

## VI.—Asinius Pollio and His Jewish Interests

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In his latest and otherwise exhaustive study of Asinius Pollio, André omits all mention of Pollio's relations with the Jews.<sup>1</sup> Yet, in view of the numerous and influential Jewish community both throughout the Roman world and especially in the city of Rome itself, we should assume that so ubiquitous a politician and so prolific a writer could not well escape contact with them. Indeed, the evidence is strong that Pollio knew Jewish history, that he was the center of a sizable literary group who were well acquainted with Judaism, and that he was a close friend of Herod the Great.

When we consider that by the first century of the Christian Era Jews comprised possibly one-tenth of the population of the Roman world (as against one-half of one per cent of the world's population today), with Diaspora Jewry about three times as numerous as that of Palestine, it is not surprising that they should have had a great impact on the Romans. Alexandria, with which Rome had such close relations in this period in political, economic, military, and (through the *Poetae Novi*) literary matters, had a population perhaps 40% Jewish.<sup>2</sup> In the city of Rome itself, there was a large Jewish community of about 50,000, according to Juster's and La Piana's estimate.<sup>3</sup> There had been a large influx of Jews especially

<sup>1</sup> J. André, *La vie et l'oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion* (Paris 1949). F. A. Aulard, *De Cui Asinii Pollionis Vita et Scriptis* (Paris 1877), likewise says nothing of Pollio's Jewish relations. Of the full-length biographies of Pollio only that of J. R. Thorbecke, *De Asinii Pollionis Vita et Studiis Doctrinae* (Leyden 1820) 29–30, mentions Pollio's relations with Herod.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence, admittedly, leaves much to be desired. But such scholars as K. J. Beloch, E. Meyer, and J. Juster (cf. especially the last, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain* [Paris 1914] 1.209–12) all reached a similar conclusion; and this has been accepted by S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* 1<sup>2</sup> (New York 1952) 167–71, 370–72.

<sup>3</sup> All dates are before the Christian Era unless otherwise specified. See Juster (above, note 2) 1.209, and G. La Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire," *HTHR* 20 (1927) 346. That the Jews were numerous and powerful enough to arouse passionate hatred is seen in Cic. *Pro Flacco* 66, and *De provinciis consularibus* 10. The references to the Jews in Greek and Latin literature have been collected, though with considerable omissions, by T. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme* (Paris 1895). Some of the omissions have

after 64, when Pompey took Jerusalem and sent many of the Jews as captives to Rome.

The Jewish community of Rome, it is important to remark, was Greek-speaking, as their inscriptions show.<sup>4</sup> Hence it is probable that they knew the Septuagint, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha; and they must have maintained relations with the largest Greek-speaking community of the time, that of Alexandria, which, as the existence of such works as the Sibylline Books and the Wisdom of Solomon testify, was the chief center for Jewish apologetic and even missionary literature to the Gentiles.

Jewish religious practices and customs were well known to Gentile writers in Rome, particularly through Posidonius and Apollonius Molon.<sup>5</sup> For example, the Jewish Sabbath was prover-

been listed by H. Willrich in his review of Reinach's book in *BPW* 15 (1895) 987-89, and discussed by F. M. T. Böhl, "Die Juden im Urteil der griechischen und römischen Schriftsteller," *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 48 (1914) 371-89, 473-98.

<sup>4</sup> H. J. Leon, "The Language of the Greek Inscriptions from the Jewish Catacombs of Rome," *TAPA* 58 (1927) 210, notes that 74% of the inscriptions are in Greek.

<sup>5</sup> There is no need here to stress the dominating position in the world of thought of the first half of the last century before the Christian Era held by Posidonius. See Piero Treves, in  *OCD*  722; cf., however, the sober warnings against over-estimating Posidonius' influence in J. F. Dobson, "The Posidonius Myth," *CQ* 12 (1918) 179-95. Cicero, the chief figure in Roman thought of his day, had attended his school at Rhodes in 78. Varro's *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* shows indebtedness to Posidonius' *On the Gods*: so I. Heinemann, *Poseidonios' metaphysische Schriften* 2 (Breslau 1928) 78. E. Norden, in his edition of the Sixth Book of Virgil's *Aeneid* (3rd ed., Leipzig and Berlin 1934) 3, argues that Posidonius was the chief source of Virgil's eschatology. Virgil may have drawn his picture of the *Saturnia regna* in part from Posidonius: cf. J. Geffcken, "Die Hirten auf dem Felde," *Hermes* 49 (1914) 321-51; and the reply of J. Kroll, "Poseidonios und Vergils vierte Ekloge," *Hermes* 50 (1915) 137-43. Pompey had visited Posidonius twice at Rhodes, once after defeating the pirates and once on his return from the East; indeed, Posidonius devoted a separate treatise to the history of Pompey's eastern campaigns, including, of course, that against the Jews (cf. Strabo 11.1.6). Posidonius also must have come into contact with the Jews by reason of his birth in Apamea, Syria, where there was a sizable Jewish population (cf. M. Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans* [Philadelphia 1915] 226-27). The evidence for Posidonius' knowledge of Judaism is, in fact, overwhelming: cf. fragments 3, 10, 65-67, 70, 87, 105, in *FGrHist* 2A. no. 87; H. Mutschmann, "Das Genesiscitat in der Schrift *Ἐπεὶ Τύχης*," *Hermes* 52 (1917) 183-90; Heinemann 2.72-80; R. Marcus, "Note on an Aramaic Etymology in Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*," *AJP* 63 (1942) 335; and *FGrHist* 2C. 196-99 (on frag. 70). (References in *FGrHist* are to pages unless otherwise indicated.) Apollonius Molon, the teacher of Cicero, Caesar, and other famous Romans, lectured, like Posidonius, who undoubtedly influenced him, at Rhodes. Josephus frequently (*Contra Ap.* 2.2.16, 2.7.79, 2.14.145, 2.14.148, 2.33.236, 2.36.255, 2.36.258, 2.37.262, 2.37.270, 2.41.295) mentions Apollonius, who, according to Eusebius (*Praep. ev.* 9.19), wrote a work called *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*, which may well have been one of the sources of Cicero's remarks about the Jews. Cf. Reinach (above, note 3) 60-64; E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*<sup>4</sup> 3 (Leipzig 1909)

bial with Augustus, Horace, Tibullus, and Ovid, all of them Pollio's contemporaries, as well as with numerous later figures.<sup>6</sup> The Jewish aversion for pork was already a byword with Cicero (*ap. Plut. Cic.* 7) and Augustus (*ap. Macrob. Sat.* 2.4.11).<sup>7</sup> The rite of circumcision, which had been mocked by the Alexandrian Apion (*ap. Joseph. Contra Ap.* 2.13.137), was well known to Horace (*Sat.* 1.9.70) among others.<sup>8</sup> The Jewish enthusiasm for proselytism (cf. Matthew 23:15: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte")<sup>9</sup> was familiar to Rome, as is indicated again by Pollio's good-natured friend Horace (cf. *Carm.* 2.1) in one of the earlier satires (1.4.138-43), probably composed before Horace had met Maecenas in 38.<sup>10</sup> And finally, some points of recent Jewish history, particularly the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey and the reign of Herod, were mentioned at least by Diodorus (40.2-3), Pollio (*ap. Joseph. AJ* 14.8.3.138), Livy (*Periocha* of Book 102 and *ap. Joseph. AJ* 14.4.3.68), and Pompeius Trogus (*ap. Justin* 40.2). Herod's name was a byword with Horace and with Augustus, Pollio's friends.<sup>11</sup>

Amid such an environment, it is not difficult to see that Asinius Pollio would have developed some knowledge of Jewish thought. His closest political ties were with Julius Caesar, who, according to Plutarch (*Caes.* 32.5), consulted Pollio before crossing the Rubicon.<sup>12</sup>

532-35; and A. Gudeman, "Ciceros Brutus und die antike Buchpublikation," *BPW* 35 (1915) 574-76.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. a fragment of a letter of Augustus cited by Suet. *Aug.* 76.2; Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.69; Tib. 1.3.17-18; Ov. *Ars am.* 1.76 and 1.416, *Rem. am.* 219-20; Petron. frag. 37 (Bücheler); Pompeius Trogus *ap. Justin* 36.2. On misinterpretation of the Sabbath by the Romans as a fast day, see Reinach (above, note 3) 104, note 1 and 244, note 1. Cf. also Strabo 16.2.40; Mart. *Epig.* 4.4.7; Sen. *ap. Aug. Civ. Dei* 6.10; Tac. *Hist.* 5.4; Juv. 6.159, 14.96; Dio Cass. 49.22.3-6; Plut. *De superst.* 8.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sext. Emp. *Hypotyposes*, 3.24.223; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 4.5.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also Diod. Sic. 1.55.5; Petron. frag. 37 (Bücheler); Mart. *Epig.* 7.30.5, 11.94; Juv. 14.104.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. B. J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period* (Cincinnati 1939) 267-73, who cites this verse to corroborate his view that the leaders of Judaism were both eager to make converts and successful in achieving this goal. On the Jewish zeal for proselytism in this period see now Baron (above, note 2) 1.171-79; and J. S. Raisin, *Gentile Reactions to Jewish Ideals with Special Reference to Proselytes* (New York 1953) 154-72.

<sup>10</sup> For the evidence as to the date see P. Lejay, ed. of Horace's *Satires* (Paris 1911) 107-8.

<sup>11</sup> Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.183-84: "Cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungui/praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus." Aug. *ap. Macrob. Sat.* 2.4.11: "Mallem Herodis porcus esse quam filius."

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Asinius Pollio *ap. Cic. Fam.* 10.31.3: "Caesarem vero, quod me in tanta fortuna modo cognitum vetustissimorum familiarium loco habuit, dilexi summa cum

In addition to having overthrown Pompey, the defiler of the Temple in Jerusalem, Caesar had shown so many kindnesses to the Jews that Suetonius singles the Jews out among those who especially mourned Caesar's death.<sup>13</sup>

In literary matters, Pollio became the center of a group of writers who were well acquainted with Judaism. The learned Varro, Pollio's older contemporary, was familiar with the tenets of Jewish monotheism (*ap. Aug. Civ. Dei* 4.31.2), perhaps through Pollio, whose interests in libraries he shared.<sup>14</sup> And of all the poets of the period it is Horace, Pollio's close friend, who most prominently mentions the Jews.<sup>15</sup>

It is noteworthy also that Timagenes of Alexandria, the rhetorician and historian,<sup>16</sup> who had been taken captive to Italy and who, like Pollio, wrote a universal history with comments on the Jews quoted by Josephus (*AJ* 13.11.3.319, 13.12.5.344, *Contra Ap.* 2.7.84), was associated with Asinius Pollio.<sup>17</sup> Timagenes, again like Pollio, seems to have fared better with Antony than with Augustus, according to Seneca (*De ira* 3.23.4–8), who here also tells us that after Augustus had had enough of Timagenes' reckless wit and had expelled him from the palace, Timagenes lived to an old age *in contubernio Pollionis Asinii*. This independence of Augustus, together with his interests in rhetoric and in history, especially that of the Jews, must have helped bring the two together.<sup>18</sup>

It seems probable that Pollio was associated, perhaps through Timagenes, with Alexander Polyhistor, whose work on the Jews appeared about the time that Virgil wrote the Fourth Eclogue (40).<sup>19</sup>

pietate et fide." On Pollio's loyalty to Caesar the man, see H. Bennett, "Vergil and Pollio," *AJP* 51 (1930) 326.

<sup>13</sup> Suet. *Jul.* 84.5: "In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circum suum quaeque more lamentata est praecipueque Iudaei, qui etiam noctibus continuus bustum frequentarunt."

<sup>14</sup> Cf. André (above, note 1) 116–19.

<sup>15</sup> On Horace's remarks about the Jews see Reinach (above, note 3) 244–47, and Radin (above, note 5) 245–49.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Suidas, s.v. Τιμαγόνης; *FGrHist* 2A. 318–19.

<sup>17</sup> That Timagenes was pro-Jewish or at least not openly anti-Semitic would appear to be the case both from these passages and especially from his being listed (Joseph. *Contra Ap.* 2.84) as one who attacked Antiochus Epiphanes for his treachery.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. R. Laqueur, s.v. "Timagenes" (2) in *RE* Zweite Reihe 11.1064, who expresses the possibility that a school tradition arose in Pollio's home which concerned itself with questions of literary style.

<sup>19</sup> For the evidence as to date see J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien* 1: *Alexander Polyhistor* (Breslau 1874) 12, 212–15; F. Marx, "Vergils vierte Ekloge," *NJbb* 1 (1898) 125; and *FGrHist* 3a.269.

Alexander's acquaintance with the Sibylline oracles is clear from his *Χαλδαϊκά*<sup>20</sup> and from Suidas.<sup>21</sup> That he was acquainted with the Bible, including the prophets, is evident from Eusebius.<sup>22</sup> The importance of Alexander's works in acquainting the Romans with the peoples and literatures of the Near East must not be underestimated.<sup>23</sup> Virgil came to know his works, as we are probably justified in inferring from Servius Danielis (*ad Aen.* 10.388). Perhaps this occurred through Alexander's fellow historian and polymath, Asinius Pollio.<sup>24</sup>

It is interesting to see how the careers of Alexander Polyhistor and Timagenes parallel each other. Like Alexander, Timagenes had been taken captive in war and brought to Italy. Alexander was redeemed from slavery by Sulla (*Serv. ad Aen.* 10.388), Timagenes by Faustus, the son of Sulla (Suidas, s. v. *Τιμαγένης*). Both were prolific writers, chiefly on historical and geographical themes. Like Alexander, and unlike the great majority of his literary contemporaries, Timagenes was not an anti-Semite.<sup>25</sup> That both men should have gravitated to Pollio's circle seems most reasonable, especially when we consider Pollio's prominent position as patron of the arts.<sup>26</sup>

But in addition to his contact with political and literary figures who knew the Jews, Pollio appears to have had direct contacts with King Herod himself. Herod's very accession to power in 40, the year in which, perhaps significantly, Virgil dedicated his Fourth Eclogue to Pollio, is associated with Pollio. Herod had come to Rome to seek the help of Antony and Octavian, hardly expecting that they would offer him the kingship of Palestine. But, as Josephus (*AJ* 14.14.5.388) tells us, after the Senate had been adjourned Antony and Octavian quite solemnly, led by the consuls (of whom Asinius Pollio was one), made their way with Herod to sacrifice and to deposit in the Capitol the decree which the Senate

<sup>20</sup> See Freudenthal (above, note 19) 25–26; for the fragments see *FGrHist* 3A. 110–11.

<sup>21</sup> Suidas, s. v. 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος, says that Alexander tells of a Hebrew woman named Μωσώ, who is the author of the law of the Hebrews. Reinach (above, note 3) 65, note 2, rightly follows Freudenthal in identifying this woman with the Sibyl.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Euseb. *Præp. ev.* 9.20, 9.29, 9.39; Freudenthal (above, note 19) 229; and *FGrHist* 3A.102.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *FGrHist* 3a.251.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *FGrHist* 3a. 312–13.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *FGrHist* 3a. 251; and above, note 17.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *OCD* 710.

had previously passed naming Herod king. From this account, of course, we cannot necessarily infer that Pollio had used his influence either with the Senate or with Antony and Octavian, though, as will be seen, Pollio's intimacy with Herod, as elsewhere reflected in Josephus, might lead us to such a conclusion.<sup>27</sup>

The linking of the names of Pollio and Herod is especially noteworthy in another passage in Josephus, who tells us (*AJ* 15.10.1.343) that in the year 22 Herod sent his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome to complete their education.<sup>28</sup> Josephus is careful to tell us that they lodged at the house of Pollio, who, he adds, was very proud of Herod's friendship (*ἀνδρὸς τῶν μάλιστα σπουδασάντων περὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου φιλίαν*).

<sup>27</sup> It was Antony (Joseph. *AJ* 14.14.4.385) who proposed to the Senate that Herod be declared king. And Pollio's intense loyalty to Antony is unquestioned. Cf. Bennett (above, note 12) 331: "If I have read the record aright, there is one unifying principle behind all the man's [i.e. Pollio's] activities through this period [i.e. just before and just after Caesar's death], and that is his loyalty to his friendship, first for Julius Caesar, and after him for Antony." The extent of Antony's devotion to Herod is emphasized by Josephus (*AJ* 14.14.5.386–87), for he notes that Antony made it possible for Herod in only seven days to obtain the unexpected grant of the kingship. Cf. Strabo 16.2.46; Appian, *Bell. civ.* 5.75; and Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.9, all of whom state that it was Antony who gave the kingship to Herod. H. W. Garrod's attempt ("Note on the Messianic Character of the Fourth Eclogue," *CR* 19 [1905] 37) to read significance into the fact that Josephus here dates the accession of Herod by both the Olympiad and the consulship, when he does not usually reckon years by this double standard, is hardly valid. A study of Josephus' chronology shows that he uses both standards not only here but also in *AJ* 14.1.2.4, 14.4.3.66, and 14.16.4.487, and that there can be no possible added significance in the mention of the consuls in these latter places. In fact, Josephus seems to prefer a double standard for dating events. Thus in *AJ* 12.5.4.248, he dates the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes both by the Seleucid Era and by the Olympiad. Again, he dates the renovation of the Temple (*AJ* 12.7.6.321) by both eras. In *AJ* 13.8.2.236, he dates the invasion of Judaea by Antiochus Sidetes both by the regnal years of Antiochus and Hyrcanus and by the Olympiad. Finally, in *AJ* 16.5.1.136, the completion of the building of Caesarea is dated by the year of Herod's reign and by the Olympiad. It is significant that Josephus restricts himself to dating events by consulships only when he is actually quoting Roman official decrees or letters. This will explain *AJ* 14.10.13.228, 14.10.19.237, and 20.1.2.14, the only three places in Josephus where consulships alone are used as a method of dating. There are two places (*BJ* 1.21.8.415 and *AJ* 15.5.1.109) where Josephus dates events solely by Olympiads.

<sup>28</sup> Josephus makes this event coincide with the founding of Caesarea, which took place in 22; see Schürer (above, note 5) 1.368 and 372. Josephus elsewhere (*AJ* 15.10.1.343) says that the arrival of the boys in Rome was the occasion for Augustus' bestowal upon Herod of Trachon, Batanaea, and Auranitis, which, according to *BJ* 1.20.4.398, took place after September, 24 (*μετὰ . . . τὴν πρώτην Ἀκτιάδα*). This passage is therefore consistent with W. Otto's conclusion (*Herodes: Beiträge zur Geschichte des letzten jüdischen Königshauses* [Stuttgart 1913] 70–72), that the journey took place not earlier than 22.

Now, there are six other Pollios who, so far as we know, could have been active in Rome in 22. These are: 1) Asinius Pollio Trallianus the Sophist, who succeeded Timagenes (cf. Suidas, s.v. Πωλιων) in the latter's school and who was not improbably, according to Schwartz and Stein, presented with citizenship by our Asinius Pollio;<sup>29</sup> 2) Romilius Pollio, mentioned by Pliny (*N.H.* 22.24.114), who lived beyond the age of one hundred and was asked by the Emperor Augustus how he had preserved such vigor; 3) Vedius Pollio, a Roman freedman by birth, a knight and friend of Augustus, known for his riches and cruelty;<sup>30</sup> 4) the famous M. Vitruvius Pollio, the author of the *De architectura*; 5) Cn. Pullius Pollio, who went through the *cursus honorum* under Augustus;<sup>31</sup> and 6) C. Annius Pollio, a freedman, of whom almost nothing is known.<sup>32</sup> Of none of these can we posit Jewish interests or relations, with the possible exception of Asinius Pollio Trallianus, who might have been influenced by contact with Timagenes and our Asinius Pollio. But Trallianus obviously did not have the high station definitely implied by the passage in Josephus (*AJ* 15.10.1.343). And, moreover, if the Pollio of this passage were different from the Pollio mentioned twice elsewhere in Josephus (*AJ* 14.8.3.138 and 14.14.5.389), we should expect a word of explanation, just as he is careful to differentiate between Pollio the Pharisee and Asinius Pollio.

This Pollio is surely, therefore, despite Niese,<sup>33</sup> Asinius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, for it is natural that in visiting Augustus, Herod's sons would stay at the home of the mutual friend of Augustus and Herod, Asinius Pollio. Herod had received an invitation to have his sons lodge at Augustus' home, as Josephus indicates;<sup>34</sup> but he had chosen to have them stay with Pollio, Augustus' friend.

What was the source of Pollio's zealous friendship for Herod? Josephus gives us no information other than that which we have

<sup>29</sup> E. Schwartz, *RE* 4.1589, s.v. "Asinius" (23); A. Stein, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 1.252; cf. *FGrHist* 2D. 621–22.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>1</sup> 3.390–91.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>1</sup> 3.109.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 1.116 (no. 679).

<sup>33</sup> B. Niese, ed. of Josephus (Berlin 1895) 7.16, s.v. 'Asίνιος (where read "XV.343" for "XIV.343"), says that this Pollio "alius esse videtur," but he gives no reason for this doubt. On the other hand, the identification with Asinius Pollio is assumed, though without explanation, by S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* 2: *Die alte Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, trans. by A. Steinberg (Berlin 1925) 286.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.10.1.343: ἐπέιτρο δὲ καὶ τοῖς Καίσαρος κατὰγεσθαι.

cited; it is likely, however, that Pollio, as consul and as friend of Octavian and Antony, had had a share in the offering of the kingship to Herod. But is this all? Is it not possible that by having his sons stay at Pollio's house he was attempting to have them educated in an atmosphere friendly to Judaism? Herod frequently, though certainly not always, made attempts to respect the scruples of his people. For example, when storming the walls of Jerusalem and of the Temple, upon his accession to the kingship, he took precautions not to interrupt the sacrifices. Again, he observed the Jewish injunction against setting up images by withholding his own likeness from the coins of his reign—a considerable sacrifice for one so vain. Moreover, he rebuilt the temple at least in part from religious motives. Herod, therefore, perhaps felt that his sons, who by now were Bar Mitzvah, that is, of age to assume their religious duties as Jews,<sup>35</sup> would be able to observe the Sabbath and the other Jewish precepts more readily in Pollio's home than they could in the Imperial palace.<sup>36</sup>

Why should Herod have felt so secure in entrusting his sons to Pollio? One possibility is that Pollio, under the impact of Jewish propaganda, became identified with that large group of pagans who "sympathized" with Judaism and adopted certain Jewish practices without embracing the religion completely.<sup>37</sup> In any case, there appears to be considerable evidence for Asinius Pollio's interest in and knowledge of Judaism. This may even serve as a clue to possible Jewish sources for the famous Fourth Eclogue, which Virgil dedicated to Pollio.

<sup>35</sup> Herod married Mariamme in 37 (*BJ* 1.17.8.344). Since she was put to death in 29 and since these were her eldest sons, we should appear justified in saying that they were born in 36 or 35. This would make them thirteen or fourteen when they went to Rome and about eighteen when they returned upon completion of their education, precisely the age recommended by Rabbinic tradition (*Aboth* 5.24) for marriage — a tradition which (*AJ* 16.1.2.11) Herod seems to have followed in their case.

<sup>36</sup> It is interesting to note that J. S. Minkin in his recent biography, *Herod* (New York 1936) 173, cf. 257, without realizing the identity of the Pollio with whom Herod's sons stayed, assumed, presumably for the reasons which I have cited, that he was possibly Jewish. Though H. Willrich, *Das Haus des Herodes* (Heidelberg 1929) 184–85, attempted to show that the Pollio to whom Herod entrusted his sons was not Asinius Pollio, he nevertheless concluded (117) that this Pollio was probably a Jew; for to have had the sons stay in a pagan house would have aroused a scandal in Palestine.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. my article "Jewish 'Sympathizers' in Classical Literature and Inscriptions," *TAPA* 81 (1950) 200–208. A second possibility, to be sure remote, is that Pollio was related to his contemporary, the Pharisaic leader Pollio, and that his views had been influenced by this relationship. I hope to explore this possibility in a separate study.