

# A Critical Edition of the Latin Translation of Josephus' Jewish Antiquities, Book 13.301-313

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## Introduction

My research focuses on producing the first critical edition for the Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, Book 13. Josephus wrote the *Antiquities* in Greek at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, and it remains the most important source for the history of the Jews from the end of the Biblical era to Josephus' own time. The sixth-century Latin translation is significant because it is through this translation that Josephus' account of Jewish history was known for centuries in Western Europe up to the publication of the first Greek printed edition in 1544. Unfortunately, there is currently no critical edition noting the textual differences among manuscripts of the Latin translation of *Antiquities* 6-20. Here I present my preliminary results based on the collation of thirty-four of the ninety-eight extant manuscripts for *Antiquities* 13.301-313. This passage details the accession of the Jewish king Aristobulus and the jealousy which led to the death of his brother. I also present discussions of (1) how manuscript groups can be identified based on the wide variety of textual differences among the manuscripts and (2) how the original text can be established based on these variants and groups.

## Establishing the Original Reading

- Primary basis for establishing the original reading: determining which reading corresponds better to the Greek word that is being translated

Group	grG	grN	grC.3	grH	grE	grC.2	Ba	grC.1	grC.4	grJ	grL	ve	hr
	2	11	20	6	12	23	7	12	31	9	14	9	18

Group = gr Manuscripts = MSS

Conclusion: grG has the fewest, grC the most deviations from earliest texts

Only two places where a grG manuscript clearly does not have the original reading:

5. *ut uinculis eam penuriaque consumeret* (so that he was destroying her with chains and with hunger) (in all groups except grG and grC) = ὄστ' αὐτῆν καὶ λιμῶ διαφθεῖραι δεδεμένην (so that he was destroying her, being bound, also by hunger). Instead of *penuriaque*, grG and grC have *puniere atque* (so that he was punishing her with chains and was destroying [her])

18. *Antonia* in all grC MSS (the tower which was called Antonia) = Ἀντωνία, grG and all other non-grC MSS have *Antoniana*

Original reading found only in grG

10. *Antigonus cum* (grG) = the order of the Greek (τοῦ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου πατρὸς) with the word for "when" (*cum* / πατρὸς) following Antigonus. All other manuscripts have *cum Antigonus*.

Original reading found only in grG and grC

3. *ornauit* (honored) (grG grC.1-2) closer to ἠξίου (honored) than *ordinauit* (appointed), found in all other manuscripts

29. *ut ei armorum demonstraret ornatum* (so that he might show the splendor of his arms to him) (grG grC) = Greek, which has αὐτῷ ("to him"). All other manuscripts do not have *ei* (to him).

Except for *Antonia* (see above), all other readings found only in grC MSS are secondary.

Fig 1. Beginning of Bk 13 in MS C (Group C): Monte Cassino 124



Fig 1

Fig 2. Beginning of Bk 13 in MS Lau (Group G): Laurentian Library (Florence) Plut. 66.5

Fig 3. Omitted phrase in MS Cr (Group C.2): Laurentian Library (Florence) Plut. 19 sin.1. Supplied in margin by later scribe (see note 14)

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with a limited selection of readings from the 180 variant readings in the 34 manuscripts collated

[301] Defuncto enim patre, maior Aristobolus magistratum ad regiam dignitatem transferre decreuit, primusque sibi diadema imposuit. Post quadringentos octoginta et unum annos et tres menses, ex quo de captiuitate **Babylonia** populus liberatus ad propria remeauit. [302] **Amans** autem fratrem suum secundum Antigonum simili dignitate eum **ornauit**, alios uero uinculis tenebat astrictos, inclusit etiam et matrem **de** magistratu altercantem, nam illam Hyrcanus dominam esse reliquerat, qui ad tantam crudelitatem productus est, ut uinculis eam **penuriaque** consumeret. [305] Insuper addidit matri etiam Antigonum quem **amare uidebatur** et communis regni habere consortem accusationibus alienatus ab eo. Quibus primum quidem **non** credebat aliqua amore non **admittens**, aliqua uero per inuidiam arbitratus dicta. [304] Sed **Antigonus cum** clarus ab **expeditione** reddisset tempore quo festiuitatem tabernaculorum deo **celebrant**, contigit Aristobolum quidem morbo teneri. **Tum** Antigonus agens dies festos ad templum ascendit ualde splendidissime ornatus cum suis armatis et multum pro salute fratris orauit. [305] Maluoli uero cupientes eorum separare concordiam, **occasione se cepisse pompam Antigoni putauerunt, et uictoriam** eius **coram** rege pompamque maluole dilatabant, quomodo in celebratione tabernaculorum **sublimis** apparuit, [306] ut non haec a priuato fieri uiderentur, sed regiae munificentiae ostentatio crederetur. Eumque cum multitudine militum uenturum ad **fratris interitum** nuntiabant. [307] Aristobolus autem cum his accusationibus inuitus credidisset, timens ne in fratris suspicionem incideret, simulque suam custodiam curans, disponit custodes sui corporis in subterraneo uel tenebroso loco. Iacebat autem ipse in turri quae **Antonia** dicebatur, et praecepit ut inermem **occiderent** nullum, **fratrem autem Antigonum** si armatus **intraret** interficerent. [308] mandauitque **Antigono** ut sine armis ueniret. Regina uero **cum** insidiatoribus Antigoni, persuasit mandata portanti **contraria dicere**. **Frater** inquit tuus audiens construxisse te arma ornatumque bellicum petit ut ingrediaris cum **armis** quatinus uideat eorum facturam. [309] Quo nuntio Antigonus nihil arbitratus dolosum sed confidens de fratris affectu sicut erat armatus ad Aristobolum ingreditur **ut ei armorum** demonstraret **ornatum**. Cumque ad turrim quae **Stratonis** dicitur **peruenisset**, ab eis qui in tenebroso loco fuerant collocati prostermitur. [310] Cuius mors ostendit nihil inuidia nihil accusatione ualidius neque **magis aliud** secernit fidem seu naturalem familiaritatem quam istae **passiones**. [311] Ammirari potest quilibet **et Iudam Esseum** genere, qui nunquam in his quae praedixit mentitus est. Nam hic cum uidisset Antigonum per templum transire clamauit sociis suis et notis qui **gratia praedicendi futura doctrinae** eius obseruabant. [312] Melius **est mihi** mori quam si **mortem** fuero mentitus Antigoni quem hodie uideo periturum in turre Stratonis. Locus **uero stadiis distabat sexcentis** ubi eum praedixit interfici. **Dieique iam** plurima pars transierat ut etiam dubitare **uaticinatio uideretur**. [313] Cumque haec dixisset tristicque esset nuntiatur ei Antigonum esse defunctum in subterraneo. Nam et ipsa turris Stratonis dicebatur, eodem nomine quo maritima Caesarea nuncupatur. Igitur **uatem hoc perturbauit**.



Fig 2

1. **Babylonia**] *Babylonica* grL; *Babyloniae* No H
2. **Amans**] *Clamans* grC.2.
3. **ornauit**] grG grC.1-2; *ordinauit* all other MSS
4. **de**] *pro* grL (-Adm)
5. **penuriaque**] *puniere atque* grC grG
6. **amare**] *amari* grC.1 (-Vi) grC.2 grC.3 (-V) grC.4 (-Ptr Vt Ne)
7. **uidebatur**] *uidebantur* grC.3 grC.4 (-Vt Ptr Ne)
8. **non**] omitted grC (-Cr)
9. **admittens**] *admittens* grL
10. **Antigonus cum**] grG; *cum Antigonus* all other MSS
11. **expeditione**] *expectatione* grC.4 (-Ptr Ne) hr
12. **celebrant**] *celebrarent* grH grJ; *celebramus* grE
13. **Tum**] *cum* grC.3 grC.4 grN Adm Ba; *tunc* grE Lau H Sa hr
14. **occasione se cepisse pompam Antigoni putauerunt et uictoriam**] omitted grC.4 (-Ptr; Cr in margin by later hand)
15. **coram**] *curam* grN (-No)
16. **sublimis**] *in sublimis* grN Ba hr ve
17. **fratris interitum**] *fratrem* grC (M *fratrum*)
18. **Antonia**] grC hr; *Antonia* all other MSS (al *Antoniara*)
19. **occiderent**] *non occiderent* grC (-B corr to *non occiderent*)
20. **fratrem autem**] *autem fratrem* grC.2 Ptr Ne; *fratrem ante* grC.4 (-Ptr Ne; M *fratrum ante*)
21. **autem Antigonum**] *autem Antigonus* grC.1 (-Vi) grC.2 grC.3; *uero Antigonum* pg; *autem Antigonum* Ve Cr
22. **intraret**] *intrare* grC.2
23. **Antigono**] *Antigonus* grC.1-3 (-Vi)
24. **cum**] omitted grL
25. **contraria**] *contra* grL (-Adm) L
26. **dicere**] *diceret* grC.2-4 (-C Ne)
27. **Frater**] grG grH grJ; *cui frater* grC (Ptr *cum frater*) grN (Bo *cui*) grE Ba hr; *Quia frater* grL
28. **armis**] *armatis* grC (-M)
29. **ut ei armorum**] grC grG (pg *ut ei*) hr; *ut armorum* all other MSS
30. **ornatum**] *ornamentum* grC.3
31. **Stratonis**] *Stratoris* grC.2; *Strationis* L
32. **peruenisset**] *peruenisse* grC.2
33. **magis aliud**] *aliud magis* grH grJ Nv
34. **passiones**] *passionis* grC.2 Cr M Ve
35. **et Iudam**] omitted grJ; *quod Iudam* hr
36. **Esseum**] *Esseum* grC.4 (-Ne Ptr) grE (-Cl) H Adm; *esse cum* V Pi; omitted Ptr
37. **gratia**] *gratiam* grC.2 grC.4 (-Ptr) grL (-Adm) hr
38. **praedicendi**] *praecinendi* grC hr
39. **doctrinae**] *doctrinam* grE grJ Bo Ne
40. **est mihi**] *est mihi inquit* grL (-Adm); *mihi est* Bo; *est* pg
41. **mortem**] *morte* grC.3-4 (-Cr) La hr
42. **uero stadiis distabat sexcentis**] *stadiis uero distabat sexcentis* grC (-Vi Ptr) hr; *uero distabat stadiis sexcentis* El Nv; *uero stadiis sexcentis distabat* grL (-Adm); *uero Stratonis distabat sexcentis stadiis* grJ
43. **Dieique iam**] hr grC.1 grC.2 grG grH (H *dieique iam*) grJ; *dieique hoc iam* grC.3-4; *diei quam* grN grL Ba; *dieique* grE ve
44. **uaticinatio**] *uaticinatione* grL; *uaticinatis* hr; *uaticinio* pg
45. **uideretur**] *diceretur* grN (-No)
46. **uatem**] *autem* grC.1-2; *per hoc autem* hr
47. **uatem hoc**] *Antigoni mors* grC.5
48. **perturbauit**] *turbauit* grC.3-4 hr

quidē morbo teneri. Cū Antigonus agens dies festos ad templū ascendit ualde splendidissime ornatus cū suis armatis. Similiter autem fratris orauit. Maluolus uero cupientes eorum separare concordiam, ausu contra regem pompamque maluole dilatabant, quomodo in celebratione tabernaculorum sublimis apparuit: ut non haec appuato fieri uiderentur, sed regiae munificentiae

Fig 3

## Identifying Manuscript Groups

- Seven distinct groups (See Table 2)
- Groups identified by same distinctive textual variants not found elsewhere
- Especially distinctive are shared errors and omissions of words

### Examples

Distinctive variants in all grC manuscripts only

- 17. **fratris interitum** (the brother's death)] **fratrem** (the brother) in all grC MSS
- 38. **praedicendi** (predicting)] **praecinendi** (prophesying) in all grC MSS

Distinctive variants in grC subgroups only

- 2. **amans** (loving)] **clamans** (crying out) only in all 3 grC.2 MSS
- 14. **occasione se cepisse pompam Antigoni putauerunt et uictoriam** omitted only in all 4 grC.4 MSS

46-48. **uatem hoc perturbauit Aristobulum**... (This upset the prophet, Aristobulus...)] **autem hoc perturbauit Aristobulum** (moreover, this upset Aristobulus) in all 5 grC.1-2 MSS

**autem per hoc turbauit Aristobulum** (moreover, by this he upset Aristobulus) in all 8 grC.3-4 MSS

**uatem** (prophet [= Grk μάρτυρ]) mistakenly read as **autem** (moreover) in all grC.1-4 MSS

Distinctive variants in other groups

- 12. **celebrant** (they celebrate)] **celebramus** (we celebrate) only in all 3 grE MSS
- 42. **stadiis** (stades [c. 600 ft])] **Stratonis** (Strato) only in all 3 grJ MSS

## Table 2: MS Groups, Locations, Dates, & No. of Secondary Readings

Group	MS Abbr.	Present Location	Date (Century or Year)	Secondary Readings
C.1	B Vi	Naples Paris	11 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup>	12
C.2	C La Pt	Monte Cassino Florence Vatican	11 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> /13 <sup>th</sup>	23
C.3	V Pi	Vatican Pisa	11 <sup>th</sup> 13 <sup>th</sup>	20
C.4	Cr M Vt Ve Ne Ptr	Florence Florence Vatican Vercelli Paris Vat	12 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> 13 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> /12 <sup>th</sup>	31
E	Cl al Nv	Troyes London London	12 <sup>th</sup> 13 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup>	12
G	St Lau Werd	Brussels Florence Berlin	11 <sup>th</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup>	2
H	El Mn H	Valenciennes Manchester Berlin	11 <sup>th</sup> /12 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup>	6
J	Alb vl li	London Valencia Lincoln	12 <sup>th</sup> 13 <sup>th</sup> 14 <sup>th</sup>	9
L	b Sa Adm	Admont Munich Munich	12 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> /13 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> /13 <sup>th</sup>	14
N	L Bo No	Florence Oxford Novara	11 <sup>th</sup> 12 <sup>th</sup> 13 <sup>th</sup>	11
unclassified	Ba	Bamberg	9 <sup>th</sup>	7
unclassified	hr	London	1457	18
unclassified	ve	Berlin	13 <sup>th</sup>	9

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