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# THE STATUS OF IDUMEA
# IN EARLY HELLENISM
# (DIOD. 19. 95. 2; 19. 98. 1)

Describing the Dead Sea, Diodorus situated it in the Nabataean country (Diod. 2. 48. 6) and in Idumea (Diod. 19. 98. 1):

> Ὁ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος λαβὼν ὁμήρους καὶ τὰς ὁμολογηθείσας δωρεὰς ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας· διατείνας δὲ σταδίους τριακοσίους κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῆς Ἀσφαλτίτιδος λίμνης, ἧς τὴν φύσιν οὐκ ἄξιον παραδραμεῖν ἀνεπισήμαντον. κεῖται γὰρ κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, τῷ μὲν μήκει παρεκτείνουσα σταδίους μάλιστά που πεντακοσίους, τῷ δὲ πλάτει περὶ ἑξήκοντα. τὸ δ’ ὕδωρ ἔχει διάπικρον καὶ καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν δυσῶδες, ὥστε μήτ’ ἰχθὺν δύνασθαι τρέφειν μήτ’ ἄλλο τῶν καθ’ ὕδατος εἰωθότων ζῴων εἶναι.

> Demetrius received hostages and the gifts that had been agreed upon and departed from the rock. After marching for three hundred stades, he camped near the Asphalt Lake [i.e., the Dead Sea], the nature of which ought not to be passed over without remark. It lies along the middle of the satrapy of Idumea, extending in length about five hundred stades and in width about sixty. Its water is very bitter and of exceedingly foul odor, so that it cannot support fish or any of the other animals that commonly live in water.[1]

In this passage, Diodorus called Idumea a satrapy (κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας); however, just before, he had denoted Idumea as an eparchy (Diod. 19. 95. 2):

> ...διανύσαντες δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐπαρχίας ἐν ἡμέραις τρισὶ καὶ νυξὶ ταῖς ἴσαις σταδίους δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους…

> …covering the twenty-two hundred stades from the eparchy of Idumea in three days and the same number of nights…[2]

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[1] Transl. R. M. Geer (Loeb edition), slightly modified (Geer 1954, 99–101).

[2] Transl. R. M. Geer, slightly modified: in Geer “district of Idumaea” (Geer 1954, 91).

R. M. Geer remarked only the mistake in Idumea's length and did not comment on the difference in the status of Idumea.[3] Referring to H. Bengtson, F. Bizière said that instead of ἐπαρχία, the text should have had ὑπαρχία,[4] an administrative unit smaller than ἐπαρχία, and, in addition, that Bengtson supposed that the use of the term satrapy testifies to two different sources, one of which is earlier than the other. Besides, in Diod. 19. 98. 1 there is the word τῆς Ἰδουμαίας only in the manuscript F (Laurentianus 70, 12, saec. XV); it is absent in the earlier manuscript R (Parisinus gr. 1665, saec. XI).[5] From this, H. Bengtson concluded that τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας was a gloss of the manuscript F.[6] As M. Stern assumed in the edition of ancient texts on Jews and Judaism, the designation of Idumea as an eparchy could go back to Hieronymus of Cardia, one of Diodorus' sources, and Diodorus himself called Idumea a satrapy, a later Seleucid term.[7] In a similar publication of ancient texts about Jews, T. Reinach understood the term "satrapy of Idumea" in the broad sense of Idumea proper, Judea, Moab, and Perea.[8] In addition, Diodorus is the only ancient author who pointed to the status of Idumea *expressis verbis*, and his testimony is contradictory. There are also no

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[3]  Geer 1954, 91; 99.

[4]  Bizière 2002, 166 (Collection Budé edition): "Bengtson <…> pense que le term officiel devrait être ὑπαρχία, c.-à-d. la subdivision d'une satrapie". However, this is a misunderstanding because H. Bengtson remarked that in Diod. 19. 95. 2, ἐπαρχία was not used as an official term. He did not propose to correct the reading ἐπαρχία to ὑπαρχία (Bengtson 1944, 35–36).

[5]  Bizière 2002, 133.

[6]  "Il considère, d'autre part, que, si l'on trouve τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας en 19, 98, 1, il faut plutôt y voir une glose de F que l'indice de l'existence de deux sources, dont l'une serait très postérieure, l'Idumée n'étant devenue une satrapie qu'en 198 a.C." (Bizière 2002, 166). "…die Charakteristik Idumäas als Satrapie ist nämlich höchstwahrscheinlich nichts als eine später in den Diodortext gedrungene Glosse; lassen doch die Handschriften R und X, m.E. mit Recht, τῆς Ἰδουμαίας hinter τὴν σατραπείαν überhaupt fort; denn mit der bei Diodor erscheinenden Satrapie kann doch wohl nur das übrigens c. 94, 1 genannte Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη als Ganzes gemeint sein, nicht die Landschaft Idumäa" (Bengtson 1944, 35–36).

[7]  "But how are we to account for the fact that Diodorus, after having called Idumaea an eparchy, calls it a satrapy? It may be that the explanation lies in Diodorus' indifference to exact administrative nomenclature. Still, much is to be said for Tarn's view, that the term in 95:2 derives directly from Hieronymus, while here [19. 98. 1] we have Diodorus' own remark… In that case, Diodorus would reflect later Seleucid terminology" (Stern 1976, 178–179). M. Marciak retells Stern's opinion erroneously: "Stern suggested that the idea of Idumea as a satrapy may go back to Diodorus' source (Hieronymus of Cardia, who took part in the campaigns against Petra), while the status of Idumea as an eparchy may be Diodorus' own remark, which reflects the later Seleucid terminology" (Marciak 2018, 881).

[8]  Reinach 1895, 73.

mentions of Idumea in Greek inscriptions. In Latin authors, *Idumea* occurs in Pliny (5. 67; 5. 68; 6. 213), also in the form *Idume* in Lucan. 3. 216, Val. Flacc. 1. 12, Serv. *Comm. in Georg.* 3. 12, and as *Idyme* in Stat. *Silv.* 1. 6. 13; 3. 2. 138; 3. 3. 140; 5. 2. 139, in Sil. Ital. 3. 600, in the form *Idymaea* in Iuv. 8. 160; however, Latin authors (except Pliny) often used the toponym "Idumaea" instead of "Iudaea".[9]

As we see, there are paleographic problems, the question of Diodorus' source, and the diverse and unclear administrative division of the Seleucid Empire. Let's begin with its administrative units and the history of Idumea (Edom).

According to Assyrian inscriptions, in the seventh and the sixth centuries BC, the Edomite kingdom was situated south of the Dead Sea.[10] In 552 BC, it was abolished by Nabonidus. It is not known what status Edom had in the Persian period; there are two versions. On the one hand, it could be a part of Arabia and under the control of the Qedarite Arabs;[11] at the same time, according to another opinion, Edom was a district of the Achaemenid Empire.[12] However, Edom probably was not an administrative

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[9] Appelbaum 2009, 8–9; Marciak 2018, 897–903.

[10] Levin 2007, 240–241. Flavius described the Idumean land so (*Ant. Iud.* 5. 81–82): κληρώσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μὲν Ἰούδα λαχοῦσα πᾶσαν αἱρεῖται τὴν καθύπερθεν Ἰδουμαίαν παρατείνουσαν μὲν ἄχρι τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, τὸ δ᾽ εὖρος ἕως τῆς Σοδομίτιδος λίμνης καθήκουσαν· ἐν δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ τούτῳ πόλεις ἦσαν Ἀσκάλων καὶ Γάζα. Σεμεωνὶς δέ, δευτέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἔλαχε τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ πρόσορον οὖσαν – "When, then, he had cast lots, that of Judah obtained for its lot the whole of upper Idumea, extending (in length) to Jerusalem and in breadth reaching down to the lake of Sodom [the Dead Sea]; within this allotment were the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. That of Simeon, being the second, obtained the portion of Idumea bordering on Egypt and Arabia" (transl. Thackeray–Marcus 1950, 39). Cf. Ptol. *Geogr.* 5. 16. 10: <Ἰδουμαίας>, ἥτις ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἀπὸ δύσεως τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ.

[11] Levin 2007, 244–246; 249–251.

[12] This version is based on Diodorus' designation of Idumea as a satrapy and eparchy: "Idumea is still called both an eparchy and a satrapy by Diodorus (19. 95. 2 and 98. 1) in the Hellenistic era, suggesting that it was a former administrative district of the Persian Achaemenid Empire" (Graf 1997, 142). Similar Eph'al: "Though Diodorus deals with the beginning of the Hellenistic period, it is possible to assume from his words an identical administrative unit during the Achaemenid period, by what name we do not know" (Eph'al 1984, 199). Beliaev and Merpert said that the province of Idumea was included in the Persian administrative system (Beliaev–Merpert 2007 [Л. А. Беляев, Н. Я. Мерперт, *От библейских древностей к христианским*], 21; 59). A. Kindler also talked about the satrapy and the hyparchy in this passage of Diodorus' ("Only Diodorus mentions Idumea as a satrapy or hyparchy during the reign of Antigonus I <…> It is also likely that the division of this area into districts in the Persian period was taken over in the division of the country into hyparchies under the Ptolemies" (Kindler 1974, 74–75).

unit in the Persian period, because neither stamps nor coins emitted by the province have been found.[13] The population in Edom of the late Persian period was mixed: Arab, Idumean, West Semitic, Judahite, and Phoenician names have been found on ostraca.[14] The Qedarite Arabs were replaced in their turn by the Nabataeans.[15] The Edomites were perhaps partly assimilated by the Nabataeans:[16] cf. the fragment of Hieronymus of Cardia, who placed the Dead Sea in the Nabataean land (*FGrHist* 154 F5, Diod. 2. 48. 6: ἔστι δ᾽ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ναβαταίων […] λίμνη τε μεγάλη φέρουσα πολλὴν ἄσφαλτον); Strabo (16. 2. 34) even calls the Idumeans Nabataeans.[17] The territory of the "so-called satrapy" of Idumea/Edom in the Persian and Hellenistic periods differed from the area of Late Iron Age Edom (see Fig. 1).[18]

Testimonies on Idumea from Hellenistic times are also meager. In 332 BC, Alexander the Great besieged Gaza and destroyed it (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 25–27); after his death in 323 BC, territory of Syria and Phoenicia (and perhaps Idumea) changed hands many times during the Syrian wars: Phoenicia and Coele-Syria were under the control of Ptolemy I (Diod. 18. 43; 19. 80. 3–4; 19. 84. 8; 19. 85. 4; 19. 93; App. *Syr.* 52; Paus. 1. 6. 4; Flav. *Ant. Iud.* 12. 1) and Antigonus Monophthalmus (Diod. 19. 94–95; App. *Syr.* 53; Paus. 1. 6. 5), who tried to stop the Nabataean asphalt trade with Egypt in 312 BC (it was entrusted to Hieronymus of Cardia: Diod. 19. 100. 1–3). At that time, according to Y. Levin, Idumea appeared as an administrative unit; he bases this only on Diodorus' definition of

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[13] Levin 2020, 4.

[14] Kloner–Stern 2007, 141–143; Stern 2007, 212.

[15] Levin 2020, 3.

[16] Levin 2007, 244–245.

[17] Strab. 16. 2. 34: Ναβαταῖοι δ᾽ εἰσὶν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι, κατὰ στάσιν δ᾽ ἐκπεσόντες ἐκεῖθεν προσεχώρησαν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τῶν νομίμων τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις ἐκοινώνησαν – "The Idumaeans are Nabataeans, but owing to a sedition they were banished from there, joined the Judaeans, and shared the same customs with them" (transl. Jones 1954, 281).

[18] Edom is the trans-Jordan land of the Edomites, and the Greek-Roman Idumaea "is generally located in the inland of southern Palestine. The region, according to the consensual view, is bordered by the Negebite desert on the south, Philistia on the west, Judah on the north, and the Dead Sea and the trans-Jordanian mountain ridge on the east" (Fantalkin–Tal 2012, 134–135). The Septuagint uses both terms, "Edom" and "Idumaea" (Levin 2020, 1). Flavius (*Ant. Iud.* 2. 1; 2. 3) used the term Ἄδωμος instead of Edom (Marciak 2017, 172). On the broken continuity of the Edomite settlements during the Persian period, see Levin 2015, 188–189.
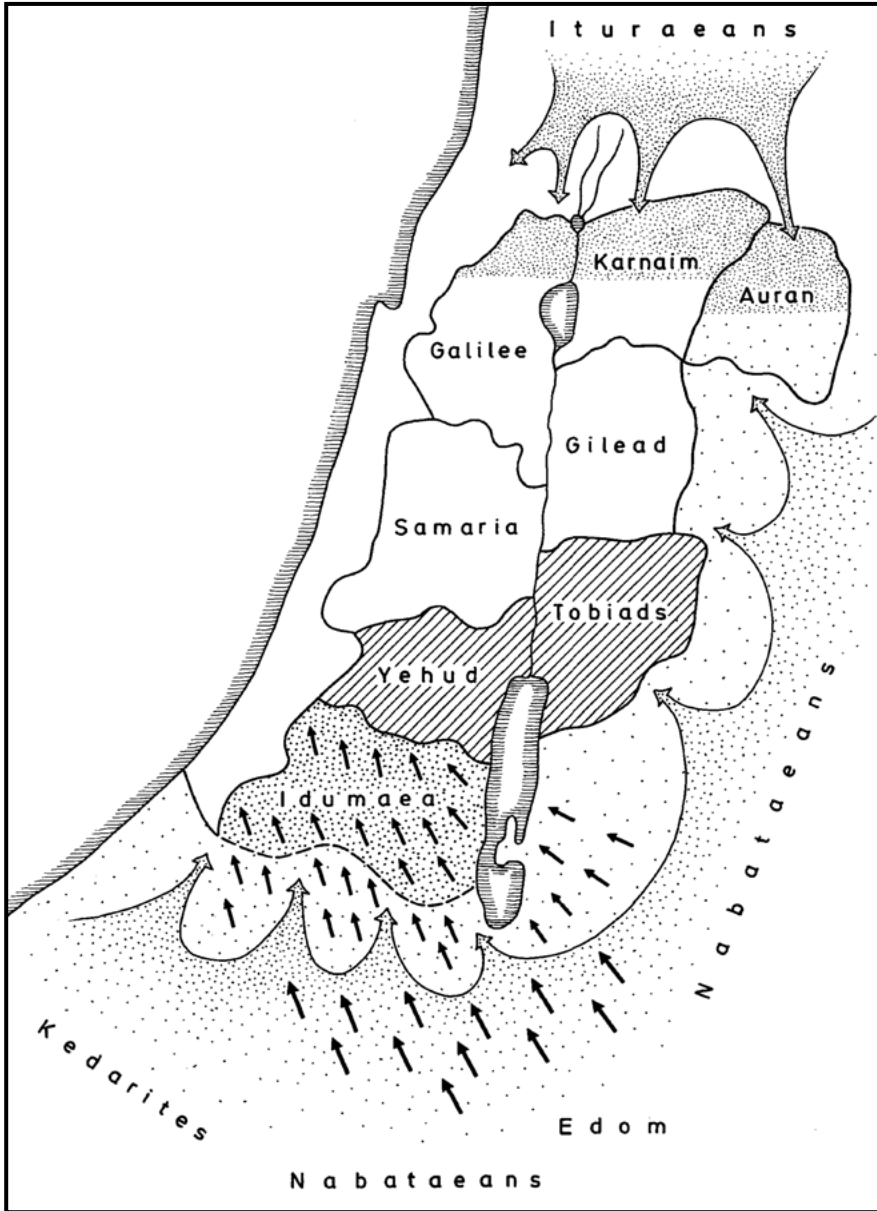
*Fig. 1*. The Idumaean and Arab penetration during the Persian period
(6–4 centuries BC)[19]

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[19]  The map from Kasher 1988, 5.

Idumea as a satrapy and eparchy/hyparchy.[20] Then Idumea seems to come to Seleucus I (App. *Syr*. 55).[21] Later, in 112/111–108/107, Idumea was taken over by John Hyrcanus, who converted its inhabitants to Judaism (Flav. *Ant. Iud*. 13. 257; *Bell. Iud*. 1. 63).[22] In 63 BC, Idumea and Judea were conquered by Rome and became parts of the province of Syria under the Hasmoneans (Flav. *Ant. Iud*. 14. 4. 4; *Bell. Iud*. 1. 156).[23] After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, Idumea was included in Judea.[24]

Some have assumed, based on Zenon papyri, that Idumea was a toparchy of Ptolemaic Egypt in the 3rd century.[25] The Ptolemaic tax collector Zenon traveled from Gaza to Maresha (Greek Marisa) and Adora (Adoreon) in 259 BC (see Fig. 2).[26]

Y. Levin thinks that Idumea was first mentioned as an administrative unit in the Zenon papyri,[27] however, Idumea actually appears in *P. Cair. Zen*. I 59015 V without an administrative status. At the same time, Flavius mentions the toparchies of Samaria, Galilee, Perea (Flav. *Ant. Iud*. 13. 50), Jaffa (*Ant. Iud*. 13. 125), and Idumea (*Bell. Iud*. 3. 54–56);[28]

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[20] "The new order was in place: the Qedarites had been replaced by the Nabataeans, and the province of Idumea had been born" (Levin 2007, 252). In another paper, Levin calls Idumea a hyparchy: "When the Qedarites lost their control of the region, it was the 'Idumean' identity that prevailed – when the area was organized as a 'hyparchy' in the early Hellenistic period, the name that appears in multiple sources is Idumea" (Levin 2020, 18; see also Levin 2012, 37). Cf. Levin 2015, 192: "Antigonus, in reaction, mounted an expedition 'from the *eparchia* of Idumea' to the land of the 'Arabs who are called Nabataeans'. Since the Qedarites had disappeared from the area, the southern hills and the Shephelah were now re-organized as an *eparchia* or *hyparchia*". Similar Fantalkin and Tal: "…it is worthwhile to remember that the creation of the Idumean provincial district cannot be traced before the fourth century BCE" (Fantalkin–Tal 2012, 148; see also Kasher 1988, 6).

[21] Cherikover 2010 [В. Чериковер, *Эллинистическая цивилизация и евреи*], 77–84.

[22] Levin 2007, 244; Graf 1997, 142; Marciak 2017, 181.

[23] Levin 2015, 200; Hübner 1992, 3819.

[24] Hübner 1992, 3820.

[25] Bryce 2009, 329: "In C3 Idumaea was one of the toparchies (external administrative districts) of the Ptolemaic empire, and in 40 it became a toparchy of Herod the Great, whose father Antipater had been a prominent Idumaean"; see also Graf 1997, 142.

[26] Levin 2015, 189; Cherikover 2010, 93–97. See the map of Zenon's trip in Harrison 1994, 104.

[27] "The earliest reference to Idumea as an administrative unit can be found in the Zenon papyri from Cairo" (Levin 2015, 189; Levin 2012, 25).

[28] …αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν διῄρηνται τὰς τοπαρχίας. Γοφνὰ δευτέρα καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Ἀκραβετά, Θαμνὰ πρὸς ταύταις καὶ Λύδδα, Ἀμμαοῦς καὶ Πέλλη καὶ Ἰδουμαία καὶ Ἐνγαδδαὶ καὶ Ἡρώδειον καὶ Ἱεριχοῦς, μεθ' ἃς Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ἰόππη τῶν
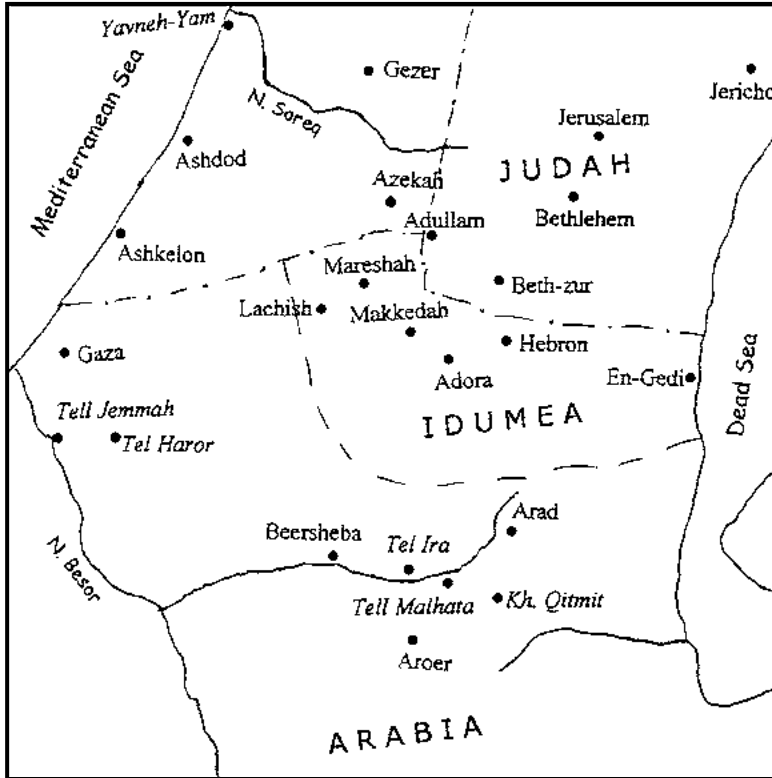
*Fig. 2.* Idumea in 312 BC[29]

so, Idumea was a toparchy in the Roman period.[30] In post-Herodian times, Idumea was divided into two units: the upper, or greater Idumea (Flav. *Bell. Iud*. 4. 552; 4. 511) and the eastern Idumea, or the toparchy Ein-Gedi (Flav. *Bell. Iud*. 3. 55).[31] However, Pliny (5. 14) omitted Idumea in the list of the toparchies of Judea; Flavius is assumed to describe the

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περιοίκων ἀφηγοῦνται, κἀπὶ ταύταις ἥ τε Γαμαλιτικὴ καὶ Γαυλανῖτις Βαταναία τε καὶ Τραχωνῖτις, αἳ καὶ τῆς Ἀγρίππα βασιλείας εἰσὶ μοῖραι – "The others were divided into toparchies: Gophna was the second and after it Akrabatta, after them Thamna, and Lydda, and Emmaus, and Pella, and Idumea, and Engaddi, and Herodium, and Jericho; and after them came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighboring people; and besides these there was the region of Gamala, and Gaulonitis, and Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are also parts of the kingdom of Agrippa" (transl. W. Whiston, 1830, slightly modified).

29 The map from Levin 2007, 252.
30 Hübner 1992, 3819.
31 Hübner 1992, 3819; Graf 1997, 142.

administrative division before 70 BC, and Pliny, on the contrary, after 70 BC.[32] According to Z. Safrai, Idumea was not a regular toparchy, but consisted of several toparchies: Beth-Zur, Nezib, Hebron, Adoraim (Adoreon), Daroma, and perhaps something else.[33] The term τοπαρχία occurs very often in Flavius, also once in an excerpt from Diodorus (Exc. Escor. p. 11 F., p. VIII M. = Diod. 7. 14. 1), once in Strabo (17. 1. 3), in Maccabees I (Mach. 1. 11. 28), in Eusebius (*Demonstr. ev.* 8. prooem. 3; *Comm. in Isaiam* 1. 26; 1. 62; 1. 72; *De laud. Const.* 16. 2; 16. 3; *Comm. in psalm.* 23. 412), and in other Christian authors. In inscriptions, τοπαρχία is found only in Egypt (*OGIS* 654, *OGIS* 669, *SB* 14: 11938, 1).[34] On papyri, the term is also found very often.

As regards the administrative units, according to W. W. Tarn, the Seleucid Empire was divided into satrapies (the largest administrative units), which were divided into eparchies, and eparchies in turn into hyparchies. In time, the satrapies gave up the leading position to the eparchies. W. W. Tarn also speaks of the using of the term "eparchy" in later sources: "…the Alexander-historians know nothing about eparchies; they do very occasionally use an eparchy name, but that again is probably only the common case of late writers using the accustomed nomenclature of a later day".[35] Hence, the satrapy in Diod. 19. 98. 1 could have been borrowed from Diodorus' source, and the eparchy could have originated with Diodorus (as M. Marciak considers, see n. 7, M. Stern supposed conversely).

M. Marciak noted that Seleucid satrapies were large administrative units, which Idumea had never been; but the term "satrapy" could have been used not technically, but rather "metaphorically" or "colloquially".[36] Thus, Posidonius mentioned four satrapies in Coele-Syria (*FGrHist* 87 F 65; Strab. 16. 2. 4):

> οἰκείως δὲ τῇ τετραπόλει καὶ εἰς σατραπείας διῄρητο τέτταρας ἡ Σελευκίς, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος, εἰς ὅσας καὶ ἡ Κοίλη Συρία…

> Appropriately to the Tetrapolis, Seleucis was also divided into four satrapies, as Poseidonius says, the same number into which Coele-Syria was divided…[37]

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[32] Bourgel–Porat 2019, 195–196.

[33] Safrai 1981, 34; Bourgel–Porat 2019, 198.

[34] *OGIS* 654 is a Greek-Latin inscription, in which there is not an equivalent for the term τοπαρχία in the Latin part.

[35] Tarn 1938, 1–2.

[36] Marciak 2018, 881.

[37] Transl. H. L. Jones (Jones 1954, 241).

By "satrapies", Posidonius means the smaller provinces, among them possibly Idumea.[38] L. R. Shehadeh assumed that the satrapal system was introduced and perhaps these satrapies were Phoenicia, Coele-Syria proper, Idumea, and an unknown province in the place of Palestine.[39] E. Bikerman, on the contrary, considered that Posidonius used the term "satrapy" by mistake instead of *meris,* a smaller administrative unit (μερίς).[40] M. Stern tried to reconcile both versions and named two Idumeas, Idumea proper as a *meris* and a larger area as a satrapy.[41] J. Bourgel and R. Porat suppose that *meris* of Idumea was divided into two toparchies, Idumea and Ein-Gedi, which were added to the *meris* of Judea.[42] Besides, satrapies were divided into different units in different parts; so, into hyparchies in Asia Minor, *merides* in Coele-Syria, and eparchies in Asia, which in turn included *topoi, nomoi,* and other units, depending on the region.[43]

In the different periods, perhaps satrapies were administrative units of different status and size. The sources often confuse administrative units; thus, Suda equates satrapy with eparchy (σ 153: <Σατραπεία·> ἐπαρχία). Appian reported about 72 satrapies under Seleucus I (*Syr*. 62: Σατραπεῖαι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τοσαύτης ἐβασίλευε γῆς), since he confused satrapies and smaller units – apparently hyparchies.[44]

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[38] Similarly Stern: "It would not be too far-fetched to suppose that Idumaea was among the four satrapies alluded to by Posidonius" (Stern 1976, 179).

[39] Shehadeh 2011, 20.

[40] Bikerman, 1985, 200.

[41] Stern 1976, 179: "Some difficulty is still attached to the statement that the Dead Sea was situated in the middle of the satrapy of Idumaea. We may explain it as an inaccuracy on the part of Diodorus, but it is equally possible that, according to the Seleucid division, the satrapy of Hellenistic Idumaea included the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, though we have no information to that effect from other sources. Thus, the satrapy of Idumaea was a much larger unit than the *meris* of Idumaea proper. This conjecture obviates the necessity for Bengtson's suggestion [Bengtson 1944, 35–36] that we omit the words τῆς Ἰδουμαίας after κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν, in accordance with MSS R and X, where it is implied that the satrapy included the entire province of Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη, mentioned before in 94:1".

[42] Bourgel–Porat 2019, 197–198.

[43] Smirnov 2013 [С. В. Смирнов, *Государство Селевка I (политика, эконо-мика, общество)*], 162–164.

[44] Tarn 1927, 111: "The thickly-peopled Northern Syria became four satrapies, with four later for southern Syria, probably Damascus and the Lebanon with Phoenicia, Samaria and Galilee with the coast, Transjordania, and Idumaea, the arrangement perhaps fluctuating; Judaea was a tributary priest-state under Seleucid suzerainty. Some 25–28 satrapies can be made out, including the farther east; Appian's statement that there were 72 is a confusion with the hyparchies, for each satrapy for administrative purposes divided into several districts under hyparchs, subordinate to the general, which possibly represented the Persian chiliarchies". See also Bengtson 1944, 19–20.

S. V. Smirnov supposes that it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Seleucus' satrapies, because of differences in terms and changes of borders, and the 72 satrapies mentioned by Appian probably were the smaller territories that appeared later, under Antiochus III.[45]

Besides, Idumea was governed by a *strategos* (Flav. *Bell. Iud*. 2. 566),[46] meaning that it was a smaller administrative unit than "normal" satrapy.[47]

What is also focused on is a disposition of the Dead Sea in the middle of the satrapy of Idumea (Diod. 19. 98. 1). Y. Levin, like M. Stern, supposed that the term "satrapy" in this passage was a geographical reference, not an administrative unit.[48]

In our opinion, the "satrapy" of Idumea was not an official, but a colloquial usage of the term: the territory of Idumea was not included in either the Persian or the Hellenistic list of satrapies. The designation of Idumea as a satrapy can go back to one of Diodorus' sources, but to Posidonius, not to Hieronymus of Cardia (as M. Stern and M. Marciak think). In Hieronymus' fragments, the term σατραπεία does not occur, and when describing the Dead Sea, Hieronymus located it in the Nabataean land. On the other hand, Posidonius, although he did not mention Idumea, reported on the satrapies in Coele-Syria, which must have been rather small, one of them being Idumea. Even if these administrative units were called *merides* or hyparchies officially, Posidonius' fragment preserves the term σατραπεία in relation to the territory adjacent to the Dead Sea. Besides, the description of the Dead Sea in Diodorus (19. 98–99), in the passage where the satrapy of Idumea is mentioned, goes back to Posidonius. The descriptions of the Dead Sea in Diodorus and in Posidonius (his fragment was preserved by Strabo, *FGrHist* 87 F 80 = Strab. 16. 2. 42) display many common traits, and they are in the same order (the length of the Dead Sea, the asphalt eruption, the comparison of asphalt to a hill/island, metals tarnishing because of fumes from the Dead Sea, the description of the process of asphalt extraction).[49]

As for the second administrative unit mentioned by Diodorus in 19. 95, ἐπαρχία, this term occurs many times in Diodorus (4. 71. 2; 17. 65. 2; 19.

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[45] Smirnov 2013, 160–161.

[46] Graf 1997, 142.

[47] Bikerman 1985, 188–189.

[48] Levin 2007, 244: "One should note that the second reference [19. 98. 1] is geographical, meant to elucidate the position of the 'Asphaltic Lake' (the Dead Sea), and cannot be taken as a positive evidence that the political unit of Idumea already existed at this time"; see also Levin 2012, 25; Levin 2015, 189; Levin 2020, 3.

[49] Starikova 2021, 305–306.

44. 4; 19. 95. 2; 22. 10. 6; 31. 19. 1; 33. 2. 1; 34/35. 2. 3; 34/35. 2. 31; 34/35. 25. 1; 36. 3. 2; 36. 3. 5; 37. 2. 6; 37. 3. 5; 37. 5. 1–2; 37. 8. 1; 37. 8. 3; 37. 10. 3; 37. 29. 2; 38/39. 8. 4; 40. 4. 1) and also in other authors (very often in Plutarch, Strabo, Flavius, in fragments of Posidonius, in Eusebius, Epiphanius, John Malalas, John Lydus, and in Constantine Porphyrogenitus; fewer in Dio Cassius, Polybius, Aelius Herodianus, and others). In inscriptions, ἐπαρχία also occurs often, and is meant to include the regions of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Arabia (*SEG* 7: 327; 27: 1019; 30: 1711; 30: 1713; 35: 1586; *IGLSyr* 13, 1: 9417; 13, 1: 9418; 21, 2: 74; 21, 2: 119; 21, 2: 156; 21, 5.1: 2; 21, 5.1: 699).[50] The word is also found in the form ἐπαρχεία, for example, in a bilingual Greek-Nabataean inscription from Madaba, 125 AD,[51] and in the Babatha archive from the Dead Sea region (*P. Babatha* 16 and 17).[52] H. Bengtson suggested that ἐπαρχία in Diod. 19. 95. 2 and elsewhere is a Greek synonym for Latin *provincia*.[53]

But the word ὑπαρχία occurs only in John of Damascus, in *Epistula ad Theophilum imperatorem de sanctis et venerandis imaginibus*.[54] In inscriptions, the word occurs twice, in *St. Pont*. III 66 (from Pontus) and in *BCH* 15 (1891) 556, 38 (from Phrygia). It is also used in the form ὑπαρχεία in two inscriptions from Media, in *IK Estremo Oriente* 454 and 455. The term does not occur on papyri.

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[50] Nevertheless, M. Stern considered that this term did not occur in connection with any part of Hellenistic Palestine (Stern 1976, 179). Moreover, M. Marciak remarks that the term ἐπαρχία is not attested epigraphically (Marciak 2018, 882).

[51] The inscription mentions the eparchy (HPRK) of Bosra: τὸ μνῆμα / ἐποίησεν ἔτους τρίτου ἐπαρχείας – BŠNT TLT LHPRK BṢR' – "in the 3rd year of the eparchy of Bosra" (Milik 1958, 243–246).

[52] Bukharin 2021 [*Вестник Санкт-Петербургского Университета. История*], 440.

[53] Bengtson 1944, 35: "So kann ἐπαρχία hier bei Strabo [Strab. 16. 2. 3] nichts anderes bedeuten als *provincia*, d.h. es ist als das griechische Äquivalent dieses römischen Terminus aufzufassen. Diese Feststellung legt jedenfalls die Vermutung nahe, dass auch die für die Elymaïs von Strabo bezeugten Bezirke, die ἐπαρχίαι, nicht mit ihrem offiziellen Namen, sondern nur im allgemeinen Sinne von 'Bezirk', 'Provinz' in dieser Weise bezeichnet worden sind. Nicht anders steht es bei Diodor mit dem Begriff ἐπαρχία. Auch dieser nennt eine Landschaft wie die Rhagiane eine ἐπαρχία von Medien; hier ist also mit ἐπαρχία gewiss die Unterabteilung einer Satrapie, wie ich glaube, eine μερίς, gemeint". *Ibid*. 36: "…dass die Rhagiane und Idumäa zu den Zeiten des Antigonos Monophthalmos verwaltungstechnische Einheiten, und zwar Unterbezirke gebildet haben; ob für diese aber die Bezeichnung 'ἐπαρχία' die offizielle gewesen ist, erscheint mir jedenfalls sehr fraglich".

[54] *Patrologia Graeca* 95. 368 Migne: Καὶ δὴ Λέοντος πατρικίου καὶ στρατηγοῦ τῆς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ὑπαρχίας…

As for paleographic problems, M. Marciak proposes to correct ἐπαρχία in Diod. 19. 95. 2 with ὑπαρχία. He points to the possible paleographic mistake.[55] In fact, this corruption could have happened because of itacism. Y. Levin, M. Hengel, and I. R. Tantlevsky also call Idumea a hyparchy.[56] However, it seems preferable to keep the reading ἐπαρχία, because this term is much more common, both in Diodorus and in inscriptions. If the designation of Idumea as σατραπεία goes back to Posidonius, the determination as a ἐπαρχία could belong to Diodorus himself. U. Hübner included Idumea in the Seleucid satrapy Syria-Phoenicia,[57] and it could be a part of satrapy in the status of an eparchy.

As regards the expression κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, in which Bengtson supposed a gloss, since the word τῆς Ἰδουμαίας does not appear in the earlier manuscript R, it seems possible to preserve this reading. Omitting the word τῆς Ἰδουμαίας could be a scribal mistake, because a scribe could doubt if Idumea was a satrapy. This reading is a *lectio difficilior*. As we have already noted, M. Stern also did not take up Bengtson's idea, because he believed that there were two Idumeas, a satrapy and a *meris* (n. 41). If the "satrapy of Idumea" is a colloquial use of term (as in Appian's 72 satrapies), it is not necessary to omit the word Idumea.

According to stemma, Laurentianus 70.12 (F), which mentions Idumea, goes back to the lost prototype Φ, to Marcianus Gr. 375 (M), and to Parisinus Gr. 1665 (R). M contains books 11–15, R books 16–20, and F books 11–20. As the manuscript R omits Idumea in Diod. 19. 98. 1, and the manuscript M does not have the book 19, the expression κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας in F could go back to the prototype Φ.[58]

In conclusion, Idumea was presumably an eparchy in early Hellenism, but it could be also called a satrapy colloquially. A toparchy, according to Flavius, was a later administrative status of Idumea. Two different designations of Idumea in Diodorus are caused by Posidonius' usage, to whom the

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[55] Marciak 2018, 882: "It should also be noted that, in paleographical terms, the words ὑπαρχία and ἐπαρχία can be relatively easily confused".

[56] Levin 2007, 239; Hengel 1974, 21; Tantlevsky 2013 [И. Р. Тантлевский, *История Израиля и Иудеи до 70 г. н. э.*], 227.

[57] Hübner 1992, 3819.

[58] Chamoux–Bertrac 1993, 101–105, 121. "Les livres XVII–XX sont issus d'une source indépendante contenant les livres XVII–XX (nous appellerons Φ ce prototype perdu qui fait suite à P comme R fait suite à M) et ont été corrigés ensuite à l'aide de R. En bref, le *Laurentianus*, résultat d'un travail philologique tardif, n'est prototype, à proprement parler, que pour les livres XVII–XX, mais l'importance des variantes et des corrections qui se rencontrent dans les autres livres, où des sources extérieures ont pu être utilisées, interdisent de le négliger" (Chamoux–Bertrac 1993, 104–105).

term "satrapy" goes back, whereas the designation of Idumea as an eparchy belongs to Diodorus himself. It seems possible to keep the reading τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐπαρχίας in Diod. 19. 95. 2 and not to change ἐπαρχία to ὑπαρχία, because the latter term is testified rather rarely in literary and epigraphic sources, unlike ἐπαρχία, and there are no arguments for considering Idumea to be a hyparchy. In the second passage, Diod. 19. 98. 1, it is also possible to preserve the reading of the MS Laurentianus 70.12 (F) κατὰ μέσην τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, because it could go back to the lost proto-type Φ, and the term σατραπεία could refer to smaller administrative units.

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Diodorus mentions Idumea twice, but pointing to its different administrative-territorial statuses: an eparchy in 19. 95. 2 and a satrapy in 19. 98. 1. The paper shows that Diodorus borrowed the term σατραπεία from his source, perhaps from Posidonius (not Hieronymus of Cardia, as usually supposed), and the second term ἐπαρχία is Diodorus' own. This conclusion is based on the usage of the term σατραπεία by Posidonius and on the fact that a passage in which Idumea is mentioned is included in the account of the Dead Sea, which probably goes back to Posidonius. Besides, arguments are given for keeping the manuscript reading ἐπαρχία without changing to ὑπαρχία (Diod. 19. 95. 2) and for preserving the expression τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας (Diod. 19. 98. 1), in which H. Bengtson supposed a gloss. It is possible to preserve the manuscript reading in these two cases, because the words ἐπαρχία and σατραπεία were used not only as an indication of an official administrative unit, but also as a colloquial designation of a certain region. This explains Appian's testimony about 72 satrapies under Seleucus I, as well as many cases of the use of the word ἐπαρχία in the sense of "region" (not as a term of administrative unit). Such a usage of terms makes it difficult to ascertain the official status of Idumea. It can be clarified by the rare testimonies of other authors (thus, Flavius designates Idumea as a toparchy).

Диодор дважды упоминает Идумею, однако указывая разный административно-территориальный статус: епархия в 19. 95. 2 и сатрапия в 19. 98. 1. В статье показано, что один термин – "сатрапия" – Диодор взял из своего источника, по-видимому, Посидония (а не Иеронима Кардианского, как обычно предполагают), а второй – "епархия" – принадлежит самому Диодору. Такой вывод делается исходя из употребления Посидонием термина σατραπεία и из того, что пассаж, где упоминается Идумея, входит в рассказ о Мертвом море, который, вероятно, восходит к Посидонию. Кроме того, приводятся аргументы в пользу сохранения рукописного чтения ἐπαρχία без замены на ὑπαρχία (Diod. 19. 95. 2), а также за сохранение выражения τὴν σατραπείαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας (Diod. 19. 98. 1), в котором Г. Бенгтсон видел глоссу. Сохранение рукописного чтения в этих двух случаях возможно благодаря хождению слов ἐπαρχία и σατραπεία не только как официальных административно-территориальных единиц, но и как разговорных обозначений некой области. Так, например, объясняется и свидетельство Аппиана о 72 сатрапиях при Селевке I, и многочисленные употребления слова ἐπαρχία в значении "область", а не как термин административно-территориального деления. Такое употребление терминов затрудняет определение официального статуса Идумеи, который могут прояснить редкие свидетельства других авторов (так, Иосиф Флавий называет Идумею топархией).