI, 1, 3 and War I, 23, 1. In Ant. both wives are named: Glaphyra and Bernice. In War, neither name appears in this section. Glaphyra is named in I, 24, 2.
- (423) In Yosippon 311, literally "the knowledge of their hearts, and is so used throughout. "
- (424) In Yosippon 311, literally, "revealed (to) the ear of the king."
- (425) Yosippon 312 says Rositheus. Josephus says Doris, Ant. XIV, 12, 1.
- (426) I.e. lower. Cf. Ant. loc. cit.
- (427) Yosippon 312 reads b'may. It should read b'nay.
- (428) Yosippon omits Antipater's sojourn in Rome recorded in Ant. XVI, 4, 1-5. The succession is recorded in Ant. XVI, 4, 6 and in War I, 23, 2. See below, column 314.
- (429) Yosippon 312 reads their brothers--akhim.
- (430) Cf. Ant. XVI, 4, 1-4 and War I, 23, 3.
- (431) This arrangement appears to contradict Josephus' report (Ant. XVI, 4, 6) which tells of Herod's address to the people upon his return from Rome. He "informed them that his sons were to reign after him; Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamme...." See above, column 312. However the problem is resolved by reference to War I, 23, 5 where, upon his return from Rome, Herod addresses these words to the assembled people: "I do declare that these three sons of mine shall be kings.... The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two shall procure them the succession." The speech's next sentence, when taken with the remark in Ant., may give rise to Yosippon's theory that the sons will be haberim b'malkhut, joint rulers. "Nay, indeed, my kingdom is so large that it may be sufficient for more kings."

- (432) Cf. War *ibid*.
- (433) Cf. Ant. XVI, 3, 3; XVI, 7, 2; and War I, 24, 1.
- (434) Cf. War I, 24, 2.
- (435) Cf. War I, 24, 5: "He had also a hundred talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond the Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother...."
- (436) In Ant. XVI, 7, 3, Pheroras despises and rejects Herod's daughter, to whom he is betrothed, out of his affections for his first wife, who is from a slave family. Herod is angered by Pheroras' refusal, and a short while later, offers him his second daughter, named Cypros. Pheroras reluctantly agrees to put away his first wife, but does not, which gives rise to Herod's great anger and suspicion. Yosippon follows the account in War I, 24, 6.
- (437) Cf. Ant. XVI, 7, 4.
- (438) Cf. Ant. XVI, 7, 6; War I, 24, 6. In Yosippon 316, the author calls him Sylleo.
- (439) Cf. War I, 24, 7.
- (440) Cf. War I, 24, 7. Herod fancies that "he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword in his hand."
- (441) Cf. Ant. XVI, 8, 1; War I, 24, 7. In these accounts, the eunuchs are forced to confess.
- (442) In Ant. *loc. cit*. Herod is described as dyeing his hair black.
- (443) Cf. Ant. XVI, 8, 4; War I, 24, 8.
- (444) *Ibid*.
- (445) In Ant. XVI, 8, 5 and War I, 25, 1, that young man is Alexander himself: "Salome came in to him by night; and...she lay with him whether he would or not" (Ant.); "Salome once came and forced him to lie with her in the night time, whether he would or no" (War).
- (446) *Ibid*.
- (447) In Yosippon 319, literally "he stole the opinion of the king."
- (448) Cf. Ant. XVI, 8, 6; War I, 25, 3.
- (449) In War I, 25, 6 the gift is 70 talents and a golden throne, as well as the eunuchs and the concubine.

- (450) Cf. Ant. XVI, 8, 6; War I 25, 3-6. The account in War is more detailed, and Yosippon draws heavily from it.
- (451) In Yosippon 322, a "man from the seed of Lacon, his name, Aeribilus."
- (452) Cf. Ant. XVI, 10, 1; War I, 26, 1.
- (453) In Yosippon 322, literally "he spoke all his heart."
- (454) In Yosippon 322, literally "my old man."
- (455) Cf. Ant. XVI, 10, 4; War I, 26, 3.
- (456) Cf. War I, 26, 2-4; Ant XVI, 10, 1.
- (457) Cf. Ant. XVI, 11, 4; War I, 27, 3. Yosippon omits Josephus' account of the trial in absentia of Herod's sons before Caesar at Berytus, but picks up the thread of the account as the trial episode concludes: "And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of the tragedy; yet did nobody suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children; however he carried them away to Tyre, and thence sailed to Caesarea, and deliberated with himself what sort of death the young men should suffer." (War); "Now as they came to Caesarea, everybody there was talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people were in great expectation of what would become of them" (Ant.).
- (458) In Yosippon 323, Toro.
- (459) In Yosippon 324, Tryphon.
- (460) In Yosippon 325, Sebastia.
- (461) Cf. Ant. XVI, 11, 4-7; War I, 27, 4-6. In Josephus, death is inflicted by strangling.
- (462) In Yosippon 326, Bironici. Cf. Ant. XVII, 1, 2; War I, 28, 1.
- (463) In Ant. XVII, 1, 2, and War I, 28, 2 Aristobulus' second daughter is betrothed to Herod's own son, Herod (Philip), born of Mariamne.
- (464) Cf. Ant. XVII, 1, 1-2; War I, 28, 1-3. In neither account is evidence of weddings; only espousals are reported.
- (465) At the time, i.e. after the execution of Mariamne, daughter of Alexander the Hasmonean, in 29 B.C.E. In all, Herod had 10 wives. Josephus, in Ant. XVII, 1, 3 says: "Now Herod the king had at this time nine wives...." See below.

- (466) Yosippon's enumeration of wives and children is considerably in error. My translation only partially corrects the factual errors in the text (column 327, line 21 to column 328, line 4). Literally, the passage reads: "Rutheus, his wife, bore Antipater. Also, Mariamne, his wife, bore him the little Herod, for the two were slain. Malticus, his wife, bore him Antipas and a daughter named Odo-Olympiras; she also bore him Cleopatra; Jerusalemeth, his wife, bore him Herod and Philipus; also Erodipallos, his wife, bore him two daughters, the name of the first Roxana and the name of the second Salome. The other wives (were)--the name of the first Phedra, and the name of the second Elpis...."

By comparing this passage of Yosippon's with a complete list of Herod's wives and children, we can see the following:

1. Yosippon is unaware that there were two Mariamnes. By saying: "Mariamne, his wife, bore him the little Herod. The two (other brothers) were slain," he presents the two as one. Mariamne I was the daughter of Alexander the Hasmonean. She was executed in 29 B.C.E. (cf. Ant. XV, 7, 4 ff. and War I, 22, 5). She had four children: two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus; and two daughters, Salampsio and Cypros (cf. Ant. XVIII, 5, 4). Mariamne II was the daughter of Simon, son of Boethus, appointed by Herod as high priest. (Cf. Ant. XV, 9, 3.) In Ant. XVII, 1, 3 she is described as "the high priest's daughter, by whom he had a son of his own name," and in War I, 28, 4 her son is: "Herod (Philip) of Mariamne, the high priest's daughter...." Josephus knows that Herod had ten wives, but since Mariamne I is dead at the time with which he is concerned, he excludes her from his list, thus arriving at the number "nine." He does mention her immediately afterwards. Yosippon, on the other hand makes Mariamne (presumably Mariamne I) the mother of the little Herod as well as of Alexander and Aristobulus. Thus he arrives at the number nine, which he believes to be the total number of Herod's wives.
2. Cleopatra of Jerusalem is separated into two: Cleopatra becoming a daughter of Malticus (Malthace) and Jerusalemeth the entire name of the fourth wife.
3. Erodipallos (Pallas) is the mother of only one son, Phasaellus, whose name Yosippon omits.
4. Phedra is the mother of Roxana.
5. Elpis is the mother of Salome.
6. Yosippon cites the number "nine." He lists only seven wives by name, however. The two others, who were childless, go unnamed. According to Josephus, who also omits their names, they are Herod's first cousin, and his niece (in War, *ibid.*) or his brother's daughter and his sister's daughter (in Ant. *ibid.*).

The correct order of Herod's wives and children is:

1. Doris: Antipater
2. Mariamne I: Alexander, Aristobulus, Salampsio, Cypros
3. Mariamne II: Herod (Philip)
4. Malthace: Antipas, Archelaus, Olympias
5. Cleopatra of Jerusalem: Herod and Philip
6. Pallas: Phasaelus
7. Phedra: Roxana
8. Elpis: Salome
9. Herod's first cousin, or Herod's brother's daughter
10. Herod's niece, or Herod's sister's daughter.

For a complete genealogical tree of the Herodian dynasty, see Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, p. 361.

- (467) Cf. Ant. XVII, 1, 2; War I, 28, 5.
- (468) Cf. Ant. XVII, 2, 4; War I, 29, 1.
- (469) Cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 3; War I, 29, 4. In both accounts, Herod instructs Pheroras to retire to his own tetrarchy, beyond the Jordan.
- (470) In Yosippon 328, literally "to ask him peace." Cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 2; War I, 29, 2. In both accounts, Antipater engineers this trip to Rome by having his Italian friends write Herod indicating that "it was proper for Antipater to be sent to Caesar for some time..." (War).
- (471) Cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 3; War I, 29, 4.
- (472) Yosippon 330, literally "except while I still see as a boy." Cf. War I, 30, 3.
- (473) War loc. cit. alludes to "these heads of Hydra...."
- (474) In Yosippon 330, "he spoke to him...."
- (475) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 1; War I, 30, 3.
- (476) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 1; War I, 30, 1-4.
- (477) In Yosippon 331, the phrase is ne-eman beto.
- (478) In Yosippon 331, Theuorion. In Josephus (War I, 30, 5) Theudio.
- (479) In Yosippon 331, literally "to say to him Antipater."
- (480) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 2; War I, 30, 5.

- (481) This account corresponds with War I, 30, 5. Ant. XVII, 4, 2 differs in this respect: "And when the king asked her about it, she confessed it; and as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top." The accounts continue in parallel fashion. The Yosippon prefers the account in War here.
- (482) Cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 3: "This (death of Pheroras) became the origin of Antipater's misfortunes,...God now being about to punish him for the murder of his brethren." See also War I, 30, 13: "But now the punishment was transferred to its original author, and took its rise from the death of Pheroras."
- (483) Cf. War I, 30, 5: "He would have her body torn to pieces by torments, and leave no part of it to be buried."
- (484) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 2.
- (485) In Ant. XVII, 4, 2 and War I, 30, 6 Pheroras' wife keeps a small amount of the poison against the time when the king would turn on her. She tells this to Herod at the conclusion of her confession. Then she hands him the poison.
- (486) Cf. Ant. XVII, 4, 1-2; War I, 30, 1-6.
- (487) An alternate translation would be: "I cannot govern the kingdom and you are not here."
- (488) Cf. War I, 31, 1. In Ant. XVII, 4, 3 Antipater lays "the heaviest things to their charge; yet did he entirely excuse them of any guilt, and said they were but young men...." At the same time, he bribes Herod's friends to write straightforward, accusing letters.
- (489) Cf. War I, 31, 2.
- (490) In Yosippon 334, Torinto or Turinto.
- (491) Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 1; War I, 31, 3.
- (492) Cf. *ibid.*: "This last news affected him deeply; not out of any affection for Pheroras, but because he was dead without having murdered his father..." (Ant.). Antipater "made great lamentations...and his tears were more for the loss of him that was to have been subservient therein, than for (an uncle) Pheroras." (War)
- (493) In Yosippon 334, Caesirea.
- (494) Cf. War I, 31, 3: "those that were less considerate, and had more regard to their own desires of seeing their native country than to Antipater's safety, persuaded him to make haste home...." Ant. XVII, 5, 1 imputes no motives to his various advisors.

- (495) Cf. War I, 31, 4: "Nor could he now fly any whither, nor had he any way of emerging out of the difficulties which encompassed him." The allusion is Yosippon's.
- (496) This detail is lacking in Josephus. In Ant. XVII, 5, 2 Antipater is so unaware of the king's animosity that he arrives at the palace "clothed in purple." See also War I, 31, 4-5.
- (497) In Yosippon 335, literally "suddenly."
- (498) In Yosippon 335, Zoro.
- (499) In Yosippon 336, literally "the guilt which was in it (fem.)." Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 1-2; War I, 31, 1-5.
- (500) According to Ant. XVII, 5, 2 Quintilius Varus was the successor to Saturninus as president of Syria, who had come to Jerusalem "as an assessor to Herod, who had desired his advice in his present affairs."
- (501) Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 3; War I, 32, 1.
- (502) In Yosippon 338, literally "the day of my death before God."
- (503) Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 3-4; War I, 32, 1-3.
- (504) In Yosippon 340, literally "if it is from your hand."
- (505) In Yosippon 340, literally "to put forth their hand to you."
- (506) In Yosippon 340, literally "to kill a soul."
- (507) In Yosippon 342, literally "from loving you."
- (508) In Yosippon 343, literally "who rises on the blood."
- (509) Cf. Numbers 16 passim.
- (510) Cf. II Samuel 18 passim.
- (511) In Josephus' account of Antipater's speech (War I, 32, 3), the earth and the sea are cited as examples of God's not having punished Antipater. The heaven is not included, nor are Biblical examples used.
- (512) In Yosippon 344, literally "lift your face, please."
- (513) Josephus recounts Antipater's speech in direct quotation in War I, 32, 3; and in indirect quotation in Ant. XVII, 5, 4.
- (514) In Yosippon 345, literally "those who stand before the king."

- (515) In Ant. XVII, 5, 4 Nicolaus "explained all that concerned the demonstrations and evidences of the facts" before Antipater makes his defense. Afterwards (ibid.), "did Nicolaus begin to prosecute what the king had begun." In War I, 32, 3 Nicolaus is interrupted by Antipater as he is about "to produce the evidence against Antipater." Only afterward could he bring in "a letter and large accusation against him (Ant. XVII, 5, 4). In Antiquities, Nicolaus is quoted directly; in War, indirectly.
- (516) In Yosippon 345, the verb is second person feminine singular, probably a scribal error.
- (517) In Yosippon 345, literally "the pleasantness."
- (518) In Yosippon 346, literally "to roll his evil on top of him."
- (519) Cf. Ant. XVII, 5, 5-6; War I, 32, 4.
- (520) In both Ant. XVII, 5, 7 and War I, 32, 5 Varus calls for the potion and conducts this final section of the trial.
- (521) Ant. loc. cit. says: "he died presently"—i.e. now. War, loc. cit. says he: "died upon the spot."
- (522) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (523) According to Josephus, "Acme was a Jew by birth, and a servant of Julia, Caesar's wife" (Ant. loc. cit. See also War I, 32, 6). See also below, notes 524 and 527.
- (524) Yosippon simplifies the far more complex exchange of letters in Ant. loc. cit., by omitting reference to Antiphilus of Egypt or his slave, and by making Acme the wife of Caesar rather than her servant. He partially corrects his change in column 348 by describing Acme as Augustus' handmaid. See below, note 527. Cf. also War I, 32, 6-7. Yosippon preserves the essence of Antipater's slander.
- (525) In Josephus, Herod alters his former will to make Antipas, his youngest son, king following him. Cf. Ant. XVII, 6, 1; War I, 32, 7. See below, note 528.
- (526) Cf. Ant. XVII, 6, 5; War I, 33, 6.
- (527) See above, note 524.
- (528) In the light of these last sentences, it seems Yosippon could hardly have thought that Herod had designated Antipater to be his successor, as this text indicates at the beginning of this paragraph. We would expect it to read: "Antipas, his son would rule after him." This would correspond with Josephus. See above, note 525.

Yosippon often follows the form if not the precise content of Josephus. In this instance, Josephus has Herod change his will twice in his final days; so too Yosippon has Herod change his will twice. In Josephus, however, first Antipas is made sole heir, then his brothers and he are made tetrarchs. See Ant. XVII, 8, 1; War I, 33, 7. In Yosippon, Antipater is designated as sole heir in the first change (one which, aside from being totally incongruous, is hardly necessary since he was sole heir in the previous will; cf. Ant. XVII, 3, 2; War I, 29, 2), and in the second his name is removed. See column 349. Yosippon's explanation is far less sensible, since it presents no reason for changing the will, nor does it name any successor (or successors) to Herod's throne.

- (529) In Yosippon 348, literally "I will clean it with my hand."
- (530) In Yosippon 348, Achiachus.
- (531) Cf. Ant. XVII, 7, 1; War I, 33, 7.
- (532) In Yosippon 349, literally "Send me and I will go."
- (533) In Yosippon 349, Irkanos. Cf. Ant. XVII, 7, 1; cf. also War I, 33, 7--Hyrkanum.
- (534) See above, note 528.
- (535) According to Ant. XVII, 8, 1; War I, 32, 8 Herod died five days after Antipater.
- (536) Ant. loc. cit.; War loc. cit.
- (537) In Yosippon 349, Alexander.
- (538) Cf. Ant. XVII, 8, 2; War I, 33, 8.
- (539) Cf. Ant. XVII, 6, 5-6; War I, 33, 6.
- (540) Josephus says that "he had also been commanded to carry Herod's ring to Caesar" who had to approve Herod's dispositions (War I, 33, 8). It is unclear if "he" refers to Ptolemy or Archelaus. Cf. also Ant. XVII, 8, 2.
- (541) Cf. Ant. loc. cit.; War I, 33, 8-9.
- (542) In Yosippon 351, Ikorion.
- (543) In Yosippon 351, ris.
- (544) In Yosippon 351, Gaulus.
- (545) In Yosippon 351, Frankus.

- (546) The order of soldiers in Ant. XVII, 8, 3 and War I, 33, 9 is Herod's guards first, then Thracians, Germans, and Galatians (Gauls).
- (547) In both Ant. loc. cit. and War loc. cit., the number of incense-bearers is 500.
- (548) In Yosippon 351, Irodion.
- (549) In Yosippon 353, Apollinus.
- (550) In Yosippon 353, literally "your mouth."
- (551) In Yosippon 353, literally "fill his heart."
- (552) The speech of Antipater in Ant. XVII, 9, 5 says: "when he was of a sound mind...he appointed...Antipas to succeed." In War II, 2, 5 Josephus reports: "he had no complaints to make of him whom he had named before (in his second testament), when he was sound in body, and when his mind was free from all passion."
- (553) The figure in Ant. XVII, 9, 3 and War II, 1, 3 is three thousand and dead.
- (554) Deleted.
- (555) Deleted.
- (556) Cf. Ant. XVII, 9, 5; War II, 2, 5. The last request for procurators, so uncharacteristic of a contender for the throne, does not appear in either Ant. or War.
- (557) In Yosippon 355, literally "to raise the hand."
- (558) Cf. Ant. XVII, 9, 6; War II, 2, 6.
- (559) In Yosippon 355, literally "the rulership." At the same time (4 B.C.E.), Herod Antipas is appointed tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea. His rule continues through the reign of Tiberius (14-37 C.E.) and the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate (26-36 C.E.). Philip is appointed tetrarch of Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis. See below, column 357 and note 570.
- (560) Cf. Ant. XVII, 11, 4; War II, 6, 3.
- (561) Cf. Ant. XVII, 11, 1-4; XVII, 13, 1-2; War II, 6, 1-3; War II, 7, 3.
- (562) In Yosippon 356, Jubab of Lub.
- (563) In Yosippon 356, this sentence is incomplete. In most likelihood, the best completion is suggested by Josephus (Ant. XVII, 13, 4;

- War II, 7, 4): "she lived in widowhood in Cappadocia with her father" (Ant.).
- (564) Technically, the y'bamah is the widow of a brother who died without issue. That is the reason Yosippon indicates in the preceding sentence that Glaphyra did have children by Alexander.
- (565) Josephus' two accounts differ slightly. In Ant. XVII, 13, 4 Alexander's ghost says: "However, I will not forget thy former kind affections for me, but will set thee free from every reproachful action, and cause thee to be mine again, as thou once wast." In War II, 7, 4 Alexander is more severe: "However, I shall not overlook the injury thou hast offered me; I shall (soon) have thee again, whether thou wilt or no." Yosippon prefers the version in War.
- (566) The telling of the dream appears in Ant. loc. cit. only.
- (567) In Yosippon 357, literally "full and good."
- (568) Josephus' two versions differ slightly. In Ant. XVII, 13, 3 Archelaus sees ten ears of corn. In War II, 7, 3 he sees nine ears.
- (569) According to the account in War loc. cit.: "he was banished to Vienna, a city of Gaul, and his effects were put in Caesar's treasury."
- (570) Cf. War II, 9, 1: "that Herod who was called Antipas." Herod and Philip remained tetrarchs. Cf. also Ant. XVIII, 2, 1. Yosippon's sense of chronology becomes hazy here. Cf. note 559 above.
- (571) In Yosippon 357, Pilatus. Pilate was procurator from 26-36 C.E.
- (572) In Yosippon 357, literally "Lest the image of a man come into the holy city."
- (573) Both of Josephus' accounts agree that no slaughter took place. Cf. Ant. XVIII, 3, 1; War II, 9, 2-3. Pilate brought the ensigns in by night. The Jews protested strongly, and upon Pilate's refusal to withdraw, many fell on the ground and lay there for five days. On the sixth day, Pilate had them surrounded with soldiers, their swords drawn. If they would not leave, said Pilate, he would punish them all with death. None left. Instead they bared their necks, preferring death to a transgression of their law. Pilate was so impressed with their "firm resolution to ever keep their laws inviolable" (Ant.), or "their prodigious superstition" (War), that he had the ensigns withdrawn. At this point in Ant. two more incidents are recounted, neither of which is reproduced by Yosippon. The first is Pilate's use of the corban money to build an aqueduct into Jerusalem (Ant. XVIII, 3, 2; War II, 9, 4).

The second is an account of Jesus' crucifixion (Ant. XVIII, 3, 3).

- (574) In Ant. XVIII, 3, 4 the promise reported is two hundred thousand Attic drachmae.
- (575) This detail is absent in Ant. loc. cit.
- (576) In Yosippon 358, Isiris, apparently a conflation of Isis and Osiris.
- (577) In Yosippon 358, Anub.
- (578) In Ant, loc. cit. this scheme is conceived of by Ide, Mundus' freedwoman. She arranges the affair with the priests for 25,000 gold drachmae down, and an equal amount upon completion of the deal. She is omitted from Yosippon's account altogether.
- (579) In Yosippon 359, literally "in the image of Anubis."
- (580) Ant. loc. cit. indicates that while her friends were not altogether skeptical, owing mainly to her reputation as a modest woman, they "partly disbelieved the thing, when they reflected on its nature...."
- (581) In Ant. XVIII, 3, 4 Mundus is more realistic a character. He has no expectations of future compliance on the part of Paulina. He simply rejoices "in the pleasure I reaped by what I did."
- (582) In Yosippon 360, Tiberius.
- (583) Cf. Ant. XVIII, 3, 4.
- (584) See above, column 357.
- (585) Cf. Ant. XVIII, 5, 1; XVIII, 5, 4.
- (586) According to Josephus, the marriage of (Herod) Philip and Herodias produced no sons, but one daughter, Salome. Cf. Ant. XVIII, 5, 4.
- (587) Cf. Ant. XVIII, 5, 2. This event took place in 29 C.E.
- (588) Cf. War II, 9, 6; Ant. XVIII, 7, 2.

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