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**‘STRABO ON THE HERODIAN DYNASTY’: AN UNPUBLISHED
PAPER BY RONALD SYME, TRANSCRIBED, ANNOTATED,
AND REVIEWED***

Nikos Kokkinos

Abstract: An unpublished paper entitled ‘Strabo on the Herodian Dynasty’ from Sir Ronald Syme’s archive, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is here for the time transcribed (being handwritten), annotated (lacking notes), and reviewed. It belongs to Syme’s incomplete *Anatolica* project of some 600 pages, written during his years at Istanbul in the mid-1940s, and edited posthumously into a book of twenty-eight chapters by Anthony Birley. While Syme frequently judges that Strabo’s view of Judaea, the Hasmonaeans, and the Herods, was the result of negligence, error, and confusion—whereas compression with nuances of abstract thought would be more appropriate—he is admirably perceptive in recognising important points. Syme adopts the mandatory emendation of Adamantios Korais, restoring the name of Hyrcanus II (in place of a ‘Herod’) as the high priest appointed by Pompeius. He senses that in connection to the impossible priesthood for Herod, Strabo may have unconsciously contaminated different views about Herod’s ancestry. He concedes that Josephus’ silence is not decisive when Strabo is testifying on the precarious positions of the two tetrarchs (Antipas and Philip), in 6 CE. With caution, Syme calls this ‘a new historical fact’. His brilliant mind shines throughout. There is nothing that Syme could have written during his lifetime, which would not still be of interest.

Keywords: Strabo, Judaea, Herodian Dynasty, Ronald Syme.

INTRODUCTION

In the last paragraph of the introduction to my book *The Herodian Dynasty* (1998), the following was noted:

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that the greatest Roman historian of our time, Sir Ronald Syme, in his *Anatolica* (published posthumously in 1995), a collection of Strabonian studies which he left unfinished in the 1940s, planned to include a chapter entitled ‘Strabo on the House of Herod’. Anthony Birley, the editor of this publication, notes in the introduction that ‘an apparently complete draft on the House of Herod lacked notes’ and for other reasons too it seemed preferable to omit it (Syme 1995, xvii). It would have been interesting to know Syme’s position (even if out of date) on such an important subject, and although I was invited to examine this paper by Fergus Millar, the literary executor of the Syme Archive at Wolfson College, I regret that I did not find the time to do so. Hopefully, my assessment of the ancient geographer in various notes of the present volume, together with the essential

commentary of Menahem Stern (*GLAJJ* 1, 261–315), will adequately cover this matter in lieu of a published, specialized discussion.¹

I have recently been reminded of what I had written by my old colleague and friend Henry MacAdam, which made me curious again about this incomplete paper. Since then, twenty-six years ago, things have changed. First, the Syme Archive was transferred to the Special Collections of the Bodleian Library, and thus became more accessible, especially with the progress of technology. Second, with the publication of *Anatolica*, work on Strabo in general has burgeoned. To mention only the main scholars behind this new drive, one has to refer to Katherine J. Clarke, Daniella Dueck, Hugh Lindsay, Sarah Potheary, Nicola Biffi, Germaine Aujac, Stephan L. Radt and Duane W. Roller. Still, in terms of Strabo's treatment of the Herods, nothing earthmoving has caught my attention which could affect Menahem Stern's commentary or my own assessment mentioned above. Third, the death of Fergus Millar (15 July 2019) has come to leave me exposed with an unfulfilled promise. So I felt urged, if belatedly, to get hold of the paper, to transcribe it (since I knew that it would be handwritten), to annotate it (as I knew that it lacked notes), to review it (for all its worth), and try to publish it. And here is the result.

Belonging to Syme's *Anatolica* collection, and actually entitled by him as 'Strabo on the Herodian Dynasty',² the paper was written in Istanbul, where he was Professor of Classical Philology from 1942 to 1945. Syme himself revealed little directly about his activities during this period.³ Glen Bowersock suspected the following:

In the war years Syme himself left Oxford to take up a position as press attaché in Belgrade, where he renewed close contacts with Yugoslavian and other Balkan scholars whom he had met in the course of his studies of the Roman army and frontier. Syme became one of the few Roman historians with a working knowledge of Serbo-Croatian. From Belgrade he passed briefly to Ankara and then took up a professorship of classical philology at the University of Istanbul. Ardent Turkophile that he was, he nonetheless cannot be assumed to have devoted all his time in Istanbul to teaching the Greek and Roman classics. Yet he resolutely never divulged the nature of his work in those years. One may suspect that his contribution to the intelligence network of the Allies was substantial, perhaps even reflected in the Order of Merit that he received long afterward.⁴

A review of *Anatolica*, Syme's only book to focus on a Greek, not a Latin, author, set out briefly the general context of the collection:

During his years as professor of classical philology at Istanbul in the mid-1940s Syme composed more than 600 handwritten pages of a book entitled *Anatolica*. He did not complete all his proposed chapters, however, and he never published the manuscript. After his death the pages were among the papers collected in the Syme Archive at Wolfson College, Oxford. Anthony Birley, who has previously edited five of the volumes of *Roman Papers*, has now edited these pages into this new book. Since Syme had already provided

¹ *KHD*, 33.

² See Special Collections of the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, the *Catalogue of the Additional Papers of Sir Ronald Syme* (Box 603224349—mixed material), no. 2 'manuscript on "Strabo on the Herodian Dynast"', Shelfmark MS. 11378/9).

³ See Mitchell (1989).

⁴ See Bowersock (1991), 120.

most of the annotation, Birley has added a few updated references, corrected a few mistakes, and included some maps taken from Stephen Mitchell's recent (and marvelous) *Anatolia...* The twenty-eight chapters in *Anatolica* are essentially appendices without a general narrative, and the result is a book primarily for specialists on Strabo and Asia Minor... His chapters include studies of king Deiotarus of Galatia (11), king Archelaus of Cappadocia (13), king Tarcondimotus of Cilicia (15), and Lycomedes, a priest at Pontic Comana (16), as well as of the provincial governors P. Sulpicius Quirinius (23) and C. Marcus Censorinus (26).⁵

An important chapter in condensed form (Appendix E = 'When did Strabo Write?'), not mentioned in this review, is relevant to several chapters of the volume, and the one rightly reviewed separately by Hugh Lindsay.⁶ The paper printed here for the first time, is perhaps even more relevant to the question of dating Strabo's composition in Syme's view. And it should also be noted that in connection to the Herodian dynasty, Syme's output in Istanbul further includes a brief handwritten page with a list of references from a lecture he gave at the time, entitled 'Origin of Herod'.⁷ This proved to be helpful in view of our paper's restored annotation here, as it indicates at least a couple of bibliographical items that Syme would have taken into consideration for his study.

Syme's style of writing was notorious. His unique prose style often raised scholarly eyebrows, especially in points where clear understanding required easier expressions. A recent biography of Syme, by a fellow New Zealander (who researched and wrote about four NZ expatriates who had notable careers), had this to say:

Syme admired Tacitus' style and built his upon that model, with some success. Syme's prose is knotty, compacted, and allusive; it values brevity and conclusion, while frequently turning up unusual or archaic words or phrases. And it consistently privileges narrative over interpretation.⁸

Fergus Millar was right then to end an obituary of Syme by saying: 'The last sentence of his *Tacitus* may serve as his own epitaph: "Men and dynasties pass but style abides".'⁹

SYME'S PAPER

⁵ Van Dam (1995).

⁶ Lindsay (1997).

⁷ See Special Collections of the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, the *Catalogue of the Additional Papers of Sir Ronald Syme*, Box 603224349 (mixed material), no. 5 'lectures, including on Herod, Strabo and Anatolia', Shelfmark MS. 11378/9.

⁸ Edmond (2017), 154. I thank Henry Macadam for providing me with a copy of this biography.

⁹ Millar (1990).

STRABO ON THE HERODIAN DYNASTY*(Transcript of MS written in Istanbul in the early 1940s)***Ronald Syme**

[p. 1] Strabo's account of Palestine comes up to any rational expectation. It reveals a number of typical blunders and anachronisms. The city of Gaza, he affirms, was destroyed by Alexander and lies desolate. But Gaza rose again and stood several sieges after the Macedonian. It may be that Strabo, hastily copying a historical source, has misunderstood a reference to the destruction of Gaza by the Jewish king, Alexander Jannaeus, in 96 B.C. That assumption will not save the credit of the geographer—Gaza had been rebuilt, when Strabo was a small boy, by Gabinius the Proconsul of Syria. Again, Gadara, the home [p. 1a] of sweet song and persuasive discourse, renowned for Meleager and for Philodemus, to say nothing of Menippus, the witty Cynic, and the rhetorician Theodorus, is transferred from the lands beyond Jordan to a coastal situation between Joppa and Azotus. The geographer has also omitted a large region of the interior, most of the Decapolis, containing along with Gadara cities of some consequence such as Pella and Gerasa; and, of the great Herodian foundations Sebaste and Caesarea, he signals the one and forgets the other. [n. 1]¹⁰

[p. 2] Despite various deficiencies, Strabo is generally alert and seldom at fault about notable families. The man from Amasia boasted a pedigree. Hence valuable details about the dynastic houses of Anatolia, large and small. Judaea was not so far away. Other vassal kingdoms might surpass in size or strategic importance the realm of Herod: that monarch had no peer in splendour and display and in the favours of Roman rulers. The matrimonial policy of Herod (if that is the name for his conduct), begetting children from ten women at least, might well perplex or deter the most pertinacious of enquirers. Before Herod died, however, the problem of the succession had been drastically simplified. After the sons of Mariamme (7 B.C.), Antipater had been executed only a few days before Herod's death. [n. 2]¹¹ Three sons only were named in his will and concerned in the division of the kingdom. It was a matter of public notoriety. A geographer who was also a historian could eschew the irrelevant; and he need not have committed capital errors about the extraction of King Herod and the vicissitudes of his heirs.

[p. 3] Strabo concludes his geographical description of Judaea and the adjacent regions with a brief appendage, summarising Jewish history after the dispositions of Pompeius Magnus. The Roman conqueror made an end of the monarchy. He took away Aristobulus, the son of Alexander Jannaeus, to adorn his triumph; but he left as high priest at Jerusalem a member of the Hasmonean dynasty, Hyrcanus the brother of Aristobulus. Hyrcanus was to rule a diminished kingdom with the title of ethnarch. [n. 3]¹² Strabo after recording the appointment of Hyrcanus (though only the

¹⁰ [For Gaza, see Strabo 16.2.30; for its destruction by Alexander Jannaeus, see Jos., *Ant.* 13.358–64; *War* 1.87; for the year, coinciding approximately with the death of Antiochus VIII Grypus, see Jos., *Ant.* 13.365; for Gabinius' rebuilding, see Jos., *Ant.* 14.88 (cf. *War* 1.166 where the name is assumed to be corrupted as 'Gamala', 'Gabala', or 'Gadara'); for Gadara, see Strabo 16.2.29; for Sebaste 16.2.34; for Stratonos Pyrgus, instead of Caesarea, 16.2.27.]

¹¹ [For Strabo's pedigree, see 11.2.18; 12.3.33; cf. 10.4.10; for the execution of Mariamme I's sons, see Jos., *Ant.* 16.394; *War* 1.551; for the execution of Antipater II, see Jos., *Ant.* 17.187; *War* 1.664.]

¹² [For the appendage on Jewish history, see Strabo 16.2.35–37, 40, 46; for Aristobulus II taken as prisoner to Rome, see Jos., *Ant.* 14.79; *War* 1.157; Dio 37.16.4; and in Pompeius' triumph

priestly office and nothing more) goes on to speak of the ruler in his own day, Herod: that person slipped into the office of high-priest and afterwards acquired the royal title, by gift of the Romans, first Antonius, then Caesar Augustus.

This is peculiar. Herod was never high-priest. The whole sentence is peculiar: τῶν δ' ἀπὸ γένους τις ὕστερον Ἡρώδης, ἀνὴρ ἐπιχώριος, παραδὸς εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην κ.τ.λ. [n. 4]¹³ [p. 4] The phrase τῶν ἀπὸ γένους would appear to designate, in general, an aristocracy; [n. 5]¹⁴ in Judaea this was equivalent to the priestly families. But Herod did not come of sacerdotal stock. His origin was beyond dispute or disguise. His father Antipater was an Idumaeen of wealth and standing, his mother the daughter of an Arab sheik. The Idumaeans barely counted as Jews, their conversion having been recent and reluctant. One of the biographers of Herod, a certain Ptolemaeus of Ascalon, described them as originally Syrians and Phoenicians. [n. 6]¹⁵ When the Hasmonaean Antigonos, Hyrcanus' nephew, set up as king at Jerusalem by the Parthian invaders in 40 B.C., discussed with a Roman general the claims of the Roman nominee, he dismissed Herod as 'a commoner and an Idumaeen, that is, a half-Jew, whereas the crown should belong τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ γένους. Antigonos proceeded to point out that, should the Romans reject the Parthian candidate, namely himself, plenty of other people were eligible. [n. 7]¹⁶

[p. 5] An attempt was made, it is true, to suggest that Herod's race and blood were really above reproach. The loyal Nicolaus stepped in with a fraudulent contradiction—the family was ancient and honourable being among the first that returned from Babylonia after the captivity. [n. 8]¹⁷ There is no evidence, however, that the powerful parvenu bothered to fake a pedigree; and it is not likely that any body was taken in by deceit* like that of Nicolaus, unless it was Strabo.

A modern scholar wishes* to understand Strabo's phrase παραδὸς εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην as meaning that Herod passed himself off as a man of priestly descent. For otherwise one would have to tax the geographer with a gross error. [n. 9]¹⁸ This cannot be. The word ἱερωσύνη is precise and unequivocal. It was used in the previous sentence about Pompeius' dispositions—ἀπέδειξεν

by name, see Diod., 40.4; Plut., *Pomp.* 45.5; Appian, *Mithr. Liber* 117/573; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 7.98; for Hyrcanus II as high priest, see Jos., *Ant.* 14.73; 20.244; *War* 1.157; and as 'ethnarch', see Jos., *Ant.* 14.191, 194, 196, 200, 209, 211, 226, 306, 314, 317; cf. 14.148, 151.]

¹³ [Strabo 16.2.46. (The name of 'Hyrcanus', as previously holding the position of high priest, is an emendation in Strabo's text—see review below.)]

¹⁴ [In the sense of 'those of nobility' (τῶν ἀπὸ γένους), whether dynastic, royal, or priestly, see in Strabo, for example, 12.2.3 (τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἦσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι); 12.3.1 (τοῖς ἀπὸ γένους τετράρχαις); 14.5.10 (τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους διέμεινεν ἡ ἀρχή); 15.3.17 (βασιλεύονται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ γένους); 16.4.21 (τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους).]

¹⁵ [Ptolemaeus of Ascalon, *Περὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Βασιλέως* (*FGrH* 199, F 1).]

¹⁶ [Jos., *Ant.* 14.403: ἰδιώτη τε ὄντι καὶ Ἰδουμαίῳ, τουτέστιν ἡμιουδαίῳ; 14.404: εἶναι γε πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ τοὺς ληγομένους κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὴν βασιλείαν.]

¹⁷ [Jos., *Ant.* 14.9: γένος ἐκ τῶν πρώτων Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικομένων.]

¹⁸ [Syme here would have referred to W. Otto, who together with E. Schürer are the only authors appearing in a surviving page of notes for a relevant lecture by Syme on the 'Origin of Herod'—see Special Collections of the Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, the *Catalogue of the Additional Papers of Sir Ronald Syme*, Box 603224349 (mixed material), no. 5 'lectures, including on Herod, Strabo and Anatolia', Shelfmark MS. 11378/9. Otto (1913), 65–6 reads: 's. Strab. XVI 765: παραδὸς εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην eine Stelle, in der man—will man nicht unwahrscheinlicherweise einen ganz groben Irrtum Strabons annehmen—ἱερωσύνη bereits in der Bedeutung von ἱερεῖς fassen muß...']

Ἵρκάνω την ἱερωσύνην. If Strabo designates Herod as a member of the aristocracy, it is strange that he should need further to define [p. 6] his status and call him ἀνήρ ἐπιχώριος, that is 'a local product'. [n. 10]¹⁹ The label is superfluous, derogatory even. More, a palpable incongruence. How should it be explained? It would seem that Strabo is carelessly and unconsciously contaminating different views about <of> Herod—Jewish origin and Idumaeae, the false and the true. The form ἀνήρ ἐπιχώριος is a convenient definition—it covers Idumaeae adequately and delicately. It was neither necessary nor polite for a contemporary writer to be explicit about what was notorious.

An alternative solution may be briefly indicated. The phrase τῶν δ' ἀπὸ γένους follows immediately upon the reference to Hyrcanus and his office. Can it refer to the line of the Hasmonaeans, who had established hereditary rights to the position of high-priest? [n. 11]²⁰ But Herod was not a Hasmonaeae. Even Strabo can hardly have believed that; and it is still more incongruous to describe a member of the royal and priestly dynasty as ἀνήρ [p. 6a] ἐπιχώριος. Instead, it would have to be supposed that there is a lacuna in the text; after the phrase τῶν δ' ἀπὸ γένους, which will then have applied, not to Herod, but to the fortunes of the Hasmonaeae line after Hyrcanus: perhaps only a brief phrase, recording their extinction, perhaps more. [n. 12]²¹ One episode in that story claimed a certain notoriety. On the fall of Jerusalem Antigonus was taken prisoner and conveyed to Antioch. There Antonius ordered his execution. No such punishment had ever been inflicted on a king by the Romans. That is the comment of Josephus. He appeals to the *Histories* of Strabo, quoting verbatim. [n. 13]²² This was blame of Antonius, not of Herod. A contemporary historian would have hesitated to record the fate of the last male Hasmonaeae, young Aristobulus the high-priest, plunged in a *piscina* at Jericho, by the agents of Herod (35 B.C.), and the cruel murder of the elderly and harmless Hyrcanus (30 B.C.).

It is preferable to assume that Strabo's account of the origin of Herod betrays a lack of thought. [p. 7] When compiling the *Geography*, Strabo naturally drew, from time to time, upon his earlier work, or upon memories of what he once had written: it is not necessary to suppose that he had to consult the *Universal History* for details about the Herodian dynasty. [n. 14]²³ Here as elsewhere,

¹⁹ [Syme here would have provided references to the word ἐπιχώριος, starting with Josephus as he does in the notes to his lecture: *Ant.* 14.398 (Idumaeae) and *War* 1.[241] (Idumaeae Doris; cf. *Ant.* 14.300). The word occurs over ninety times in Josephus, showing that it means 'of local stock' in any territory, without necessarily indicating ethnicity or length of presence—see for example *Ant.* 15.39: τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἀνάηλον ὄντα μὲν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν, οὐκ ἐπιχώριον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἀπωκισμένων Ἰουδαίων; *Ant.* 18.141: γένος εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ φυῆναι τὴν θεραπείαν ἐξέλιπεν τῶν Ἰουδαίους ἐπιχωρίων μεταταξάμενοι πρὸς τὰ Ἑλλήσι πάτρια.]

²⁰ [*I Macc.* 2:1; 10:21; *Jos. Ant.* 12.265 (cf. *War* 1.35), 434; 13.45; 20.238–47. Note that John Hyrcanus I, Alexander Jannaeus, Aristobulus II, Hyrcanus II, and Antigonus, are each named as high priest (HKHN HGDWL) on their coins, see *TJC*, 201–20.]

²¹ [Difficult to know what the reference would have been here, but after Hyrcanus II the high priesthood was taken up, with the help of the Parthians, by Antigonus' son Aristobulus II, until his defeat by Herod—*Jos.*, *Ant.* 14.365, 488; 20.245–46; *War* 1.357.]

²² [*Jos.*, *Ant.* 15.9–10 (*apud* Strabo, *Hist.* = *FGrH* 91, F 18); *Plut.*, *Ant.* 36; *Dio* 49.22–26. On the murder of young Aristobulus III/Jonathan (grandson of Hyrcanus II, and brother of Mariamme I), as well as that of Hyrcanus II, mentioned immediately after by Syme, see *Jos.*, *Ant.* 15.53–56; *War* 1.437; and *Ant.* 15.173–78; *War* 1.433, 437.]

²³ [Difficult to know what Syme would have added here, but the statement that it was not necessary for Strabo to have consulted his earlier work (cf. 1.1.22–23), may be borne by the

negligence or compression has been a source of error and confusion. Nor are his references to events later than 30 B.C. (the fall of Alexandria may be taken as the point at which the *History* stopped) always explicit and satisfactory. [n. 15]²⁴

Strabo tells how Herod killed some of his sons for having conspired against him, but the others he left as heirs when he died, allotting portions of his realm; Augustus held them in high esteem, as did he also Salome the sister of Herod and Salome's daughter, Berenice. This passage, referring to the dispositions after Herod's death was written after 4 B.C., and, as it will appear, before A.D. 6.

What follows in the narrative, the fortunes of Herod's heirs, is enigmatic: – οὐ μέντοι εὐτύχησαν... [n. 16]²⁵ [p. 8] At first sight the meaning of the sentence is clear: the three sons of Herod were accused and banished; one of them remained an exile in Gaul, among the Allobroges, the other two secured their restorations, but not easily, receiving each a tetrarchy.

The banishment of Archelaus, and his place of confinement, Vienna of the Allobroges is elsewhere attested. [n. 17]²⁶ As for the tetrarchs, the one was Antipas, like Archelaus a son of the Samaritan woman Malthace, the other was Philip. Strabo omits their names. Delicacy rather than ignorance—he was well enough informed about the Herodian dynasty to know that Herod's sister had a daughter called Berenice.

Strabo appears to accept a simultaneous banishment of the heirs of King Herod. This is perplexing. It is indeed fortunate that independent evidence is available for elucidation. Otherwise strange opinions would have been perpetuated and consecrated.

A few days before his death (March or early April, 4 B.C.), Herod altered his testament once again: Archelaus was to have the kingdom and the title of king, taking Judaea, Samaria and Idumaea, [p. 9] while Antipas received Galilee, and Peraea, Philip the territories of the north-east (Batanaea, Trachonitis and the rest). On the death of the king, Archelaus at once proceeded to act as a legitimate ruler, mercilessly crushing the disturbances which premature benevolence had provoked among his indocile subjects: he butchered fewer than three thousand Jews, so it is alleged. But ratification of Herod's testament depended upon Herod's patron and master. Augustus hesitated for some time. Archelaus came to Rome to press his claim. So did other members of a large and discordant family, among them the envious Antipas and the cruel woman Salome, not content with her brother's generous bequest in real estate and hard cash but avid for gain and intrigue. The Princeps was also besieged by deputations demanding liberty or annexation—the autonomist party was reinforced by a contingent of eight thousand Jews resident in Rome.

Archelaus was under fire from all sides—Jewish hatred of the dynasty, domestic rancour (Salome despoiled a memorial with Augustus and put up [p. 10] her son as accuser), and an

fact that the *Histories* had little to say about the Herods, judging from only two relevant fragments (*FGrH* 91, F 17 & 18) utilised by Josephus (*Ant.* 14.139; 15.8–10.)

²⁴ [Events later than 30 B.C. are referenced in Syme's paper 'When did Strabo Write?' in *Anatolica*, with a brief discussion of the Herodian dynasty on p. 363 (though it is there noted by A. Birley that 'The summary of Josephus' account of Herod's dispositions for the succession is omitted.')

²⁵ [Strabo 16.2.46: οὐ μέντοι εὐτύχησαν οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰτίαις ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν φυγῇ διετέλει, παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλόβριξι Γαλάταις λαβῶν οἴκησιν, οἱ δὲ θεραπείᾳ πολλῇ μόλις εὗροντο κάθοδον, τετραρχίας ἀποδειχθείσης ἑκατέρω. ('However, his sons did not prosper, but became involved in accusations, and one of them continued living in exile until recently, having taken up residence among the Allobrogian Gauls, whereas the others by [paying] a lot of service, could just find a comeback, with a tetrarchy assigned to each.' Tr. ed.)

²⁶ [Jos., *Ant.* 17.344; *War* 2.111; Dio 55.27.6.]

unfavourable dispatch from the proconsular of Syria. In the end Augustus gave his verdict for Archelaus, moved by the skilful advocacy of the excellent Nicolaus, not less, perhaps, by the news of the spreading insurrection in Palestine, and perception of the need for a ruler not entirely destitute of the Herodian qualities of vigour and brutality. He modifies the testament in one point: Archelaus was to rule not as king but as ethnarch, the royal title being held out as a reward for good behaviour.

Such is Josephus' account of the dispositions made in 4 B.C., explicit and credible. [n. 18]²⁷ The reign of Archelaus, inaugurated with bloodshed and unhappy auspices, lasted for only a short time according to the reckoning adopted. In A.D. 6, when embassies of the leading men both from Judaea and from Samaria (an example of concord rare in the history of those regions) came to Rome with grave charges of misrule, the Princeps decided to get rid of Archelaus, to convert his dominions into a Roman province. He appointed Coponius, a Roman knight from Tibur, as the first governor; [p. 11] and with Coponius arrived in Palestine P. Sulpicius Quirinius the legate of Syria to superintend the Roman census. The unsatisfactory character was consigned to banishment. [n. 19]²⁸

So far everything seems clear. But Strabo reports accusations against Antipas and Philip as well, and, mentioning their restoration, implies their exile. Josephus gives no support. But the silence of Josephus at this point does not constitute a decisive argument. Up to now voluminous, his narrative shrinks abruptly after 4 B.C. Hence the plausible supposition that his principal source, direct or indirect, namely Nicolaus of Damascus, dried up with that year. [n. 20]²⁹ Whatever the cause, the fact is patent. The *Bellum* disposes of the dreads of Archelaus' reign from accession to deportation in a single sentence; and the *Antiquities* are not so very much more generous. [n. 21]³⁰

Perhaps Antipas and Philip were also put on trial. The only basis for such a hypothesis is slender enough: a brief notice in Cassius Dio indicates that Archelaus was incriminated by his brothers. [n. 22]³¹ This is likely enough for Antipas, a crafty fellow, [p. 12] who had been displaced in favour of Archelaus in Herod's testament, less so for Philip. Always modest and unassuming, Philip had been

²⁷ [For the last codicil to Herod's will, see *Jos. Ant.* 17.188–90; *War* 1.664; for Archelaus' crushing the disturbances, *Ant.* 17.218, 237, 239, 313; *War* 2.13, 30, 32, 89; for the journey to Rome, *Ant.* 17.219–20, 224–26; *War* 2.14–15; 20–21; for Nicolaus' advocacy, *Ant.* 17.240–47, 315–16; *War* 2.34–36, 92; for Augustus' decision, *Ant.* 17.318–24; *War* 2.93–100.]

²⁸ [For the banishment of Archelaus, see *Ant.* 17.342–44; *War* 2.111; cf. *Life* 5; Dio 55.27.6.]

²⁹ [Nicolaus most probably did not return to Judaea, given the hostile Jewish environment there after his staunch support of Archelaus in Rome, and given that he himself says that had already been bent on retiring (ἀναχωρεῖν ἤδη ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκότα), having reached the age of around 60 (*FGrH* 90, F 136 [ll. 57–58] of *Autobiography*).]

³⁰ [Josephus' sources for the rule of Archelaus (4/3 B.C. –A.D. 6) would basically have been Jewish. He records the following events: Archelaus' eventual capture of the Athrongaeus brothers (*Ant.* 17.284; cf. *War* 2.64); reappointing high priests, rebuilding Jericho, founding Archelais, and marrying second wife Glaphyra (*Ant.* 17.339–41); keeping the vestments of the high priest in the fortress on the acropolis Antonia (*Ant.* 18.93; contra *Ant.* 15.404); his brutal rule ending in banishment (*Ant.* 17.342–44; cf. *War* 2.111); his dream and its Essene interpretation (*Ant.* 17.345–48; cf. *War* 2.112–13); Glaphyra's dream (*Ant.* 17.349–53; cf. *War* 2.114–16); founding of cities by Philip and Antipas (*Ant.* 18.27–28; cf. *War* 2.168).]

³¹ [Dio 55.27.6: ὁ τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστῖνος, αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβών, ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιώθη. Dio uses the dynastic name ('Herod') of Archelaus, which is also found correctly on the ethnarch's coins (*TJC*, 224–26). But he calls him anachronistically 'Palestinian', more likely using the change in Judaea's name of his own time, rather than pointing to the ethnic "Philistine" in reference to Archelaus' descent. Dio (60.8.2) does the same with Agrippa I.]

both loyal and helpful to Archelaus in the dispute about the succession. Nor should his administration have been easily vulnerable—governing a tetrarchy mainly heathen in population he was spared many vexations, and if nothing is known to confirm Josephus’ enthusiastic panegyric of his paternal regiment* so nothing invalidates it. [n. 23]³² Josephus also states that Antipas was well thought of by Tiberius Caesar. [n. 24]³³

When the case of Archelaus was examined, the other territories may also have come up for debate. The influence of Tiberius Caesar was now predominant in matters of imperial policy. Tiberius, in general no friend of the client princes, is not likely to have been amiably disposed towards the Herodian line, the especial favourites of Augustus and of Livia. The tenure of a vassal was always precarious. To get their titles confirmed the tetrarchs Antipas and Philip may well have been constrained to painful exertions, even to pecuniary sacrifices. Gifts from kings and dynasts were a regular source of sustenance for the imperial finances. The government was badly in need of money at this time. [n. 25]³⁴

[p. 13] Also that is all. There can be no question of actual banishment. When a government visited with so signal a condemnation the crimes or the incapacity of a vassal, it could not very well take him back again. So the ethnarch went into exile, and stayed there. As for Antipas and Philip, Strabo’s allusion seems doubly unsatisfactory, μόλις εὔροντο κάθοδον, τετραρχίας ἀποδειχθείσης ἑκατέρω. The word κάθοδος must be watered down. It must be taken to mean, not restoration from exile but simply confirmation of their title—or perhaps rather return to Palestine: it might be conjectured that, along with Archelaus the ethnarch, the tetrarchs had been summoned to Rome to give an account of their stewardships. This may be admitted, but it does not wholly absolve Strabo. The innocent* reader would never imagine that Antipas and Philip had already been in possession of their tetrarchies for some ten years.

³² [For what Syme perceives as Josephus’ encomium on Philip, see *Ant.* 18.107: ... μέτριον δὲ ἐν οἷς ἤρχεν παρασχὼν τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἀπράγμονα· δίκαιαν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν ἐν γῆ τῇ ὑποτελεῖ ἐποιεῖτο, πρόοδοι δ’ ἦσαν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἐπιλέκτων, καὶ τοῦ θρόνου εἰς ὃν ἔκρινεν καθεζόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπομένον, ὅποτε τις ὑπαντίστας ἐν χρεῖα γένοιτο αὐτῷ ἐπιβηθεῖν, οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολὰς ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ ὀξέος ἰδρύσεως τοῦ θρόνου ἢ καὶ τύχει γενομένης καθεζόμενος ἠκροῶτο καὶ τιμωρίας τε ἐπετίμα τοῖς ἀλοῦσι καὶ ἠφίει τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐν ἐγκλήμασι γενομένους. (‘In governing he presented a way moderate and free of trouble, spending all of his time in the territory subject to him. In his tours he had only a few select companions, and the throne on which he sat when he gave judgement accompanied him on every road. And so, if anyone appealed to him in need for redress, without delay and sharply the throne was set up wherever it might be. Taking his seat he gave the case a hearing, fixing penalties for those who were convicted and releasing those who had been unjustly accused.’ Tr. ed.)]

³³ [Josephus says that Antipas ‘had gained a high place among the friends of Tiberius’, and thus the foundation of Tiberias in Galilee by Antipas, in honour of the Emperor in A.D. 19/20, see *Ant.* 18.36–38; cf. *War* 2.168. Tiberius’ favouring of Antipas continued to the end of the Emperor’s rule—as seen in A.D. 35 when Antipas had evidently helped the Emperor with his agreement with the Parthian Artabanus (*Ant.* 18.101–105), and in A.D. 36/37 when the Emperor ordered Vitellius to assist Antipas by marching against Petra (*Ant.* 18.115, 120–24).]

³⁴ [Dio (55.24.9–26.5) says that between A.D. 5 and A.D. 6 there was significant lack of funds in Rome, due to the need of providing for the pensioning of discharged soldiers (thus creating the *aerarium militare*), exacerbated by the handling of a severe famine, and of the destruction of many parts of the city caused by fire.]

[p. 13a] This is not the only inadequacy. Strabo's notice about the fate of Archelaus is lacking in clarity. Yet it is precisely in person [*sic*] details about the dynastic families of his own day that he generally shows himself adequately informed, as witness his remarks about the rulers of Cappadocia and Pontus. [n. 26]³⁵ Of Archelaus the ethnarch he observes ἐν φυγῇ διετέλει. What does he mean? Does he conceive that person to be alive or dead[?] Employed with a participle, or the equivalent of a participle; the verb διατελεῖν signifies 'to continue in a certain state'. At least the examples can be adduced from Strabo; admitting of no ambiguity—the tense, present or aorist, [p. 14] is decisive, showing whether the state in question still continues or terminated. [n. 26a]³⁶ The imperfect tense, however, can be ambiguous, especially when applied to a contemporary of the writer. Thus ἐν φυγῇ διατέλει [read διατελεῖ] is clear, 'he is still living in exile', likewise ἐν φυγῇ διετέλεσε, 'he died in exile'. Either would be preferable to the imperfect in this context. The latter of the two phrases occurs elsewhere in Strabo, referring to Aeschines of Miletus: [n. 27]³⁷ perhaps διετέλεσε should be read in this passage in place of διετέλει. [n. 28]³⁸

An examination of Strabo's remarks about the Herodian dynasty produces little more than evidence of error and confusion. One new fact can be disentangled, if fact it is, the precarious positions of the two tetrarchs in A.D. 6; but it is not even possible to affirm with certainty whether Archelaus was alive or dead at the time when Strabo was engaged upon the final revision of the *Geography* (A.D. 18). Barren for Herodian history, the enquiry has a direct bearing on another matter, the date of Strabo's original draft.

Revising the *Geography*, the author must have altered as well as added. [p. 15] With reference to the settlement of 4 B.C., Strabo mentions Herod's sister Salome as a person in high favour with Augustus. This was pertinent. The Princeps awarded her several cities for her portion, a handsome revenue and half a million silver coins. [n. 29]³⁹ Salome, dying about A.D. 10, bequeathed most of her possessions to her friend and protector, the Empress Livia. [n. 30]⁴⁰ Berenice her daughter also commanded influence at Rome, being intimate with Antonia, the widow of Drusus. [n. 31]⁴¹ But Berenice had no share (at least none worth recording) in the heritage of Herod. The occurrence of her name in this context is probably a subsequent addition by Strabo, corresponding to the rank and importance which she hardly possessed when her mother was still alive, but had gained by A.D. 18.

The concluding sentence about the political heirs of Herod previously quoted and discussed may not be wholly an addition to the first draft of the *Geography*. In its present form it appears to reveal traces of two strata, the exile of Archelaus (A.D. 6) awkwardly superimposed [p. 16] upon the grant of tetrarchies to Antipas and Philip (4 B.C.): the phrase τετραρχίας ἀποδειχθείσης ἐκατέρω betrays the first stratum.

If this is the solution, it may be surmised that the original version contained some explicit reference to Archelaus, by name, as a ruling prince. He deserved it. The ethnarch was all but a king,

³⁵ [See Strabo, 12.2.11–12.3.1.]

³⁶ [Syme by mistake lists this footnote also as number '26' so it is named here 26a to avoid disturbing the flow of enumeration. There are almost forty examples of the verb διατελέω in Strabo, four other of which are in the imperfect tense (1.3.12: διετέλει; 3.3.5; 8.7.1; 16.1.19: διετέλον.)]

³⁷ [Strabo, 14.1.7: ... Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὃς ἐν φυγῇ διετέλεσε...]

³⁸ [This would change the meaning of the sentence concerning Archelaus ('he lived (and died) in exile').]

³⁹ [Jos., *Ant.* 17.321; cf. 17.147, 189; *War* 2.98.]

⁴⁰ [Jos., *Ant.* 18.31; *War* 2.167.]

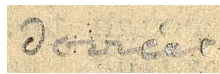
⁴¹ [Jos., *Ant.* 18.143, 156, 165.]

and might have become one; he inherited the central part of his father’s realm, and, on a computation of solid values, twice the revenue of the tetrarchs together, six hundred talents against three hundred. [n. 32]⁴² A reference to Herod’s principal heir was advisable: after his dispense and exile in A.D. 6 it would have to be suppressed or altered. [n. 33]⁴³

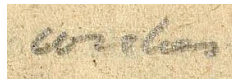
Even if the sentence in question represents, not an alteration but an addition, it is a reasonable conclusion that the first draft of the *Geography* was terminated not as early as 7 B.C. (as has been argued with force and persuasion), but at some time between 4 B.C. and A.D. 6. [n. 34]⁴⁴

* *Uncertain Words*

Four words have been marked with an asterisk being difficult to read:



(1) The word ‘deceit’ is required by the context, even if it does not fit comfortably against what is seen in the text (Syme MS, p. 5). Other words have been tried but without making appropriate sense. A word thought to be antiquated, ‘de-real’ (the opposite of real), has also been considered, but it could not be verified as such. This was done in the spirit of what a biographer of Syme says about his style: ‘Syme’s prose is knotty, compacted and allusive; it values brevity and concision, while frequently turning up unusual or archaic words or phrases.’ (Edmond 2017, 154).



(2) The word ‘wishes’ is just adequate to the context, and seems not to be far from what can be seen in the text (Syme MS, p. 5).



(3) The word ‘regiment’ is seemingly read in the text (Syme, MS, p. 12), apparently following its archaic sense of “rule of government”, which might explain Syme’s phrase about Josephus’ ‘enthusiastic panegyric’ of Philip’s ‘paternal regiment’. Philip died childless (Jos., Ant. 18.108, 137), and so “paternity” can only be meant towards his people, or in other words praising the “paternal” way with which he governed them (cf. Josephus’ text above note 32; in any case, Syme’s choice of words here is not totally satisfying).



(4) One might carelessly have read the cursive ‘innocent’ (Syme MS, p. 13) as ‘ancient’ occurring elsewhere (Syme MS, p. 5), but the first is repeated in a paraphrase of this sentence in Syme’s paper ‘Where did Strabo Write?’ (see *Anatolica*, p. 363) which reads: ‘An innocent reader of Strabo’s remarks about the sons of Herod would conclude that the exile of Archelaus and the grant of tetrarchies to

Antipas and Philip occurred at the same time. A decade intervened.’

REVIEW

Syme opens his paper by stressing the ‘blunders and anachronisms’ of Strabo in dealing with the geopolitics of Palestine [p. 1]. This is in line with Syme’s general view elsewhere of the *Geography*

⁴² [Jos., Ant. 17.318–20; cf. *War* 2.95–97 (‘400’ talents for Archelaus’ revenue).]

⁴³ [Jos., Ant. 17.344; *War* 2.111.]

⁴⁴ [The reference here would have been to the work of Ettore Pais (1908), who dated the completion of the first edition of Strabo’s *Geography* to 7 B.C.]

as being the work of a 'hasty compiler', misusing his sources while erring along the way. Thus Strabo 'is overvalued', has 'no style, and his opinions matter very little; but chance has made him the principal, sometimes the only, source for important facts.'⁴⁵ The first example given by Syme is the history of Gaza post Alexander the Great, which seems to have been unknown to Strabo, unless he decided to skip over it. However, when the ancient geographer (in an abstract way not confined to himself) mentions 'Gadara' after Iamneia (Jamnia) and before Azotus (Ashdod) and Ascalon (16.2.29), he is most probably misinterpreting the name from his source, rather than intentionally transferring the known city of the Decapolis to the coast (even if this is the result), as Syme asserts [p. 1a]. Close to Jamnia lied 'Gazara' (Gezer), often confused with other names, such as the variant readings of Josephus' text in *War* 1.166 ('Gamala', 'Gabala' or 'Gadara'), including 'Gaza' assumed here from parallel *Ant.* 14.88, but not necessarily correctly since 'Gazara' belonged also to the region. The fact that Strabo mentions the appropriation of that city by the Jews (ἦν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξειδίασαντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι), not noted by Syme, makes it almost certain that Gazara was meant.⁴⁶ As for the foundation of Caesarea-on-the-sea, a city built by Herod the Great more likely between 23 and 13 BCE,⁴⁷ and since Strabo knows the place with its previous name of Stratonos Pyrgos (16.2.27), his geographical source for the Palestinian coast would seem to have been Hellenistic in date. A little later Strabo does mention the Hellenistic geographer Artemidorus of Ephesus (16.2.33), but then it is customary at the end of a geographical section for Strabo to provide distances, usually taken from Artemidorus.⁴⁸ By contrast in the interior, Strabo knows that Samaria was renamed 'Sebaste' (16.2.34), a foundation by Herod dated to 27 BCE.⁴⁹ Yet, this is much earlier than Caesarea-on-the-sea, and therefore there is no information in Strabo (in his *Geography* or in the fragments of his *History* alike) relating to Herod's reign after this date (27 BCE) and before the death of the king (5/4 BCE).

Syme continues by acknowledging the genealogical complexity of Herod's dynasty, which 'might well perplex or deter the most pertinacious of enquirers', and indeed, in the same breath, he himself inaccurately states that Herod begot children 'from ten women at least' [p. 2]. The king did marry ten women (not to mention his affairs with concubines and boy lovers), but of all we know only eight of them bore him children. Two of his wives (a niece and a cousin) died childless.⁵⁰ Despite the caution, however, Syme is not prepared to excuse Strabo (whom he otherwise finds knowledgeable on the dynasties of Anatolia) in regard to what he tells us 'about the extraction of King Herod and the vicissitudes of his heirs'. According to Syme, since at least the problem of the succession had been simplified by Herod's will (mentioning only three sons), Strabo should have avoided confusion. The reference here is to the third (and last) version of this will, for in fact the king had changed or amended it at least three times during his reign.⁵¹ Syme begins by giving his own summary of Pompeius' conquest of Judaea in 63 BCE:

⁴⁵ *Anatolica*, 82–83, 160, 356.

⁴⁶ See *SVM* 1, 191, n. 8; *GLAJJ* 1, 293; *KHD*, 88 & n. 7; Safrai (2005), 254, n. 10.

⁴⁷ *KHD*, 370.

⁴⁸ Roller (2018), 914.

⁴⁹ Kokkinos (2012a), 92 & n. 41.

⁵⁰ *KHD*, 216–17.

⁵¹ First will: Jos., *Ant.* 17.53, 78; *War* 1.451, 573, 588, 600, 625. Second will: Jos., *Ant.* 17.146, 224, 238; *War* 1.646; 2.20. Third will: Jos., *Ant.* 17.188, 195, 202, 228, 244, 246, 248, 321, 322; *War* 1.664, 669; 2.2, 31, 38, 98, 99.

The Roman conqueror made an end of the monarchy. He took away Aristobulus, the son of Alexander Jannaeus, to adorn his triumph; but he left as high priest at Jerusalem a member of the Hasmonean dynasty, Hyrcanus the brother of Aristobulus. Hyrcanus was to rule a diminished kingdom with the title of ethnarch. [p. 3]

While indeed Pompeius reinstalled Hyrcanus II as the high priest (*Jos.*, *War* 1.153; *Ant.* 14.73), and permitted him to lead the nation but without wearing the royal diadem (*Ant.* 20.244: *πάλιν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀποδοῦς τὴν μὲν τοῦ ἔθνους προστασίαν ἐπέτρεψεν, διάδημα δὲ φορεῖν ἐκόλυσεν*), strictly speaking, and as far as we can gather from Josephus (*War* 1.170; *Ant.* 14.91), the monarchy was completely abolished by the reforms of Aulus Gabinius in ca. 57 BCE. At this point Hyrcanus II was reduced to the care of the Temple (*War* 1.169: *τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραδοῦς κηδεμονίαν αὐτῷ*; *Ant.* 14.90: *σχίσοντα τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπιμέλειαν*), while an aristocracy, spread between five councils, but no doubt headed by Antipater I (the father of Herod) based in Jerusalem, managed the running of the state (*War* 1.169: *καθίστατο τὴν ἄλλην πολιτεία ἐπὶ προστασία τῶν ἀρίστων*; *Ant.* 14.91: *ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διήγον*). Also strictly speaking (*Ant.* 14.191, 194, 196, 200, 209, 211), it appears that the title of “ethnarch”, in addition to that of the “high priest”, Hyrcanus II received only from Julius Caesar in 47 BCE.

Further, the summary of Syme regarding Pompeius, is not juxtaposed with that of Strabo, thus some potential criticism is missed. This is what Strabo records in 16.2.40 (lines 1–7) followed by 16.2.46 (lines 1–3)—my translations throughout:

When already Judaea was manifestly under the rule of tyrants (τυραννουμένης τῆς Ἰουδαίας), Alexander [Jannaeus] was first to declare himself king instead of priest (πρῶτος ἀνθ’ ἱερέως ἀνέδειξεν ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρος); sons of whom were Hyrcanus [II] and Aristobulus [II]; who when they differed about the rule (διαφερομένων δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς), Pompeius came over and overthrew them (ἐπῆλθε Πομπηῖος καὶ κατέλυσεν αὐτούς) and broke through their fortifications (καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα αὐτῶν κατέσπασε), and took Jerusalem itself particularly by force (καὶ αὐτὰ ἐν πρώτοις τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα βία καταβαλόν)... Pompeius then cut off some of [the territory] that had been forcibly appropriated by the Judaeans (Πομπηῖος μὲν οὖν περικόψας τινὰ τῶν ἐξειδιασθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ βίαν), and appointed [Hyrcanus II] to the priesthood (ἀπέδειξεν [Ἰρκανῶ] τὴν ἱερωσύνην)...

Three main comments are to be made here. First, Strabo could be wrong in saying that Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE) was the first ruler to be called king. Judging from Josephus (*Ant.* 13.301; *War* 1.70) it was Jannaeus’ elder brother Aristobulus I who did so. Strabo may not have paid attention to Aristobulus I’s very short reign (104–103 BCE). Yet, the current knowledge of the coin evidence has Jannaeus carrying the title of king (in Greek letters for the first time in Jewish coinage, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ), in agreement with Strabo. This is not the case with the coins attributed to Aristobulus I, even though it is uncertain that the attribution is correct.⁵² If Aristobulus I issued no coins, we will not be able to verify Josephus. But if he did issue coins (which are still undiscovered), the expectation should be to find that he was first to use the title, in Greek, for Josephus (*Ant.* 13.318) also characterises him as a Philhellene (χρηματίσας μὲν Φιλέλλην). Second, Strabo is certainly wrong in saying that Pompeius came against both brothers (Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II), because the battle which led to Jerusalem’s conquest was against the latter, after his arrest by Pompeius (*Ant.* 14.53–67; *War* 1.133–49). But Strabo conceivably conflated his narrative in the *Geography*, since Josephus (*Ant.* 14.68) refers to him (evidently to Strabo’s *History*), as one

⁵² *TJC*, 27–29, 209–10 (particularly Group K); 217–18 (Groups U–V).

of his sources for this very story! Third, nevertheless, Strabo should be acquitted from the charge of referring to Pompeius appointing a 'Herod' to the priesthood (*ἀπέδειξεν Ἡρώδη τὴν ἱερωσύνην*), as mistakenly copied in the limited MS tradition that has come down to us. The emendation to 'Hyrcanus [II]' is absolutely necessary here (*ἀπέδειξεν Ὑρκανῶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην*), as corrected by Adamantios Korais in 1817–1819 (shortly before the Greek Revolution, the way to which he helped to pave).⁵³ This is in agreement not only with the general context, but also with the fact that Strabo in his *History* (*FGrH* 91 F16 & F17 = *BNJ* 91 F16 & F17) clearly knew the priesthood of Hyrcanus II—at least during the time of Julius Caesar.⁵⁴ It is to Syme's credit to have adopted this emendation in the early 1940s, without even feeling the need to explain, and long before Stern at least acknowledged it in his commentary.⁵⁵

With his summary on Pompeius, Syme moves directly to the Herodian dynasty that matters to his paper. Strabo mentions first Herod the Great, while introducing a peculiarity according to Syme. This is how the *Geography* 16.2.46 (lines 3–9) continues from where we left it above:

Later, Herod, one of the nobles (*τῶν δ' ἀπὸ γένους τις [or τισίν] ὕστερον Ἡρώδης*), a local man (*ἄνθρωπος ἐπιχώριος*), crept into the priesthood (*παραδὸς εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην*), much surpassing his predecessors (*τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ*), especially in the intercourse with the Romans and the governing of state (*καὶ μάλιστα τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ πολιτείᾳ*), so that to be called a king (*ὥστε καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐχρημάτισε*), being given that authority first by Antonius, and later by Caesar Augustus (*δόντος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀντωνίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*)...

Indeed, the question is in what sense Strabo refers to Herod as creeping into the priesthood? This could never have happened historically. Syme attempts to find an explanation for this apparently mindless statement. Herod was an Idumaeon of some standing and therefore not of Jewish priestly descent [p. 4],⁵⁶ while the propaganda presenting him as a Babylonian Jew, by his court historian Nicolaus of Damascus, could not have fooled any contemporary [p. 5]. An alternative understanding, says Syme, may be that the 'nobles' (*τῶν δ' ἀπὸ γένους*) refers to the Hasmonaean family, but Herod was not related to them by blood, and a royal person could not at the same time be described as a mere local man (*ἄνθρωπος ἐπιχώριος*) [p. 6]. Perhaps, Syme also says, there is a lacuna in the text and the reference after the 'nobles' was to a Hasmonaean member after Hyrcanus II (such as his nephew Antigonos II) [p. 6a], though again this cannot make sense in the general context. So Syme concludes that negligence or compression has been a source of error and confusion for Strabo [p. 7]. This, however, is glib and more of an escape than an adequate explanation. Yet Syme

⁵³ Corais (1817), 200; and Corais (1819), 335.

⁵⁴ For a context of these fragments, see Lindsay (2014), 15.

⁵⁵ *GLAJJ* 1, 310; contra *KHD*, 110, n. 84. An explanation may have been required by Syme (whichever edition he might have used, unless it was that of Korais), since the popular Loeb edition of Strabo published in 1930, which printed the MS reading of 'Herod' in the main text (at 16.2.46, line 3), should have been available to him. However, the Loeb edition (by H. L. Jones) does refer to 'Corais' in the critical apparatus (p. 298, n. 1). The most recent translation also takes the emendation for granted (Roller 2014, 713). One of the anonymous referees thinks that the textual tradition may still be possible, and if so the only explanation would be Strabo's 'deep misunderstanding'. But necessary emendations are not unknown in classical philology, and they do avoid unnecessary accusations.

⁵⁶ Syme is absolutely correct about Herod, but he goes on also to equate all Judaeon nobility to the priestly families. This is not right. Some non-priestly Jews also belonged to the nobility, as much as some of the Idumaeans who had settled in Judaea—see *KHD*, 193–96.

previously in his discussion had also suggested another reason, which was left rather untapped. He said that perhaps Strabo is ‘carelessly and unconsciously contaminating different views about Herod’ [p. 6]. This is significant and it may be the key to understanding how Strabo came to write what he did. Syme has mentioned only three of the views current in antiquity that described the origins of Herod—those of Josephus (“Idumaeae”), Nicolaus (“Babylonian Jew”), and Ptolemy of Ascalon (“Syro-Phoenician”). However, the latter would seem akin to (if not the source of) a more specific fourth view (“Ascalonian”), preserved only in later sources of local, pagan-turned-Christian writers, primarily Justin the Martyr from Flavia Neapolis (Phoenician colony at Shechem of Samaria), Sextus Julius Africanus from Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), and Epiphanius Bishop of Salamis from Eleutheropolis (Beth Govrin, in the area of the Hellenised Phoenician colony of Marisa).⁵⁷ This “Ascalonian” view refers to a Herod, the ancestor of Herod the Great, who was said to have been priest of the temple of Apollo (in the Hellenised Phoenician colony of Ascalon).⁵⁸ Strabo could be conflating and, as in Syme’s words, ‘unconsciously contaminating’, such a remote priestly (pagan) background of Herod.

Syme thus arrives at the final part of Strabo’s narrative [p. 7]. He mentions first in passing the familiar events of how Herod killed some of his sons for having conspired against him, leaving others as heirs when he died, allotting them portions of his realm, and of how Augustus held them in high esteem, as did he also Salome [I] the sister of Herod and her daughter Berenice [I]. Reserving any references for later, Syme dates the dispositions, and thus Strabo’s writing at this point, to after 4 BCE (Herod’s death) and before 6 CE (removal of Herod’s son Archelaus). This is the corresponding *Geography* 16.2.46 (lines 10–14) following the previous part of the quotation above:

As for his sons, some himself he put to death (αὐτὸς ἀνεῖλεν), on the ground that they had plotted against him (ἐπιβουλεύσαντας αὐτῷ), the others on dying (τελευτῶν) he left as his successors, having given portions (μερίδας) [of his kingdom] over to them. Caesar also honoured (ἐτίμησε) the sons of Herod, and his sister Salome and her daughter Berenice.

Syme then moves straight to the consequential final words of Strabo who continues at 16.2.46 (lines 15–19):

However, his sons did not prosper (οὐ μέντοι εὐτύχησαν), but became involved in accusations (ἐν αἰτίαις ἐγένοντο), and one of them continued living in exile until recently (ἐν φυγῇ διετέλει), having taken up residence (λαβὼν οἴκησιν) among the Allobrogian Gauls, whereas the others by [paying] a lot of service (θεραπεία πολλῇ), could just find a comeback (μόλις εὔροντο κάθοδον), with a tetrarchy assigned to each (τετραρχίας ἀποδειχθείσης ἑκατέρῳ).

Syme is startled by the ‘enigmatic’ plural οὐ μέντοι εὐτύχησαν. This obviously follows Strabo’s narrative from the previous paragraph, in which it is recorded that after Herod’s death his successors received portions of his kingdom—that is in 4 BCE. It is precisely these individuals who are now said to have lost power over their ‘portions’ of the kingdom, at the time when one of them was exiled to Gaul—that is to say in 6 CE. ‘Perplexing’ according to Syme [p. 8], and rightfully so. We are not prepared for the idea that all of the successors might have lost power in 6 CE, even if only temporarily for two of them.

⁵⁷ *KHD*, 100–12.

⁵⁸ Sextus Julius Africanus, *apud* Eusebius, *H.E.* 1.7.11–12. It is worth noting Strabo’s interest in priestly origins, as he claimed also for his own background (*Georg.* 10.4.10; 12.3.33).

Syme first notes that Strabo omits the names of the three sons of Herod who inherited him (Archelaus, Antipas and Philip), reckoning that Strabo must have known them if he was aware of the less important name of Salome I's daughter (Berenice I). So Syme introduces Archelaus and Antipas as being sons of Malthace from Samaria,⁵⁹ omitting to mention the mother of Philip (Cleopatra)—'delicacy rather than ignorance' on the part of Syme, to use his own words in judging Strabo. He then goes on to discuss what we know from Josephus about the sons of Herod and their territories [pp. 8–10]. After Herod's death, and after Augustus' decision to partition the kingdom, Archelaus became an 'ethnarch' of Judaea, Idumaea and Samaria, Antipas a 'tetrarch' of Galilee and Peraea, and Philip a 'tetrarch' of two parts of Ituraea (Abila in the central east, and Panias in the south), Gaulanitis, Batanaea, Trachonitis, and the northern part of Auranitis. Archelaus was deposed and sent to exile in 6 CE, his domain converted into a Roman province,⁶⁰ but Josephus does not say that Antipas and Philip had the same fate! It is significant and to his credit that Syme recognises (partly influenced by W. Otto—cf. p. 5, n. 9) that the Jewish historian's silence may not be decisive. His narrative 'shrinks abruptly' after the death of Herod.⁶¹ This is understandable in that Nicolaus, Josephus' main source, disappears after the dispositions in Rome [p. 11, n. 20], and we are in the dark about what sources he used for the subsequent period of ten years [p. 11, n. 21]. Although these sources would have been basically Jewish, information about the circumstances which ended Archelaus' rule, must have been available from a Greek source unknown to Josephus and lost to us. Reflections from such a source may thus be traced in Strabo, as much as in Cassius Dio (55.27.6), who is more specific in referring to the 'accusation' (αἰτίαν) against Archelaus as coming from his brothers.⁶² Something similar may be said of a fragment of information (about Simon of Peraea) after Herod's death found in Tacitus (*Hist.*, 5.9), notwithstanding that timewise this falls to the end of Nicolaus' coverage and was known to Josephus (*War* 2.57; *Ant.* 17.274).⁶³

⁵⁹ The ingenious theory by Schwartz (2018), that Archelaus and Antipas had different mothers, is based on ambiguous readings. Schwartz says that he is unaware of a previous scholar to have noted Jos., *Ant.* 17.189 (where Archelaus and Philip are called by mistake full brothers), but he missed Kokkinos (1986, 41), where the passage is discussed together with other Josephan slips of the tongue. Further, Nicolaus (*FGrH* 90, F136, lines 70–71) must either be referring to himself being a friend to the common 'father' (Herod) of Archelaus and Antipas (and by no means implying that they had different mothers), or Constantinus Porphyrogenitus' scribes miscopied the word of 'mother' (Malthace), not realising that she was present in the episode (and thus assumed Nicolaus' old friendship with Herod). See the differing translations in *GLAJJ* 1, 254–55 and in Toher (2017), 445.

⁶⁰ In referring to the first Roman prefect of Judaea, 'Coponius', Syme unsurprisingly already knows that he was 'a Roman knight from Tibur' [p. 10]—see Kokkinos (2012a), 106.

⁶¹ Kokkinos (2008), 243–44; see now Kokkinos (2024), forthcoming.

⁶² Hoehner (1972), 103–105; *KHD*, 228, n. 84; Kokkinos (2008), 245, n. 21.

⁶³ After Archelaus' banishment to the death of Philip in 33 CE (*KHD*, 237)—a period of 27 years—Josephus' knowledge of the Herods in the East is merely confined to three events: the renaming of Sepphoris in Galilee by Antipas in ca. 7 CE, if this indeed is the right date (*Ant.* 18.27; *KHD*, 234); the death of Salome I, sister of Herod the Great, probably in Ascalon, in ca. 10 CE (*Ant.* 18.31; cf. *War* 2.167; *KHD*, 191–92; Kokkinos 2012a, 87–88); and the foundation of Tiberias in Galilee by Antipas in ca. 19/20 CE (*Ant.* 18.36–38; cf. *War* 2.168; *KHD*, 234). Even so, this material provides welcome evidence from a misty period (6–36 CE). Some light is thrown from Philo (*KHD*, 193–96) and the numismatic evidence (Kokkinos, 2012a).

Nevertheless, Syme does not hesitate to also question Strabo on this. If Archelaus was to have been incriminated by his brothers in 6 CE, only Antipas, ‘a crafty fellow’ [p. 11],⁶⁴ would fit the hypothesis, given his previous fight against Archelaus over the rule of Judaea in front of Augustus. Philip, who was ‘modest and unassuming’ [p. 12], had been loyal to Archelaus in the episodic events of 4 BCE (Jos., *Ant.* 17.219, 303; *War* 2.14, 83). Presumably also Tiberius may now (in 6 CE) have helped Antipas, for he favoured him. However, although it is true that the relationship between Antipas and Philip would have remained disagreeable,⁶⁵ one cannot know Philip’s view of Archelaus after ten years of the latter’s blood-thirsty rule. Philip was famed for being a just ruler (Jos., *Ant.* 18.106–108) and he could have fallen out with Archelaus by this time. As to Tiberius supporting Antipas, it is difficult to document such a propensity in 6 CE. Their good relationship becomes manifest to us only some considerable time after the accession of Tiberius [p. 12, n. 24].⁶⁶ Further Tiberius was not in Rome in 6 CE (and not until 9 CE),⁶⁷ to be of any service to Antipas. Syme in any case cannot see ‘actual banishment’ for all three brothers, and he must be right, since Dio’s description also does not presuppose it. Archelaus went into exile, while his brothers would have managed with bribes to reconfirm their status (rather than been assigned a new tetrarchy each—*τετραρχίας ἀποδειχθείσης ἑκατέρω*) and so returned home [p. 13].

Syme raises a further question, but by resorting to emendation in the context of his dating of Strabo’s work. Strabo observes that Archelaus *ἐν φυγῇ διετέλει*, and Syme asks ‘What does he mean?’ Does Strabo ‘conceive that person to be alive or dead?’ [p. 13a] But the imperfect tense is not daunting. It means what it says: that Archelaus continued to be in exile until recently (and so not in exile anymore). Syme, who believes that the final revision/ edition of the *Geography* was made in 18 CE [pp. 14–15], proposes that Strabo may instead have written *ἐν φυγῇ διατελεῖ* (‘he is still living in exile’)⁶⁸ or else *ἐν φυγῇ διετέλεσε* (‘he died in exile’).⁶⁹ He favours the second, as the past tense occurs elsewhere in Strabo, but this fails to notice that the received imperfect tense (*διετέλει*) is not a flash in the pan, but it is also found four other times in the *Geography* [p. 14, n. 26a]. As I have put forward, five decades after the writing of this paper by Syme, it is highly likely that Archelaus was released from exile under Tiberius (whether by appeal or/and by bribe—copying

⁶⁴ No doubt Syme is borrowing Jesus’ characterisation of Antipas as a ‘fox’ (*ἀλώπηξ*)—Lk 13:32.

⁶⁵ This would have continued to Philip’s death in 33 CE, when Antipas, arguably married Philip’s widow Herodias I, temporarily taking over his tetrarchy (*KHD*, 268–69; Kokkinos 2012a, 88, n. 23).

⁶⁶ Of course Tiberius and Antipas would have known each other earlier, during Antipas’ education in Rome from ca. 14 to 7/6 BCE (*KHD*, 236–37).

⁶⁷ Tiberius may have been adopted in 4 CE by Augustus, but he was then dispatched to the Rhine frontier, and although he returned to Rome in 5 CE (Vell., 2.107.3), he soon left again without returning in 6 CE (Dio 55.30.4; Vell., 2.111.2), and not until the spring of 9 CE (Dio 56.1.1–2)—see Kokkinos (2012b), 60.

⁶⁸ Syme [p. 14] first emends the reading of the verb from *διετέλει* to *διατέλει* (which will presumably be a MS error followed by wrong accentuation in the transcription), and then he suggests for it to be accentuated as *διατελεῖ* (in the present tense). This is not only unnecessary but unconvincing.

⁶⁹ For both hypothetical emendations, see *KHD*, 229, n. 85; cf. also Kokkinos (2003), 171 & n. 33, where there is a discussion of the verb *διατελέω*.

his brothers' earlier bribing their way to the reconfirmation of their status).⁷⁰ A return to Judaea, now a Roman province, and given his previous misconduct, would have prevented Archelaus from getting involved again in politics; he could only have retired locally as a private person. He would have been about forty-five years old in Syme's end-point of 18 CE for the *Geography*. Archelaus may well have gone to reside in the area of Herodium (where his father's symbolic fortress-palace stood), and would have died there, since the 'tumulus of Archelaus', 'former king of Judaea', 'near Bethlehem' (identified either by a funeral inscription or by tradition), was pointed out to Jerome (*Liber de Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum* [= *Onom.* edn. Klostermann 45]) at the end of the fourth century CE.

Further, it is worth recording here that another decade later, when it was announced (2007) that a monumental tomb was excavated at Herodium (believed to be that of Herod the Great), Ehud Netzer (1934–2010) wrote to me 'confidently' for consultation.⁷¹ He had subsequently discovered that there had been two or three extra burials within this royal monument, and wondered who these members might be in my opinion. My reply (with due respect) was that the tomb did not belong to Herod but probably to Archelaus,⁷² and that the additional candidates may be found (with varying degree of possibility) among the following three women: Malthace (died 4 BCE), Glaphyra (died ca. 4/5 CE), and Salome I (died ca. 10 CE).⁷³ Malthace, Archelaus' mother, died in Rome, and since she had sided with Antipas in the deliberations, it is also possible that Archelaus' brother claimed her body instead. Assuming that she was brought back to Palestine, Antipas may have buried her either in Galilee, his tetrarchy, or in Samaria, her homeland (with permission from Archelaus). Glaphyra, Archelaus' second wife, died in Jerusalem, and while her body could have been claimed by her royal family in Cappadocia, she had spent enough time in Judaea (previously married to Alexander I, ill-fated son of Herod, before moving briefly to Mauretania) to have felt it was home. Archelaus, in any case, would not have let her body be taken away, as it is said he had been passionately in love with her (*Jos., War* 2.115; *Ant.* 17.350).⁷⁴ Salome I, though dying almost certainly in the inherited royal palace at Ascalon, and though she opposed Archelaus in Rome, could have been buried in Herodium, close to her beloved brother Herod (wherever his tomb might still be). It is not impossible that the discovered tomb (of Archelaus as I propose) was used also for her, since the burial took place after the banishment of Archelaus and before his return to Judaea. Salome, in any case, seems to have taken over some of Archelaus' possessions during this period.⁷⁵ Archelaus would have built his monumental tomb when ruling in Judaea, more or less at the same time his brother Philip also built his own, conceivably in his capital Pnias (though he died in Bethsaida).⁷⁶

⁷⁰ *KHD*, 228–29. Lindsay (1997), 503 & n. 194, thinks that Archelaus died in 16 CE, but relying on the circular argument of Smallwood (1976, 117, n. 48), who took the assumed completion of Strabo's work in ca. 18 CE as the 'terminus ante quem' for Archelaus' death', and misinterpreting Strabo's διετέλει, guessed that he would have died in exile 'within ten years'!

⁷¹ Netzer's emails, dated 22 & 24 February, 2008; Kokkinos' emails, dated 22 & 24 February, 2008. Under the circumstances, I assume that confidentiality can now be spared 16 years after Ehud's death.

⁷² There are various reasons this tomb is unlikely to belong to Herod, not least stratigraphical ones—see also Jacobson (2007); Foerster (2013); Patrich & Arubas (2015).

⁷³ See partly Netzer *et al.* (2010), 93; cf. Netzer *et al.* (2013), 253–55.

⁷⁴ See *KHD*, 228, n. 81; 246–47; Kokkinos (1987).

⁷⁵ *KHD*, 191.

⁷⁶ *KHD*, 238; Kokkinos (2008), 238, n. 121.

Thus Syme reaches his conclusion by acknowledging, if with reservation, at least one new historical fact in Strabo's testimony, that is to say 'the precarious positions of the two tetrarchs' in 6 CE [p. 14]. Then, for the first time, he reveals the ultimate reason for his enquiry: 'the date of Strabo's original draft.' This becomes clear in the closing sentence two pages later, but not before a final observation. In reference to the settlement of 4 BCE, Strabo mentioned Herod's sister Salome I and her daughter Berenice I, as being honoured by Augustus. While Salome would have been well-known at this time (being an old friend of Livia, and named in Herod's will), Syme finds the reference to Berenice 'a subsequent addition by Strabo' [p. 15], since she became famous only later. As true as this observation may be, however, Berenice was definitely present in Rome in 4 BCE, for Salome is said to have taken with her not only her children (Jos., *War* 2.15: ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις), but the whole family (Jos., *Ant.* 17.220: τὴν γενεὰν ἀγομένη τὴν αὐτῆς).⁷⁷ Besides Augustus, not mentioned by Strabo, honoured with money other members of Herod's family, in addition to what the will had prescribed them, such as the two virgin daughters of Herod, Roxane and Salome II (*Ant.* 17.322; *War* 2.99). But it would not matter too much if there are two strata at this stage in Strabo's narrative (the first written after 4 BCE, the second after 6 CE), before the final edition of ca. 18 CE according to Syme.⁷⁸ The closing sentence [p. 16] argues the point he wants to make:

... the first draft of the *Geography* was terminated not as early as 7 B.C. (as has been argued with force and persuasion), but at some time between 4 B.C. and A.D. 6.

His whole effort was to show that the theory of Ettore Pais (1856–1939), dating the completion of the first edition of the *Geography* to 7 BCE, must be revised [p. 16, n. 34]. This is actually spelled out in 'When did Strabo Write?',⁷⁹ in spite of the condensed version of this paper included in *Anatolica* [p. 7, n. 15]. Syme used Strabo's testimony of the Herods as a crucial part of his argument. His bibliographical aid for this period of Herodian history seems to have been restricted to W. Otto and E. Schürer [p. 5, n. 9]. Of course Syme would have been aware of contemporary works on the Herods, such as that of H. Willrich (1929), A. Momigliano (1934), J. Kastein (1936), M. P. Charlesworth (1936), and A.H.M. Jones (1938),⁸⁰ but they may not have been seen as illuminating the issues on which he was concentrating.

This review has demonstrated that while all in Strabo's narrative concerning Judaea, the Hasmonaeans, and the Herods, is not simply the result of negligence, error and confusion—more likely it is the result of compression with nuances of abstract thought—Syme was admirably perceptive in recognising several important points. He adopted the mandatory emendation of Korais, restoring the name of Hyrcanus II (in place of a 'Herod') as the high priest appointed by Pompeius. He sensed that in connection to the impossible priesthood for Herod, Strabo may have unconsciously contaminated different views about Herod's ancestry, a search of which leads to the "Ascalonian" view recalling a relevant (if pagan) priesthood of Herod's ancestor. He conceded that Josephus' silence is not decisive, when Strabo is testifying on the precarious positions of the two tetrarchs

⁷⁷ For a list of the possible members of Salome's family present in Rome in 4 BCE, see *KHD* 190, n. 60.

⁷⁸ Recent scholarship favours more generally the early Tiberian period: 'at least A.D. 23' (Clarke 1997, 101); 'at least the 20s AD' (Clarke 1999, 291); and 'between the years 18 and 24' (Dueck 2000, 150); cf. Kokkinos (2002), 726–29 and n. 29. For the death of Juba II in 23 or 24 CE, the latest event recorded by Strabo (17.3.7), and the date of which was unknown before 1955, see now Roller (2003), 244–47.

⁷⁹ *Anatolica*, 358.

⁸⁰ *KHD*, 25.

(Antipas and Philip), in 6 CE. Even with caution, Syme called this information a new historical fact. His case study of Strabo on the Herodian dynasty, undertaken during WWII, and belonging to his wider attempt at determining when the *Geography* was written, is inevitably out of date. Primarily it is an early and incomplete draft (missing the entire text of its 35 notes), for which Syme cannot be given now the opportunity to read again, edit, defend or revise, after some eighty years. But despite everything, and given the general context, his brilliant mind shines through in every line. There is nothing that Syme could have written during his lifetime, which would not still be of interest today.

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The present publication is dedicated to the memory of my ex-supervisor Sir Fergus Millar (1935–2019), as much as to the memory of his ex-supervisor Sir Ronald Syme (1903–1989). Both were giants of scholarship much admired. I had been directed by Millar to this unpublished work when he was Syme's literary executor, and although it is not clear who has succeeded Millar in this role, I have made best endeavours to renew the permission. My thanks go to Liz Baird (Archivist, Wolfson College, University of Oxford) for advice after investigating the matter, and to Martin Goodman, Alan Bowman, and Priscilla Lange for their abundant support in the process. I am grateful to the staff of the Bodleian Libraries for providing scans of the paper: Lucy McCann (Senior Archivist, Special Collections), Samuel Sales (Superintendent, Weston Library Reader Services, Special Collections), and Angie Goodgame (Documents Delivery Services). I am in debt to Henry MacAdam, Roy Kotansky, Andrea and Ron Coffman, as well as to one of the anonymous referees, for scratching their heads over the reading of four difficult words in the manuscript. Duane Roller has aided greatly by sending electronic versions of his new translation and commentary of Strabo's *Geography*.

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