

§ 18. AGRIPPA I A.D. 37, 40, 41-44

Sources

- Josephus, *Ant.* xviii 6 (143-239); xix 5-9 (274-359); *B. J.* ii 9, 5-6 (178-82), II, 2-6 (206-22).
 New Testament: Acts 12.
 Rabbinical traditions: mBik. 3:4; mSot. 7:8; ySot. 22a; bSot. 41b; Sifre-Dt. (157): bKet. 17a; cf. J. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-19.
 Coins: See n. 40 below.

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See also the bibliographies above, in §§ 16 and 17.

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I

When Agrippa I¹ ascended the throne of Herod the Great, he had already an eventful and adventurous career behind him. He was born

1. The New Testament (Acts 12) names him simply Herod. In Josephus and on the coins, however, he is always called Agrippa. An inscription from Athens (see below n. 41) reveals that his name was Iulius Agrippa, and from the *praenomen* of his son it is virtually certain that his father too had as his full Roman name, M. Iulius Agrippa. See PIR³ I 131.

in 10 B.C.,² the son of Aristobulus, who was executed in 7 B.C., and Berenice a daughter of Salome and Costobar.³ Shortly before the death of his grandfather, he was sent, as a boy scarcely six years old, to Rome to be educated. His mother Berenice was befriended there by Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus, while he himself became attached to the younger Drusus, the son of the emperor Tiberius. The influence of Roman society seems not to have been entirely favourable. He became accustomed to unlimited luxury and extravagance, especially after the death of his mother. His means were soon exhausted and debts piled up. And when with the death of Drusus (A.D. 23) he also lost his support at court, he found himself obliged to leave Rome and return to Palestine.⁴ He went to Malatha, a fortress in Idumaea,⁵ and contemplated suicide. When his wife Cyprus heard of this, she wrote to Agrippa's sister, Herodias, who was by this time married to Antipas, and entreated her assistance. Herod Antipas was in this way induced to give his distressed brother-in-law at least sufficient to live on, and in addition he appointed him *agoranomos* (overseer of markets) in the capital city of Tiberias. But this new position in life did not last for long. At a banquet in Tyre the two brothers-in-law engaged in a quarrel, as a result of which Agrippa resigned his post at Tiberias and made his way to the Roman governor Flaccus in Antioch.⁶ But there too his stay was of short duration. In a dispute that developed between the inhabitants of Sidon and Damascus, Agrippa took the side of the latter, apparently disinterestedly, but really in consequence of bribes he had accepted from them. When this came to the ears of Flaccus, he withdrew his friendship and Agrippa found himself once again deprived of all means of subsistence. He then resolved to try his fortune again in Rome. After raising a loan in Ptolemais with the assistance of a freedman of his mother Berenice, called Peter, and then in Anhedon barely evading capture by Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, who wished to apprehend him as a debtor of the emperor, he

2. As is evident from *Ant.* xix 8, 2 (350), according to which he was fifty-four years old when he died (A.D. 44).

3. *Ant.* xviii 5, 4 (130-42).

4. *Ant.* xviii 6, 1 (143-6). Wieseler, *Beweis des Glaubens* (1870), pp. 168 f., places the journey of Agrippa from Rome to Palestine in A.D. 29 or 30, which is more or less correct. At any rate, as will be shown, it did not take place until after the marriage of Herodias and Antipas.

5. *Μαλαθά* or *Μαλααθά* is also referred to several times in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (ed. Klostermann (1904), pp. 14, 88, 108). It lay 20+4 Roman miles south of Hebron, probably on the site of the modern Tell-el-Milh. See Robinson, *Palästina* III, pp. 184 f.; Guérin, *Judée* II, pp. 184-8; *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs by Conder and Kitchener* III, pp. 404, 415 f. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land* (1966), p. 120.

6. *Ant.* xviii 6, 2 (147-50).

finally succeeded in obtaining large sums in Alexandria on the credit of his wife. He arrived in Italy in the spring of A.D. 36⁷ and on the island of Capri⁸ presented himself before Tiberius.⁹ The emperor entrusted him with his grandson Tiberius Gemellus. In addition, he became closely associated with Gaius Caligula, the grandson of his patroness Antonia and later emperor. But even so he could not keep out of debt. In fact, to appease his old creditors he was obliged continually to borrow new and larger sums.¹⁰ It was therefore understandable that he eagerly desired an improvement in his circumstances, but there seemed no prospect of this unless the friendly Caligula were to come to the throne in place of the aged Tiberius. Unwisely, he once openly expressed this wish to Caligula in the presence of his coachman Eutychus. When he later brought a charge of theft against Eutychus and had him brought before the city prefect, Piso,¹¹ Eutychus announced that he had an important secret to communicate to the emperor. At first Tiberius took no notice.¹² But when after some time a hearing was granted¹³ and Tiberius learned what Agrippa had said, he had him immediately put in fetters and cast into prison, where he remained for six months until the emperor died (16 March A.D. 37).¹⁴

With the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula a period of good fortune began for Agrippa. Caligula scarcely waited for Tiberius's obsequies to be over before releasing his friend from prison and conferring on him the former tetrarchy of Philip and that of Lysanias, together with the title of king; to this gift the senate added the honorary rank of a praetor.¹⁵ In place of his iron chains, Caligula gave him a gold chain of equal weight.¹⁶ But Agrippa stayed on in Rome for a year and a half. It was not till the autumn of A.D. 38 that

7. *Ant.* xviii 5, 3 (126) ἐναυτῷ πρότερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβέριον.

8. Where Tiberius lived almost without interruption from A.D. 27 (Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 67) until the time of his death.

9. *Ant.* xviii 6, 3 (151-60).

10. *Ant.* xviii 6, 4 (161-7).

11. The Piso referred to here, *Ant.* xviii 6, 5 (169), cannot have been the one who (according to Tacitus, *Ann.* vi, 10) died in A.D. 32 for he is still mentioned after Tiberius's death, *Ant.* xviii 6, 10 (235); cf. above, p. 261. In both passages Josephus calls him φύλαξ τῆς πόλεως. On other Greek designations of the praefectus urbi, see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* II, 2, p. 981.

12. *Ant.* xviii 6, 5 (168-78).

13. *Ant.* xviii 6, 6 (179) χρόνου ἐγγενομένου.

14. *Ant.* xviii 6, 6-7 (179-204); *B.J.* ii 9, 5 (180).

15. Philo, in *Flaccum* 6 (40). Cf. above, p. 317. The title was conferred not by the emperor but by the senate, see Philo, *loc. cit.* βασιλέα καὶ φίλον Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τετιμημένον στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς.

16. *Ant.* xviii 6, 10 (224-37); *B.J.* ii 9, 6 (181); Philo, in *Flaccum* 5 (25); Dio lix 8. From the inscription at El-Mushennef (OGIS 418) it appears that Agrippa's territory extended beyond the Hauran.

he returned to Palestine by way of Alexandria to set in order the affairs of his kingdom.¹⁷

Soon afterwards he obtained by imperial favour still further important increases of territory. An account has already been given (p. 352) of how Herod Antipas had lost his tetrarchy in A.D. 39 through his own indiscretion; Caligula bestowed this also on Agrippa, probably not before A.D. 40.

In the autumn of that year Agrippa was once more in Rome (or Puteoli), where he contrived by personal intercession to prevent Caligula, temporarily at least, from persisting in his project to have his statue set up in the Temple in Jerusalem (see above, p. 396). He then remained in Caligula's vicinity. He was also in Rome when his patron was murdered by Chaerea on 24 January A.D. 41, and contributed not a little to secure the succession of the weak Claudius to the imperial throne.¹⁸ Needless to say, he was not a man to perform such services unrewarded. The new emperor not only confirmed him in his royal possessions but supplemented them with Judaea and Samaria, so that he now united under his rule the whole of his grandfather's kingdom. Besides this, he received consular rank. To ratify this grant, a solemn treaty was concluded at the Forum according to ancient custom, and the deed of gift was engraved on bronze tablets and placed in the Capitol.¹⁹

II

Agrippa's first act on his return to Palestine was characteristic of the spirit in which he governed his kingdom from then on. It was an act

17. *Ant.* xviii 6, 11 (238-9); Philo, in *Flaccum* 5 (25 f.). Cf. above, pp. 352 and 390.

18. *Ant.* xix 1-4 (1-273); *B.J.* ii 11 (204-22). On the events preceding Claudius's accession to the throne, see RE III, 2786 f.

19. *Ant.* xix 5, 1 (274-7); *B.J.* ii 11, 5 (215-16); Dio lx 8, 2-3. Josephus expresses himself so as to imply that the tetrarchy of Lysanias was now re-conferred on Agrippa. But as he had already received it from Caligula, it can only be a question of confirming the gift. It is highly probable that Josephus found in his sources that, besides the whole of his grandfather's kingdom, Agrippa, by the favour of Claudius, possessed in addition the tetrarchy of Lysanias. The conclusion of the treaty is represented on a coin the superscription of which is no longer completely legible but which mentions a *συμμαχία* of King Agrippa with the Roman Senate and people (*σύνκλητος καὶ δῆμος Ῥωμαίων*). See Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), p. 139 f.; so also Meyshan, *op. cit.*, p. 191 (see Pl. 17, no. 14). That Claudius liked such ancient treaties is indicated by Suet. *Div. Claudius*, 25 'Cum regibus foedus in foro icit porca caesa ac vetere foetium praefatione adhibita'. A home-coming of Agrippa I or II (possibly the present return of Agrippa I) is referred to in the inscription of El Mushennef (OGIS 418):

Ἰπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου βασι-
λέως Ἀγρίππα καὶ ἐπανόδου κα-
τ' εὐχὴν Διὸς καὶ πατρὶ(κ)οῦ(?)
. . . . ὁμονομίας τὸν οἶκον ὑποκόμ[ησεν].

of piety. He hung the gold chain presented to him by Caligula on his liberation from prison 'within the limits of the Temple, over the treasury, that it might be a memorial of his earlier misfortune and a witness to the turn of events in his favour; and that it might serve to demonstrate how the greatest are liable to fall, and how God can raise up the fallen'.²⁰ At the same time he brought a thank-offering, 'inasmuch as he disregarded no precept of the law', and defrayed the costs of a large number of Nazirites entailed by the fulfilment of their vow.²¹

It was with acts such as these that the one-time adventurer began his new reign, and he maintained the same tone throughout his remaining three years of life and rule. They were golden days again for Pharisaism, a revival of the age of Alexandra, which is why Josephus and the Talmud are unanimous in his praise. 'It was his pleasure to reside continually in Jerusalem, and he meticulously observed the precepts of his fathers. He neglected no rite of purification and not a day passed without its appointed sacrifice.' Thus eulogizes Josephus;²² and the Mishnah relates that he brought the first fruits to the Temple with his own hands like any other Israelite.²³ He represented the claims of Judaism abroad also. When on one occasion a gang of young Greeks in the Phoenician city of Dora set up a statue of the emperor in the Jewish synagogue, he used his influence with the governor of Syria, P. Petronius, *sō* that not only were such outrages strictly forbidden but the culprits also called to account.²⁴ And when he betrothed his daughter Drusilla to Epiphanes, the son of King Antiochus

20. *Ant.* xix 6, 1 (294). It is unlikely that there is any connexion between these, and the gold chains which, according to mMid. 3:8 hung on the roof-beam of the temple Porch (against Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 209).

21. *Ant.* xix 6, 1 (294).

22. *Ant.* xix 7, 3 (331) ἡδεῖα γούν αὐτῷ διαίτα καὶ συνεχῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν, καὶ τὰ πάτρια καθαρῶς ἐτήρει. διὰ πάσης γούν αὐτὸν ἦγεν ἀγγελίας, οὐδὲ ἡμέρα τις παρώδειεν αὐτῷ τῆς νομίμης χηρεύουσα θυσίας. In place of τῆς νομίμης (so the *Epitome*, supported by *Vel. Lat.*: *hostiis viduata sollemnibus*) our three manuscripts have τὰ νόμιμα, likewise the older editions. Hudson, Havercamp, Oberthür read τῆς νομίμης; Dindorf and Bekker delete it (a possibility already suggested by Hudson, since τὰ νόμιμα occurs immediately afterwards); Niese reads τὰ νόμιμα, and Naber τῆς νομίμης.

23. mBik. 3:4: 'When they (i.e. the procession with the first-fruits of the fields) reached the Temple mount, even King Agrippa himself took his basket on his shoulder and entered as far as the Temple Court'. Here, as in other rabbinic passages, it is not quite certain whether Agrippa I or II is meant. On ceremonial ritual at the presentation of the first-fruits, see, in addition to mBik. 3:1-9, Philo's tract *de spec. leg.* ii 29 (162-75); and generally the literature referred to in vol. II, § 24.

24. *Ant.* xix 6, 3 (300-11).

of Commagene, he made him promise to submit to circumcision.²⁵ Because of his piety, the people led by the Pharisees were completely satisfied with him. This was strikingly demonstrated when, at the Feast of Tabernacles in A.D. 41, he read the Book of Deuteronomy according to ancient custom.²⁶ When he came to the passage, 'You may not put a foreigner over you, who is not your brother' (Dt. 17:15), he burst into tears because he felt that the reference was to himself. But the people cried out, 'Grieve not, Agrippa. You are our brother! You are our brother!'²⁷

His meticulous observance of the Mosaic law does not, however, seem to have been the sole reason for his popularity. He evidently possessed a certain natural amiability. Josephus in any case ascribes to him an agreeable disposition and unbounded generosity.²⁸ That he was grateful for services rendered to him is indicated by his appointment of Silas, a faithful companion of his earlier adventures, to the supreme command of his troops.²⁹ He was to have unpleasant experiences with this Silas, who frequently reminded him in a tactless manner of his earlier misery and the services he had given. To be rid of the troublesome chatterbox, Agrippa had to send him to prison. However, it was fresh proof of his goodheartedness that on the next celebration of his birthday, he had the prisoner called so that he could share in the joys of the banquet; but in vain, for Silas wanted no favours and therefore was obliged to remain in jail.³⁰ On another occasion Agrippa showed his clemency towards Simon the Pharisee,³¹ who in the king's

25. *Ant.* xx 7, 1 (139). Epiphanes afterwards refused to fulfil his promise and the marriage did not take place.

26. At the close of each sabbatical year, i.e. at the beginning of the 8th year, Deuteronomy was to be read at the Feast of Tabernacles (Dt. 31: 10 ff.; mSot. 7:8). Since A.D. 68/69 was a sabbatical year (cf. above, p. 19), A.D. 40/41 must also have been such; indeed it would be the only one occurring during Agrippa's reign. Accordingly, this incident took place in A.D. 41.

27. mSot. 7:8. The people's declaration can be justified even on the basis of strictly Pharisaic principles, for when Edomites (Idumaeans) went over to Judaism, their descendants of the third generation became full citizens of the Israelite commonwealth (Dt. 23, 7-8). M. Brann, *MGWJ* (1870), pp. 541-8, argued that this refers to Agrippa II. But the majority of scholars (see the list given by Brann, *ibid.*, p. 541) prefer Agrippa I, on the ground that a definite inclination to favour the Pharisees is more clearly evident in the case of Agrippa I than in that of his son. Cf. Abel, *Histoire I*, p. 449. For Agrippa II, cf. A. Büchler, *Die Priester und der Cultus im letzten Jahrzehnt des jerusalemischen Tempels* (1895), pp. 14 f.

28. *Ant.* xix 7, 3 (330) πρᾶς δὲ τρόπος Ἀγρίππᾳ, καὶ πρὸς πάντας τὸ εὐεργετικὸν ὄμιον.

29. *Ant.* xix 6, 3 (299).

30. *Ant.* xix 7, 1 (317-25).

31. Z. Frankel, *Darkhe ha-Mishnah* (1859), pp. 58-9, regarded him as identical with Simon, the son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel I. But the existence of this Simon is questionable (see vol. II, § 25). Besides, the chronology hardly fits if Gamaliel I was already head of the party before the time of Agrippa (Acts 5:34).

absence had called a public meeting in Jerusalem and charged him with transgressing the law. Agrippa heard of this while he was at Caesarea, sent for Simon, and making him sit beside him in the theatre, asked him quietly and mildly: 'Tell me, what is happening here that is unlawful?' Overcome with shame, the learned teacher could give no answer and was dismissed by the king with presents.³²

With a Jewish national policy went a loosening of dependence on Rome, and here, also, Agrippa made at least two somewhat timid attempts. To strengthen the fortifications of Jerusalem, he began to build to the north of the city a strong new wall which, in Josephus's opinion, would have made the city impregnable if the project had been completed. But unfortunately this was not possible because the emperor, at the instigation of Marsus, the governor of Syria, objected to it.³³ Of even greater significance for Rome was the conference of kings convened by Agrippa at Tiberias. No fewer than five Roman client kings responded to the invitation: Antiochus of Commagene, Sampsigeramus of Emesa, Cotys of Lesser Armenia, Polemon of Pontus and Herod of Chalcis. But this enterprise was also broken up by Marsus. The governor of Syria himself appeared at Tiberias and advised the other guests to return home immediately.³⁴

Finally, it was a necessary consequence of his internal policy that the otherwise good-natured king became an opponent of the young Christian community. It is reported that the apostle James, the son of Zebedee, was put to death by him, and that Peter escaped his

[Text continues on page 451]

32. *Ant.* xix 7, 4 (332-4).

33. *Ant.* xix 7, 2 (326-7); *B.J.* ii 11, 6 (218-22); v 4, 2 (147-55); cf. tSanh. 3:4; bSheb. 16a; see Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 f.; A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* (1868), p. 138. Agrippa seems to have obtained the emperor's original indulgence over the building of the wall by bribing his counsellors; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* v 12 'per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto iure muniendi struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum'. On the much-debated problem of the 'third wall'. *Jos. B.J.* v 4, 2 (147), see Vincent and Stève, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament* (1954), pp. 114-45; for a recent survey, including the results of excavations showing also the considerable southern extension of the city, and construction of a wall there, see K. M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem* (1967), pp. 155-86. She argues that Herod Agrippa's third wall lies under the present North Wall of the Old City. But, for a contrary view, see M. Avi-Yonah, 'The Third and Second Walls of Jerusalem', *IEJ* 18 (1968), pp. 98-125.

34. *Ant.* xix 8, 1 (338-42). The five kings named are all known from other evidence.

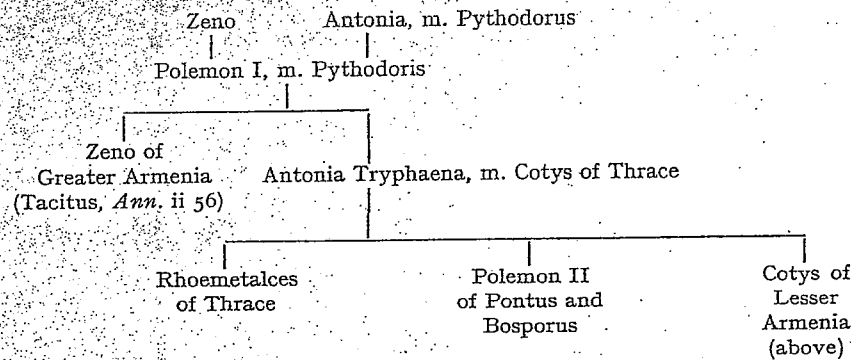
(1) On the dynasty of Commagene, see Magie, *Roman Rule*, pp. 1239-40. In A.D. 17 Commagene was incorporated into the Roman province of Syria (Tacitus, *Ann.* ii 42, 56); in A.D. 38 Caligula bestowed it on Antiochus IV (Dio lix 8, 2), who was later deposed by Caligula but reinstated by Claudius in A.D. 41, Dio lx 8, 1; *Jos. Ant.* xix 5, 1 (276), and then reigned until A.D. 72. He is mentioned in Tacitus, *Ann.* xii 55; xiii 7, 37; xiv 26. According to Tacitus, *Hist.* ii 81, he was

'vetustis opibus ingens et inservientium regum ditissimus'. For the Jewish war under Nero, Vespasian and Titus, he repeatedly furnished auxiliary troops, *Jos. B.J.* ii 18, 9 (500); iii 4, 2 (68); v 11, 3 (460). The story of his deposition is related in detail by Josephus, *B.J.* vii 7, 1-3 (219-43). Through the betrothal of his son Antiochus Epiphanes to Drusilla, the daughter of King Agrippa, ties of kinship would have been formed between both kings, *Ant.* xix 9, 1 (355); but the marriage did not take place because the Commagenian prince refused to submit to circumcision, *Ant.* xx 7, 1 (139). For full details on Antiochus IV (C. Iulius Antiochus Epiphanes) see PIR² I 149.

(2) On the dynasty of Emesa, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I (1881), pp. 403 f. The earliest attested Sampsigeramus comes from the time of Pompey and Caesar, RE s.v. 'Sampsigeramus' (1). Under Augustus the dynasty continued, with varying fortunes (G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965), p. 47), and the Iamblichus restored by Augustus in 20 B.C. was eventually succeeded by the Sampsigeramus mentioned in the present passage, *Ant.* xix 8, 1 (338), whose daughter Iotape married Aristobulus, the brother of King Agrippa, *Ant.* xviii 5, 4 (135). The earliest mention of him is a Palmyrene inscription relating to Germanicus, so A.D. 17-19; Syria 12 (1931), p. 319; 13 (1932), pp. 266 ff. He is also referred to in the Roman inscription of a freedman, CIL VI 35556a=AE 1900 134 C. *Iulio regis Samsicerami liberto* Glaco; cf. RE s.v. 'Sampsigeramus' (2). His successor was Azizus, who married Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa, *Ant.* xx 7, 1 (139). This man (Azizus) was succeeded in A.D. 54 by his brother (C. Iulius) Soaemus, *Ant.* xx 8, 4 (158), who repeatedly supplied the Romans with auxiliary troops in the years A.D. 66-72; *Jos. B.J.* ii 18, 9 (501); iii 4, 2 (68); Tacitus, *Hist.* ii 81; *Jos. B.J.* vii 7, 1 (226). See ILS 8958=IGLS 2760 (Baalbek) and PIR² I 582. The name Sampsigeramus (Σαμσιγέραμος) still occurs on an inscription from A.D. 78/79 found at the place itself (OGIS 604=IGR III 1023=IGLS 2212) and also on other inscriptions from the area into the second century, see IGLS 2216-7, 2362, 2385, 2707. The (C. Iulius) Sampsigeramus of A.D. 78/9 seems already to indicate the end of the regal status of the dynasty (cf. com. to IGLS 2217). The name Sampsigeramus=Aramaic שַׁמְסִיגְרָמוֹס; see M. de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions*, p. 54 (n. 75).

(3) On Cotys of Lesser Armenia, see Marquardt, *op. cit.* I, p. 369; PIR² C 1555. He was a brother of King Polemon II of Pontus (below) and received his kingdom at the same time through the favour of Caligula in A.D. 38; cf. the inscription from Cyzicus, Syll.³ 798 and IGR IV 147 (see below) and Dio lix 12, 2. Tacitus mentions him in connexion with A.D. 47 (*Ann.* xi 9). In A.D. 54 Lesser Armenia was bestowed by Nero on Aristobulus, the son of Herod of Chalcis (see below, Appendix I).

(4) The dynasty of the kings of Pontus in Roman times goes back to the rhetor Zeno of Laodicea, who assisted the Roman cause at the time of the invasion of the Parthians and of Labienus (Strabo, 660). Apparently, it was out of gratitude for this service that his son Polemon was made king by Antonius (Strabo, 578). He received first of all part of Cilicia (App., *BC* v 75/319); a few years later the kingdom of Pontus (Dio xlix 25, 4); in 33 B.C. Lesser Armenia also (Dio xlix 33, 1-2; 44, 3). Under Augustus he was confirmed as king of Pontus (Dio liii 25, 1), and in 14 B.C. received the Bosphorus too (Dio liv 24, 5-6; see PIR¹ P 405; RE s.v. 'Polemon' (2); Bowersock, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 53). When he died about 8 B.C., his wife Pythodoris (see RE s.v. 'Pythodoris' (1)) succeeded him in the government. From Strabo 555-6 and 649 and OGIS 377, it is now clear that she came from a distinguished family in Tralles, see Bowersock, *op. cit.*, p. 8. The further genealogy of the family is revealed by two inscriptions from Cyzicus, Syll.³ 798 and IGR IV 147.



Accordingly, Polemon II was not, as Dio lix 12, asserts, the son, but the grandson of Polemon I, and Tryphaena was not, as was earlier supposed on the basis of the coins, his wife, but his mother (see PIR² A 900); she is mentioned—not by name—in Strabo 556; in the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 36 a Queen Tryphaena, a relative of the emperor, is referred to. On Polemon II, see RE s.v. 'Polemon' (3); D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), ch. 21, n. 53, and ch. 23, n. 26; on the coins, *BMC Pontus*, p. 46; Head, *HN²*, p. 503. According to the second inscription on the monument at Cyzicus, it was Caligula who installed the three sons of Antonia Tryphaena in their father's kingdoms. Since according to the coins A.D. 54 is the 17th year of Polemon II, he became king in A.D. 38; so Dio lix 12, 2. In place of the Bosporus (while retaining Pontus) he received in A.D. 41 part of Cilicia (Dio lx 8, 2; cf. Jos. *Ant.* xx 7, 3 (145), *Κιλικίας βασιλεύς*). In A.D. 60 Nero gave him also a part of Lesser Armenia (Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv 26). Soon afterwards, in A.D. 64, the kingdom of Pontus *concedente Polemone* became a Roman province (Suet. *Nero*, 18; cf. Tac. *Hist.* iii 47; on the date see D. Magie, *op. cit.*, pp. 1417–18). However, the designation *Πόντος Πολεμωνιακός* persisted into the middle Byzantine period; cf. Ptolemy, v 6, 4 and 10; CIL III 291 = 6818 = ILS 1017 (here *Pontus Ptolemonianus*); Hierocles, *Synecdemus*, ed. Burckhardt (1893), p. 34; the *Notitiae episcopatum* in Gelzer, *AAM XXI*, 3 (1900), pp. 539, 554, 569, 585. The conclusion often drawn from Tacitus, *Hist.* iii 47, that Polemon was already dead in A.D. 69 is not proved. At all events, he was still alive in the time of Galba, and ruled in a part of Cilicia; see *BMC Cilicia*, pp. xxix–xxx; Head, *HN²*, p. 227. His marriage with Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa I, lasted only a short time. She herself persuaded him to marry her when she had been a widow for a long time, her second husband, Herod of Chalcis, having died in A.D. 48. Polemon agreed to the marriage mainly for the sake of her wealth, and he even submitted to circumcision. But when after a short time Berenice left him, he relinquished Jewish practices; *Ant.* xx 7, 3 (146). Since Josephus designates him on the occasion of this marriage merely as *Κιλικίας βασιλεύς*, it must have taken place after A.D. 63, when Polemon no longer possessed the kingdom of Pontus. A coin shows that he re-married, to a woman named Iulia Mamaea, H. Seyrig, *RN* 11 (1969), pp. 45–7. A descendant of his is possibly the M. Antonius Polemon, known from coins as dynast of Olbe in Cilicia (*δυναστής Ὀλβέων*; see PIR² A 864), whom many place in the time of the triumvir M. Antonius; see Marquardt, *op. cit.* I, pp. 385 f.; V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* II 1, pp. 124 f.; J. Raillard, *Wiener Numismat. Zeitschr.* 27 (1895), pp. 23–26; (a few of the above identify him with King Polemon I of Pontus); against the theory,

hands only by a miracle.³⁵ Moreover, his pro-Jewish leanings excited enmity in certain Gentile quarters, as is shown by the unconcealed pleasure with which the Sebastenes and Caesareans received the news of his death.³⁶

In view of his earlier life, the sincerity of Agrippa's devotion to Judaism has been questioned, and in this connexion it is pointed out that his Jewish piety was maintained only within the borders of Palestine. When abroad he was, like his grandfather, a generous patron of Greek culture. At Berytus, for example, he built at his own expense a splendid theatre, an amphitheatre, baths and porticoes. When they were opened, games of all sorts were performed, among them a gladiatorial combat in the amphitheatre at which 1400 criminals were compelled to slaughter one another.³⁷ He also sponsored games in Caesarea.³⁸ Statues of his daughters were even erected there.³⁹ Of the coins minted during his reign only those stamped in Jerusalem bear no effigy, whereas among those produced in other cities, some bear the image of Agrippa and others that of the emperor.⁴⁰ His official title is the same as that of other Roman vassal kings of the time. An

see Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigr.*, I, p. 275. Earlier, this M. Antonius Polemon was identified with the son of Polemon I mentioned (without a name) by Strabo, p. 556 (so G. F. Hill, *Num. Chron.* 19 (1899), pp. 181–207, and in *BMC Cilicia*, pp. lii ff., 119 ff.). See Magie, *Roman Rule*, ch. 23, n. 26.

(5) On Herod of Chalcis, brother of Agrippa I, see below, Appendix I.

35. *Acts* 12:1–19.

36. *Ant.* xix 9, 1 (356).

37. *Ant.* xix 7, 5 (335–7). The favour shown to Berytus is due to the fact that it was a Roman colony. Cf. above, p. 323.

38. *Ant.* xix 8, 2 (343).

39. *Ant.* xix 9, 1 (357).

40. On the coins of Agrippa in general, cf. F. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, pp. 103–111; F. de Saulcy, 'Étude chronologique de la vie et des monnaies des rois juifs Agrippa I et Agrippa II', 1869 (cf. above, p. 442); Madden, *Numismatic Chronicle* (1875), pp. 58–80; Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 129–39; *BMC Palestine*, pp. xcvi–111; A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (1947), pp. 20–3; 46–7; J. Meyshan, 'The Coinage of Agrippa I', *IEJ* 4 (1954), pp. 186–200; Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (1967), pp. 78–80, 138–41. Those of most frequent occurrence among the coins of Agrippa are imageless, being decorated with the emblem of a canopy—see Meyshan, *BIES* 22 (1958), pp. 157–60; most have the year number VI and the simple inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΡΙΠΠΑ. Besides these coins properly attributed to Agrippa, there were also minted during his reign: (1) In Caesarea Maritima (*Καισαρία ἡ πρὸς τῷ Σεβαστῷ λιμένι*) coins with the image of Agrippa and the superscription Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀγρίππας φιλόκαισαρ. (2) In Caesarea Panias, coins with the image of Caligula and the (more or less defective) name of the emperor, or without his name; (3) In Tiberias, coins with the image of Claudius, and on the reverse side: ἐπι βασιλε. Ἀγρ. Τιβεριέων (omitted by Meshorer, *loc. cit.*). And besides these we have (4) the coins referred to above (note 19) commemorating the treaty between Agrippa and the Roman people.

inscription shows that his family had taken the Roman *nomen* 'Iulius',⁴¹ and another designates him as βασιλεὺς μέγας φιλοκίσαρ εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλορώμαιος.⁴² So perhaps Agrippa's concessions to Pharisaism were purely matters of policy, in which case he was truly a descendant of Herod the Great. On the other hand, it is arguable that he was seriously concerned to promote peace and saw that the explosive situation within his bicultural kingdom called for tact, as well as for a measure of compromise.

The country did not enjoy his rule for long. After a reign of scarcely more than three years (reckoned from A.D. 41) he died suddenly at Caesarea in A.D. 44.⁴³ The two extant accounts of his death, Acts 12: 19–

41. On the inscription at Athens, OGIS 428 = IG II/III² 3449, his daughter Berenice is called Ἰουλίᾳ Βερενίκη βασίλισσα μεγάλη, Ἰουλοῦ Ἀγρίππα βασιλέως θυγατήρ. There is also evidence that other members of the Herodian family bore the gentilician name of the Iulii: Agrippa II is so named in OGIS 421 = IGR III 1136. A son-in-law of Agrippa I is called Ἰούλιος Ἀρχέλαος, Jos. *Ant.* xix 9, 1 (355); *c. Ap.* i 9 (51). Possibly the Γάιος Ἰούλιος βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸς Ἀγρίππας ταμίης καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος τῆς Ἀσίας mentioned in an inscription at Ephesus (OGIS 429 = ILS 8823; see PIR² I 130) descended from the Herodian family; presumably the same βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος (PIR² A 500) is also referred to as consular, ὑπατικός, and as a relative of a prominent Ancyran, Iulius Severus, on an inscription of Ancyra from the time of Trajan (OGIS 544 = IGR III 173; cf. PIR² I 573). On the frequent occurrence of the gentilician name of the Iulii among the vassal kings of the empire, cf. E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 310; O. Bohn, *Qua condicione juris reges socii populi Romani fuerint* (1877), pp. 25 f.

42. The most complete form of the titles of Agrippa I and II is given in the interesting inscription found by Waddington at Si'a (close to Kanawat, at the western foot of Hauran). See Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines* III, n. 2365 = OGIS 419. When W. Ewing saw the inscription later, it was already mutilated; cf. PEFQSt 1895, p. 272. According to Waddington it runs: Ἐπὶ βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀγρίππα φιλοκίσαρος εὐσεβοῦς καὶ φιλορώμα[ι]ου, τοῦ ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀγρίππα φιλοκίσαρος εὐσεβοῦς καὶ [φι]λορωμαίου, Ἀφαιρεὺς ἀπελεύθερος καὶ Ἀγρίππας υἱὸς ἀνέθηκαν. The titles φιλοκίσαρ and φιλορώμαιος occur very frequently during that period; cf. OGIS index s.v. Most precisely and completely in accordance with the titles of the two Agrippas are those of the kings of the Bosphorus, from the beginning of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century A.D. See the collection in Latyschev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae* II (1890), pp. xlv–lii; cf. V. V. Struve, *Korpus Bosporskich Nadpisc'e* (1965), p. 845. On the meaning of the titles, see A. v. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* IV, pp. 116–19. Βασιλεὺς μέγας indicates that its bearer held more than one kingdom; φιλοκίσαρ and φιλορώμαιος are primarily passive: one to whom Caesar and the Roman people are friendly (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xix 5, 3 (288): Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φίλων μου, cf. J. Reinach, *RETh.* 31 (1895), p. 174; but naturally the friendship is reciprocal.

43. The date of Agrippa's death is dealt with in detail by K. Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostol. Zeitalters*, pp. 129–36. Agrippa died after reigning three full years over all Palestine, *Ant.* xix 8, 2 (343) τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο, consequently in A.D. 44, soon after the feast of the Passover (Acts 12:3–5), while the games in honour of the emperor were taking place at Caesarea (εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας—Jos. *loc. cit.*). By these

23 and Jos. *Ant.* xix, 8, 2 (343–52), though they vary in detail, agree on the principal points.⁴⁴ The Acts of the Apostles relates that in Caesarea, seated on the throne (βῆμα) and dressed in his royal robes, he delivered an oration to the ambassadors representing the citizens of Tyre and Sidon, with whom (it is not known why) he was displeased. While he was speaking, the people shouted, 'That is the voice of a god, and not of a man!' Immediately an angel of the Lord struck him down because he did not give the honour to God; and he was eaten by worms and gave up the ghost. According to Josephus, he was in Caesarea when the festive games in honour of the emperor were being celebrated. On the second day he appeared in the amphitheatre wearing a robe made entirely of silver. When it sparkled in the sunshine, flatterers cried out to him, and called him God (θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες) and begged him for mercy. The king was pleased by the flattery. Soon afterwards he saw an owl perched on a rope, and recalled that a German prisoner had predicted that it would be an omen of death.⁴⁵ He realised that his hour had come and at that moment felt the severest abdominal pains. He had to be carried to his house and within five days was a corpse. Thus the main points—Caesarea as the scene of the incident, the splendid robe, the flattering shout, the sudden death—are common to both narratives, although the details have become somewhat diversified in the course of transmission.

Agrippa was survived by three daughters (Berenice, Mariamme and Drusilla) and a seventeen-year-old son, also named Agrippa. The emperor Claudius was disposed to give him his father's kingdom, but

games Wieseler understood the regular athletic contests at Caesarea established by Herod the Great and celebrated every four years; on the hypothesis that they began on 1st August, he places the death of Agrippa on the 6th of that month. But the supposition that the games began on 1st August is quite arbitrary; furthermore, Josephus shows plainly (ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας) that it was not a question of regular games but of special ones, namely those celebrated in honour of Claudius's return from Britain in the spring of A.D. 44 (Dio lx 23, 4–5; RE III, 2797), and no doubt subsequently in the provinces. The regular games of Caesarea, celebrated every four years (not every five years, see above, p. 309), would not fall in A.D. 44, but in A.D. 43, since, according to Jos. *Ant.* xvi 5, 1 (136–41), they were instituted in the 28th year of Herod (10 B.C.). Cf., however, Jackson and Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 446–52.

44. There is agreement in all essential points in Eusebius, *HE* II, 10, although he changes the owl of Josephus into an angel; cf. H. Gerlach, *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol.* (1869), pp. 57–62; M. Krenkel, *Josephus and Lucas* (1894), pp. 203 ff. (endeavours in spite of the divergences to prove the dependence of Luke on Josephus). On the transformation of the owl into an angel, see F. A. Heinichen, *Eusebii Scripta Historica* III, pp. 654–56.

45. *Ant.* xviii 6, 7 (200). On the owl as a bird of evil omen, see Pliny, *NH* x 12/34–35.

his advisers reminded him of the risk involved in such a move. And thus the whole of Palestine, as earlier Judaea and Samaria, was taken over as Roman territory, to be administered by a procurator under the supervision of the governor of Syria.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the young Agrippa continued to live in retirement.

46. *Ant.* xix 9, 1-2 (354-66); *B.J.* ii 11, 6 (220). According to Bormann, *De Syriae provinciae Romanae partibus capita nonnulla* (1865), pp. 3-5, Palestine was administered from A.D. 44 to 49 by a procurator independent of the legate of Syria; and in A.D. 49 the country was attached to the province of Syria, as is shown by Tacitus, *Ann.* xii 23, where his narrative of the events of A.D. 49 begins with the words: 'Ituræi et Iudæi defunctis regibus, Sohaemo atque Agrippa, provinciæ Suriæ additi'. But it is evident that the narrative in question is very schematic and brings together matters chronologically widely separated; hence Bormann's conclusion has no sound basis. In A.D. 44 or 45, directly after the death of Agrippa I, the legate of Syria, Cassius Longinus, did intervene in the affairs of Judaea. The independence of the procurator of Judaea was thus no greater then than it was later, and subsequently no less than it was earlier. Cf. above, p. 360, and Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I (21881), p. 411, n. 11.