

Josephus and the New Testament

A Greek Reader

prepared by
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Introduction

Flavius Josephus (AD 37-100) was a Jewish historian from the priestly families who cared for the temple at Jerusalem. He claimed descent from the Hasmonean rulers, a fact that goes a long way to explaining certain biases in his histories.¹

Initially Josephus took part in the Jewish revolt of AD 68-70, in which Jerusalem and the Jewish temple were eventually destroyed by the Romans. The Romans took him captive in the early stages of the rebellion and Josephus probably owed his life to this. Later he became friends with the Roman commander who had crushed the revolt, the future Emperor Titus, who pardoned him, took him to Rome and gave him an income.

Josephus compiled a record of the failed Jewish revolt, known as *The Jewish War* (*Bellum Judaicum*) which was completed sometime between AD 75 – 79. He claims that this work is a translation of a work he wrote on the war in his native language (presumably Aramaic) for non-Greeks in the East.² It is presented in quite polished Greek, even to the extent of deliberately avoiding hiatus.³ Later he wrote *The Ancient History of the Jews* (*Antiquitates*) describing history from creation up to his own time. This rather lengthy work was published in AD 93-94 and is not nearly quite so polished.⁴ Notable, is the fact that books 17-19 are written in an attempt to imitate a high (Thucydidean) literary register, which occasionally makes for some difficult barely lucid Greek. Around the same time he seems to have appended an auto-biography to the *Ancient History* (that is, the *Life*).⁵ A few years later still he wrote an apologetic work *Against Apion* (c. AD 97).

For many Jewish contemporaries Josephus was a traitor who collaborated with the Romans. For historians, his work is invaluable for gaining a detailed insight into events in ancient Israel and the Middle East after the period of the Old Testament and around the beginning of the Christian era.

1 The Hasmonean (i.e. the Maccabean) rulers, although from a priestly family were not of high-priestly stock. Despite this they combined in themselves the office of high-priest and king. Josephus even claimed one of them to have been a prophet (Hyrcanus I). These facts go a long way to explaining why Josephus, who clearly favours these ruthless rebel rulers, is almost wholly silent about any expectation of a Messiah in the form of a Davidic king. He also goes against the general opinion of Jews in the inter-testamentary period which maintained that there had been no prophet since Malachi.

2 BJ 1,3 and 6. No Aramaic text has survived.

3 He admits having used ‘fellow-workers’ (συνεργοί) to help him with the Greek.

4 It can be noted that the *Antiquities* consistently uses the Greek Septuagint texts both for the OT and the apocryphal books used, not the Hebrew.

5 The date of the *Life* is not certain. For an overview of the problems see Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991) 311-16. The ‘*Life*’ is actually more of a defence of his activities against certain accusations during his 5 month stint as commander of Jewish forces in Galilee.

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The *Lex Talionis*

Although there is no direct legal text in the selection of Mosaic law handed down to us which outlines the substitution of physical retaliation with a monetary fine, there are several examples of this practice. The law in Exodus 21:29-30 provides for commuting a death penalty into a fine. From the book of Proverbs we learn that the same possibility of substitution existed for adultery. The prescribed punishment for adultery is the death penalty (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22). However Proverbs 6:32-35 (cf. 13:7-8) warns us that the plaintiff (the injured marriage partner) in an adultery case could become so angry that he would not even be prepared to consider a fine as substitute for the death penalty.⁶ That such substitution was standard legal practice is quite clear from the one case where the LORD forbids it, namely in the case of murder (Num. 35:31-33). This understanding of the commutability of the *lex talionis* ('law of retribution') is also that of Josephus. We see here that the right to insist on having the official sentence executed remains with the plaintiff.⁷ Jesus' criticism was against Pharisees who used this judicial principle to justify private retribution.

LXX Lev. 24:19-20

19 καὶ ἐάν τις δῶ μῶμον τῷ πλησίον, ὡς ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ, ὡσαύτως ἀντιποιηθήσεται αὐτῷ, 20 σύντριμμα ἀντὶ συντρίμματος, ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος, καθότι ἂν δῶ μῶμον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὕτως δοθήσεται αὐτῷ.

Matt. 5:38-42

38 Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. 39 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ· ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ραπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου], στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· 40 καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον· 41 καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο. 42 τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός, καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανίσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς.

Antiq. 4,280

[ὁ] πηρώσας πασχέτω [τὰ ὅμοια] στερούμενος οὐπὲρ ἄλλον ἐστέρησε, πλὴν εἰ μήτι χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐθελήσειεν ὁ πεπρωμένος, αὐτὸν τὸν πεπονθότα κύριον τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦντος τιμῆσασθαι τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος καὶ συγχωροῦντος, εἰ μὴ βούλεται γενέσθαι πικρότερος.

Lev.

μῶμος, ὁ, blame, reproach, disgrace; in *Jewish Greek* it can also mean 'blemish'
ἀντιποιέω, do in return (*trans.*)
σύντριμμα, ατος, τό, fracture (cf. τρίβω, 'to rub')

πλησίον

This is the adverb of πλησίος formed from the accusative singular ('nearby'). When used with the article as a substantive it implies the participle of the verb 'to be' and means 'the neighbour' (ὁ πλησίον ὢν).

Matt.

κρίνω, to judge;

Mid. & Pass. to have a *question or contest* decided / to dispute / to contend + dat.

δανείζω, to lend (at interest); *Pass.* to borrow⁸

Joseph.

πηρόω, to maim, mutilate

στερέω, to deprive, bereave, rob of *anything, c. acc. pers. et gen. rei*

πλὴν εἰ μήτι, a pleonasm 'except, except' (more literally: 'except, if that is not the case, ...').

συγχωρέω, to agree with τινι; to concede, allow, acquiesce in

τιμάω *act. or mid.* to estimate *something* (τινα) of its value (τινος), as a legal term to determine the amount of punishment due

αὐτὸν τὸν πεπονθότα κύριον τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦντος κτλ.

A genitive absolute.

6 Prov. 6:32-35 (ESV) *He who commits adultery lacks sense; he who does it destroys himself. He will get wounds and dishonor, and his disgrace will not be wiped away. For jealousy makes a man furious, and he will not spare when he takes revenge [lit. 'in the day of vengeance', i.e. at court]. He will accept no compensation; he will refuse though you multiply gifts [i.e., even if you offer him a fortune as redemption].*

7 This also helps us to understand Joseph's initial reaction to the pregnancy of Mary. He was well within his rights to choose not to press for the death penalty, but to quietly arrange for a divorce instead, Matt. 1:19.

8 Note that δανείζω is used in Deut. 15:6, 10 to translate the verb שָׁבַע (of lending and borrowing with a deposit) in the law requiring Israelites to lend freely to their brothers whatever they need.

τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἀπὸ πάθος
Acc. of respect.

εἰ μὴ βούλεται γενέσθαι πικρότερος.

The comparative alone can mean 'rather ...' or 'too ...'. πικρός, literally 'bitter', acquires the connotation 'vindictive' in certain contexts. The plaintiff can choose maiming if he does not wish to receive a monetary payment.

Casting out Demons

The manner in which Jesus cast out demons was quite different to that of the Jewish exorcists. In Luke, for example, after a demon has just acknowledged Jesus we read:

Luke 4:35-36

καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· φιμώθητι καὶ ἔξελθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ῥίψαν αὐτὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον⁹ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν βλάψαν αὐτόν. καὶ ἐγένετο θάμβος ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ συνελάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες· τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ἐπιτάσσει τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν καὶ ἐξέρχονται;

Others attempted to cast out demons by means of magical formulas and rituals. This procedure was also known in the ancient world. Josephus in dealing with king Solomon relates the tradition that even he had prescribed rituals for casting out demons. Jesus, having just cast out a demon replies to a question of the Pharisees as follows, hinting at Solomon's wisdom.

Matt. 12:42-45

42 βασίλισσα νότου ἐγερθήσεται ἐν τῇ κρίσει μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ κατακρινεῖ αὐτήν, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς ἀκοῦσαι τὴν σοφίαν Σολομῶνος, καὶ ἰδοὺ πλεῖον Σολομῶνος ὧδε. 43 Ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διέρχεται δι' ἀνύδρων τόπων ζητοῦν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκει. 44 τότε λέγει· εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου ἐπιστρέψω ὅθεν ἐξῆλθον· καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐρίσκει σχολάζοντα σεσαρωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον. 45 τότε πορεύεται καὶ παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ· καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χεῖρονα τῶν πρώτων. οὕτως ἔσται καὶ τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ πονηρᾷ.

Josephus describes how a Jewish exorcist used Solomon's wisdom to do this.

Antiq. 8,46-49

46 καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει· ἰστόρησα γάρ τινα Ἐλεάζαρον τῶν ὁμοφύλων Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παρόντος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ χιλιάρχων καὶ ἄλλου στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανομένους ἀπολύοντα τούτων. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς θεραπείας τοιοῦτος ἦν· 47 προσφέρων ταῖς ῥισὶ τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου τὸν δακτύλιον ἔχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ σφραγίδι ῥίζαν ἐξ ὧν ὑπέδειξε Σολόμων ἔπειτα ἐξεῖλκεν ὀσφρομένῳ διὰ τῶν μυκτῆρων τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ πεσόντος εὐθὺς τάνθρώπου μηκέτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανήξειν ὄρκου, Σολόμωνός τε μεμνημένος καὶ τὰς ἐπωδὰς ἃς συνέθηκεν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιλέγων. 48 βουλόμενος δὲ πεῖσαι καὶ παραστῆσαι τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσιν ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος, ὅτι ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν, ἐτίθει μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἤτοι ποτήριον πλήρες ὕδατος ἢ ποδόνιπτρον καὶ τῷ δαιμονίῳ προσέταττεν ἐξίοντι τάνθρώπου ταῦτα ἀνατρέψαι καὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπιγῶναι τοῖς ὀρῶσιν, ὅτι καταλέλοιπε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. 49 γινομένου δὲ τούτου σαφῆς ἡ Σολόμωνος καθίστατο σύνεσις καὶ σοφία δι' ἣν, ἵνα γῶσιν ἅπαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ λάθη μηδένα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ πᾶν εἶδος ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολή, περὶ τούτων εἶπειν προήχθημεν.

46

ισχύω, to be strong; to prevail

ἰστορέω, inquire into *or* about a *thing*; examine, observe

ἀπολύω, to release *τινα* (someone) *τινος* (from something)

αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία

Noun phrase hyperbaton.

Ἐλεάζαρον τῶν ὁμοφύλων

We perhaps might have expected before τῶν ὁμοφύλων either a preposition such as ἐκ, or the noun ἄνδρα (cf. Dio Cass. p.152,5).

47

ῥίς, ἦ, in the plural this means 'nostrils'

δακτύλιος, ὁ, ring

ὀσφραίνομαι, 2nd aor. ὀσφρόμην, to get the scent of, to smell + gen.

μυκτῆρ, ἦρος, ὁ, nostril

9 Note that Jewish authors (except Philo) vastly preferred the diminutive δαιμόνιον to δαίμων. It would seem to have a pejorative connotation.

ὀρκόω, make *one* swear, bind by oath
 τάνθρώπου = τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
 ἐπανήκω, to have come back, return
 μιμνήσκομαι, to remember + gen.; to make mention of + gen.
 ἐπιλέγω, to say in addition *or* in connection with an action (this is the verb idiomatically used when casting spells)

τὸν δακτύλιον ἔχοντα
 Strictly speaking we should expect τὸν ἔχοντα.

ὄσπρομένω δια τῶν μυκτήρων
Scil. ρίζης ἀνθρώπου. That is, ‘through the nostrils belonging to the man who smelled the root’. Josephus records the superstition concerning this ‘root’ in *BJ* 7,180-185 ...

<p>180 τῆς φάραγγος δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἄρκτον περιεχούσης τὴν πόλιν Βαάρας ὀνομάζεται τις τόπος, φύει ρίζαν ὁμωνύμως λεγομένην αὐτῷ. 181 αὕτη φλογὶ μὲν τὴν χροίαν ἔοικε, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑσπέρας σέλας ἀπαστράπτουσα τοῖς ἐπιούσι καὶ βουλομένοις λαβεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχέϊρατος, ἀλλ' ὑποφεύγει καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἴσταται, πρὶν ἂν τις οὖρον γυναικὸς ἢ τὸ ἔμμηνον αἶμα χέη κατ' αὐτῆς. 182 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῖς ἀγαμένοις πρόδηλός ἐστι θάνατος, εἰ μὴ τύχοι τις αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐπενεγκάμενος τὴν ρίζαν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἀπηρημένην. 183 ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕτερον τρόπον ἀκινδύνως, ὃς ἐστι τοιόσδε· κύκλω πᾶσαν αὐτὴν περιορύσσουσιν, ὡς εἶναι τὸ κρυπτόμενον τῆς ρίζης βραχύτατον. 184 εἴτ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποδοῦσι κύνα, κάκείνου τῷ δήσαντι συνακολουθεῖν ὀρμήσαντος ἢ μὲν ἀνασπᾶται ῥαδίως, θνήσκει δ' εὐθύς ὁ κύων ὥσπερ ἀντιδοθεὶς τοῦ μέλλοντος τὴν βοτάνην ἀναιρήσεσθαι· φόβος γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα λαμβάνουσιν. 185 ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τοσοῦτων κινδύνων διὰ μίαν ἰσχὺν περισπούδαστος· τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα δαιμόνια, ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδύμενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντα, αὕτη ταχέως ἐξελαύνει, κἂν προσερχθῆ μόνον τοῖς νοσοῦσι.</p>	<p>In the ravine which encloses the town [Machaerus] on the north, there is a place called Baaras, which produces a root bearing the same name. Flamecoloured and towards evening emitting a brilliant light, it eludes the grasp of persons who approach with the intention of plucking it, as it shrinks up and can only be made to stand still by pouring upon it certain secretions of the human body. Yet even then to touch it is fatal, unless one succeeds in carrying off the root itself, suspended from the hand. Another innocuous mode of capturing it is as follows. They dig all round it, leaving but a minute portion of the root covered ; they then tie a dog to it, and the animal rushing to follow the person who tied him easily pulls it up, but instantly dies—a vicarious victim, as it were, for him who intended to remove the plant, since after this none need fear to handle it. With all these attendant risks, it possesses one virtue for which it is prized; for the so-called demons—in other words, the spirits of wicked men which enter the living and kill them unless aid is forthcoming — are promptly expelled by this root, if merely applied to the patients. (LOEB transl.)</p>
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48
 παρίστημι, *lit.* to cause to stand beside, *therefore*, to present + acc.. *In this sense also*, to show / prove
 παρατυγχάνω, to happen to be near / present

παραστήσαι ... ὅτι
 Instead of a direct object, we have here a ὅτι clause (cf. Acts 24:13).

ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν
 Hyperbaton. The use of ἰσχὺς in the sense of ‘ability’ seems somewhat odd here.

τῷ δαιμονίῳ προσέταπεν ἐξιόντι τάνθρώπου
 Hyperbaton, although we should have expected τῷ ἐξιόντι.

49
 προάγω, to lead forward; to induce / persuade

ἢ Σολόμωνος καθίστατο σύνεσις
 Hyperbaton. The middle of καθίσταμι is used here in the sense ‘to become’.

δι' ἦν ...
 This clause is completed by περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν προήχθημεν.

λάθη μηδένα κτλ.
 See the note on common uses of λανθάνομαι to *Animal Story* 22. The clause emphasises the subject which is placed last (verb, object, subject).

Onias IV and Isaiah's Prophecy of a Temple in Egypt

The reign of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes was a time of great upheaval for Israel, not only through his attempt to impose Greek religion on the Jews, resulting in the Maccabean revolt, but also through his meddling with the high priesthood. Ever since the time of king David, the high priesthood had belonged to the descendants of Zadok (himself a descendant of Aaron). When Antiochus acceded to the throne Onias III was high priest. However, in 174 BC Antiochus deposed him, giving the job to his Hellenising brother Jason in return for a bribe. Three years later, when Jason sent a certain Menelaus (a Benjaminite) to Antiochus to pay this bribe, Menelaus added some additional cash and managed to get himself appointed as high priest. He also finally arranged for his rival, Onias III – who was living in exile in Antioch – to be assassinated. In 161 BC Antiochus V had Menelaus executed and appointed Alcimus to the high priesthood. At this time, the true Zadokite heir, Onias IV fled to Egypt.¹⁰ Josephus is our only extant source revealing how Onias IV used the prophecy of Isaiah 19:18-22¹¹ to bring it to fulfilment in the construction of a temple in Leontopolis, thus founding a temple and a way for the true Zadokite high priests to continue serving God.¹² The problem of non-Zadokite high priests in the temple of Jerusalem was sorely felt in Israel. Pharisaic criticism of them led the Maccabite king, John Hyrcanus, to go over to the party of the Sadducees. At around the time of Onias IV's flight to Egypt, the Qumran sect also separated themselves from Jerusalem, although they do not appear to have sided with the temple in Leontopolis. It is interesting to reflect that Joseph and Mary probably fled to this Jewish community from Herod the Great. There is evidence that Jews in Egypt made use of the temples in *both* Leontopolis *and* Jerusalem.



Coin depicting Ptolemy VI

Josephus (*Ant.* 13,62-73)

62 Ὁ δὲ Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸς ὁμώνυμος δὲ ὢν τῷ πατρὶ, ὃς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φυγὼν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Φιλομήτορα διῆγεν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν, ἰδὼν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κακουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, 63 βουλόμενος αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον κατασκευάσαι, διέγνω πέμψας πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν αἰτήσασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν, ὅπως οἰκοδομήσειεν ναὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παραπλήσιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ Λευίτας καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου γένους καταστήσει.

62

ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ... διῆγεν

The verb διάγω is used here intransitively (βίον is understood as the object) in the sense 'to pass one's life' (i.e. 'to live').

63

βουλόμενος αὐτῷ δόξαν κτλ.

Josephus, as a descendant of the Hasmoneans who were later to claim the high priesthood, has little sympathy for Onias.

Πτολεμαῖον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν

Ptolemy VI Philometor reigned from 180 to 145 BC and married his sister, Cleopatra II, as was customary for Pharaohs.

ὅπως οἰκοδομήσειεν

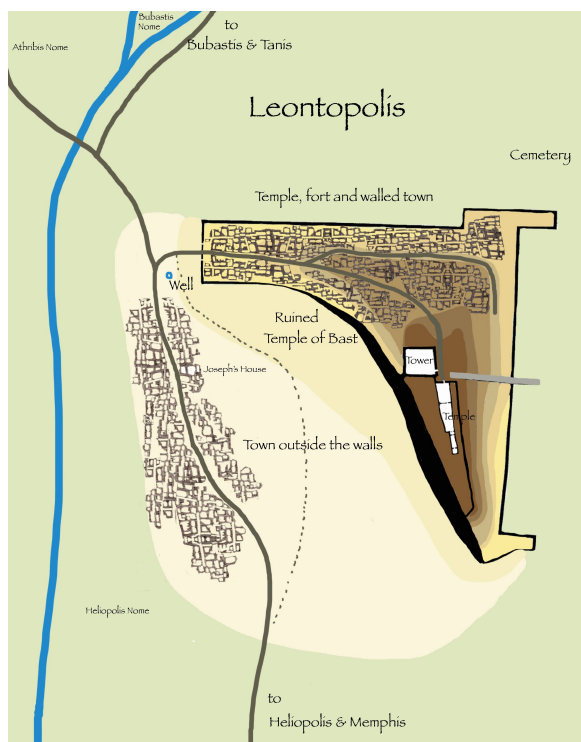
Note the use of the optative after historical tenses.

10 Whereas in the *War* Onias IV's flight is dated to 167 BC, in *Ant.* 12.387-88 it is dated to 161 BC, that is, the time of Menelaus' execution and the accession of Alcimus. Josephus' accounts of this whole period vary between the *Wars* and the later *Antiquities*. With respect to the period of Onias III, Jason and Menelaus, Josephus appears to rely primarily on *1 Maccabees*, which he in part misinterprets. Josephus did not know *2 Maccabees*, which can help us fill in certain information and correct him on several points. On the other hand, Josephus also had access to the 1st century BC historian from the court of Herod the Great, Nicolaus of Damascus, who is no longer available to us. It is possible that his account of Onias IV's activities in Egypt come from this source.

11 G. B. Gray (*Isaiah*, ICC [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912] very credibly argues for the reading "city of righteousness" in v.18. The referent must be to one of the 5 cities, it must be favourable, it must single the city out in some way (that is, not just identify it as a particular city). Therefore the LXX (Πόλις-ασεδεκ = עיר הצדק) must preserve the correct reading.

12 Neither *1* or *2 Maccabees* refers to Onias IV, probably for political reasons, given that the Maccabees ended up having themselves appointed to the high priesthood.

64 τοῦτο δ' ἐβούλετο θαρρῶν μάλιστα τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαΐα, ὃς ἔμπροσθεν ἔτεσιν ἑξακοσίοις πλέον γεγινώς προεῖπεν, ὡς δεῖ πάντως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκοδομηθῆναι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἐπηρμένος Ὀνίας γράφει Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ Κλεοπάτρῃ τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν· 65 “πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ὑμῖν χρείας τετελεκῶς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις μετὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ κοίλῃ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη, καὶ εἰς Λεόντων δὲ πόλιν τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου σὺν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τόπους ἀφικόμενος τοῦ ἔθνους, 66 καὶ πλείστους εὐρῶν παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἔχοντας ἱερά καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δύσνους ἀλλήλοις, ὃ καὶ Αἰγυπτίους συμβέβηκεν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς θρησκείας οὐχ ὁμόδοξον, ἐπιτηδειότατον εὐρῶν τόπον ἐν τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως ὀχυρώματι βρύνοντα ποικίλης ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ζώων μεστόν, 67 δέομαι συγχωρήσαί μοι τὸ ἀδέσποτον ἀνακαθάραντι ἱερὸν καὶ συμπεπτωκὸς οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτοῖς μέτρους ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων, ἵν' ἔχωσιν οἱ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι εἰς αὐτὸ συνιόντες κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν ταῖς σαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν χρείας· 68 καὶ γὰρ Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης τοῦτο προεῖπεν· ἔσται θυσιαστήριον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ· καὶ πολλὰ δὲ προεφήτευσεν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸν τόπον.”



64

ἐπαίρω, to stir up / excite

ἔτεσιν ἑξακοσίοις πλέον

πλέον (ἦ) is used both adverbially (as here), as well as with a genitive of comparison. The dative case here is the dative of time. In English we still tend to translate comparatively: ‘more than 600 years’ although literally it is more like ‘600 years plus some’.

65

τελέω, to fulfill / accomplish / perform

ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργοις

This is rather vague. Was Onias serving Egyptian interests in the war between Ptolemy VI and Antiochus IV? Or is the reference to the civil war in Egypt between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VII (see *Apion* 2,49)?

γενόμενος ἐν τε κτλ.

γίνομαι + εἰς / ἐν is idiomatic for ‘to arrive at’ / ‘to be at’.

66

ὀχύρωμα, -ατος, τό, stronghold, fortress, prison

προσάγορεύω, to address; call by name

βρύνω + *gen.* to be full of

παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἔχοντας ἱερά

Although theoretically ἱερά here might refer to ‘sanctuaries’, this seems unlikely for Jews. Two other possibilities are ‘sacrificial victims’ or most probably ‘holy rituals’.

τῆς ἀγρίας (*sc.* χώρας) Βουβάστεως

Bubastis (‘house of Bast’) was the capital city of the Bubastite nome in Lower Egypt.

67

ἵν' ἔχωσιν (*sc.* δύναμιν)

See ‘The verb ἔχω’ in *Notes on the Greek Text of Hebrews 1-11*, idiomatic use # 2.

68

ἔσται θυσιαστήριον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ

LXX Isa. 19:19 ἔσται θυσιαστήριον τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν χώρᾳ Αἰγυπτίων

69 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ὀνίας τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ γράφει. κατανοήσῃ δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς ἐξ ἧς ἀντέγραψαν ἐπιστολῆς· τὴν γὰρ ἀμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου παράβασιν εἰς τὴν Ὀνίου κεφαλὴν ἀνέθεσαν· ἀντέγραψαν γὰρ οὕτως· 70 “βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα Ὀνία χαίρειν. ἀνέγνωμέν σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀξιούντος ἐπιτραπῆναί σοι τὸ ἐν Λεόντων πόλει τοῦ Ἡλιοπολίτου ἱερὸν συμπεπτωκὸς ἀνακαθᾶραι, προσαγορευόμενον δὲ τῆς ἀγρίας Βουβάστεως. διὸ καὶ θαυμάζομεν, εἴ ἔσται τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον τὸ καθιδρυσόμενον ἱερὸν ἐν ἀσελγεί τῷ τόπῳ καὶ πλήρει ζώων ἱερῶν. 71 ἐπεὶ δὲ σὺ φῆς Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῦτο προειρηκέναι, συγχωροῦμέν σοι, εἰ μέλλει τοῦτ' ἔσεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμᾶς δοκεῖν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξημαρτηκέναι.”

72 Λαβὼν οὖν τὸν τόπον ὁ Ὀνίας κατεσκεύασεν ἱερὸν καὶ βωμὸν τῷ θεῷ ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον. τὰ δὲ μέτρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι δηλοῦν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ μου βίβλῳ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀναγράφεται. 73 εὔρεν δὲ Ὀνίας καὶ Ἰουδαίους τινὰς ὁμοίους αὐτῷ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ θρησκεύοντας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου ἀρκούντως ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

70

ἐπιτρέπω, τινι + *infin.*, to permit
ἀσελγής, ἔς, licentious, wanton, unconstrained

72

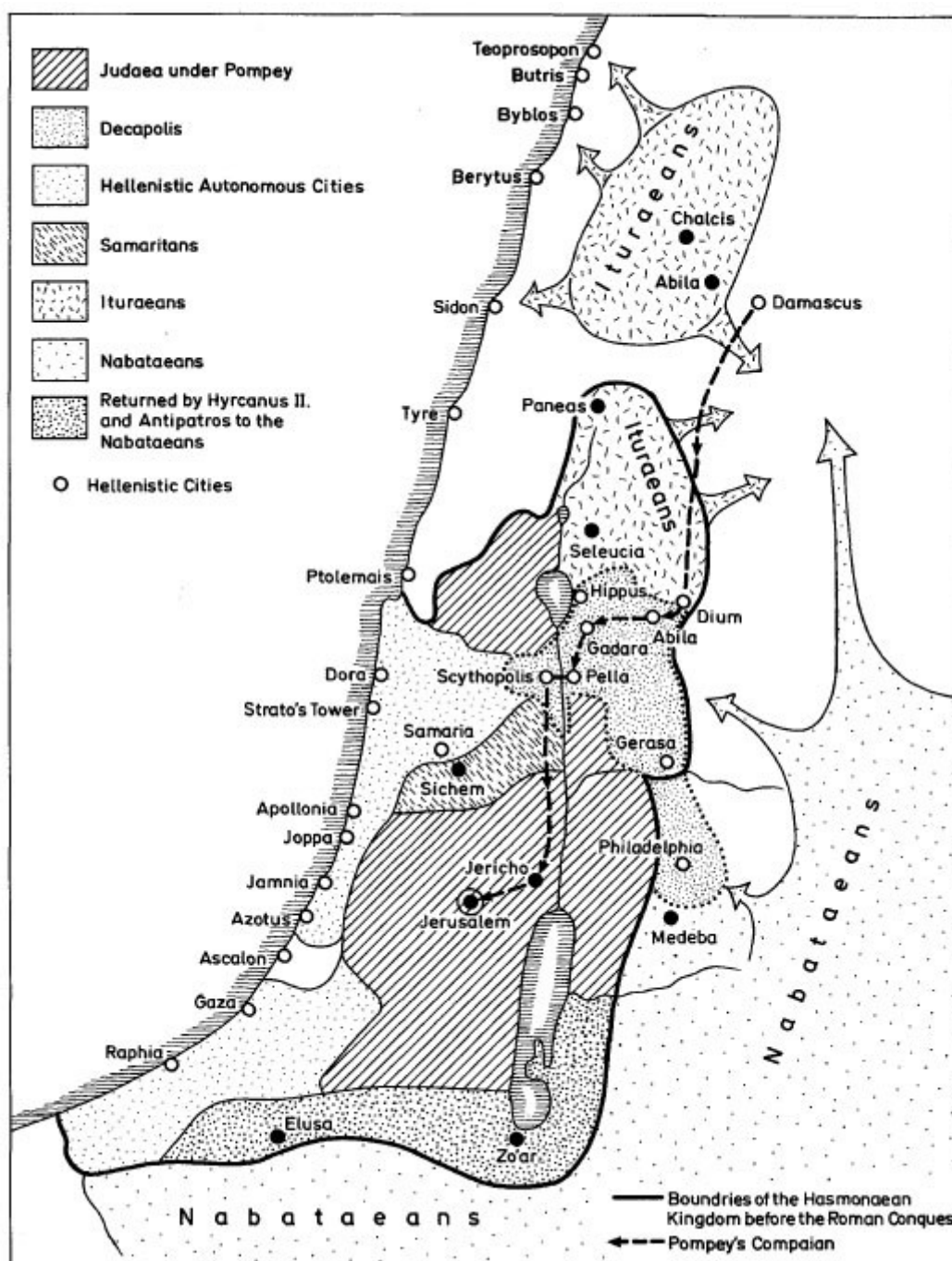
πενιχρός, ἄ, ὄν, poor, needy
ἀναγράφω, to record / register

73

θρησκεύω, perform religious observances

The Parthians and Judean Politics

In the Spring of 40 BC the Parthians (i.e. Persians), the only empire which the Romans never managed to conquer, invaded Roman controlled Syria. They also entered Israel and put Antigonus on the throne there as their own client king, thereby removing Roman influence. Given this history, the arrival of Parthian Magi in King Herod's Jerusalem (a Roman backed client king) declaring that a Davidic king had been born was politically very threatening, a fact that is often missed in the commentaries. Matthew emphasises the shock which their arrival created: Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλέεμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἰδοὺ μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα λέγοντες· ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἐταράχθη καὶ πᾶσα Ἱερουσόλυμα μετ' αὐτοῦ (Matt. 2:1-3). The point is, that the arrival of Magi would have seemed to presage a Parthian invasion to ensure that this child would indeed become king. The readings below contain several excerpts from Josephus' account of this history. The map printed here displays Pompey's settlement of 63 BC.



The following extract informs us of the Parthian invasion of Syria in 40 BC and the subsequent events in Judea. At the time, Judea had a rather complicated government. Julius Caesar had appointed Antipater (the father of two sons, Phasael and Herod – later to become ‘Herod the Great’) as *procurator* of Judea. Hyrcanus II (the former king) was named *ethnarch* (a vague title and position) and also retained his position as high-priest. Then 42 BC Antipater appointed his two sons as *tetrarchs* (a title referring to regional governorship), Phasael of Jerusalem and Herod of Galilee. This was the situation when the Parthians invaded.

Antiq. 14,330-333, 352, 363-366

330 Δευτέρῳ δ' ἔτει Συρίαν κατέσχον Πάκορός τε ὁ βασιλέως παῖς καὶ Βαρζαφράνης σατράπης ὢν Πάρθων.¹³ τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου¹⁴ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Λυσανίας παραλαβὼν διαπράττεται φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου¹⁵, πρὸς τοῦτο χρήσιμον τὸν σατράπην¹⁶ παραλαβὼν μέγα παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον¹⁷. 331 Ἀντίγονος δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο χίλια τάλαντα καὶ πεντακοσίας γυναῖκας δώσειν Πάρθοις, εἰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ὑρκανὸν ἀφελόμενοι παραδώσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη ἀνέλοιεν. 332 οὐ μὴν ἔδωκεν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πάρθοι διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐστράτευσαν κατάγοντες Ἀντίγονον, Πάκορος μὲν διὰ τῆς παραθαλαττίου, ὁ δὲ σατράπης Βαρζαφράνης διὰ τῆς μεσογείου. 333 Τύριοι μὲν οὖν ἀποκλείουσι Πάκορον, Σιδώνιοι δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαεῖς¹⁸ ἐδέξαντο. Ἰλην μὲντοι Πάκορος ἰπέων εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξέπεμψεν κατασκευομένην τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ συμπράξουσαν, ἡγεμόνα τε ὁμώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως οἰνοχόον. ...

The Parthian army is outside Jerusalem. Phasael and Hyrcanus have been tricked and imprisoned. Herod is in the city.

352 Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἤρεσκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνδρὶ τηλικούτῳ, καὶ ὑπερθεμένων εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν, ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς Ἡρώδης γενόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον οἷς ἤκουσεν περὶ τὰδελοφῶ καὶ τῆς Πάρθων ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις προστιθέμενος, ἐσπέρας ἐπελθούσης ἔγνω ταύτη πρὸς φυγὴν χρήσασθαι καὶ μὴ διαμέλλειν ὡς ἐπ' ἀδήλοισι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμιων κινδύνοις. ...

The Parthian army has arrived in Jerusalem ...

363 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων διήρπαζον οἱ Πάρθοι καὶ τὸ βασίλειον, μόνων δὲ ἀπέιχοντο τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων· 364 τὰ δ' ἦν ὡς τριακόσια τάλαντα. πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρώδου διέφυγεν καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα προεκκομισθῆναι κατὰ προμήθειαν τάνδρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐφθάκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τοῖς Πάρθοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξιόντες ἐκάκουν, καὶ Μάρισαν δὲ πόλιν δυνατὴν ἀνέστησαν. 365 Καὶ Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὕτως καταχθεις εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως Ὑρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον δεσμώτας παραλαμβάνει. σφόδρα δ' ἦν ἄθυμος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν διαφυγούσων, ἃς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνεθυμεῖτο δώσειν, τοῦτον αὐτοῖς τὸν μισθὸν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ὑποσχόμενος. 366 φοβούμενος δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν, μὴ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκαταστήσει, παραστάς (ἐτηρεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων) ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄψα πραγματευόμενος μηκέτ' αὐθις εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην διὰ τὸ λελωβῆσθαι, τοῦ νόμου τῶν ὀλοκλήρων εἶναι τὴν τιμὴν ἀξιοῦντος.

330

Πάρθοι, oi, the Parthians

παραλαμβάνω, I. to receive from another (esp. of persons succeeding to an office)

II. + *acc. pers.*, take to oneself, associate with oneself

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναίου

Scil. υἱόν. Ptolemy was ruler in Chalcis, Lebanon. He was married to Antigonos' sister.

διαπράττεται

Atticistic spelling for διαπράσσειται.

13 Prince Pacorus I died in 38 BC. Barzaphanes was his deputy and general.

14 Ptolemy, son of Mennaues, was tetrarch of Iturea and Chalcis from about 85 BC to 40 BC, in which year he died.

15 Antigonos was thus a Hasmonean and nephew to Hyrcanus II.

16 Referring to Barzaphanes.

17 Emendation of Niese (mss read δυνάμενος). In other words, Lysanias associated himself with the satrap because the satrap had great influence with Antigonos.

18 That is, the Ptolemacs of the town of Ptolemais.

πρὸς τοῦτο χρήσιμον
'useful for this (purpose)'

μέγα παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον.
The word μέγα is adverbial here. δύναιμι παρά τινα is idiom for 'to have influence with someone'.

331

ἀφαιρέω, Mid. to take away *something* from *someone* (mostly τι τινα, but also τι τινα or τι τινος)

τὴν ἀρχὴν Ὑρκανὸν ἀφελόμενοι παραδώσουσιν αὐτῷ
τὴν ἀρχὴν is the object of both ἀφαιρέομαι and παραδίδωμι.

332

διὰ τοῦτ'
That is, the promised rewards, not the fact that they never ended up getting them.

κατάγοντες

It is interesting that, although Antigones is being taken to Jerusalem to be made king, he is said to be brought *down* and not *up*. Josephus would presumably not have expressed himself in this way and the verb is probably to be attributed to his source.

333

ἀποκλείω, shut out *or* exclude from
ἵλη, ἦ, troop of horse (*ca.* 64 men)
συμπράσσω, + *dat. pers. only*, act with, cooperate with

Ἰλην μέντοι Πάκορος ἰπέων
Noun phrase hyperbaton.

ἡγεμόνα τε ὁμώνυμον κτλ.
The accusative phrase is meant as (a second) direct object to ἐξέπεμψεν. The namesake Pacorus was the leader of the troop of horse, as *BJ* 1.249 makes clear.

352

ἐπιχειρέω, to put one's hand to, to attempt; to make an attempt on (i.e. attack) τινα
ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, openly
ὑπερτίθημι, Mid. to put off, defer
προστίθημι, Mid. to side with, agree + *dat.*
διαμέλλω, to be always going to do, to make a show of doing: *hence*, delay, put off

ἀνδρὶ τηλικούτῳ
Reference to Herod (the Great), who at this time together with his brother Phasael were Roman appointed tetrarchs (governors) of Judea.

οἷς ἤκουσεν
Abbreviated from: τούτοις ὧν ἤκουσεν.

ταύτη πρὸς φυγὴν χρήσασθαι
Sc. ἀφορμῇ or perhaps better ἐσπέρα. Χράομαι takes the dative here (see 'A note on χράω / χράομαι' in *Animal Story*).

ὡς ἐπ' ἀδήλοισ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κινδύνοις
Sc. εἶναι. Note that ὡς not infrequently = ὡσει. ἐπί + *dat.* 'on the grounds that'.

363

ἅμα, *adv.* at once
prep. + *dat.* together with, at the same time with
ἀπέχω, keep off + *acc.*
Mid. to keep the hands off (*sc.* χεῖρας) of τινος.

μόνων δὲ ἀπείχοντο τῶν Ὑρκανοῦ χρημάτων
Hyperbaton. Hyrcanus II was the high-priest and ethnarch and as such shared power with the brothers Herod and Phasael, who were tetrarchs of Galilee and Jerusalem respectively.

364

προμήθεια, ἦ, foresight, forethought
τάνδρὸς = τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ἐφθάκει, pluperf. of φθάνω
ἀποχράω, to be sufficient

καὶ Μάρισαν δὲ πόλιν δυνατὴν ἀνέστησαν

The verb is unusual given that the sense must be negative. It would seem to indicate that they made the people of the city get up and leave. The city itself was known as Maresha in the Old Testament and is located in Southern Judah, but had previously belonged to Idumea. It's inhabitants had been forcibly converted to Judaism in 112 BC by John Hyrcanus.

365

ὑποσχόμενος, aor. of ὑπισχνέομαι.

Ἕρκανὸν καὶ Φασάηλον δεσμώτας παραλαμβάνει

Hyrcanus and Phasaël were already prisoners of the Parthians. Antigonus took over their custody.

366

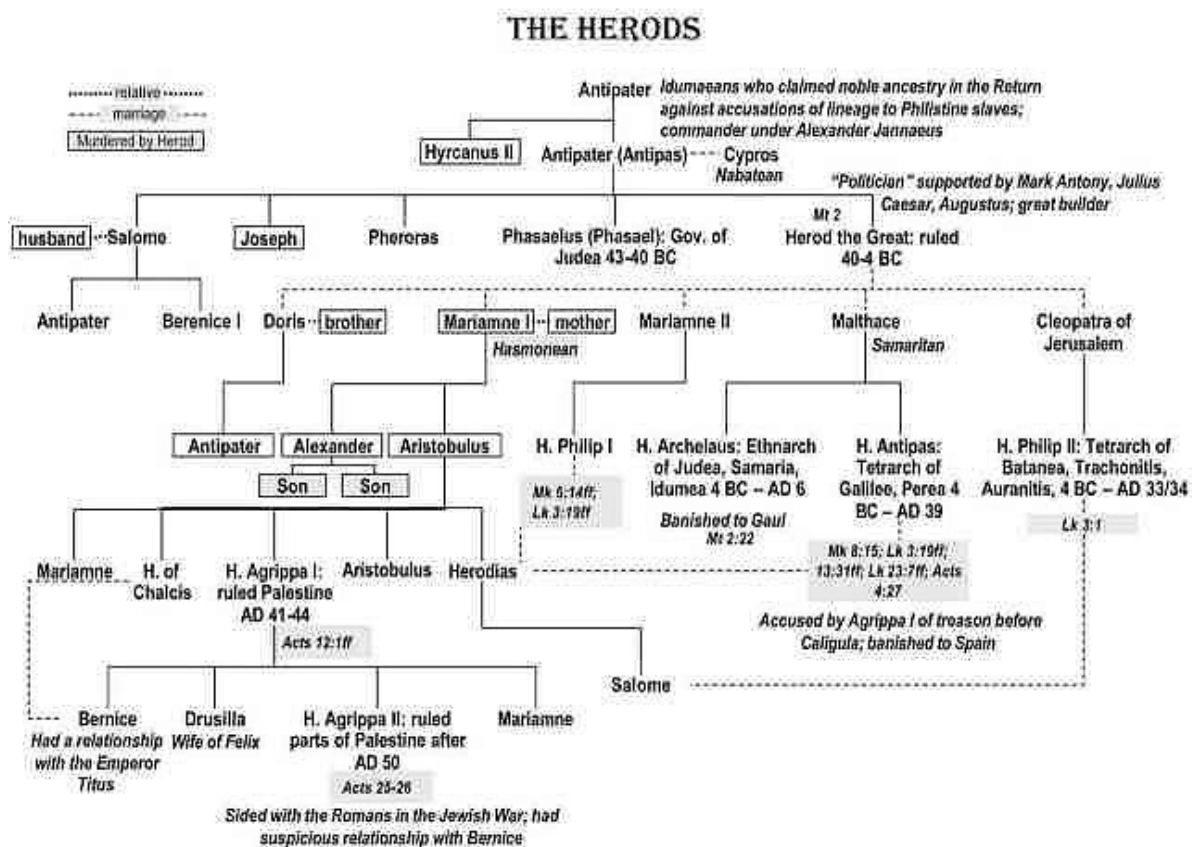
λωβάομαι, to outrage; to mutilate

φοβούμενος ... μὴ ... ἀποκαταστήσῃ

Verbs of fearing take μὴ + subj. after a primary tense and μή + opt. after a secondary tense (subj. after secondary tense is 'vivid'). See Smyth § 2225.

αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄτα

The word-order emphasises αὐτοῦ (only enclitic pronouns normally precede their nouns).



Judas of Galilee's Tax Revolt

Luke records that when Peter and other apostles were arrested in the temple for preaching Christ, the Pharisee Gamaliel made a persuasive speech to the Sanhedrin concerning their case. He mentions there a certain Judas who had earlier led a tax revolt. We read first Gamaliel's speech and then Josephus description of Judas and his revolt.

Acts 5:34-39

34 ἀναστὰς δὲ τις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Φαρισαῖος ὀνόματι Γαμαλιήλ, νομοδιδάσκαλος τίμιος παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἐκέλευσεν ἔξω βραχὺ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῆσαι 35 εἶπέν τε πρὸς αὐτούς· ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις τί μέλλετε πράσσειν. 36 πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θεοδᾶς λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτόν, ᾧ προσεκλίθη ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸς ὡς τετρακοσίων· ὃς ἀνηρέθη, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπέιθοντο αὐτῷ διελύθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν. 37 μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς καὶ ἀπέστησεν λαὸν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· κάκεινος ἀπώλετο καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπέιθοντο αὐτῷ διεσκορπίσθησαν. 38 καὶ τὰ νῦν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων καὶ ἄφετε αὐτούς· ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ βουλή αὕτη ἢ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, καταλυθήσεται, 39 εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστίν, οὐ δυνήσεσθε καταλῦσαι αὐτούς, μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε. ἐπέισθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ

34

ἔξω βραχὺ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῆσαι

'to place the men outside for a short time'. This is an idiom: ποιέω + direct object + adverb(ial phrase) 'to place x in a certain condition'. Here an extra adverb of time is added (βραχύ).

35

προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς

Already in Attic the 3rd person reflexive pronoun can do service for the 1st and 2nd persons. This is very common later, especially in the plural.

36

προσκλίνω, to turn / incline τινα towards τι

ἀνηρέθη

The verb ἀναίρειω is often used euphemistically of killing.

37

ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ

The adverb ὀπίσω is only used as an improper preposition in the LXX and NT (and twice in *Joseph and Aseneth*).

Josephus, *Antiq.* 18,1-10

1 Κυρίνιος δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλήν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκῶς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὀδεύσας ὑπάτος γενέσθαι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιოდότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ τιμητῆς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος, 2 Κωπώνιος τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται τάγματος τῶν ἰππέων, ἡγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσία. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Κυρίνιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσθήκη τῆς Συρίας γενομένην ἀποτιμησόμενος τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα. 3 οἱ δὲ καίπερ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐν δεινῷ φέροντες τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς ἀκρόασιν ὑποκατέβησαν τοῦ μὴ εἰς πλεον ἑναντιοῦσθαι πείσαντος αὐτούς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Ἰωαζάρου, Βοηθοῦ δὲ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἠττηθέντες τοῦ Ἰωαζάρου τῶν λόγων ἀπετίμων τὰ χρήματα μηδὲν ἐνδοιάσαντες· 4 Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γάμαλα Σάδδωκον Φαρισαῖον προσλαβόμενος ἠπέιγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τὴν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀντικρυς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπ' ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος· 5 ὡς παρασχὸν μὲν κατορθοῦν εἰς τὸ εὐδαιμον ἀνακειμένης τῆς κτήσεως, σφαλεῖσιν δὲ τοῦ ταύτης περιόντος ἀγαθοῦ τιμῆν καὶ κλέος ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος, καὶ τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ ἐπὶ συμπράξει τῶν βουλευμάτων εἰς τὸ κατορθοῦν συμπροθυμῆσθαι μᾶλλον, ἂν μεγάλων ἐρασταὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καθιστάμενοι μὴ ἐξαφίωνται πόνου τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. 6 καὶ ἠδονῇ γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὧν λέγοιεν ἐδέχοντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι, προύκοπτεν ἐπὶ μέγα ἢ ἐπιβολὴ τοῦ τολμήματος, κακόν τε οὐκ ἔστιν, οὗ μὴ φυνέντος ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ περαιτέρω τοῦ εἰπεῖν ἀνεπλήσθη τὸ ἔθνος· 7 πολέμων τε ἐπαγωγαῖς οὐχ οἶον τὸ ἄπαυστον τὴν βίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀποστέρησιν φίλων, οἱ καὶ ἐπελαφρύνοντες τὸν πόνον, ληστηρίων τε μεγάλων ἐπιθήσεσιν καὶ διαφθοραῖς ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, δόξα μὲν τοῦ ὀρθουμένου τῶν κοινῶν, ἔργω δὲ οἰκείων κερδῶν ἐλπίσιν. 8 ἐξ ὧν στάσεις τε ἐφύησαν δι' αὐτὰς καὶ φόνος πολιτικός, ὁ μὲν ἐμφυλίοις σφαγαῖς μανία τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ αὐτούς χρωμένων ἐπιθυμία τοῦ μὴ λείπεσθαι τῶν ἀντικαθεστηκότων, ὁ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων, λιμὸς τε εἰς ὑστάτην ἀνακειόμενος ἀναισχυντίαν, καὶ πόλεων ἀλώσεις

καὶ κατασκαφαί, μέχρι δὴ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνείματο πυρὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἦδε ἡ στάσις. 9 οὕτως ἄρα ἡ τῶν πατρίων καίνισις καὶ μεταβολὴ μεγάλας ἔχει ῥοπὰς τοῦ ἀπολουμένου τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν, εἴ γε καὶ Ἰούδας καὶ Σάδδωκος τετάρτην φιλοσοφίαν ἐπέισακτον ἡμῖν ἐγείραντες καὶ ταύτης ἐραστῶν εὐπορηθέντες πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν θορύβων τὴν πολιτείαν ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τῶν αὐθις κακῶν κατειληφῶτων ῥίζας ἐφυτεύσαντο τῷ ἀσυνήθει πρότερον φιλοσοφίας τοιαῦδε. 10 περὶ ἧς ὀλίγα βούλομαι διελθεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐτῶν σπουδασθέντι τοῖς νεωτέροις ὁ φθόρος τοῖς πράγμασι συνέτυχε.

1

πάρεμι + εἰς / ἐπί / ἐν, to arrive at (with ἐπί or ἐν it can also mean 'to be present at'), *as such synonymous with γίνομαι in this sense.*
τιμητής, οὖ, ὁ, valuer or assessor

Κυρίνιος

Publius Sulpicius Quirinius came from a poor family but because of his military prowess was admitted by Augustus to senatorial rank. 15 BC proconsul of Crete – Cyrene, 12 BC consul, 12-7 BC governor of Galatia, AD 6/7 proconsul of Syria.

τά τε ἄλλα

τὰ ἄλλα is adverbial 'in other respects'. In Attic adverbs often take the article.

2

ἀποτιμάω, to value, (*active* of the owner, *middle* of the valuer)
ἀποδίδωμι, *Mid.* to give away of one's own will, sell

τὰ Ἀρχελάου χρήματα

After Herod the Great's death, his son Archelaos inherited the rule of Judea, but this was removed from him by the Romans in AD 6 because of his misrule of the region.

3

τὸ κατ' ἀρχᾶς, in the beginning / at first
τὸ δεινόν, danger, suffering, horror
ὑποκαταβαίνω, descend by degrees
ἡσσάομαι, to become weaker than + *gen.* = yield to / submit to
ἐνδοιάζω, to be in doubt, at a loss

οἱ δὲ

'But those (whose property was to be valued)'. The abbreviation usually refers back to something that was not the subject of the previous sentence (cf. Smyth, §1112).

4

ὄνομα, *both the acc. and the dat. can be used absolutely in the sense:* 'by name'
ἐπείγω, urge on, hasten
ἀντίκρυς, *adv.* outright, openly

Γαυλανίτης

A region East of the sea of Galilee.

5

κατορθόω, to accomplish *τινα* successfully; *intrans.* to succeed
εὐδαιμων, *ον, -ονος*, blessed with a good genius: hence, fortunate; + *gen.* 'fortunate in ...'
σφάλλω, to cause to fall / to overthrow; *Pass. c. gen. rei*, to be foiled in a thing
περίεμι, to be superior
σύμπραξις, *εως, ἢ*, assistance (*coined from* συμπράσσω to help someone (τινι) in doing something (τι))
βουλευμα, *ατος, τό*, resolution, purpose
συμπροθυμέομαι, to have equal desire with / share in eagerness with
ἄν, [ᾶ], *Attic* = ἐάν
ἐξαφίημι, send forth, discharge, *in Attic the Middle of ἀφίημι is frequently used with genitive in the sense:* to let go of *τινος*

τιμὴν καὶ κλέος ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ μεγάλωφρονος

Note both the hyperbaton and the periphrasis. Note that it was popular in good Attic to denote abstract concepts by means of a neuter (τὸ μέγλωφρον and further up τὸ κατορθοῦν).

πόνου τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς (*presumably* βουλευμάτοις)

6

προκόπτειν ἐπὶ μέγα ἢ ἐπιβολὴ τοῦ τολμήματος
A Thucydidean hyperbaton not noticed (or translated correctly) in the LOEB edition, cf. Th. 2,97,4 ὥστε ἐπὶ μέγα ἢ βασιλεία ἦλθεν ισχύος.

κακόν τε οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ μὴ φρέντος

The genitive is dependent upon ἀναπληρώω (see ‘A note on verbs of filling’ following *Animal Story* 2). For the meaning of the 2nd aor. passive of φύω, see ‘A note on φύω’ following *Animal Story* 18. The double negative ends up making a positive: ‘and there is not a wretched thing of which – not growing out of such men ... the nation was full’. In other words, the nation was full of every wretched thing coming from such men.

7

ἄπαυστος, ον, unceasing, never-ending, unstoppable

ἐπελαφρύνω, to lighten (cf. ἐλαφρός, ἄ, ὄν, light in weight)

ληστήριον, τό, band of robbers

τε ... καί ... τε ... καί

Denoting two groups of two things.

οὐχ οἷον τὸ ἄπαυστον τὴν βίαν ἔχειν

This phrase is stumping me somewhat. A standard idiom is οἷον τε, but given that we lack the τε here οἷον must mean ‘like’ / ‘for instance’ or ‘as it were’. Does the definite article belong with the infinitive? Then the verbal adjective, being two-termination, functions as the complement of the noun. I have not found a similar use in Thucydides. I notice that Feldman (the LOEB editor) has adopted an emendation to οὐχ οἷων τε ἄπαυστον τὴν βίαν ἔχειν but I don’t see that this is much clearer. Naber’s edition gives the emendation: οὐχ οἷων τ’ οὐκ ἄπαυστον τὴν βίαν ἔχειν which begins to make some sense. The conundrum is not readily solvable.

ἔργῳ δὲ

‘But in reality’. Typical of Attic (including Thucydides), but usually in contrast to λόγῳ.

8

ἔμφυλος / ἐμοφύλιος -ον, *the latter* = *more poetic*, of the same tribe / kindred

The Pharisees

Josephus discusses the Pharisees at several points in his works. At three points he compares them with two other Jewish groups, the Essenes and the Sadducees. The extract from *Antiquities* 18 is the most extended paragraph from these comparisons. But we begin with an extract from *Antiquities* 13 where Josephus explains their position on oral tradition. Then follows a well-known passage from Matthew 15 and a comment from the apostle Paul on his upbringing.

Antiq. 13,297-98

νῦν δὲ δηλώσαι βούλομαι, ὅτι νόμιμά τινα παρέδωσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέως νόμοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα τὸ Σαδδουκαίων γένος ἐκβάλλει, λέγον ἐκεῖνα δεῖν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμιμα τὰ γεγραμμένα, τὰ δ' ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων μὴ τηρεῖν. 298 καὶ περὶ τούτων ζητήσεις αὐτοῖς καὶ διαφορὰς γίνεσθαι συνέβαινεν μεγάλας, τῶν μὲν Σαδδουκαίων τοὺς εὐπόρους μόνον πειθόντων τὸ δὲ δημοτικὸν οὐχ ἐπόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων, τῶν δὲ Φαρισαίων τὸ πλῆθος σύμμαχον ἐχόντων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τῶν δύο καὶ τῶν Ἑσσηνῶν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ μου τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀκριβῶς δεδήλωται.

298

εὐπορος -on, wealthy

Matt. 15:1-9

Τότε προσέρχονται τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς λέγοντες· 2 διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταί σου παραβαίνουν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων; οὐ γὰρ νίπτονται τὰς χεῖρας [αὐτῶν] ὅταν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν. 3 ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν; 4 ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἶπεν· τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καί· ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτω. 5 ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε· ὅς ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρὶ· δῶρον ὃ ἐάν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφελῆθῃς, 6 οὐ μὴ τιμήσει τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἠκυρώσατε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν. 7 ὑποκριταί, καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας λέγων·

8 ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσίν με τιμᾷ,
ἢ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·

9 μάτην δὲ σέβονται με
διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.

9

ἐνταλμα, τό, rare Septuagintal word, = ἡ ἐντολή

Gal. 1:14

καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς συνηλικιώτας ἐν τῷ γένει μου, περισσοτέρως ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων.

συνηλικιώτης, ου, ὁ, Pauline coinage for ἡλικιώτης, 'person of equal age'

Antiq. 18,12-15

12 Οἱ τε γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι τὴν δίαιταν ἐξευτελίζουσιν οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδόντες, ὧν τε ὁ λόγος κρίνας παρέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν, ἔπονται τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ, περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τὴν φυλακὴν ὧν ὑπαγορεύειν ἠθέλησεν. τιμῆς γε τοῖς ἡλικίᾳ προήκουσιν παραχωροῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀντιλέξει τῶν εἰσηγηθέντων ταῦτα ἢ¹⁹ θράσει ἐπαιρόμενοι. 13 πράσσεσθαί τε εἰμαρμένη τὰ πάντα ἀξιοῦντες οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται δοκῆσαν τῷ θεῷ κρίσιν [οἱ κρᾶσιν] γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ ἐθέλησαντι [οἱ τὸ ἐθέλησαν] προσχωρεῖν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας. 14 ἀθάνατόν τε ἰσχὺν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πίστις αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δικαιοῦσαι τε καὶ τιμὰς οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιτήδευσις ἐν τῷ βίῳ γέγονεν, καὶ ταῖς μὲν εἰργμὸν αἴδιον προτίθεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ ῥαστώνην τοῦ ἀναβιοῦν. 15 καὶ δι' αὐτὰ τοῖς τε δήμοις πιθανώτατοι τυγχάνουσιν καὶ ὅποσα θεῖα εὐχῶν τε ἔχεται καὶ ἱερῶν ποιήσεως ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνουσιν πρᾶσσόμενα. εἰς τὸσόνδε ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς αἱ πόλεις ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι κρείσσονος ἐν τε τῇ διαίτῃ τοῦ βίου καὶ λόγοις.

12

ἐξευτελίζω, completely disparage (cf. εὐτελής, ἐς, easily paid for, cheap *and therefore* worthless, 'Chinese')

περιμάχητος, ον, to be fought about, fought for

ὑπαγορεύω, *lit.* to speak 'under' *and so*: I. to dictate (i.e. give dictation to a secretary)

II. to suggest

παραχωρέω, to stand aside, give way, yield, submit, τίς τινοσ to someone in respect of something

ἀντιλέξις, εως, ἢ, contradiction (coinage)

θράσος -εος, τό, over-boldness, insolence

ἐπαίρω I. lift up

II. stir up, excite

ἐς

Ionic dialect (favoured by historians) for εἰς. I don't believe this is a fossilised idiom here. It probably comes from Josephus' source for this passage.

ὧν τε ὁ λόγος κρίνας παρέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν, ἔπονται τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ

ὧν stands for τούτων ᾧ (the ᾧ is the implied object of παρέδωκεν). Note that the relative pronoun is often attracted to the case of the antecedent (esp. when this is genitive). In this case, the antecedent is not specifically expressed (being τούτων), but attraction to an unexpressed demonstrative pronoun is more common. The tricky thing is that τε ... τε coordinates the two finite verbs (ἐξευτελίζουσιν and ἔπονται). The implied τούτων goes with ἀγαθῶν (a typical hyperbaton) and depends on ἡγεμονίᾳ (i.e. 'and they follow the lead of these good things', viz. disparaging luxury). ὁ λόγος is used here in the sense of 'doctrine' ('these good things, which their doctrine, having judged (worthy), handed down'). For a similar construction see Strabo 8,6,23 on the plundering of Corinth in my reader *Strabo and the New Testament*.

τοῖς ἡλικίᾳ προήκουσιν

ἡλικίᾳ is a dative of respect. The combination of προήκω and ἡλικίᾳ is quite common.

ἐπ' ἀντιλέξει τῶν εἰσηγηθέντων ταῦτα

The LOEB edition prefers to delete ταῦτα οἱ/ἢ and to understand εἰσηγηθέντων as neuter plural ('proposals') referring to the proposals of older men. Could we not keep the text and take εἰσηγηθέντων as masculine referring to those who in the distant past brought in the doctrines (ταῦτα)? The aorist passive form often replaces the aorist middle in Hellenistic Greek. The sentence would then be referring both to honour for older men and not agitating boldly against the doctrines which the elders had once introduced.

13

μείρομαι (perf. pass. εἴμαρται), to receive as one's portion *or* due

ἀφαιρέω, *most frequently* Mid. ἀφαιρέομαι, to take away for oneself, to deprive *usually* with 2 accusatives (to take away something from someone) *but occasionally* + acc. and gen. 'something from someone'.

εἰμαρμένη

Scil. μοῖρα. The phrase refers to 'destiny' or 'foreordination'. For Josephus εἰμαρμένη and θεός are linked concepts. The destiny he speaks of is not separate from God, but determined by him.²⁰

τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀρμῆς

These words contain both the direct and indirect object of ἀφαιρέομαι. Most naturally τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ βουλόμενον would be read together as 'the human will', making τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὀρμῆς the indirect object. Note that it was popular in good Attic to denote abstract concepts by means of a neuter coinage (here both τὸ ἀνθρώπειον and τὸ βουλόμενον).

Josephus had spoken of Pharisaic doctrine in *Antiq.* 13,172 as follows: οἱ μὲν οὖν Φαρισαῖοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ πάντα τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἔργον εἶναι λέγουσιν, τινὰ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὑπάρχειν συμβαίνειν τε καὶ μὴ γίνεσθαι. However Josephus' earlier statement in *BJ* 2.162-63 reads:

19 This is the conjecture of Niese. The codices have oi which makes no sense.

20 See Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991) 133-37.

Φαρισαῖοι ... εἰμαρμένη τε καὶ θεῶ προσάπτουσι πάντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κείσθαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην

προσάπτω, to fasten to / attach to / ascribe to

‘Pharisees ascribe all things to both destiny and God, and (believe that) while acting rightly or not for the most part lies with men, in each case destiny also assists.’

δοκῆσαν τῷ θεῷ κρίσιν/κρᾶσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ ἐθελήσαντι/τὸ ἐθελήσαν προσχωρεῖν μετ’ ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας

This phrase is notoriously difficult and was felt to be so even in ancient times given the number of variants in the manuscript tradition. The two most important are indicated here. Let us begin with the most obvious deduction: δοκῆσαν can only be construed with τὸ βουλόμενον and therefore (given the impersonal subject) must have the sense ‘seeming’. The first infinitive must in any case be dependent upon δοκῆσαν. Then it seems to get tricky given that τῷ θεῷ could be construed with δοκῆσαν (seeming to God), with κρίσιν (judgment to God = of God), or with γένεσθαι (to belong to God). We need to remember that Greek was essentially a spoken language. Books were written to be read out loud, and not to be read with the eyes. This gives us the basic principle of linearity. A personal dative case coming straight after δοκέω will most naturally be understood with it. We therefore get: ‘(man’s will) seeming to God to be(come) a judgment/mixing’. The next thing to notice is that the infinitive γένεσθαι is followed by a second infinitive προσχωρεῖν. The two infinitives are coordinately connected with the conjunction καί. There is, of course, another καί connecting two dative noun phrases, τῷ ἐκείνης (*sc.* εἰμαρμένης) βουλευτηρίῳ (= ‘to the council-chamber of that destiny’) and τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ ἐθελήσαντι (= ‘to the person who willed’). The ensuing infinitive is προσχωρέω, which essentially means ‘to go to’ / ‘to approach’. It needs a dative case or a preposition of direction (πρός / εἰς) as indirect object of the person approached (or, as it is sometimes used, the person sided with). The subject is, of course, still τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ βουλόμενον (‘man’s will’). It makes little sense for ‘man’s will’ to approach ‘the person having willed’. It therefore seems to me to be better to understand the two dative noun phrases as instrumental datives. The approach is made implicitly to God, already mentioned in the dative as indirect object of δοκέω. This gives us:

‘(man’s will) seeming to God to become a judgment/mixing and, by means of the council-chamber of destiny and the person having willed, to approach (Him) with either virtue or vice’.

This meaning seems to be that both destiny and man’s free will (ἐθέλω) in some way cooperate to produce either morally good or bad intentions (βούλομαι) for action which come before God. In a rather convoluted way, this expresses the same idea of cooperation between destiny and free-will which we find in *Antiq.* 13,172.

14

χθών, ἢ, *gen.* χθονός, earth (esp. the surface of it), *strictly poetic. The phrase ὑπὸ χθονός is used by poets for the netherworld.*

εἰργμός, ὄ, imprisonment (cf. εἶργω, to shut in or to shut out)

ἐπιτήδευσις, εως, ἢ, pursuing / cultivation (of some business or pursuit)

προτίθημι, to lay out

ἀθανάτον τε ἰσχνὸν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πίστις αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ χθονός δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ τιμᾶς

The τε ... καί shows that there are two clauses, both dependent on πίστις αὐτοῖς εἶναι. Note that Josephus, writing to a Gentile audience, uses δικαιοσύνη in a regular Greek sense of ‘punishment’, not ‘justification’.

ταῖς δὲ ῥαστώνῃν τοῦ ἀναβιοῦν

In his earlier account in *BJ* 2.163 Josephus says that the Pharisees believe that the ψυχή of a person who has lived virtuously μεταβαίνειν δ’ εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα.

15

ἔχομαι (*Mid.*), to hold oneself fast to, cling closely to + *gen.* in prose, but dative in poetry. Here we have the dative!

τοῖς τε δήμοις

One would normally expect the singular. Is he pointing to the various tribes?

πιθανώτατοι τυγχάνουσιν

Scil. ὄντες. The verb τυγχάνω + participle expresses ‘happen to be’ (lit. ‘they happen being most persuasive’).

εὐχῶν τε ἔχεται καὶ ἱερῶν ποιήσεως

Hyperbaton (‘the doing/procedure of vows/prayers and holy things/sacrifices’).

τυγχάνουσιν πρασσόμενα

The verb should be singular with a neuter plural subject, but appears to be assimilated to the first τυγχάνω. The whole phrase is rather complex, but can be rendered literally as follows: ‘and as many divine things which happen being practised of the procedure of prayers and sacrifices follow the explanation of those (Pharisees)’.

τοσόνδε

As a substantive ‘the so much’, i.e. ‘quantity’.

ἐπιτηδεύσει

Dative of means referring to the way in which the cities have borne witness to the virtue of the Pharisees.

Jesus, the Christ

This passage, although present in all known manuscripts, has often been doubted. Many are inclined to think that a Jew such as Josephus could never have written about Jesus in this way. The passage is then considered to be a Christian interpolation. However, if Christians inserted this passage, why did they not do much more? Why not correct the passage about John's baptism? Why is there no association between John and Jesus? Why not mention King Herod's murder of children in Bethlehem. A lone Christian interpolation here makes little sense.

Antiq. 18,63-64

Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἶγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῆ τάληθῆ δεχομένων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο· ὁ χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. 64 καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀνομασμένον οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.

63

εἰ ... χρή if it is proper, if one should (idiom)
ἐπάγω, *Mid.* to bring to oneself

ποιητής

In the sense 'doer', this is Jewish Greek. In regular Greek this would refer to a 'writer'.

64

ἐνδείξει, εως, ἦ, (as a legal term) indictment
ἐπιλείπω, to fail, to run dry

τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν

While this must mean 'on the third day', I cannot place the idiom. Does it mean 'holding on' in the sense of 'surviving'?

ἀπὸ τοῦδε

Scil. τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

The Embezzlement of Fulvia

In Romans 2 Paul speaks against the hypocrisy of the Jews, who do not obey God's laws. In verses 21-22 he states: ὁ οὖν διδάσκων ἕτερον σεαυτὸν οὐ διδάσκει; ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ κλέπτειν κλέπτει; ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν μοιχεύει; ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἴδωλα ἱεροσυλεῖ; With the latter statement he is probably thinking of the following famous incident which occurred in Rome in AD 19.

Antiq. 18,81-84

81 Ἦν ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, φυγὰς μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ κατηγορία τε παραβάσεων νόμων τινῶν καὶ δέει τιμωρίας τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, πονηρὸς δὲ εἰς τὰ πάντα. 82 καὶ δὴ τότε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαιτώμενος προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἐξηγεῖσθαι σοφίαν νόμων τῶν Μωυσέως, προσποιησάμενος δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρας εἰς τὰ πάντα ὁμοιοτρόπους τούτοις ἐπιφοιτήσασαν Φουλβίαν τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν καὶ νομίμοις προσεληλυθυῖαν τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς πείθουσι πορφύραν καὶ χρυσὸν εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν διαπέμψασθαι, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ χρείας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν αὐτὰ ποιοῦνται, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἢ αἴτησις ἐπράσσετο. 83 καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, ἀποσημαίνει γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλος ὢν Σατορνῖνος τῆς Φουλβίας ἀνὴρ ἐπισκήψει τῆς γυναικός, κελεύει πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελαθῆναι. 84 οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι τετρακισχίλιους ἀνθρώπους ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον, πλείστους δὲ ἐκόλασαν μὴ θέλοντας στρατεῦεσθαι διὰ φυλακῆν τῶν πατριῶν νόμων. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἠλαύνοντο τῆς πόλεως.

81

τῆς αὐτοῦ, *scil.* γῆς

κατηγορία ... δέει

Dative of cause, cf. Smyth 1517 "Cause. – The dative, especially with verbs of emotion, expresses the occasion (external cause) or the motive (internal cause)." On τὸ δέος see 'A note on fear' to *Animal Story* 6.

82

ἐξηγέομαι, to set forth / to explain

προσποιέομαι, to procure for oneself; to pretend

προσέρχομαι, to approach; to apply oneself to

χρεία, ἢ, use, advantage + dat.

νομίμοις προσεληλυθυῖαν τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς

Type 2 hyperbaton.

πείθουσι

The subject has suddenly changed from the singular Jew, to the four Jewish compatriots.

λαβόντες ἐπὶ χρείας ... αὐτὰ ποιοῦνται

αὐτά is the object of both λαβόντες and ποιοῦνται.

83

ἐπίσηψις, εως, ἢ, denunciation (the first step in a prosecution)

πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν

Scil. γένος.

ἀπελαθῆναι

This reading (from ἀπελαύνω) has the strongest manuscript attestation (MWE over against A) and is read by Naber. The LOEB edition, however, chooses for ἀπελθεῖν. The decision for ἀπελαθῆναι is made somewhat easier by the fact that this verb in the passive regularly takes a simple genitive. Both ἀπέρχομαι and ἐξέρχομαι only tend to take the simple genitive (without preposition) to indicate the place from or out of which one goes when used in poetry. Generally in prose a preposition such as ἀπό or ἐκ is used to indicate from where one comes and ἐπί or εἰς for where one is going.

John the Baptist

Josephus, in reporting the adulterous marriage of Herod Antipas (also referred to in Luke and Mark), adds a paragraph on the work of John the baptist himself. Josephus' way of using his sources is quite well-known. He usually writes his own introduction (derived from what follows), lists a conclusion or result and connects these statements to the story / source itself by a proposition, often using the word αἰτία. The story is then given as a close paraphrase of the source. Often we can in this way distinguish his interpretation from the source. It is possible that the additional material concerning John the baptist comes from a different source. Josephus closes the previous section with a concluding statement in § 115b and introduces the section on John in § 116 with his own summary statement. The story has its own similar conclusion at the end of § 119.

Luke 3:18-20

18 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕτερα παρακαλῶν εὐηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν. 19 Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ τετραάρχης, ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἡρωδιάδος τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ Ἡρώδης, 20 προσέθηκεν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πᾶσιν [καὶ] κατέκλεισεν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ.

v.18

παρακαλῶν εὐηγγελίζετο

The subject is John the baptist.

v.19

περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ Ἡρώδης

The relative is attracted into the case of the antecedent which grammatically ought to be accusative, cf. Smyth § 2522. Note the hyperbaton whereby πονηρῶν, belonging to the main clause, is transposed into the middle of the subordinate clause. This is known as 'incorporation', see Smyth §§ 2536, 2538.

[καὶ]

If this reading is accepted, it is a distinct Hebraism. Greek would expect ὅτι.

Mark 6:14-29

14 Καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης, φανερόν γὰρ ἐγένετο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνεργοῦσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐν αὐτῷ. 15 ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἡλίας ἐστίν· ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι προφήτης ὡς εἷς τῶν προφητῶν. 16 ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἔλεγεν· ὄν ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα Ἰωάννην, οὗτος ἠγέρθη.

17 Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἀποστείλας ἐκράτησεν τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ διὰ Ἡρωδιάδα τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν· 18 ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου. 19 ἡ δὲ Ἡρωδιάς ἐνεῖχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἠθέλεν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο· 20 ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐφοβεῖτο τὸν Ἰωάννην, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἅγιον, καὶ συνετήρει αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἠπόρει, καὶ ἠδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν.

21 Καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας εὐκαιροῦ ὅτε Ἡρώδης τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτοῦ δεῖπνον ἐποίησεν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Γαλιλαίας, 22 καὶ εἰσελθούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδος καὶ ὀρχησαμένης ἤρρεσεν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ τοῖς συνανακειμένοις. εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ κορασίῳ· αἰτήσόν με ὃ ἐὰν θέλῃς, καὶ δώσω σοι· 23 καὶ ὤμοσεν αὐτῇ [πολλὰ] ὅ τι ἐὰν με αἰτήσῃς δώσω σοι ἕως ἡμίσεος τῆς βασιλείας μου. 24 καὶ ἐξελοῦσα εἶπεν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς· τί αἰτήσωμαι; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτίζοντος. 25 καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα εὐθὺς μετὰ σπουδῆς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἠτήσατο λέγουσα· θέλω ἵνα ἐξαυτῆς δῶς μοι ἐπὶ πίνακι τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ. 26 καὶ περίλυπος γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τοὺς ἀνακειμένους οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀθετῆσαι αὐτήν· 27 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποστείλας ὁ βασιλεὺς σπεκουλάτορα ἐπέταξεν ἐνέγκαι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπεκεφάλισεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ 28 καὶ ἤνεγκεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πίνακι καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν τῷ κορασίῳ, καὶ τὸ κοράσιον ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς. 29 καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἦλθον καὶ ἦραν τὸ πτῶμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸ ἐν μνημείῳ.

v.14

Καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς

Mark's word-order is consistently Semitic, as here: verb – subject. Herod Antipas' official title was 'tetrarch'.

τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ

The reference is to Jesus who had sent out the 12 to preach and work miracles in the villages of Galilee.

v.16

ὄν ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα Ἰωάννην

The word-order is Semitic. The relative pronoun in Hebrew and Aramaic does not specify number, gender or case. The specification comes as the last word in the clause.

v.17

Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἡρώδης

This is a probable Aramaism, (the strengthening of the definition of a noun by means of an anticipatory pronoun), see ANRW ii.25.2, p.1018 and Muraoka, *Egyptian Aramaic*, pp.156-7.

Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ

This is not referring to Philip the Tetrarch, who married Salome, Herodias' daughter. The reference is to Herod, son of Herod the Great and Mariamne, who apparently was nicknamed 'Philip'.

v.18

ἔχειν

This is idiomatic Greek for 'having' a marriage partner.

v.19

ἡ δὲ Ἡρωδιάς ἐνεῖχεν αὐτῷ

The verb must imply an object such as 'ill-will', i.e. 'Herodias held ill-will against him'. This elliptical use of the verb is only found in Jewish writings.

v.21

τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτοῦ δεῖπνον ἐποίησεν τοῖς μεγιστάσιν κτλ.

Type 2 hyperbaton (γενεσίοις is a substantive adjective here).

v.24

αἰτήσωμαι

Although there is little discernible difference in meaning between the active and middle voice for this verb generally, given that Mark has consistently used the active in the previous verses, this middle ought to be interpreted as a genuine middle: 'What should I ask for myself?'

v.27

καὶ εὐθύς

The LXX used καὶ εὐθύς as a translation of *וַיַּבְהִי* ('And behold'). This translation (e.g. Gen. 38:27) may perhaps have been influenced by Egyptian Aramaic, given that Genesis was translated in Egypt. Note that εὐθύς is used 42 times in Mark as opposed to *ἰδοὺ* only 7 times and then only in quotations (either from OT or from the mouths of others, e.g. Jesus). See the discussion in Muraoka-Porten, *Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, p.310, cf. also Beyer *Semitische Syntax*, p.57.

σπεκουλάτορα

Latin: *speculator*. In Latin the word refers to someone belonging to the head of staff of a provincial governor. However, this word was adopted into Aramaic where it became a technical term for an executioner. Mark uses it in this sense, implying that he is thinking, not in terms of *Latin*, but of *Aramaic*.

Antiq. 18,109-19

109 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ στασιάζουσιν Ἀρέτας τε ὁ Πετραῖος βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἡρώδης διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· Ἡρώδης ὁ τετράρχης γαμειὶ τὴν Ἀρέτα θυγατέρα καὶ συνῆν χρόνον ἤδη πολὺν. στελλόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατάγεται ἐν Ἡρώδου ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος οὐχ ὁμομητρίου· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐγεγόνει. 110 ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Ἡρωδιάδος τῆς τούτου γυναικός, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Ἀριστοβούλου καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῶν, Ἀγρίππου δὲ ἀδελφῆ τοῦ μεγάλου, τολμᾷ λόγων ἄπτεσθαι περὶ γάμου. καὶ δεξαμένης συνθήκαι γίνονται μετοικίσασθαι παρ' αὐτόν, ὅποτε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παραγένοιτο. ἦν δὲ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Ἀρέτα τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκβαλεῖν. 111 καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπλει ταῦτα συνθέμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπανεχώρει διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφ' ἅπερ ἔσταλτο, ἡ γυνὴ πύστεως αὐτῇ τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἡρωδιάδα συνθηκῶν γενομένης πρὶν ἔκπυστος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὰ πάντα ἐκμαθοῦσα κελεύει πέμπειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Μαχαιροῦντος, μεθόριον δ' ἐστὶ τῆς τε Ἀρέτα καὶ Ἡρώδου ἀρχῆς, γνώμην οὐκ ἐκφαίνουσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς. 112 καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐξέπεμψεν μηδὲν ἡσθησθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον προσδοκῶν. ἡ δὲ, προαπεστάλκει γὰρ ἐκ πλείονος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα τότε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῆ, πάντων εἰς τὴν ὀδοιπορίαν ἡτοιμασμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἅμα τε παρῆν καὶ ἄφωρμάτο εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν κοιμιδῆ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παρῆν τε ὡς τὸν πατέρα ἢ τάχος καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἡρώδου διάνοιαν ἔφραζεν. 113 ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας ταύτην ποιησάμενος περὶ τε ὄρων ἐν γῆ τῇ Γαβαλίτιδι, καὶ δυνάμεως ἐκατέρωφ συλλεγείσης εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταντο στρατηγοὺς ἀπεσταλκότες ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν. 114 καὶ μάχης γενομένης διεφθάρη πᾶς ὁ Ἡρώδου στρατὸς προδοσίας αὐτῷ γενομένης ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φυγάδων, οἳ ὄντες ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας Ἡρώδη συνεστράτευον. 115 ταῦτα Ἡρώδης γράφει πρὸς Τιβέριον. ὁ δὲ ὀργῆ φέρων τὴν Ἀρέτα ἐπιχειρήσιν γράφει πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ ἤτοι ζῶν ἐλόντα ἀναγαγεῖν δεδεμένον ἢ κτεινομένου πέμπειν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ Τιβέριος μὲν ταῦτα

πράσσειν ἐπέστελλεν τῷ κατὰ Συρίαν στρατηγῷ.

116 Τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μάλα δικαίως τινυμένοι κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου βαπτιστοῦ. 117 κτείνει γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελεύοντα ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεία χρωμένοις²¹ βαπτισμῷ συνέναι· οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἀμαρτῶν παραιτήσῃ χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνεία τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνη προεκεκαθαρμένης. 118 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφόμενων, καὶ γὰρ ἤσθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων, δεῖσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἐώκεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράζοντες, πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡγεῖται πρὶν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι προλαβὼν ἀνελεῖν τοῦ μεταβολῆς γενομένης [μὴ] εἰς πράγματα ἐμπεισῶν μετανοεῖν. 119 καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεὶς τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον ταύτῃ κτίννυται. τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις δόξαν ἐπὶ τιμωρία τῇ ἐκείνου τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ κακῶσαι Ἡρώδην θέλοντος.

109

Ἐν τούτῳ, *sc.* καιρῷ, meanwhile

στασιάζω, to be in a state of discord, to disagree

κατάγω, *lit.* to lead down. *It is frequently used in this sense of ships coming 'down' from the sea into harbour. In the passive it therefore means 'to come to land' (i.e. 'to be lead down onto land', cf. Acts 27:3; 28:12). Metaphorically the passive is also used for 'landing' at someone's place for lodging.*

Ἀρέτας τε ὁ Πετραῖος βασιλεὺς

This is the same king Aretas, ruler of Arabia from the capital Petras 9 BC to AD 40, who had the apostle Paul followed all the way into Damascus after Paul had been preaching the Gospel there for some three years (see 2 Cor. 11:32-33; Gal. 1:17-18).

διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν

See the introduction. The sentence closing with these words forms both Josephus' introduction and proposition, which he will now go on to demonstrate from his source (which in this case is not known).

ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σίμωνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐγγόνει.

The family tree of the Herods is extremely complicated. See the summary below. Simon the high-priest was the son of Boethus and held the high-priesthood in 25-24 BC. Josephus (*Antiq.* 15.319-22) records that Herod the Great desired Simon's daughter for his wife and so promoted Simon to the high-priesthood, afterward taking his daughter (Mariamne II) for his third wife. Her only son was Herod, often known as Herod II or Herod Boethus (a modern invention to distinguish him from other Herods), but Mark implies his full name was Herod Philip.

110

ἄπτομαι + gen. to touch / undertake

συνθήκη, ἡ, *mostly in pl.* covenant, treaty

μετοικίζω, to move house, resettle, emigrate

πὰρ + acc. *has 3 main senses*, I. beside, near by, II. along, III. past, beyond

ἐρασθεῖς

ἐράω is used in the present and imperfect (in prose) and ἐράομαι in the other tenses.

δεξαμένης συνθήκαι γίνονται μετοικίσασθαι παρ' αὐτόν κτλ.

The phrase is best taken as genitive absolute wrapped around (by hyperbaton) the main clause (which is συνθήκαι γίνονται): 'she having accepted to move house (mid.) beside him ..., a covenant came into being'.

τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκβαλεῖν

The verb is not used of divorce. It is therefore strong language here: 'to throw the daughter (of King Aretas) out'.

111

διαπράσσω, to bring about, accomplish (frequently used in the middle)

πίστις, εὖς, ἡ, (cf. πυνθάνομαι) I. inquiry, II. news (result of inquiry)

ἔκπυστος, ον, heard of, discovered

μεθόριος, α, ον (cf. ὄρος), lying between as a boundary

ἐφ' ἅπερ ἔσταλτο

The antecedent is omitted, namely, ταῦτα, see Smyth § 2509.

112

ὑποτελής, ἐς, subject to taxes, tributary

στράτηγος, ὁ, leader, commander (here, a term adopted by the Nabatean Arabs for their local sheiks).

21 See notes to *Animal Story* 21.

κομιδή, ή, carriage, conveyance

ἀφορμάω, *pass.* to depart

ἤ τάχος, *adv. phrase*, quickly

ὡς, *functions esp. in Attic as an improper preposition with the accusative of person after verbs of motion meaning 'to'*, see Smyth §§ 1702, 3003.

μηδὲν ἡσθῆσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον προσδοκῶν

The verb αἰσθάνομαι (here as perfect infin.) often goes with a participle agreeing with either the subject or object. It can be treated both intransitively (taking the gen.) or transitively (taking the acc.).

ἐκ πλείονος

Sc. χωρίου, from a fair distance.

113

ὁ δὲ

sc. πάτηρ (i.e. Aretas).

καθίσταντο

The subject is now *plural* referring to both Aretas and Herod.

114

προδοσία, ή, betrayal

φύγας, ἄδος, ὁ, fugitive, refugee

115

ἐπιχειρησις, εως, ή, *an attempt upon, attack*

πράσσω (fut. πράξω), to do, accomplish

116

ὄλλυμι, (aor. ὄλεσα, perf. ὄλωλα) to destroy, Med. to perish (*in regular Greek prose one would expect ἀπόλλυμι, the simplex being reserved for poetry*²²).

τίνυμαι, to punish, avenge (poetic)

ποινή, ή, price-paid, penalty, recompense (mostly poetic)

ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν

This phrase is the subject of ἐδόκει.

ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ

Sc. εἶναι.

117

γὰρ δὴ, this combination implies that the consequence to be spoken of (γάρ) is already known (δὴ) to the reader, 'for as you know'

βαπτῖσις, εως, ή, dipping: baptism (coinage)

ἁμαρτίας, ἄδος, ή, Ionic and later Greek for ἁμαρτία

παραίτησις, εως, ή, supplication, excuse, apology, pardon (cf. παραιτέω, to beg off)

ἄτε, inasmuch as, seeing that (with participle)

τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα

Although the three underlined words agree with each other, this is strictly speaking not an example of noun phrase hyperbaton, for in that case we would need the definite article with the noun (required after a demonstrative pronoun). Here the words ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα imply ὄντα and thereby form a participial clause.

τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεία χρωμένοις

Χράομαι here ought to take the dative, but in later Greek (also sometimes in the NT) it takes the accusative. The datives here are instrumental.

μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἁμαρτάδων παραιτήσει χρωμένων

At first sight this is a rather ambiguous phrase. The preposition, for example, can go with the genitive or the dative. The following phrase indicates that the preposition must go with the dative here, which would give us 'for pardon of certain sins'. We should expect χρωμένων to have a personal subject. It is therefore unlikely to agree with ἁμαρτάδων. It must therefore be treated as a genitive absolute: 'not using [baptism] for the pardon of certain sins'.

118

συστρέφω, (*lit.* to turn together) to huddle together in a compact body

ἡδομαι (aor. ἡσθην), to delight in, enjoy + dat.

ἐπὶ πλείστον

22 The simplex was used in Jewish Greek prose, but that fact is not really relevant here. The whole passage deliberately uses much poetic vocabulary.

This would seem to imply that Josephus also recognised that John could challenge his audience.

δείσας ... μή

Verbs of fearing take μή + subj. after a primary tense and μή + opt. after a secondary tense (subj. after secondary tense is 'vivid'). See Smyth § 2225.

ἐπὶ τοσόνδε

As expected τοσόνδε points forward to its concretisation in ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινί.²³

πάντα ... πράζοντες

Hyperbaton emphasising πάντα.

πολὺ κρείττον ... ἀνελεῖν τοῦ ... μετανοεῖν

This is the essence of the phrase. The implied object of ἀνελεῖν is, of course, John the Baptist. Note that this is neither the motivation for John's arrest nor for his death given by the Gospels (cf. Mk. 6:17-28), which is not to say that such a political consideration did not play a role in Herod's mind.

119

κτίννυμι, *unusual form for* κτείνω.

ταύτη, on this spot, here

στράτευμα, ατος, τό, I. expedition, campaign

II. army

²³ See *Notes on 2 Peter* at 1:17.

The Martyrdom of James, Brother of John

The ‘Herod’ mentioned here is Herod Agrippa I (see the genealogical table in the notes on the section on John the Baptist). Josephus’ description of Herod Agrippa shows us what would have motivated him to persecute the Christian church.

Acts 12:1-3

1 Κατ’ ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπέβαλεν Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας κακῶσαί τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. 2 ἀνεῖλεν δὲ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρη. 3 Ἰδὼν δὲ ὅτι ἀρεστόν ἐστιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, προσέθετο συλλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον, — ἦσαν δὲ [αἱ] ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων.

Josephus (*Antiq.* 19,328-331)

328 Ἐπεφύκει δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος εὐεργετικὸς εἶναι ἐν δωραεῖς καὶ μεγαλοφρονῆσαι ἔθνη, φιλότιμος καὶ πολλοῖς ἀθρόως δαπανήμασιν ἀνιστὰς αὐτὸν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν ἠδόμενος τῷ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τῷ βιοῦν ἐν εὐφημία χαίρων, κατ’ οὐδὲν Ἡρώδῃ τῷ πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖ τὸν τρόπον συμφερόμενος· 329 ἐκεῖνῳ γὰρ πονηρὸν ἦν ἦθος ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπότομον καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀπηχθημένων ἀταμίευτον, Ἐλλησι πλέον ἢ Ἰουδαίοις οἰκειῶς ἔχειν ὁμολογούμενος· ἄλλοφύλων γέ τοι πόλεις ἐσέμνυνεν δόσει χρημάτων βαλανείων θεάτρων τε ἄλλοτε κατασκευαῖς, ἔστιν αἷς ναοὺς ἀνέστησε, στοὰς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν οὐδ’ ὀλίγης ἐπισκευῆς ἤξιωσεν οὐδὲ δόσεως ἀξίας μνημονευθῆναι. 330 πραῦς δ’ ὁ τρόπος Ἀγρίππα καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὸ εὐεργετικὸν ὅμοιον. τοῖς ἄλλοεθνεῖσιν ἦν φιλόφρωνος καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος τὸ φιλόδωρον, τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἀναλόγως χρηστὸς καὶ συμπαθὴς μᾶλλον. 331 ἠδεῖα γοῦν αὐτῷ δίκαια καὶ συνεχῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει. διὰ πάσης γοῦν αὐτὸν ἤγεν ἀγνείας οὐδ’ ἡμέρα τις παρῶδεν αὐτῷ τὰ νόμιμα χηρεύουσα θυσίας.

328

Ἐπεφύκει, pluperfect, see ‘A note on φύω’ following *Animal Story* 18.

μεγαλοφρονέω, to be high-minded; to be generous

φιλοτίμος, ον, 1. loving honour *or* distinction, ambitious, *mostly in bad sense*; 2. lavish, generous

δαπάνημα, ατος, τό, outlay, expense, *mostly in pl.*

ἀθρόος -α -ον, in crowds / heaps

ἐπιφάνεια, ἡ, 1. appearance, 2. fame, distinction

συμφέρω, to bring together (*trans.*); *Pass.* 1. to agree with, 2. to happen, turn out

μεγαλοφρονῆσαι ἔθνη

ἔθνη must be interpreted as an accusative of respect, to be interpreted here as ‘Gentiles’. It is somewhat odd and for this reason some editors suspect that several words may be missing.

329

ἀτᾶμίευτος, ον, that cannot be stored; that cannot be regulated; uncontrolled, inordinate (cf. ταμειῶ, to be paymaster, to dispense)

ἀπότομος -ον, *lit.* cut off; *metaph.* severe, relentless

γέ τοι, implying that the assertion is *the least* that one can say

σεμνύω, exalt, magnify

κατασκευή, ἡ, 1. preparation, 2. fixed assets (*in contrast to παρασκευή = furniture & fittings, but here in contrast to χρήματα = money*)

ἐπισκευή, ἡ, repair, restoration

ἦθος ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν ἀπότομον καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀπηχθημένων ἀταμίευτον

ἦθος is followed by two further adjectives each coupled with a prepositional phrase.

οἰκειῶς ἔχειν ὁμολογούμενος

The passive of ὁμολογέω ‘it is confessed’ often refers to general opinion: ‘[Herod] being confessed to be suitable/affectionate to ...’ In other words: ‘he was generally perceived to be more favourable to Greeks than to Jews.’

δόσει χρημάτων βαλανείων θεάτρων τε ἄλλοτε κατασκευαῖς

Note the chiasm. βαλανείων and θεάτρων belong with κατασκευαῖς.

Ἰουδαίων οὐδεμίαν πόλιν

Josephus conveniently omits the massive extensions to the temple in Jerusalem.

330

ἀναλόγως, proportionately

πρὸς πάντας ... ὅμοιον

We would have expected ὅμοιον to take the dative, not a prepositional phrase.

331

δίαιτα, ἡ, 1. mode of living, 2. dwelling

χηρεύω, to be without, lack, + *gen.*

ἀγνεία, ἡ, 1. purity (see ‘A note on words for ‘holy’ after *Animal Story* 16;

2. strict observance of religious duties

διὰ πάσης γούνη αὐτὸν ἤγεν ἀγνείας

Type 1 hyperbaton.

τὰ νόμιμα

Acc. of respect.

The Egyptian False Prophet

this Egyptian came to Jerusalem c. AD 54

Acts 21:37-38

37 Μέλλον τε εισάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὁ Παῦλος λέγει τῷ χιλιάρχῳ· εἰ ἔξεστίν μοι εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς σέ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη· Ἑλληνιστὶ γινώσκεις; 38 οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατάσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἀνδρας τῶν σικαρίων;

εἰ ἔξεστίν κτλ.

This use of εἰ which is normally left untranslated is a Hebraism. Hebrew often has an אם lacking its apodosis, in this case something like ‘Tell me if ...’

Josephus, *BJ* 2,261-63

261 Μείζονι δὲ τούτου πληγῇ Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ψευδοπροφήτης· παραγενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄνθρωπος γόης καὶ προφήτου πίστιν ἐπιθείς ἑαυτῷ περὶ τρισμυρίους μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἡπατημένων, 262 περιαγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος ἐκεῖθεν οἷός τε ἦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν βιάζεσθαι καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τυραννεῖν χρώμενος τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσιν δορυφόροις. 263 φθάνει δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν Φῆλιξ ὑπαντήσας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνεφήσατο τῆς ἀμύνης, ὥστε συμβολῆς γενομένης τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον φυγεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων, διαφθαρήναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος σκε-λδασθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον διαλαθεῖν.

Josephus, *Antiq.* 20,169-172

169 ἀφικνεῖται δὲ τις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα προφήτης εἶναι λέγων καὶ συμβουλεύων τῷ δημοτικῷ πλήθει σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς ὄρος τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἐλαιῶν, ὃ τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρυς κείμενον ἀπέχει στάδια πέντε· 170 θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκεν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπιδειξάει, ὡς κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ πίπτοι τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τείχη, δι' ὧν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. 171 Φῆλιξ δ' ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, κελεύει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν ἰπέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων προσβάλλει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ τετρακοσίους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, διακοσίους δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν. 172 ὁ δ' Αἰγύπτιος αὐτὸς διαδράς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο. πάλιν δ' οἱ λησταὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἠρέθιζον μηδὲν ὑπακούειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀπειθούντων κώμας ἐμπιπράντες διήρπαζον.

The Martyrdom of James, Brother of Jesus

This martyrdom is described both by Josephus and Hegesippus. Hegesippus was a Jewish convert who lived during the second century and wrote five books of memoirs (no longer extant) from which the church historian Eusebius quotes.

Josephus (*Antiq.* 20,200)

ἄτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Ἄνανος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβῖνον δ' ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἑτέρους, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους.

ὁ Ἄνανος, the high priest that year.

Φῆστον, the Roman governor of Judea.

Ἀλβῖνον, the successor to Festus.

παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος

Periphrasis for παρανομησάντων κατηγορεύσας

Hegesippus (see *Eus. H.E.* 2,23)²⁴

1 Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν. 2 ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι ἐκαλοῦντο· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἅγιος ἦν. 3 Οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἔπιεν, οὐδὲ ἔμψυχον ἔφαγε· ξυρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀνέβη· ἔλαιον οὐκ ἠλείψατο, καὶ βαλανεῖω οὐκ ἐχρήσατο. 4 τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐξῆν εἰς τὰ ἅγια εἰσιέναι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔρεοῦν ἐφόρει, ἀλλὰ σινδόνας. καὶ μόνος εἰσήρχετο εἰς τὸν ναόν· ἠύρισκετό τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι, καὶ αἰτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφεσιν· ὡς ἀπεσκληκέναι τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ δίκην καμήλου, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτεν ἐπὶ γόνυ προσκυνοῦντα τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ. 5 διὰ γέ τοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, ἐκαλεῖτο Δίκαιος καὶ Ὠβλίας· ὃ ἐστὶν Ἑλληνιστὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνη, ὡς οἱ προφήται δηλοῦσι περὶ αὐτοῦ. 6 τινες οὖν τῶν ἐπτὰ αἱρέσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ λαῷ, τῶν προγεγραμμένων μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι, ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτοῦ, τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἔλεγε τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Σωτῆρα. 7 ἐξ ὧν τινὲς ἐπίστευσαν, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. αἱ δὲ αἱρέσεις αἱ προειρημέναι, οὐκ ἐπίστευον οὔτε ἀνάστασιν, οὔτε ἐρχόμενον ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. 8 ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, διὰ Ἰάκωβον. πολλῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πιστευόντων, ἦν θόρυβος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ φαρισαίων λεγόντων, ὅτι κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν προσδοκᾶν. 9 ἔλεγον οὖν συνελθόντες τῷ Ἰακώβῳ· Παρακαλοῦμέν σε· ἐπίσχες τὸν λαὸν, ἐπεὶ ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 10 παρακαλοῦμέν σε πείσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα περὶ Ἰησοῦ. σοὶ γὰρ πάντες πειθόμεθα. 11 ἡμεῖς γὰρ μαρτυροῦμέν σοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, ὅτι δίκαιος εἶ, καὶ ὅτι πρόσωπον οὐ λαμβάνεις, πείσον οὖν σὺ τὸν ὄχλον περὶ Ἰησοῦ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ πάντες πειθόμεθά σοι. 12 στήθι οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἵνα ἄνωθεν ἦς ἐπιφανής, καὶ ἦ εὐάκουστά σου τὰ ῥήματα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα συνεληλύθασι πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν. 13 ἔστησαν οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ ἔκραζαν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπον· Δίκαιε ᾧ πάντες πείθεσθαι ὀφείλομεν, ἐπεὶ ὁ λαὸς πλανᾶται ὀπίσω Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, ἀπάγγελον ἡμῖν τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. 14 καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ· τί με ἐπερωτᾶτε περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; καὶ αὐτὸς κάθηται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως, καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 15 καὶ πολλῶν πληροφορηθέντων, καὶ δοξαζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, καὶ λεγόντων ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ, τότε πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον· κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν τοιαύτην μαρτυρίαν παρασχόντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἀλλὰ ἀναβάντες, καταβάλωμεν αὐτὸν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες μὴ πιστεύσωσιν αὐτῷ. 16 καὶ ἔκραζαν λέγοντες· ὦ ὦ, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος ἐπλανήθη. καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν γραφὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα γεγραμμένην, ἄρωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστὶ· τοίνυν τὰ γεννήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται. 17 ἀναβάντες οὖν κατέβαλον τὸν δίκαιον, καὶ ἔλεγον ἀλλήλοις· λιθάσωμεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον. καὶ ἤρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ καταβληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ στραφεὶς ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα λέγων· Παρακαλῶ Κύριε Θεέ πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασι τί ποιοῦσιν. 18 οὕτω δὲ καταλιθοβολούντων αὐτὸν, εἷς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν υἱῶν Ῥηγάβ υἱοῦ Ῥαχαβείμ τῶν μαρτυρουμένων ὑπὸ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου, ἔκραζε λέγων· Παύσασθε, τί ποιεῖτε· εὐχεται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ Δίκαιος. 19 καὶ λαβὼν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εἷς τῶν κναφῶν, τὸ ξύλον, ἐν ᾧ ἀπεπέριζε τὰ ἱμάτια, ἤνεγκε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δικαίου. 20 καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρησε· καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ παρὰ τῷ ναῷ, καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἡ στήλη μένει

24 The numbering is mine.

παρὰ τῷ ναῷ. μάρτυς οὗτος ἀληθῆς Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλησι γεγένηται, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ἐστι. καὶ εὐθύς Οὐεσπασιανὸς πολιορκεῖ αὐτούς.

v.3

σίκερα, τό = Aramaic כְּרִיב, barley beer (Hebrew = כְּרִיב)

ἔμψυχος, ον, having life in one, animate

ξυρόν, τό, razor

ἔλαιον οὐκ ἠλείψατο, we should have expected ἔλαιον to be in the dative.

ἔρεοῦς, ἄ, οὖν, (ἔρεα) of wool, woollen

v.4

σκέλλω, to dry up, parch

When used in compounds (such as ἀποσκέλλω, which is not found in the present) it takes a 2nd aor. σκλήναι).

δίकिन, acc. *adverb*, in the way of, after the manner of + gen.

v.5

γέ τοι, implying that the assertion is *the least* that one can say

περιοχή, ἡ, (περιέχω) a containing, enclosing, e.g. *of a wall or fortification*

v.12

σῆθη, see ‘The verb ἴστημι’ after *Animal Story* 19. This is 2nd aor. active imperative, 2nd pers. sg.

v.13

ὀπίσω Ἰησοῦ, *only used as an improper preposition in LXX and NT (and twice in Joseph and Aseneth).*

v.16

LXX Isa. 3:10 states: 10 εἰπόντες Δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχηστος ἡμῖν ἐστιν, τοῖνον τὰ γενήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται.

v.17

ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα, see ‘A note on kneeling in prayer’ after *Animal Story* 22.

v.18

εἰς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν υἱῶν Ρηχάβ υἱοῦ Ραχαβεῖμ

Ραχαβεῖμ is the transliteration of Rechabim, a Hebrew plural, not a personal name. The Rechabites were not originally Israelites and thus not able to be priests, cf. Jeremiah 35; 1 Chron. 2:55; 2 Kgs 10:15-27. However, according to Jer. 35:19 they would never lack a man to stand before the Lord. During the post-exilic era, before the destruction of the temple, the Mishnah states that the descendants of the Rechabites were to bring the wood for the sanctuary on the 7th of the month Ab.²⁵ This, however, does not imply priestly service.

τί ποιεῖτε, expect ὁ ποιεῖτε.

25 Ta'an. 4.5.

Political Turmoil leading up to the Jewish Revolt

The letter to the Hebrews describes the persecution of Christian Jews in Israel, probably in the years leading up to the Jewish revolt of AD 66. The letter itself presumes that the temple is still standing. Although Josephus does not specifically speak of persecution of Christians, what he does say allows us to understand the context of this persecution. In the extract Josephus is speaking about conditions in Jerusalem during the procuratorship of Albinus, AD 62-64. Note that the *Bellum Judaicum* exhibits Josephus' most polished Greek. Hiatus (the occurrence of two vowels meeting between words, disturbing the flow of the pronunciation) is, for example, studiously avoided.

Hebrews 10:32-34

32 Αναμιμνήσκεσθε δὲ τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς φωτισθέντες πολλὴν ἄθλησιν ὑπεμείνατε παθημάτων, 33 τοῦτο μὲν ὀνειδισμοῖς τε καὶ θλίψεσιν θεατριζόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ κοινωνοὶ τῶν οὕτως ἀναστρεφόμενων γενηθέντες. 34 καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δεσμίοις συνεπαθήσατε καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξασθε γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἑαυτοὺς κρείττονα ὑπαρξιν καὶ μένουσαν.

Josephus (BJ 2,275-76)

275 ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ἴδιον στίφος ὑπεζωσμένος αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ἀρχιλιστής ἢ τύραννος προανείχεν ἐκ τοῦ λόχου, τοῖς δορυφοροῦσι δὲ πρὸς ἀρπαγὰς τῶν μετρίων κατεχρήτο. 276 συνέβαινεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀφηρημένους ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγανακτεῖν ἐχρῆν σιωπᾶν, τοὺς ἄπληγας δὲ δεῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ παθεῖν καὶ κολακεύειν τὸν ἄξιον κολάσεως. καθόλου δὲ ἡ μὲν παρρησία πάντων περικέκοπτο, τυραννὶς δ' ἦν διὰ πλειόνων, καὶ τὰ σπέρματα τῆς μελλούσης ἀλώσεως ἔκτοτε τῇ πόλει κατεβάλλετο.

275

στίφος, -εος, τό, body of men in close array
 ὑποζώννυμι, to place a belt under, to undergird
 λόχος, ὁ, ambush (from the poetic verb λέχομαι 'to lie down')
 ἀνέχω, *intrans.* to rise up / emerge / show oneself; *the prefix προ-* adds the sense of appearing in public.
 δορυφόρος -ον, spear-bearing, *therefore* bodyguard
 μέτριος, α, ον, measured, *of persons*: moderate
 καταχράομαι, I. to employ to the full, exploit + dat. or acc.
 II. *of things*: to misuse; *of persons*: to maltreat, abuse [also used in the NT]

ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν

Josephus is characterising those nationalistic Jews opposing the Roman rule.

276

ἀφαιρέω, to take away from, *pass.* to be bereaved / deprived (ἀφηρημένους = pf. pass. part.)
 δέος, *gen.* δέους, τό, fear
 περικόπτω, to cut all around, to mutilate
 ἔκτοτε, *adv. for* ἐκ τότε, thereafter
 τυραννίς, ἴδος, ἡ, tyranny

συνέβαινεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀφηρημένους ... σιωπᾶν

The impersonal συμβαίνω takes the accusative with infinitive construction. The missing words are an explanatory subordinate clause.

τὸν ἄξιον κολάσεως

Sc. ἄνθρωπον.

περικέκοπτο

This is a pluperfect without the augment!

διὰ πλειόνων

Sc. χορδῶν, an adverbial phrase 'all the more'.

Permitted numbers in celebrating Passover

Josephus has mentioned the staggering number of people who ended up dying in Jerusalem as a result of the Jewish revolt. He states that so many people were trapped in the city because the siege occurred when the city was full of pilgrims for the passover. This leads him to speak of the census taken by Cestius (legate of Syria) during a passover celebration to prove that the city could in fact hold so many people. Josephus then tells us that a minimum of 10 people were permitted to celebrate the passover together in the city, but that groups usually numbered about 20.²⁶ This means that Jesus' celebration with his disciples (13 people in total) would have (only just) met the requirement.²⁷ It remains interesting that Jesus (and the disciples, for that matter) chose to celebrate this feast separate from the rest of his family.

Josephus (BJ 6.422-25)

422 ὅτι δ' ἐχώρει τοσούτους ἢ πόλις, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Κεστίου συναριθμηθέντων, ὅς τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς πόλεως διαδηλώσαι Νέρωνι βουλόμενος καταφρονούντι τοῦ ἔθνους παρεκάλεσεν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, εἴ πως δυνατὸν εἶη τὴν πληθὺν ἐξαριθμήσασθαι· 423 οἱ δ' ἐνστάσης ἐορτῆς, πάσχα καλεῖται, καθ' ἣν θύουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρι ἐνδεκάτης, ὥσπερ δὲ φατρία περὶ ἐκάστην γίνεται θυσίαν οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἀνδρῶν δέκα, μόνον γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστιν δαίνυσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ συνείκοσιν ἀθροίζονται, 424 τῶν μὲν θυμάτων εἰκοσιπέντε μυριάδας ἠρίθμησαν, πρὸς δὲ πεντακισχίλια ἑξακόσια. 425 γίνονται ἀνδρῶν, ἴν' ἐκάστου δέκα δαιτυμόνας θῶμεν, μυριάδες ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διακόσiai καθαρῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἁγίων·

422

ἐχώρει

See the vocabulary for Mark 2:1-12 under Theon's exercises for the Διήγημα.

ἐπὶ Κεστίου *sc.* χρόνῳ

τὴν ἀκμὴν

The word refers literally to the highest point and from there to someone or something's 'flower', 'prime' or 'zenith' and generally comes to mean someone's (or something's) 'strength' or 'vigour'.

423

φατρία, ἢ (also spelled φρατρία, cf. Latin *frater*), 'brotherhood'

δαίνυμι, to give a banquet / feast; *Mid.* to feast (a poetic verb, not normally used in prose – outside of Herodotus)

συνείκοσι, groups of 20 together (poetic, found elsewhere only once in Homer!)

περὶ ἐκάστην γίνεται θυσίαν

Type 1 hyperbaton.

424

θύμα, ατος, τό, sacrificial victim

μυριάς, ἄδος, ἢ, 10,000

πρὸς δέ, *adverbial expression*: besides, over and above

425

δαιτυμόν, ὄνος, ὁ, guest at a feast / banquet

διακόσiai

Being feminine the adjective implies μυριάδες, i.e. 2,000,000. The arithmetic (or the text) is incorrect.

26 Less than ten may have been prohibited because it was considered that less than ten people would not be able to eat the lamb within the permitted time period. *Mishnah, Pes.* 8.7, however, mentions a rabbinical dispute wherein it is clear that at least some permitted a passover lamb to be slaughtered for only one person. That the group should consist of 10 people is also mentioned in *Targum Ps.-Jonathan* on Exod.12.

27 The maximum reasonable number will, of course, have been practically determined by the number of couches able to be fitted into the dining hall. *Mishnah, Pes.* 8.7 limits the number to less than a hundred because each participant needs to have a portion of lamb at least the size of an olive. Such large table fellowships were permitted to sacrifice additional animals to provide more meat for the meal.

Priests Receiving the Tithes

The letter to the Hebrews without comment mentions that “according to the law” the priests collect the tithes from the people. The law of Moses actually gives the tithes to the Levites who are then to give a tithe of the tithe to the priests (Num. 18). Josephus shows us that the situation in his day agreed with the letter to the Hebrews. He, together with two other priests, was dispatched to Galilee under orders from the Sanhedrin. In describing the situation there Josephus remarks on their rights, as priests, to collect tithes. In his book against Apion, quoting Hecataeus of Abdera (from the time of Ptolemy I Soter), he shows that this had been the situation for several hundred years. The reason for this practice is not hard to discern, given that so few Levites had returned from the exile. The proportion of Levites to priests was no longer the same as an pre-exilic days.

Hebrews 7:5

καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν υἰῶν Λευὶ τὴν ἱερατείαν λαμβάνοντες ἐντολὴν ἔχουσιν ἀποδεκατοῦν τὸν λαὸν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν, καίπερ ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος Ἀβραάμ·

ἀποδεκᾶτόω, *this verb means both to collect a tithe and to pay a tithe. It is Jewish dating from the LXX.*

Josephus (*Life* 63, 80)

63 οἱ δὲ συμπρέσβεις εὐπορήσαντες πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς δεκατῶν, ἃς ὄντες ἱερεῖς ὀφειλομένας ἀπελάμβανον, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέφειν ἔκριναν. ἐμοῦ δ' αὐτοὺς προσμεῖναι παρακαλέσαντος ἕως οὗ τὰ πράγματα καταστήσωμεν, πείθονται. ... 80 Περὶ τριακοστὸν γοῦν ἔτος ὑπάρχων, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ, κἄν ἀπέχηταί τις τῶν παρανόμων ἐπιθυμιῶν, δύσκολον τὰς ἐκ τοῦ φθόνου διαβολὰς φεύγειν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐξουσίας ὄντα μεγάλης, γυναῖκα μὲν πᾶσαν ἀνύβριστον ἐφύλαξα, πάντων δὲ τῶν διδομένων ὡς μὴ χρῆζων κατεφρόνησα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς ὀφειλομένας μοι ὡς ἱερεῖ δεκάτας ἀπελάμβανον παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων·

63

εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν (*sc.* χώραν)

Josephus (*Ag. Apion* 1,186-87)

λέγει τοίνυν ὁ Ἑκαταῖος πάλιν τάδε, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Γάζῃ μάχην ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐγένετο τῶν περὶ Συρίαν τόπων ἐγκρατής, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πυνθανόμενοι τὴν ἠπιότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου συναπαίρειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἠβουλήθησαν. 187 ὧν εἷς ἦν, φησὶν, Ἐζεκίας ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἄνθρωπος τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν ὡς ἐξηκονταεξέτων, τῷ δ' ἀξιώματι τῷ παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοέθνοισι μέγας καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀνόητος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ λέγειν δυνατὸς καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, εἶπερ τις ἄλλος, ἔμπειρος.

186

ἀπαίρω, to lead away (with συν- ‘together with’), *here inwardly-transitive implying* ἑαυτοῦς.
ἠβουλήθησαν = ἐβουλήθησαν

187

ἀρχιερεὺς, *in context this cannot refer to the ‘high-priest’, but must mean something like a chief priest or priestly leader. Note too the lack of the article.*