

Book Four **Introductory Summary**

Ashemon (Asamonaean)/Maccabaeen/Hasmonaean Chief Priesthoods and Monarchies, Herodian Monarchy and Seleucid, Ptolemaic and Roman Dynasties. High Priest John Hyrcanus I to Imperial Rome.¹

The period 132 b.c.e. to 44 c.e would be one of intensifying world power competitions, and increasing involvements of regional ruling dynasties with those of Syria, Egypt and Rome.² King David's representational theocratic government was 1,000 years past, but there is evidence that some general recognition of sacerdotal descendancies had endured among peoples adherent to The Law. Two of king David's 24 established priesthood branches re-emerge in this period. Chief/High Priest John Hyrcanus I, who succeeded his assassinated father, was great-great-great-grandson of one "Asamoneus, of the order of *Joiarib/Jehoiarib*," king David's first-numbered division.³

The record hints that Ptolemy "of Aububus," son-in-law and assassin of Simon Matthes, was a would-be partisan of Syria's Antiochus VII. Afterward, Antiochus VII besieged Hyrcanus I and extracted money and hostages. Hyrcanus finally made league with Antiochus VII and joined him on an incursion into Parthia.

The wife or wives of high priest John Hyrcanus I is/are not identified. Antiochus VII's queen in Syria was Cleopatra III, and family ties existed between queens of Syria and Egypt at the outset of this period. Cleopatra II, mother of Cleopatra III, was the deposed Egyptian queen repudiated by Ptolemy VIII in favor of Cleopatra II's sister or half-sister, Cleopatra IV.⁴

Antiochus VII (still battling Parthians) was killed some four years after the death of Simon Matthes. Cleopatra III, it will be recalled, had joined with Antiochus VII after her husband, Syrian king Demetrius II, was taken by Parthia, where he had remained captive. After the death of Antiochus VII, Demetrius II (who now had Parthia's princess, Rhodogyne, as wife) was given leave to return and lay claim to the Syrian throne. He was able to establish himself at Antioch, from where he threatened war on Hyrcanus I.

Hyrcanus I went to Rome to invoke a league but obtained no confirming letters of protection. Meanwhile, Demetrius II failed to maintain support from his Syrian and military subjects. Ambassadors went to Ptolemy VIII and asked that someone "of the family of Seleucus" be sent to effect a takeover. Ptolemy VIII sent a force led by one Alexander Zabinas/Zebina to depose Demetrius II, and Hyrcanus allied with Zebina. Cleopatra III at the time was established at Ptolemais. Demetrius was quickly overcome and retreated to Ptolemais but he was denied refuge by Cleopatra III.

Demetrius II later was caught and killed. His son, Seleucus V (step-son, it appears, of Cleopatra III), briefly succeeded to reign likely only at Antioch. He "was put to death in the first year of his reign by Cleopatra [III]," and Ptolemy VIII "raised" Zebina "to the throne." Zebina was conquered c. 123 b.c.e. by Antiochus VIII, younger son of Cleopatra III and Demetrius II. Antiochus VIII reportedly posed a grave threat to Hyrcanus I, but his attention

¹ Data not referenced in the summary is cited in the volume's various segments. This volume essentially ends in 44 c.e., with the death of the last client-king appointed by Rome--Julius Agrippa I, whose territory ultimately exceeded the kingdoms of both David and Herod the Great. The history written by Josephus provides much of this period's material. Josephus, a Hebrew general in the Galilee, would survive to write his history after total Roman conquest and Jerusalem's fall to Titus c. 70 c.e. at this point 200 years in the future. (Josephus reports himself of Asamonaean descent--Appendix 3A, V, Detail A, Josephus Lineage. (For brevity this summary only will use era notations b.c.e. and c.e.; refer to Appendix 4D, *Epoch Abbreviations*.)

² Bearing in mind that national names, as anciently applied, were not precisely or widely equal to current embraced domains (e.g. see Appendix 2A, *Syria*, and Appendix 4C, *Palestine*.)

³ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, A (1), David's Divisions, and Appendix 4B, Attachment 1, Descendancies, Asamonaean/etc. (Possibility exists that the Asamoneus descendancy occurred via a daughter--see Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5.) *Abijah*, David's eight-numbered division, appears late in the summary, as the division of Zechariah, father of John the 'baptizer'.

⁴ Appendix 4B, Attachment 3, Descendancies, Seleucid-Syrian; Appendix 4B, Attachment 4, Descendancies, Ptolemaic.

was required first by a quest for Syrian dominion by his half-brother, Antiochus IX *Cyzenicus*, son of Cleopatra III and Antiochus VII. Antiochus IX forced out Antiochus VIII, although battling between them continued. (Cleopatra III's status and domicile at these times is not specified.)

Ptolemy VIII died c. 116 b.c.e. Cleopatra IV, Egypt's queen-mother, first chose as her co-ruler Ptolemy X *Alexander I*, one of her sons by Ptolemy VIII. Before long, however, she banished him (he had "become odious" in Egypt) and installed his full-blooded brother, Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, on condition Lathyrus "repudiate his sister and wife [an undesignated] Cleopatra," and marry "Seleuca"/"Selena"/[Cleopatra-] Selene, "his younger sister."⁵

Hyrchanus I in the intervening years had gained possession of Shechem and Gerizzim and "subdued" the Idumaeans. At some point he began a siege of Samaria/*Sebaste*, whose people called on Syria's Antiochus IX for assistance. Ptolemy IX, without Cleopatra IV's consent, provided a large Egyptian force to Antiochus IX, who proceeded to overrun Hyrcanus territory and draw him from the Samaria siege. Two Hyrcanus sons, Judas/Aristobulus I and Antigonus I, battled the Antiochus IX forces. Antiochus IX fled, leaving other generals to continue to fight the Asmonaeans but unsuccessfully. Aristobulus I and Antigonus I took Samaria city, marched "as far as Scythopolis...and laid waste all that country that lay within Mt. Carmel."

Antiochus VIII and IX finally ended their "indecisive series of battles" in about 111 b.c.e. They struck a bargain to divide Syria's realm, in which Antiochus VIII ceded "Coele-Syria"⁶ to Antiochus IX. In Egypt, Cleopatra IV expelled Ptolemy IX with the "assistance and intrigue" of Asmonaeon/Hasmonaeon Alexander I Janneus.⁷ Cleopatra then recalled Ptolemy X as co-ruler. (Ptolemy IX retreated to Cyprus, which was a possession of Egypt that his mother then apparently permitted him to rule.)

In Syria, at an undesignated point in this timeframe, Cleopatra III attempted to poison Antiochus VIII. He discovered it and compelled her to drink and die instead. Selene [A], "by desire of her mother [Cleopatra IV]," now became wife of Antiochus VIII at Antioch.

Hyrchanus I and Judaea had been enjoying "flourishing" conditions for some 25 years. "Not only those Jews⁸...in Jerusalem and Judea were in prosperity, but also them that were in Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus; for Cleopatra [IV] the queen remained at variance with Ptolemy IX." Reportedly, the state of prosperity of Hyrcanus I and his sons "moved the Jews/[Hebrews] to envy," which "occasioned a sedition." "The worse disposed" were Pharisees, "who carried great a power over the multitude," while "Sadducees [were] not able to persuade any but the rich." Hyrcanus, who had been of the Pharisee party, switched to "the sect of the Sadducees," after attempts were made to have him deposed on a charge of slander.

The year Hyrcanus I died, after serving as chief of the theocracy for 30 years, generally is taken as 104/103 b.c.e. There are no mother(s) identified for his five sons and it is not said whether he had any daughters. Hyrcanus I bequeathed governance to his unnamed widow; he was succeeded as chief priest by his eldest son, Judas/Aristobulus I. Aristobulus' unnamed mother or step-mother "disputed the government" with him. He put her and other relatives in prison;⁹ and he assumed sovereignty, as both king and high priest.

The wife of Aristobulus I was queen "Salome...by the Greeks...called Alexandra [I]."

⁵ Cleopatra [C] and Selene [A], respectively, on the related descendancy chart.

⁶ Also found as "Celesyria;" see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fns. 13 and 20 and Appendix 4A, fn. 15.

⁷ This initial aid to Cleopatra IV from Alexander I usually is found placed after 104/103 b.c.e., after he succeeded Hyrcanus I. (*Hasmonaeon* is the more 'modernly'-used term.)

⁸ It again is noted that this term, which ongoingly in the texts is used generally to refer to Hebrews in general, thus may or may not include Hebrews of the area post-Davidically known as "Judaea."

⁹ The mother/step-mother died in prison at a time unspecified.

Her origin/lineage is not given.¹⁰ Aristobulus I became ill soon after his ascendancy. As he lay ill, a palace plot—in which Alexandra I is said to have had a hand—contrived the murder of his younger brother, Antigonus I,¹¹ a great favorite with the people. Aristobulus died not long afterward. A great part of Ituraea is reported to have been added to the kingdom during his reign, which lasted “no longer than a year.

Upon the death of Aristobulus, widowed queen Alexandra I freed her other, previously-imprisoned “brethren” and married Alexander [I] Janneus, her dead husband’s full or half-brother, another son of John Hyrcanus I. Alexander Janneus also assumed both mitre and crown.

Some seven years later (about 96 b.c.e.), Rome acquired its first of territories from dynasties of Egypt, Syria and ‘Palestine.’¹² One “Ptolemaeus Apion...the illegitimate son of Ptolemy [VIII] Physcon, died after a reign of 20 years as king of Cyrene.” “[A]s he had no children, he made the Romans heirs of his dominions.” Apion’s territory would be added to Roman provinces already established elsewhere in the world, being Achaea, Africa, Gallia Cisalpina, Hispania Citerior, Hispania Ulterior, Illyricum, Macedonia, Sardinia with Corsica, and Sicilia.

Three years later Antiochus VIII of Syria was assassinated. His death was followed by contention between Syrian offspring, primarily his son, Seleucus VI (mother unidentified) and Cleopatra III’s son, Antiochus IX (by Antiochus VII). Seleucus VI defeated and killed Antiochus IX. Antiochus IX’s son, Antiochus XI *Eusebes* (mother unidentified) joined with Selene [A], while another son of Antiochus IX, Antiochus X *Pius* (mother unidentified) “vigorously opposed” two other relatives, Demetrius III *Eucerus* (son of Selene [A] and Antiochus VIII) and Philip/*Philippus* (full or half-brother of both Antiochus X and Demetrius III).

Antiochus XI was defeated and killed; the circumstances and by whom are unclear. Seleucus VI ultimately was driven out by Antiochus X. Demetrius III took Damascus with the aid of “Ptolemy IX, who “made him king” there, while Philip managed to get control “over some part of Syria.” At the finish of these events, Selene [A] was queen of Antiochus X.

Subsequently, Antiochus X fell while fighting as an auxiliary on an unassociated front. Demetrius III and Philip divided Syrian territories; Demetrius III reigned at Damascus and Philip was “over some part.” (Selene’s status at this time is uncertain.)

“Of the maritime cities” Ptolemais and Gaza remained unconquered. Alexander I Janneus laid siege at Ptolemais where a “tyrant” named Zoilus had involved himself. The people of Ptolemais sent for Ptolemy IX, who came with his fleet. Alexander I Janneus proposed to Cleopatra IV that they fake an alliance with Ptolemy IX, to get him to dispose of Zoilus. She accepted and Alexander I withdrew.

Ptolemy IX disposed of Zoilus. Then, awakened to the deception, he set his generals to besiege Ptolemais while he himself went to confront Alexander I, who was on the march with a force of “about 50,000”/“80,000.” Enroute, Ptolemy IX took Asochis in the Galilee and made an attempt on Sepphoris. The battle with Alexander I was met “at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth,” where “a great slaughter [initially] was made by both.” Ptolemy IX’s losses were compensated by “auxiliaries;” Alexander I was not, and he was vanquished. Ptolemy IX “exercised the greatest cruelty upon the Jews [/Hebrews];” he

¹⁰Note how the name “Salome” is lost at this point in its descendant uses, as is reflected on the charts, e.g. at Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, L, the Salome who was daughter of a woman known by name, only—Elpide/Elpis—should be designated IV, and, at E, the Salome who was daughter of Herodias (and granddaughter of Miriam II) should be III (Salome “Alexandra” being II; Salome I, Herod the Great’s half-sister or sister. (If not ‘royalty’ only is followed, a fifth Salome appears twice more in the within era—refer to Appendix 4C, Salome. As to the origins of Alexandra, they may be knowable, in that research for this compilation encountered only one, uncited source that philologically tied Alexandra to Helena/Helene. In the same vein, Alexandros, found suggested for Trojan prince Paris, abductor of “Helen/[Helene].” Jackson, Guida M., Traditional Epics, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

¹¹ Reappearance of the “Antigonid” dynastic name, borne by Alexander the Great’s Macedonian general, Antigonus.

¹² See Appendix 4C, Palaestina/Palestine.

“overran all the country,” occupied “certain villages of Judea,” and got control of Gaza.

Meanwhile, Demetrius III had warned the people of Ptolemais that, if they backed Ptolemy IX, Cleopatra IV eventually would bring out her army, which was commanded by generals Chelcias and Ananias (sons of Onias IV of the prefecture/temple at Heliopolis, Egypt¹³). Cleopatra IV, seeing Ptolemy IX practically at her gate, sent her fleet to Phoenicia under Ptolemy X. She herself went with the land army to Ptolemais. She was refused entry, conducted a siege and took possession of the city. Meanwhile, Ptolemy IX made an assault on Egypt, expecting it to be defenseless. Cleopatra IV’s forces drove him back to Gaza; commander Chelcias “died at this time.” Ptolemy IX abandoned his attempt on Egypt and returned to Cyprus.

Subsequently, Alexander I Janneus went on an “expedition” into “Celesyria [/Coele-Syria].” He took Gadara and Amathus, and moved on to Gaza. The Gazans fought stoutly under their general, Appollodorus, encouraged by expected assistance from Aretas, king of the Arabians. Before Aretas could arrive, however, Appollodorus was killed by his brother, “Lysimachus [undesigned¹⁴].” Lysimachus gathered the Gazan army and “delivered up the city to Alexander Janneus.”

“Some of” Cleopatra IV’s friends counseled her to “seize Alexander and...take possession of his country,” laid to waste by Ptolemy IX. General “Ananias’ counseled to the contrary... [claiming it would be]...unjust action...[against] a man that was her ally...’and a man who is related to us.” Cleopatra IV met and made league with Alexander I at “Scythopolis, a city of Celesyria.” Afterward, Ptolemy X “put Cleopatra [IV] to death.” (Thebes, for refusing to accept him, was reduced to ruins in a three-year siege.) He reigned until about 88/87 b.c.e., when he was murdered “by one of his subjects”; alternately, “by the people of Alexandria,” who installed Ptolemy IX.

Alexander I had enlarged his domain by a number of Idumaeen cities, and Antipas [/Antipater II¹⁵] served as “general[/regional governor] of all Idumea.” Alexander also had acquired some territory out of of Syria and Phoenicia, and had “Arabians,” “Moabites and Gileadites” under tribute. His “entire army” was demolished, however, in a battle “at Gadara, near Golan” with Arabian successor-king Obedas. Alexander, never a favorite of the multitude, faced an insurrection on his return to Jerusalem. Over the next six years he “slew not fewer than 50,000 of the Jews[/Hebrews].” By the time he finally sought negotiations, his “subjects” had solicited a league with Demetrius III of Damascus.

Demetrius III “readily complied,” and came with his army” (“the ‘Jews’ joined with those their auxiliaries about Shechem”). Victory went to the Demetrius III force. Demetrius, then “divested of those who had enticed his involvement,” returned to his country, and 6,000 Jewish/Hebrew soldiers went over to Alexander. Of “the rest of the multitude...[who] had perpetual war with Alexander,” he eventually slew “the greatest part,” took many captives, returned to Jerusalem, and crucified about 800. Alexander finally procured a tenuous quiet in his kingdom, but 8000 persons stayed “fugitives” from him for the rest of his reign.

Demetrius III pursued conquest of Philip, in Syria; Philip obtained as allies “tyrant” Strato (of Berea), Zizon (an Arabian tribal ruler), and Parthian Mithridates Sinax. Demetrius III was overcome and became a captive of Parthian king Mithridates. So Philip “presently...came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.”

In 86 b.c.e. Rome sacked Athens. In this timeframe, Antiochus XII *Dionysius*

¹³ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV (Temple Sites), C.

¹⁴ Some names from the past (along with new ones) now begin to appear in territorial quests. Lysimachus #1, king of Macedonia c. 286 b.c.e., became first husband, in his old age, of Arsinoe #2 (daughter of Ptolemy I and possibly of Arsinoe #1) and father of Arsinoe #2’s son, Lysimachus #2—Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, page 1, B(6) and C(1). The name “Cleopatra” first was encountered in Cleopatra [A]—Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4, (3)—daughter of Philip II and Olympias of Macedonia and, according to references, full-blooded sister of Alexander III the Great.

¹⁵ Appendix 4B, Attachment 2 (Descendancy chart through the Herodians). (This “Antipas[/Antipater II],” father of Herod the Great, is not to be confused with the later Herod son, Antipas.)

(possibly another son of Antiochus VIII) got control of Damascus and then proceeded with an expedition against the Arabian Nabataeans. An attempt by Philip to regain Damascus in the absence of Antiochus XII failed. Meanwhile, Alexander I tried to hinder Antiochus XII's army as it passed through Judaea and instead wound up, near Adida, tangling with and being defeated by Nabataea's king Aretas. Aretas retired from Alexander I after extracting "certain conditions agreed upon." Antiochus XII, however, died in desperate battle with Aretas c. 85 b.c.e.¹⁶ Aretas became "king of Coele Syria."

In 84 b.c.e., Rome sacked Ephesus. A year later Tigranes I, king of Armenia, invaded Coele Syria and caused Aretas to evacuate Damascus. Selene A's status/domicile at this point is uncertain.

Two to three years later, Ptolemy IX of Egypt died and was succeeded by his only daughter, Cleopatra V *Tryphaena* (mother unidentified). After six months Cleopatra V was "married" with Ptolemy XI *Alexander II* (son of an unidentified mother and Ptolemy X *Alexander I*). Within 19 days of Ptolemy XI's appointment he fell "into the hands of Mithridates."

Cleopatra V then became joined with Ptolemy XII *Alexander III* (second son of Ptolemy X and an unidentified mother). Ptolemy XII's tenure was brief; he was banished "by his subjects" c. 80 b.c.e.¹⁷

"[T]he people of Alexandria" installed Ptolemy XIII *Auletes* (son of Ptolemy IX and an unidentified mother). Ptolemy XIII did not survive long in this tenure; at some point he was "banished by the Alexandrians," although only temporarily.¹⁸

Berenice/Bernice [C], Ptolemy XIII's "eldest" daughter--considered "legitimate"--was proclaimed by "the people of Alexandria" to be co-queen with Cleopatra V, "her mother." The co-reign lasted only a year.

Ptolemy XI, freed by Mithridates, was restored in Egypt by Roman dictator Sylla. Ptolemy XI "married and [then] murdered" Cleopatra V.¹⁹ He, himself, was murdered within a few days, "by his subjects"/"by the people of Alexandria," and Berenice remained as queen.

Meanwhile, Alexander I Jannaeus toward the end of his reign completed a three-year expedition, during which he took many sites, among them, Gerasa, Gamala, Golan, "that valley... called 'the Valley of Antiochus,'" and Pella. Consequently, "the Jews/[Hebrews] were in possession of many cities that had belonged to the Syrians, Idumaeans and Phoenicians."

Alexander I died c. 76 b.c.e., and Alexandra I conducted all affairs according to his last instructions. They included (a) securing Jerusalem's fortress before releasing news of his demise, (b) sharing power with the Pharisees (as they "had great authority among the Jews" and "would reconcile the nation to her"), and (c) pursuing reconciliations between the Pharisee and Sadducee parties. Toward those ends, Alexandra I restored Pharisaic practices "abrogated" by her father-in-law, John Hyrcanus I. She appointed John Hyrcanus II (one of her two named sons by Alexander I) as Chief Priest, reportedly because he had an a-political nature amenable to peaceable inter-party relations.

Alexandra I was "sagacious" in managing "great affairs." She increased her army by half, including a great body of foreign troops, and became very powerful both at home and

¹⁶ Most of the survivors of Antiochus XII's army fled to "the village Cana," where they perished for want of "necessities."

¹⁷ It is unclear whether/when the queen's co-rulers may have been domiciled in and co-ruled from cities outside of Egypt proper (e.g. Ptolemy XII would die c. 65 b.c.e. at Tyre, having maintained claim to an interest in the Egyptian kingdom. As detailed later, his last will would leave it "to the Roman people," adding impetus to inter-empire combats.)

¹⁸ He would be restored by Rome c. 55 b.c.e. The uncertain interim period admits questions of when and of whom were born and borne Ptolemy XIII's progeny (including Cleopatra VII "the Great"), also discussed later.

¹⁹ It is unknown whether Cleopatra V unsuspectingly entered into the union to settle the dangers attendant to disputed successions (as had Cleopatra II with Ptolemy VIII, only to have Ptolemy VIII murder her infant son the very day of the nuptials, and subsequently repudiate her--Appendix 4B, Attachment 4 chart and related narrative).

abroad. Alexandra sent out her army, on the premise that the banished Ptolemy XIII was harassing Damascus, and took possession of it without “any considerable resistance.” Meanwhile, insurrection at Antioch had expelled Philip, while “Selene the queen...persuaded the inhabitants of Damascus to repel [her aggressor] Tigranes [I of Armenia].”²⁰ Tigranes responded with a large military expedition into Syria, laid siege at and took Ptolemais. He captured Selene (it is unclear when and where²¹) and put her to death. Alexandra I, apprehensive, sent ambassadors and gifts to Tigranes and made “agreements” with him. Subsequently, Tigranes was forced to withdraw temporarily from his Syria to respond to Parthian incursions into Armenia.

Pharisees in Alexandra I’s domain never left off hounding her to punish certain opponents they claimed had abetted Alexander I’s massacre of 800 of their constituents. Eventually, lasting vengeance resulted in their murdering several of those they accused. “[T]he principal of those [who were accused and] in danger fled to Aristobulus [II],” Alexandra’s other, “warm-tempered” son by Alexander I. Alexandra was persuaded by Aristobulus II simply to expel them, and they “dispersed all over the country.”

In this timeframe Herod the Great was born c. 72 b.c.e. to Cypros II by Antipater II, the regional governor of Idumaea appointed under Alexander I. In 70 b.c.e. the Roman senate elected Crassus and Pompey as consuls. Regional interventions by various Roman generals began to escalate.

In about 69 b.c.e. Roman general Lucullus expelled Tigranes I completely from Syrian dominions and installed Antiochus XIII *Asiaticus* (son of Selene A and Antiochus XI), with whom Philip warred unsuccessfully.

At Jerusalem, leading Pharisees pressured queen Alexandra I that, if she truly was committed to them, she would “place them every one in her fortresses.” They threatened that if she did not they would become auxiliaries of king Aretas. Alexandra capitulated and gave those [undesigned] Pharisees command of 22 fortresses. She kept her “principal treasures,” being Hyrcania, Alexandrium and Macherus.²²

Alexandra I then fell ill, and Aristobulus II commenced to solidify plans for a coup (his unnamed wife was the only household person who knew his intentions). Within two weeks he had controlling power over all 22 of the fortresses, “wherein his [Pharisee] friends...were settled.” Aristobulus II then gathered an army of mercenaries, and he “made himself king.”

Alexandra I attempted to support Hyrcanus II. She went so far as to put his wife and children under guard in Antonia [“Citadel”/Tower of Antonia], a fortress joined to the north part of the temple. It was 67 b.c.e. and Alexandra was 73 years old and failing, when Hyrcanus II and the “elders of the Jews” consulted her as to how they should proceed. She “bid them to do what they thought proper.” Shortly thereafter, having reigned nine years, she died.

Alexandra I had committed her kingdom to Hyrcanus II, but “Aristobulus was superior...in power and magnanimity.” Their battle for the crown was met at Jericho, where most Hyrcanus men defected to Aristobulus. Hyrcanus retreated to the Jerusalem citadel and sent a conciliatory message to Aristobulus. An agreement was effected between them in the presence of “the whole multitude” at temple. Hyrcanus II retained dignity; but he both yielded the crown and surrendered his office. Aristobulus II became high priest as well as king.

Civil warring had persisted in ‘Syria’ between Philip II (son of Philip I) and his (uncle?)

²⁰ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, P (2), for Tigranes.

²¹ Refer to Appendix 4B, I, fns. 22 and 23.

²² See Appendix 4C, Alexandrium and Macherus. See Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Hyrcanium (very possibly the site mentioned here), built by the “Hyrcanus (son of Tobias),” the first to appear with the name. See also Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4 *at and in* fn. 13 (origin of the name); Appendix 4B, Attachment 1, at fn. 4 (“Hyrcania,” a place held by Antigonus’ sister”); and Appendix 2A, Hyrcania.

Antiochus XIII. In the same year that Aristobulus II took possession of Alexandria I's kingdom, Antiochus XIII was extinguished (by an Arabian prince of "Emesa"). *Circa* 65 b.c.e. Egypt's Ptolemy XII (previously banished) died at Tyre. By his will he left all rights of his in Egypt's kingdom "to the Roman people" (as a "client kingdom").²³

65 b.c.e. is given also as the year that Syria's Antiochus XIII *Asiaticus* was deposed by Pompey "the Great," Rome's consul general in the east. 'Syria' was made a Roman province.

Also in this timeframe, Rome annexed Crete and Cyprus (the latter, c. 58 b.c.e.²⁴). Pompey drove Mithridates VII out of Pontus and joined it to Rome's province of Bithynia. Pompey then proceeded to war with Tigranes in Armenia, while Pompey's general Scaurus took Damascus from two other generals who just previously had taken it themselves.

In the meantime, Antipater II of Idumaea, friend of Hyrcanus II, was lobbying "the most powerful of the Jews" against Aristobulus II and pressing Hyrcanus to eject him. Antipater II, who was in a league with Arabia, Gaza and Ascalon, finally persuaded Hyrcanus II to ally with Aretas. They met at Petra, and Hyrcanus II pledged to return to Aretas--if the alliance proved successful--the 12 Arabian cities that had been taken by Alexander I.

Aristobulus II began with a large army, except after a first battle "many went over to Hyrcanus." Aristobulus, left "desolate," retreated to Jerusalem's temple where siege was laid against him by "united forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together." "[N]one but the priests continued...inside the walls,"²⁵ while the "principal Jews fled the country, into Egypt."

Scaurus "made haste thither [to Jerusalem] as to a certain booty," "interposed himself and lifted the siege." He ordered Aretas to get out or be declared a Roman enemy; "terrified," Aretas retired to "Philadelphia."²⁶ Scaurus extracted 300 "talents" from Aristobulus II and returned to Damascus. About this time, Pompey went on the march himself for Damascus. Enroute, his army demolished the Apamia citadel,²⁷ "took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus ["ruler of Chalcis, under Mount Lebanon"], and crossed "the mountain...on the limit of Celesyria" via Pella, to Damascus.

Pompey had issued a summons that all regional contenders appear before him at Damascus in the spring. Contenders and ambassadors assembled from all regions ('Judaea,' 'Syria' and Egypt). Hyrcanus II's lead ambassador was Antipater II; Aristobulus II's, Nicodemus. Pompey received testimony "of the [unnamed] nation against them both, which [nation] did not desire to be under kingly government [but rather] the form [of government of] their forefathers [a theocracy]." Pompey shelved the issue, admonishing the brothers to keep the peace until his return from "a view of the affairs of the Nabataeans."

Aristobulus II was not to be deterred. He incurred Pompey's wrath by again going on the march. Pompey, entreated by Hyrcanus II and his friends, took his legions, with Syrian and Damascene auxiliaries, against Aristobulus. Aristobulus retreated to the fortified stronghold of Alexandrium, where he finally was reduced. In a meeting with Pompey and Hyrcanus, Aristobulus submitted and wrote commands to all his "governors," to yield up all fortresses. Aristobulus was released and returned to Jerusalem (reportedly, however, with no intention of letting Pompey succeed).

The very next day Pompey himself set out for Jerusalem from his camp "at Jericho." On the arrival of Pompey and his force, Aristobulus supplicated. He promised Pompey money--virtually the city itself--and Pompey, apparently temporarily satisfied, withdrew. Then,

²³Consult fn. 17.

²⁴ An undesignated "Ptolemy, illegitimate but [successor-] son of Ptolemy IX," poisoned himself on the Romans' approach.

²⁵ As is later indicated, the number of "priests" was substantial. (This paragraph, in which [Hebrews] has not been included, reflects the impossibility of discerning when, if ever, strictly Judaeans Hebrews["Jews"] is to be understood.

²⁶ Present-day Amman, Jordan; anciently, Rabbah, etc.—refer to Appendix 2A, Rabbah.

²⁷Cf. Appendix 2A, Apamea/Orontem.

when Roman consul Gabinius later went to collect, not only did Aristobulus' soldiers "not permit the agreements to be executed," they denied Gabinius entry to the city. Sedition heightened, between factions wanting to surrender the city to the Romans and those not. Aristobulus II, in some manner and at some point, was taken prisoner. His partisans, however, retained control of the temple and prepared to be besieged. Pompey returned, and [undesigned] supporters inside the city admitted him and his army and surrendered the king's palace, where Pompey established a garrison.

High priest Hyrcanus II assisted Pompey in every way in extensive siege preparations - construction of banks, battering machines from Tyre, etc. Within three months the temple's towers had been felled and "the enemy poured in apace." "All was slaughter;" some Jews/Hebrews were slain by Roman forces, "some by one another." "[T]he greatest part" of the many priests "were slain by their own countrymen of the adverse faction," while "an innumerable number" committed suicide. (Absalom, Aristobulus II's "uncle and father-in law," was taken captive.)

The year 64 b.c.e. generally is assigned to when Pompey took Jerusalem, made it tributary to Rome, and "confin[ed] the whole nation." Pompey made Scaurus governor of Celesyria ("of the counries as far as Egypt and Euphrates"), which included the "provinces of Syria and Judaea and those cities of Celesyria "which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued," and gave him two supporting legions. Hyrcanus II was confirmed as High Priest.

Pompey proceeded hastily to Rome, carrying "bound along with him Aristobulus II and his children: "two daughters (Alexandra III and one unnamed), and as many sons," being Alexander II and Antigonus II. No mother(s) are identified. Aristobulus' wife is not named among the captives taken to Rome. The only wife of Aristobulus II described is the earlier-mentioned "daughter of Absalom;" and the unnamed wife of Aristobulus reappears later, at Alexandria.²⁸ His son, Alexander II was married to Alexandra II, the only named daughter of John Hyrcanus II (mother unidentified).

In and about 59 b.c.e., Pompey at Rome received Egypt's banished Ptolemy XIII and 100 of Ptolemy XIII's opponents were put to death. That same year the Roman Senate ratified Pompey's arrangements for governance in the East. Pompey, Crassus and Julius Caesar agreed to act together for mutual interests, and Julius Caesar was made a third consul. Their "triumvirate" commissioned Gabinius and his legion to restore Ptolemy XIII to Egypt's throne.

Meanwhile, Antipater II, at Hyrcanus II's command, furnished governor/"president" Scaurus with all that needed for an expedition against Aretas at Petra. Scaurus induced Aretas to pay 300 talents to Hyrcanus II for Scaurus to withdraw.

In Egypt, the solely-reigning Berenice C had sent to Syria for a husband and had married one Seleucis Cybiosactes (another son of Selene A, by Antiochus XI), "to whom the Egyptians referred the crown of which they had robbed [the banished] Auletes [Ptolemy XIII]." Withjn "days," however, Berenice had Cybiosactes strangled.²⁹

Alexander II had managed somehow to "escape" while the captives were enroute to Rome. "In some time," Alexander II had canvassed the country and assembled a large army, which "lay heavy upon Hyrcanus [II] [and] overran Judea." Alexander II's forces captured Alexandria, Hyrcanium and Macherus. Alexander apparently also had gained some control of 'Syria,'³⁰ and his home base temporarily is uncertain. In this interim, Hyrcanus II was attempting to rebuild Jerusalem walls but was being hampered by the Roman garrison.

The Romans now marshalled forces against Alexander II. Gabinius set Mark Antony

²⁸ At fifth paragraph following.

²⁹ Some sources say he was dispatched by Berenice's mother; but since she seemingly already was dead, this paragraph may be ill-sequenced.

³⁰ See Appendix 4A, fn. 30.

and other commanders over “such Romans as followed them,” together with “such Jews as were subject to them...and also their friends that were with Antipater [II]).” Gabinius followed with his own legion.

In a battle “in the neighborhood of Jerusalem,” 6000 Alexander II men were killed and 3000 were taken captive. Alexander and the rest of his men retreated to Alexandrium and refused to surrender. The Roman-led forces laid siege, in which Hyrcanus II apparently took part. Alexander II’s unnamed mother, concerned for her captive husband (Aristobulus II) and children at Rome, mollified Gabinius and pleaded with son Alexander to submit. He acquiesced, sent representatives to beg Gabinius’ pardon, and delivered up the three fortresses he had possessed, which afterward reportedly were demolished.

Gabinius committed care of Jerusalem’s temple to Hyrcanus II; but he ordained the “political government to be by an aristocracy and ordained five counsils, distributing the nation into the same number of parts.” The councils, respectively, “governed the people” at Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho and Sepphoris. “So the Jews/[Hebrews] were now freed from monarchic authority and were governed by an aristocracy.”

In 56 b.c.e., Pompey, Crassus and Julius Caesar renewed the triumvirate and agreed on their future territorial commands, by which “these men divided among them the Roman world.”

Meanwhile, Aristobulus II and his other son, Antigonus II, by some means also were freed from Rome and assembled former supporters. In about 55 b.c.e. they heard that Sisenna, Mark Antony, and Servilius had been sent against them. They made for Macherus with 8000 of their men and 1000 soldiers that defected to them under their Roman lieutenant, Pitholaus. Battle was engaged enroute. Five thousand of Aristobulus II’s soldiers were slain and 2000 fled, but the remainder broke through the Roman lines and reached for Macherus.

The siege at Macherus lasted two days. Aristobulus II and Antigonus II both were recaptured. Aristobulus II, and it appears Antigonus II, also, were sent back to Rome. The captive children of Aristobulus, however, were “returned...back to Judea” by Gabinius, in keeping with his promise to their mother to do so, in return for Alexander II delivering up the fortresses. This year also generally is given as 55 b.c.e.

Gabinius made use of Hyrcanus II and Antipater II to prepare all necessities for the campaign to restore Ptolemy XIII in Egypt, where Berenice C now “had married Archelaus, priest of Bellona.”³¹ Gabinius gained entry into Egypt via confederates “from those Jews who were above Pelusium...guardians of the passes that led into Egypt.” Archelaus, who had been on Egypt’s throne only “six months,” died in the ensuing battle.” Ptolemy XIII was restored, and he “slew...his daughter [Berenice C].” These events also are placed c. 55 b.c.e.

Alexander II resurged while Gabinius was engaged in Egypt. He reassembled “a very great army,” “brought the Jews to revolt again,” “seized the government a second time,” and laid siege at Gerizzim.³² Gabinius left Antipater II in the field and made haste to ‘Syria,’ which also was “in disorder, with seditions.”

Antipater II “prevailed with some of the revolters,” but 30,000 remained with Alexander II. Then, at a battle at Mt. Tabor, 10,000 of Alexander’s men fell and “the rest of the multitude dispersed.” Afterward, Gabinius returned to Jerusalem and “settled the government as Antipater would have it.” Gabinius then proceeded to gain a victory over “the Nabateans,” turned over regional governance to Crassus, and returned to Rome.

³¹ Archelaus had been “made priest of Comana by Pompey.”

³² The temple in the ‘north’—refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV (Temple Sites) and Appendix 3B, II, Detail B (the building of the Gerizzim temple authorized by Alexander III the Great).

Ptolemy XIII died of disease c. 51 b.c.e., before “he had much time to reign” in Egypt. Mother(s) are indefinite for all four of his surviving children—daughters Cleopatra VII and Arsinoe [#4], and their full or half-brothers Ptolemy XIV *Dionysius* and Ptolemy, XV.³³ The “Alexandrians” accepted Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIV as co-rulers.

Concomitant with this time, Parthia had overrun Syria; and Crassus went on the march, swinging first through Judaea, where he seized the temple treasury for his needs. Crassus perished in Parthia c. 51 b.c.e. and Cassius followed. Cassius stopped Parthian invasions, took possession of Syria, and made a hasty detour through Judaea, where he took 30,000 captives, killed Pitholaus (reportedly, on Antipater II’s advice), and “forced Alexander II to come to terms and to be quiet.”

At Rome, competition was simmering between parties of Pompey and Julius Caesar. In Egypt, “associates” of Ptolemy XIV caused an uprising that drove out Cleopatra VII; she set sail with Arsinoe #4 to Syria. At another point in this timeframe, Pompey sent general Scipio after Alexander II. Scipio captured and cut off Alexander’s head, “and thus did he die at Antioch.”³⁴

As “the Roman state finally broke up into two hostile factions, the aristocratical party joined Pompey, who was in the city, and the popular party [sought] help from [Julius] Caesar...[then] at the head of an army in Gaul.” “Curio...changed his party...to Caesar [and] brought [his friend, Mark] Antony over.” In 49 b.c.e. the Roman Senate threatened to declare Julius Caesar a public enemy unless he laid down his command. Proconsuls Mark Antony and Cassius vetoed the action.

Julius Caesar conquered Pompey c. 48/46 b.c.e. Pompey and the senate fled “beyond the Ionian Sea.” Pompey, heading for Egypt, was captured and killed. “For the first time in history the world of the ancients extending from the Euphrates to the Atlantic bowed to one [imperial] will.” Rome had its first “emperor”—Julius Caesar, “holding all chief religious and civil offices of the republic...king in all but name.”

Julius Caesar freed Aristobulus II and Antigonus II and sent them with two legions to take ‘Syria’ and neighboring parts. Aristobulus was poisoned by Pompey supporters before the campaign got underway. “Ptolemy, son of Menneus,”³⁵ invited Aristobulus’ widow to send him her son (Antigonus II) “and her daughters,” but it is unclear that Antigonus II in fact accompanied his sisters.³⁶

Julius Caesar then invaded Egypt. He had met Cleopatra VII at some point during her exile, but it cannot be fixed when the relationship became personal. Antipater II, “who managed the Jewish affairs,” was “very useful” in the Egyptian campaign, “by order of Hyrcanus [II].” Ptolemy XIV was killed “in the fighting around Alexandria” (or Julius Caesar “put the lad to death;” or both).

Julius Caesar installed Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV as co-sovereigns of Egypt, a client kingdom of Rome. Julius then “pass[ed] through Syria and Asia Minor,” and “settled the affairs of the provinces.” Antigonus II alleged that the murders of his father and brother had been “by Antipater’s means.” Julius, however, was indebted to Antipater II for heroism in the Egyptian campaign and allowed him “to choose what authority he pleased.” Antipater II was “constituted... procurator of all Judea.”³⁷ Julius denied the petition of Antigonus II to be recognized as High Priest and confirmed Hyrcanus II in the position. Hyrcanus was permitted to re-raise Jerusalem’s walls, and Antipater II proceeded also “to rebuild that wall of his own

³³The sole details are that Ptolemy XV and Arsinoe were “the two younger children” and Berenice was the oldest daughter; although Berenice’s age of majority implies conception prior to her father’s banishment, and the reference to her as “legitimate,” that her natural mother was Cleopatra V.

³⁴See *at and in* fn. 30.

³⁵King of Chalcidica.

³⁶“...one of which...Alexandra [III], became wife first to said Ptolemy’s son, Philippion” (afterward killed by his father, who himself then married her).

³⁷Again, a term which in context is not to be equated automatically with post-David ‘southern’ kingdom.

country which Pompey had overthrown.”

Antipater II (who “saw Hyrcanus II...not fit to manage”) wielded great power after Julius Caesar departed ‘Syria;’ the people were threatened with punishments if they did not submit. Antipater “constituted his eldest son, Phasaleus [I, to be] governor of Jerusalem and the parts about it,” and he “sent his next son, Herod [the Great], who was very young [“but 15 years of age”], with equal authority in the Galilee.” Herod the Great quickly entered the good graces of Sextus Caesar,³⁸ “president” of Syria. These events commonly are fixed c. 47 b.c.e., the same year ascribed to the birth of Ptolemy XVI *Caesarion*, Cleopatra VII’s only child by Julius Caesar.

“[C]hief men of the Jews,” and “many people in the royal palace itself,” were derogative of Hyrcanus II’s perceived manipulation by Antipater II (reportedly, Antipater sent Hyrcanus tributes to Rome as if from himself). In the Galilee, Herod the Great showed aggression early, when he unilaterally killed one Hezekiah and his followers without The Law’s requisite Sanhedrin trial. Critics and mothers of those slain at length pressured Hyrcanus II to summon Herod to Jerusalem to answer charges.

Herod garrisoned the Galilee and took an army with him, while Sextus sent Hyrcanus II a threatening epistle. The Sanhedrin stood ready to convict. Hyrcanus, however, caved in and only made Herod leave. Herod went to Sextus “at Damascus,” to prepare for an assault on Jerusalem; but he backed off, on counsel from father Antipater and brother Phaeselus. Sextus made Herod general of Coelestria and Samaria (“sold him that post”).

In Rome, “the aristocrats could not yield forever their own titles of lords of the earth and their privilege of misrule.” They simultaneously honored Julius Caesar and plotted his death-- “some 60 of them” were involved, chief among them, Brutus and Cassius. In 44 b.c.e. they killed Julius. Mark Antony ostensibly was left at the head of government. He, however, reportedly managed “with absolute power;” the Republic degenerated into factions.

Sextus Caesar allied with Antony. Julius’s old soldiers flocked to his great-nephew and heir, Octavianus/Octavian (later, Caesar *Augustus*). In Egypt, Cleopatra VII murdered Ptolemy XV and took regency for Julius’ son, Ptolemy XVI.

Octavian dealt Antony an initial blow; one Bassus killed Sextus Caesar and took his army; and civil war erupted between Romans at Apamia (“affairs of Syria were in great disorder”). Octavian sent one Marcus to recover Syria’s government, while Antipater II’s “sons” took part in battling Bassus. Cassius entered and supravened. He reconciled Bassus and Marcus, reconciled the military to his command, and imposed heavy tributes throughout the region. Herod the Great garnered Cassius’ “greatest favour,” in that extractions from the Galilee were the first collected.

Roman contenders Octavian and Antony finally came to an “understanding,” upon which the Roman Senate ratified a second triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and one Lepidus (former master of horse of Julius Caesar). Altogether, they possessed 43 legions. Rome’s civil warring was not at an end, however. Brutus and Cassius had “got together an army out of Syria;” and as they gained power Herod the Great first followed them. They gave him a fleet, made him general of the forces in Coelestria, and appointed him procurator of all Syria, with a promise to later make him a king. Once they were gone, however, one Malichus, a former leader of Jews subject to the Romans, began a quest for local power with a party of armed men.

Malichus’ first act was to bribe Hyrcanus II’s cupbearer to poison Antipater II. Malichus feigned innocence in the death of Antipater II, but Herod and Phasaelus were certain otherwise. They chose to wait, however, and get him into their hands “by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country.” Shortly thereafter, Malichus influenced Hyrcanus II to deny entry to Jerusalem of Herod the Great’s armed contingent

³⁸Son of Julia [#3], Julius Caesar’s daughter, and Pompey?

when he arrived at the city for a feast day. Herod was told that, as “foreigners,” they ought not mix with the people “while they were purifying themselves.” Herod brought in his men anyway, by night, and continued to restrain himself with Malichus, who hoped to start a revolt, while Cassius and Brutus (Herod’s allies at the time) were occupied elsewhere in their struggles. Herod wrote to Cassius, who also hated Malichus. Cassius replied that Herod should avenge his father’s death. Herod enticed Malichus and Hyrcanus II to Tyre, for a proposed banquet. Cassius’ commanders had received orders to assist Herod, and Malichus was surrounded and killed.

Herod then made a visit to the prefect of Damascus, where he was detained by illness. In his absence, Felix, Malichus’s brother, made a sudden assault on Phasaelus and secured “a great many” fortresses. Phasaelus eventually cornered Felix and extracted “certain conditions;” and he complained to Herod that Hyrcanus II had abetted the enemy.

Malichus’ brother continued to instigate revolts “in many places.” And now it was that Ptolemy, son of Menneus, underwrote the return of Antigonus II. Antigonus also had support of one Marion, a “tyrant” that Cassius had placed over Tyre. Antigonus marched into the Galilee and managed to garrison three fortresses. Herod the Great returned from Damascus, recovered the fortresses, drove out Antigonus II in a major battle, and then drove Marion from the Galilee and Felix from Masada.

Herod “contracted an affinity” with Hyrcanus II; and he became “espoused to” Miriamne/ Miriam I,³⁹ granddaughter of Hyrcanus II and daughter of Alexandra II and the now deceased Alexander II. It appears that Miriam and Alexandra II were in custody of Hyrcanus II, but it is not stated whether they then were living at the royal palace. A third Hasmonaean female, an unnamed daughter of Alexandra II and Alexander II, would also have been in that company, in that at some point she became the wife of Herod the Great’s youngest brother, Pheroras.

Circa 42 b.c.e., within two years of Julius Caesar’s death, Cassius and Brutus were conquered by Octavian and Antony in battles near Philippi (Cassius and Brutus both committed suicide). Mark Antony either already had been, or then was married to Octavian’s sister, Octavia; and the second triumvirate was renewed for five more years. Lepidus soon dropped out, leaving Antony in the East and Octavian in the West as “sole masters of the Roman empire” and all its provinces.

Mark Antony then “marched for Asia.” At Bithynia he received ambassadors from all parts, including “principal men of the Jews” and Herod the Great, who reportedly had secured Antony’s friendship with large sums of money. The “principal men” charged that Hyrcanus II was but a figurehead, and that Phasaelus I and Herod the Great kept the government by force; but Antony was not disposed to listen to any charges. Instead, Antony later at Ephesus received a Hyrcanus II ambassador with a gift of a gold crown, and released captives taken by Cassius. Also at some point in this timeframe, Antony met Cleopatra VII In Cilicia, and he “was brought” to fall in love with her.⁴⁰

Herod the Great was accused before Antony again (at Daphne, “by Antioch”), by “one hundred of the most potent of the Jews”--“all...in the presence of Hyrcanus II,” who was Herod’s [espoused] father-in-law already.” Hyrcanus II, when Antony asked who governed best, responded, “Herod and his friends”/“his party.” Antony imprisoned 15 of the opponent ambassadors (to kill “presently”), drove away the others in disgrace, made Herod the Great (in the ‘north’) and Phasaelus (in the ‘south’) each a tetrarch, “committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose.”

When the news of Antony’s appointments reached Jerusalem, “a still greater tumult

³⁹ While the “Miiramnes/Miriamns in this volume commence with roman numeral I, two uses of the name do precede them (volume one).

⁴⁰ While not necessarily(?) she, with him.

arose.” Antony, at Tyre enroute to Rome with money received from the Herodian brothers, had Tyre’s governor take care of 1,000 ambassadors who had gathered there to confront Antony. Many were killed and wounded.

In the year following Antony’s appointments, Parthians “possessed themselves of Syria,” while Antigonus II allied with Lysanias, a succeeding son of Ptolemy, son of Menneus. An offer of one thousand talents and 500 women was accepted by Pacorus, Parthia’s commanding prince, to kill Herod the Great, depose Hyrcanus II, and install Antigonus.

Pacorus, marching along the coast, was “received” by Sidon and Ptolemais. Parthian commander Barzapharnes took the midlands. Antigonus II’s force was joined by the “Jews[Hebrews] that dwelt about Mount Carmel” and continued to grow as it went toward Jerusalem. By “Pentecost” tens of thousands were gathered at Jerusalem, some armored, some not. Heavy battling took place in Jerusalem’s marketplace. Antigonus partisans already in Jerusalem were joined by more and laid siege at the royal palace, which was being defended by some of Herod’s soldiers. Phasaelus had charge of the city wall, while Herod and his troops made sallies into the suburbs. Many of the revolutionaries fled. Some took refuge in the temple and were surrounded, some were captured and others were cornered in various places. Battling continued, “by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes and daily skirmishes,” with “slaughters made continually among them.”

Phasaelus and Hyrcanus II, who fought together, went to assist Herod. Antigonus II contacted Phasaelus (at some point and in some fashion not described) and persuaded Phasaelus to negotiate an end to the warring. Phasaelus admitted Pacorus into the city, on the premise that he simply would “still the sedition” while negotiations were arranged with Barzapharnes. Phasaelus and Hyrcanus II elected to go, despite Herod’s exhortations against it.

Phasaelus and Hyrcanus II, unsuspecting of their allied foe’s true plans, were escorted from Jerusalem toward the site of the expected negotiations. Meanwhile, Galilaeans had joined the revolution--Phasaelus and Hyrcanus were met by “governors of the[ir] cities...in arms.” Phasaelus and Hyrcanus realized, by the time they were led to Ecdippon (a “maritime” city), that they were being kept alive only until the Great was seized. Barzapharnes refused Phasaelus’ offer to pay him more money than Antigonus, denying there ever had been any such arrangement. Phasaelus and Hyrcanus were placed in bonds, and “that [unnamed] cup-bearer of the royal family” was sent to Jerusalem to lure out Herod.

At Jerusalem, the “most potent of the Parthians...[and] lords of the rest” deceitfully urged Herod to accompany them outside the city to receive good news of a successful settlement. Alexandra II, “the shrewdest woman in the world,” begged him not to go; and Herod’s intelligence reports confirmed her distrust. He decided to flee the city that night.

Herod took with him “the armed men whom he had...his [unspecified] wives...his mother [Cypros I], and Sister [Salome I], and her [Miriamne/Miriam I] whom he was about to marry...with her mother [Alexandra II]...and his younger brother [Pheroras], and the rest of the multitude that was with him.” “[W]ithout the enemy’s privy” he pursued his way to Idumaea. Some 60 furlongs into the journey he had to ward off skirmishes by both Parthians and Jews, the latter falling “more heavily” on him.

Joseph [II], Herod’s “brother,” met him at the Masada fortress. By then the number of joining people and mercenaries had swelled Herod’s caravan to more than the fortress could support. Nine thousand of them were given money for provisions and bid to disperse and find safety in Idumaea.

The Parthians plundered Jerusalem and left the city in the hands of Antigonus II. Hyrcanus II they carried away bound, for Parthia; but Phasaelus I, Herod’s other brother, they gave to Antigonus as prisoner. Herod left 800 men to guard Masada, with enough provisions for the fortress to endure a siege, and departed for Petra. He hoped to obtain a gift of loan

from Arabian king Malthus and, through Tyrian intercession, redeem Phasaelus for a price.

In the meantime, Phasaelus expected to be killed. Hands bound, he suicidedly “dashed his head against a great stone,” from which injury he died (or was poisoned by physicians sent by Antigonus). Herod had been rebuffed at Petra, and learning of Phasaelus’s fate he headed for Egypt. From Pelusium, where he was well regarded by certain ship captains, he was conducted to Alexandria. Cleopatra VII received Herod with great splendour; she reportedly hoped he would assist her in her next expedition. Herod rejected the offer and sailed to Rome.

At Rome, Herod the Great related to Mark Antony all that happened and offered him money. Herod had Octavian’s favor also, because of Antipater II’s efforts on behalf of Rome. The Roman Senate declared Antigonus II its enemy. Moreover--contrary to Rome’s usual custom of bestowing kingship, when it did, on one of the local royal family--the Senate passed an Antony proposal that Herod the Great should be made a king, on the proviso that he oust Antigonus. This qualified grant of kingship occurred “on the 184th Olympiad” (being years [44 through 41 b.c.e.], and commonly is fixed at 44 b.c.e.

Antigonus II forces had laid siege at Masada. Roman general Ventidius (fresh from subduing Parthian incursions near Syria) marched into Judea, “in pretense” of aiding Joseph II but “in reality...to get money.” At Jerusalem, Ventidius “stripped Antigonus of a great deal” and left a troop there under command of one Silo. Antigonus “cultivated a good understanding” with Silo, while privately he looked for Parthians once again to come to his defense.

Herod the Great now returned from Italy. At Ptolemais he assembled “no small army” of foreigners and countrymen against Antigonus II. Antony sent word to both Ventidius and Silo to assist Herod. Silo stopped taking bribes from Antigonus and withdrew out of the city, while Herod was joined by “the greater number” of the people of the Galilee (those who hoped to benefit should he gain the kingdom).

Herod overcame resistance at Joppa. His “strong army” suffered little from snares and ambushes of Antigonus II partisans, and he “easily recovered” his relations from Masada. At Jerusalem, Herod pitched camp on its west side. There he was joined by Silo’s former men and by “many out of the city, from a dread of his [Herod’s] power.”

People clamoured around the city’s walls, while Antigonus II alleged for the benefit of Roman ears that it was wrong for Herod to receive the kingdom when acceptable royal family members still existed. Herod, Antigonus claimed, was “no more than a private man, and an Idumean;” and if Antigonus himself was not wanted, there were others of his “sacerdotal family” in good standing with Rome. Herod, in reply, proclaimed his good intent to preserve the people and the city, and that he was prepared to forgive and forget. But there was no recourse, and he laid siege at the city.

Samaria city joined the Herodian cause. Winter fell, and the forces subject to Roman commanders took winter quarters in the countries “that were come over to” Herod--“Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria.” Silo would have removed his soldiers off the siege, had Herod not been successful in securing “a great abundance of necessaries” immediately, from surrounding country and friends about Samaria. “Antigonus,..by bribes,” obtained Silo’s permission to let part of his army winter at Lydda.

Herod was settled in Samaria with his mother and other relations. He sent a force under Joseph I, his uncle, to seize and keep Idumaea, while he, himself, proceeded to capture Antigonus garrisons in the Galilee. Herod eventually “brought over” to him all the Galilee, excepting those who “lived in caves.” Only then did he pay his soldiers well and send them to winter quarters.

“In the mean time Antony abode at Athens.” “Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to

come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea.” Herod sent part of his army (under command of an undesignated Ptolemy), to clear cave-dwellers, while Silo marched toward the Parthians, expecting Herod to follow. Herod was diverted, however, by the death of commander Ptolemy in another Galilee insurrection. Herod responded immediately, “destroyed a great number of the seditious...raised [off] the sieges of those fortresses they had besieged,” and laid a heavy fine on rebellious cities. “By this time,” Pacorus had been slain and the Parthians driven back by the Roman force.

Antony now ordered Ventidius to send two legions and 1,000 horse, commanded by a general named Macheras, as auxiliaries for Herod against Antigonus II. Antigonus wrote a letter to Macheras about the justness of his cause and made an offer of money. Macheras accepted; but on arrival at Jerusalem his contingent was pelted from the walls, and he was denied entry. Macheras retired to Emmaus. Along the way, he “slew all the Jews[/Hebrews] whom he met,” Herod’s supporters included.

Herod had been in process of preparing to assist Mark Antony at sieges underway at Samosata, “a strong city near to Euphrates,” and at “the metropolis of Commagena.”⁴¹ Joseph II was given local command in Herod’s absence. Herod met with Macheras before leaving Samaria. He threatened to report Macheras’ “maladministration” to Antony. On plea of Macheras, Herod agreed instead to a reconciliation, and the Macheras force was joined with that under Joseph’s command. Herod commanded Joseph to not become involved in any military encounters in his absence.

Herod acquired another large number of recruits at Antioch and cleared ambushes as he went. He “soon made an end” of the Samasota siege, slaying “a great number” and taking “a large prey.” Antiochus [undesignated; at Commagena?] delivered up his fortress “in a little time...and on that account [that] war was at an end.”

Herod’s successes won for him Antony’s profound admiration and indebtedness. Antony made Sosius regional commander and ordered him to assist Herod. Sosius and two legions made for Judaea. Antony, himself, left for Egypt. Antigonus II’s army at this time was under command of one Pappus.

In this time frame (c. 40 b.c.e.), Cleopatra VII gave birth to twins, Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene/Selene [B], by Mark Antony.

Joseph II did not heed his brother’s command. He went on a march with five Macheras regiments, to reap Jericho’s mid-summer corn. Joseph’s reportedly inexperienced troop was trapped and utterly destroyed; Joseph himself was killed. (Pappus cut off dead Joseph’s head). Upon this Antigonus victory, Galilaeans revolted from their commanders, drowning those of Herod’s party. “Great change” also followed in Idumaea (where Macheras had built a wall around a fortress named Gitta/Gittha), while most of Judaea persisted in turmoil.

Herod received reports at Daphne by Antioch. He quickened his army (one Roman legion joined by 800 men of Mount Libanus), and proceeded along the Galilee by night. With the aid of a second legion sent by Antony, Herod routed the resisters from one unnamed fortress, resumed his march and pitched camp at Jericho. In the morning his forces were attacked by 6000 men from out of the mountains, whose zeal in falling on the enemy’s front line “greatly terrified the Romans.” Elsewhere, Antigonus II sent a force under Pappus against Macheras and Samaria.

By winter’s end two years later (c. 38 b.c.e.), Herod had defeated Pappus. (He sent the head of Pappus to Joseph I, to seal retribution for Phasaelus’ fate). Antigonus II’s outlying forces were decimated and Herod’s army pitched camp at Jerusalem, near the most easily-assaultable part of its wall--“before the temple; intending to make his attacks...as had Pompey.”

⁴¹“[A]ncient Commagene”--Nemrut Dagı, [eastern] Turkey.” *Biblical Archaeological Review*, Vol. 30, No. 2, Mar/Apr 2004, p. 64.

Suburbs outside the walls were “demolished,” and many hands were put to work building siege bulwarks and towers, etc., while Herod made a brief trip to Samaria “to complete his marriage” to Miriam I. “After the wedding,” Roman general Sosius and his large company joined Herod, whose army now numbered “about 30,000.” The forces that combined before Jerusalem’s walls consisted of 11 armed foot legions, 6,000 horsemen, and “other auxiliaries out of Syria.”

Summer weather hastened Herod’s preparations; he sent armed legions to “remote places” to gather food. Inside the walls, the “multitude” was fragmented between the “weaker” crowd about the temple (resigned to martyrdom), the bolder citizens (who robbed and plundered in groups as food became scarce for men and horses alike), and the warlike (who fought at the walls and made surprise raids via underground tunnels). The city defenders “within the walls” also had “contrived a few” war engines, and they fought “with great alacrity and zeal, for the whole nation was gathered together.” They “bore a siege of five months,” despite the strength of their opponents, and “persisted in this war to the very last.”

It took 40 days for the Herodian forces to scale the first wall; 15, the second. Cloisters surrounding the temple were burned, the outer court taken. “[T]he Jews fled into the inner court...and upper city.” An embassy was sent to Herod to request that those within be allowed to receive “beasts for sacrifices.” Herod complied, thinking that they might yield. When that did not occur he made a massive assault. Mayhem filled the city’s narrow streets in an unleashed rage that far exceeded victory’s needs, with slaughters irrespective of gender, infancy or old age. The year of “[t]his destruction [of Jerusalem]” is taken as 37 b.c.e.--“ 27 years” after the conquest by Pompey.

Antigonus finally descended from the citadel and fell at Sosius’ feet. Herod’s soldiers and commanders “all went away full of money,” while Sosius kept Antigonus bound to deliver him as a prisoner to Mark Antony. Herod feared, however, that if Antigonus II did reach Rome he might engender reconsideration of to whom kingship properly belonged. He persuaded Antony (“by giving him a great deal of money”) to order that “Antigonus, the Jew” be taken to Antioch and beheaded. Antony reportedly believed that a “dishonorable death would diminish the value” of Antigonus II’s memory, supposing there was “no other way [to] bend the minds of the Jews/[Hebrews]...to receive Herod...for by no torments could they be forced to call him king.” “[T]hus [c. 37 b.c.e.] did...government [by] the Asamoneans cease, 126 years after it was first set up...[and] came to Herod.”

New King Herod repudiated wife, Doris, a native of Jerusalem by whom he already had a son, Antipater III. Miriam I became queen.⁴²

Herod confiscated all royal ornaments and stripped silver and gold from wealthy citizens, a heap of which he gave to Antony and generous amounts to friends. Now in absolute power, he ‘cleaned house,’ killing 45 principal sympathizers of Antigonus II and all members of the Sanhedrin (which still included the men before whom he earlier had been tried). He appointed as high priest one Ananelus, “not of this country, but...of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates.... ...of the stock of high priests, and...of old a particular friend of Herod.”

Alexandra II was highly indignant that her son, Aristobulus III, had not been made high priest. She wrote to Cleopatra VII to intercede with Antony to put Aristobulus in the office. Cleopatra already had prevailed on Antony to dispose of “the principal men among the Syrians” and possess Syria. She now pressed Antony to dispose of Herod and Malichus as well, and to give Judaea and ‘Arabia’ to her. But Antony took no action. Instead he appeased Cleopatra, giving her “the plantation of palm trees of Jericho...[and] all the cities on ‘this side’ of the river Eleutherus [a river of Syria] excepting Tyre and Sidon.”

⁴²While Doris is described as Herod’s wife of the years when he was “a private person.”

Antony then departed on an expedition to Armenia against Parthians. Cleopatra VII accompanied him as far as the Euphrates. Enroute home, she passed through Judaea. Herod reportedly considered killing Cleopatra, but instead he pacified her with presents and arranged to rent from her parts of Arabia and land around Jericho, which she now held (although he ensuingly would become “niggardly” in his payments).

Antony went on to success in Armenia. He “subdued” the nation and sent Cleopatra VII booty and captured prey (including Artabazes and his family). By 36 b.c.e. Cleopatra had given birth to Ptolemy XVII Philadelphus, a third child by Antony.

Hyrchanus II, “captive” of the Parthians, had been treated by them as a free resident at Babylon, “where there were Jews/[Hebrews] in great numbers...[who still] honoured Hyrchanus as their high priest and king, as did all the Jewish/[Hebrew] nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates.” Miriam I’s marriage to Herod the Great gave reason to Hyrchanus to believe “there now was hope for his return.” Hyrchanus’ associates did not agree, but they and he sent letters to Herod. Herod replied to Hyrchanus, and “the Jews that were there” with him, to the effect that it was right and proper that he share governance with Hyrchanus.

Alexandra II, in this timeframe, was hoping still for Mark Antony’s support. Toward that end, she purposed drawings of her children, Miriam I and Aristobulus III, to be sent to him. Antony refrained from asking Miriam’s presence in Egypt, but he wrote to Herod the Great to send Aristobulus. Herod politely replied that his land “would be in a state of war” if Aristobulus III left the country, “because the Jews/[Hebrews] were in hopes of a change in the government.” However, he removed Ananelus from office and made Aristobulus high priest, explaining that it had been Aristobulus’ youth that had kept him from doing so originally.

Alexandra II was joyous; apologetically, she pledged subservience to Herod. He, however, already had informed “his friends” that Alexandra was a co-conspirator with Cleopatra VII to oust him from the throne; and he had Alexandra watched constantly. She soon saw she was but a prisoner and again communicated with Cleopatra. On Cleopatra’s advice, Alexandra II secretly prepared to have herself and Aristobulus smuggled out in coffins by night.

Alexandra’s plan was foiled, by an unspecified informant or informants. Herod inflicted no punishment (“Cleopatra would not have borne it”); but privately he “fully proposed...by one means or other” to remove Aristobulus III for good. The Great’s mal-intent was sealed, when the populace enthusiastically hailed the handsome 17- or 18-year-old Aristobulus in his first high priest appearance, at an ensuing feast of the tabernacles. At the ending celebration, hosted by Alexandra at Jericho,⁴³ Aristobulus III was drowned by “such of Herod’s acquaintance...appointed to do it.”

Herod then made one “Jesus, son of Phabet,” high priest.⁴⁴

Antagonisms steadily increased between Herod’s female ‘camps’--that of his mother, Cyros I, and [half-?] sister, Salome I, and that of Miriam I and Alexandra II. Salome went so far as to lodge charges of “lust” against Miriam over the drawing sent to Antony. Alexandra meanwhile continued to report all to Cleopatra VII, who “made the case her own” and pressed Antony “to punish the child’s murderer.”

Antony finally summoned Herod. Before answering the summons, Herod separated his household families. He placed Cyros I and Salome I with their household members/relatives under Pheroras at Masada, and Miriam and Alexandra with theirs under

⁴³“Hyrchanium?”—see fn. 22.

⁴⁴The High Priesthood office, from this point in the texts, becomes severed permanently from dynastic tracings. Some of the ensuing high priests were related, however (the manners in which are related where their names appear); some others would bear familiar names.

Herod's "uncle," Joseph I (husband of Salome) at Alexandria. Herod had instructed Joseph I to "kill Mariamne[Miriam I] immediately" if Herod failed to return.

Herod, however, retained Antony's favor. He gifted Antony and even traveled part way with him on an expedition, while in Jerusalem a false rumor circulated that Herod had been tortured and put to death. Joseph I at some point revealed Herod's murderous instruction about Miriam. Alexandra II pressed Joseph I to take her and hers to the Roman officers of the legion encamped at the city. Then a letter arrived from Herod. He informed them that Antony "had recovered his interest" with Herod--that Antony had told Cleopatra he thought it "not good to require an account of a king," and he had "given Cleopatra Celesyria, instead of what she had desired."

Cypros I and Salome I reported Alexandra II's actions to Herod on his return. Herod had Alexandra II "bound...and kept her in custody." Then Salome I insinuated that "criminal" conduct had taken place between her husband (Joseph I) and queen Miriam. Miriam was moved to admit her knowledge of Herod's order to kill her. Herod took the revelation as evidence that she had been "debauched" by Joseph, and he had Joseph put to death.

Herod made one Costobarus, an Idumaeen, governor of Idumaea and Gaza in place of Joseph I, and had Salome marry Costobarus. Costobarus, not long afterward, wrote to Cleopatra VII that he was ready to "transfer his friendship" to her and Antony. Herod in some way learned of it, but reportedly pardoned Costobarus on entreaties of Cypros and Salome. In the process Herod learned that Costobarus had assisted an escape of "sons of Babas"⁴⁵ during the siege of Antigonos II. Herod had all intimidated supporters of the escape sought out and slain. "Some time afterward" Costobarus received a bill of divorce from Salome I.⁴⁶

*Circa 32/31 b.c.e., Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony formally joined in marriage.*⁴⁷

Circumstances between Antony and Octavian now reached the point where a decisive battle between them was expected. The "Italians...willingly followed Octavian," for they "supposed" that Antony--with Cleopatra VII as his queen--intended to make the empire an "Oriental" one with its capital at Alexandria. Herod the Great was prepared to be an auxiliary to Antony. Antony, on influence of Cleopatra VII, instead commanded Herod to go up against the king of Arabia. Reportedly, Cleopatra contemplated that, by pitting Herod and the Arabian king, she would obtain one or the other country. She sent a general Athenio to the battle, ostensibly only to "observe." In fact, Athenio went to aid of the Arabians, and Herod's army was severely routed.

"At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod" (31, 30 or 29 b.c.e.⁴⁸). M. Agrippa Vipsanius⁴⁹ commanded Octavian's fleet against the joined squadrons of Antony and Cleopatra. Battling continued in the meantime between Herod and the Arabians, in which Herod ultimately gained the significant upper hand near Philadelphia, east of the Jordan. Herod refused to consider any terms of redemption and decimated the foe. He "punished Arabia so severely and extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler."

⁴⁵Only use.

⁴⁶"though this was not according to Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so;...a wife, if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away." (But Salome was given another husband, later revealed.)

⁴⁷Lempriere p. 31.

⁴⁸The generally-accepted year is 31 b.c., which year Lempriere does show under Actium and Augustus. At page 170 Lempriere states it as "AUC year 723 [29 b.c.]...although according to some authors it happened in the year of Rome 721 [31 b.c.]" ("Actium, [or] Azio, a town and promontory of Epirus, famous for the naval victory of Augustus [Octavian]...in honour of which the conqueror built there the town of Nicopolis, and instituted games." "Actia...Games...celebrated every third, sometimes fifth, year...the Lacedaemonians had the care of them." Lempriere p. 8.)

⁴⁹Refer to Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A, (3).

At Actium, Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony, outmaneuvered, abandoned the sea battle, after which Antony's land forces surrendered. Upon the ensuing suicides of Antony and Cleopatra, their son (Alexander Helios) and Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar (Ptolemy XVI) were extinguished. The remaining two children of Cleopatra and Antony--Selene [B]; (twin of Alexander Helios) and Ptolemy Philadelphus (their youngest child)--were taken to be reared by Octavia [A], Octavian's sister and Antony's first named wife.

Caesar Octavian had triumphed totally in Egypt, now a Roman province. 27 b.c.e. generally is fixed as the date of commencement of the "Diarchy," at which time Octavian received the title, Augustus. Herod the Great, having been allied with Antony, anticipated punishment by Octavian. He also contemplated how Octavian might see the aged, royal Hyrcanus II as logical successor to the kingdom. Alexandra II begged her father to seek refuge with "Malchus," Arabia's governor. Hyrcanus did, finally, by a letter, which a turncoat servant instead showed to Herod. Herod let the letter be delivered, with orders to bring him the response. Malchus' response promised a force to guarantee Hyrcanus and his relatives safe escort. Herod "showed the correspondence to the Sanhedrim [*sic.*]," and Hyrcanus II was put to death "immediately."

Herod then hastily departed for Rhodes, to a meeting with Caesar [Octavian/] Augustus. He again separated the domestic camps before absenting himself, as he had before. Alexandrium was put in charge of "his treasurer Joseph" (likely, Joseph III, Herod's nephew, son of Joseph II and Olympias), together with one "Sohemus of Iturea." This time he instructed, if he did not return, both Miriam I and Alexandra II were to be killed, to preserve the kingdom for Pheroras.

Caesar Augustus, at Rhodes, responded well, however, to Herod's representations of his own and his father's fealty to Rome. Augustus "restored Herod his diadem again" and added to his domain "the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra," together with several other cities, and gave him a 400-man bodyguard. Herod's public position was more magnificent than ever.

On Herod's return he found household turmoil at a peak. Stories told to him by Cypros I and Salome I caused him to become "worse and worse disposed to" Miriam I (who this time had learned Herod's murderous injunction from Sohemus). Miriam showed Herod contempt, "reproached" him for the deaths of her brother (Aristobulus III) and her grandfather (Hyrcanus II), and refused to "lie down by him."

Herod's distress from familial hatreds persisted the whole ensuing year. Salome I floated a story suggesting Miriam I had acquired a potion to kill Herod. A eunuch stated under torture that Sohemus had told Miriam something to fuel her hatred. Once more Herod adjudged improper conduct; he ordered Sohemus to be executed immediately.

Herod then put Miriam I on trial. The court ("those that were most faithful to him") "passed the sentence of death upon her." Alexandra II, on "observing how things went, and that there were small hopes" for her own safety, reacted at her daughter's sentencing with a condemnation, which Miriam stoically accepted (in that, "out of a greatness of soul," Miriam discerned the need for mother's behavior). "And thus died [queen] Mariamne, a woman of excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul...beauty of body, and...majestic appearance in conversation," but who "took too unbounded a liberty."

After Miriam I's death a "great number of informers" brought Herod to believe that his younger brother, Pheroras, was plotting to poison him. Herod tortured many of Pheroras' friends; but all he was able to extract was that Pheroras was at the point of running away to the Parthians with his [unnamed] wife--"her whom he loved," by whom "he already had a son" --and that Costobarus was instrumental to the plan. Pheroras at this time was granted Herod's pardon.

The 13th year of Herod's reign (c. 28/27 b.c.e.) was one of other "great calamities." Droughts, barrenness, and pestilence ravaged the country, and Herod worked to mitigate the afflictions. He gave rich personal possessions to Rome's prefect in Egypt to obtain corn, which he distributed as best he could, and he gave seed to the Syrians.

Herod's charity served to wipe off some of the old hatred toward him, but before long he fell into "a dangerous distemper"/"inflammation." Treatments at Sebaste, where he was in residence, at first had no effect. Meanwhile, Alexandra II at Jerusalem now proposed that those in charge of its two fortifications give them over "to her, and to Herod's [unspecified] sons."⁵⁰ Two old friends of Herod (one, his first cousin Achiabus) sent word to Herod. On Herod's order, Alexandra II was slain.

The Great recovered somewhat from his illness, and his affairs soon returned to "flourishing condition." He provided Roman general Aelius Gallius with a select company for a Red Sea expedition. He built a richly adorned palace with large apartments "in the upper city." And he "fell in love" with Miriamne/Miriam II, daughter of "one Simon" ("Cantheras"), a "citizen of Jerusalem" but whose father was "Boethus, a citizen of Alexandria and a priest of great note there." Herod arranged to marry Miriam II (reportedly, he saw it as politically disadvantageous merely to take her). He "immediately deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon," Miriam II's father. After the wedding Herod built another citadel, some "threescore furlongs" from Jerusalem.

Marcus (Vipsanius) Agrippa, then governing for Rome "the countries beyond the Ionian Sea," became a "particular friend and companion" of Herod. When "some Gadarenes" made accusations against Herod," M. Agrippa bound and sent them to Herod without any hearing.

In and about this time, c. 24 b.c.e., the first Actium games were held.

In year "17" of Herod's reign, Caesar Augustus held a hearing in Syria of Gadarene territorial complaints against Herod. Undesignated "Arabians" in Herod's dominions were in arms, claiming that Auranitis had been sold to them by Zenodorus, whose "country...no small one...lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha, and Paneas, and the country round about." Augustus cleared Herod of charges and "bestowed" on him all of Zenodorus' country. (It was "after the games at Actium" that Augustus bestowed on Herod "both the region called Trachon ["Trachonitis"], and...in its neighbourhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis.") Augustus also made Herod "one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they [there] should do nothing without his approbation." Finally, at Herod's request, Augustus made a further grant of Peraea to Pheroras, as his tetrarchy.

Herod in his "18th year" (c. 23 b.c.e.) commenced raising and rebuilding of Jerusalem's temple and construction of royal cloisters, etc. He forgave his subjects some taxes but restricted fraternalization, set "spies everywhere," put to death many persons, "who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly," and required all except "Essens" to take an oath of fidelity. Herod sent Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, his sons by Miriamne I, to Rome, where they lodged with Caius Asinius Pollio and had leave also to lodge in Caesar's palace.

The birth of Miriam/Mary [A], mother of [Joshua/] Jesus of the *New Testament* record, would have occurred in this timeframe (between the years 20 and 18 b.c.e.), if Jesus' birth is placed between 6 and 4 b.c.e.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Antipater III of Doris is known as living at this point, but birth years cannot be fixed for any of Herod's additionally named sons, *i.e.* Alexander III and Aristobulus IV of Miriam I, Archelaus and Antipas of Malthace, Philip and an undesignated Herod of "Cleopatra of Jerusalem," Phasael III of Pallas, and Herod [B] of Miriamne II (Herod's new wife).

⁵¹ Mary A's age at the time she became pregnant, according to apocryphal data, was either 12 or 14; *refer to* Appendix 4A, Detail A, "Year of Death of Herod the Great and Year of Birth of Jesus," and Appendix 4C, "Names/Places/ Relationships," Supplemental Data, Mary [A] and Joseph [A]

In this timeframe Herod sailed to Italy and retrieved Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, who had “completed themselves in sciences.” Herod had Alexander III marry Glaphyra [B], daughter of king Archelaus of Cappadocia, and Aristobulus IV marry Bernice [A], daughter of Salome I and Costobarus. The enmity was great in Alexander III and Aristobulus IV against their father for the murders of their mother, grandmother, and great-grandfather, and they let it be known publicly. They became “objects of envy to Salome,” as their countenances and adorned figures “became conspicuous” amid an admiring multitude.

Herod royally entertained M. Agrippa on one visit, and he made a special effort to join Agrippa the following year, concerning certain affairs at Pontus. Herod gained more appreciation on his journey home, acting as intercessor for Agrippa in various places.

Subsequently, M. Agrippa received an appeal from a “great multitude” of Hebrew residents in Ionia, complaining about their treatment in their cities of residence. Agrippa summoned “the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there” to a hearing, for which Herod chose “Nicolaus, one of his friends,” to plead the Hebrews’ cause. Agrippa ordered that persons were to be allowed to observe their customs without injury. Herod held an assembly at Jerusalem on his return. He reported the beneficent status that his efforts had attained “in the affairs of the Jews in Asia,” and remitted a fourth part of taxes for the year past, which pleased the people.

Alexander III and Aristobulus IV persisted in uncensored public expressions, until “the whole city was full of their discourses.” “[A]ffairs in Herod’s family” fell into “more and more disorder, as Salome proceeded...to endeavour that none of Miriam’s [the Hasmonaeans] posterity might be left alive.” The brothers’ outspokenness was seized upon; intimations were made that Alexander had a plan to put his case against Herod before Caesar and was relying on father-in-law Archelaus to assist. Meanwhile, Antipater III, Doris’ son, cultivated persons trusted by Herod to reinforce ill reports about his half-brothers, while using all means to ingratiate himself. Herod decided “to elevate” Antipater. He recalled Doris to the royal court, and “wrote frequently to Caesar in favour of Antipater.”

M. Agrippa finished his “ten years” of governance in Asia c. 15/14 b.c.e. Herod “delivered” Antipater III to M. Vipsanius Agrippa to take him to Rome, “so he might become Caesar’s friend.” It “looked as if he [Antipater] had all his father’s favour, and that the young men [Alexander III and Aristobulus IV] were already entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom.”

Antipater III pursued further malignments of his half-brothers from his base at Rome. Herod finally was moved to bring accusations against his sons to Caesar Augustus. He charged Alexander III of attempting to poison him, and he charged both Alexander and Aristobulus IV with “mad actions, and...attempts against him, [alleging] they were enemies to him; and...would take away his life, and so obtain the kingdom. “

King Archelaus asked friends at Rome to support his son-in-law at the trial. The brothers, (who “knew in their own conscience they were innocent”) drew sympathy from Caesar Augustus and his court—ultimately, from Herod too—as they wept in unsophisticated confusion. Augustus scolded them, exhorting repentance and apology. They fell at the feet of Herod, who gave them a warm forgiveness. Augustus “left it in Herod’s power to appoint...his successor or distribute [his kingdom] in parts to every one.” Herod was prepared to settle matters immediately, but Augustus would not let Herod divest himself while alive. Herod then gifted 300 talents to Caesar, and Caesar granted him half the revenue of the Cyprus copper mines.

At home, Herod again held an assembly. He reported that concord had been achieved, and outlined his intentions as to royal succession. His sons “would be kings.... The age of one [Antipater III]...and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them in the succession”—“Antipater first...then Alexander and Aristobulus.” But for the time being, Herod

informed the rulers and soldiers, they would respect him as king. Herod's speech "was acceptable to the greatest part," but "those who wished for a change of affairs...pretended they did not so much as hear." Antipater III, "fountainhead of all the accusations," only pretended to rejoice at the family's supposed reconciliation. Neither had Herod overcome all suspicions of his Hasmonaean sons.

In and about 13/12 b.c.e. "Cesarea Sebaste was finished...the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign." (Miriam/Mary [A] would have been born in and about this time, if Jesus' birth is placed c. 2 b.c.e.) Subsequently, Herod produced "a great festival," the "fifth-year games." He pursued other construction projects, in Syria and Ionia, additional to those already funded in his own regions. He also was "always inventing somewhat further for his own security... encompassing the whole nation with guards," to watch for tumults amongst the people. At some point in this period, someone revealed to Herod that a plot had been laid to kill him. Herod tortured "certain women" and discerned the names of 10 [undesigned] male citizens, who he executed and whose "entire families" he destroyed.

Meanwhile, "the tumult" in the palace "was like a civil war," as mean stories variously were carried or caused to be carried to Herod. Salome I was "all in all" against Miriam's sons, while Glaphyra [B] lorded it over Salome and Salome's daughter, Bernice [A]. Doris also was "all in all" against Miriam's sons. Her son, Antipater III's "general aim was...to make it believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father." Antipater employed "stratagems, very cunning," paying persons to make treacherous insinuations, while feigning good will toward his half-brothers in front of Herod.

Alexander III and Aristobulus IV were oblivious to the inroads being made against them. Pheroras, too, fell out of Herod's favor. First he refused to take one of Herod's daughters to wife. Next, pressured into agreeing to marry a different daughter, he refused to comply on the expected day.⁵² Then he caused a furor by insinuating to Alexander III that Herod had a passion for Glaphyra, Alexander's wife. The upset that occurred, when Alexander was moved to confront his father about it, was "grievously" quelled.

A revolt in Trachonite territory had been subdued by Herod's commanders, during the time he was at Rome for his sons' trial. After his return from Rome, Herod went "all over Trachonitis, and slew their [the rebels'] relations;" but 40 principals had taken refuge in Arabia with Sylleus, manager of the affairs of Arabia's then-king Obodas.

Young Sylleus ("handsome" and "shrewd;" nationality not stated) wooed Salome I, who looked on him "with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him," because she at the time "was in less favour with her brother." Sylleus made the proposal to Herod, which Salome confirmed immediately (for she "by the means of Julia,⁵³ Caesar's wife, earnestly desired leave to be married to Sylleus"). Herod first swore she would become his bitter enemy if she married Sylleus, then apparently he agreed to it only if Sylleus first came "over to the Jewish religion." Sylleus "could not bear that proposal...[saying] if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs." Herod then "compelled Salome" "against her own consent" to marry "Alexas, a friend of his."

Subsequently, under Sylleus' protection, Trachonite rebels and their supporters "overran not only Judea but all Celesyria." Herod fueled matters by appealing to Syria's presidents; the foes' numbers increased, and the "proceedings came to be like a real war." Herod continued to press Syria's presidents, for both punishment and repayment of a prior loan made to Obodas.

Syria's presidents ruled that each side should deliver to the other any of the other's subjects found in their territories, and that the Obodas loan be repaid to Herod in 30 days. Sylleus failed to perform and instead went to Rome. Herod was granted permission to undertake execution of judgment. He led an army into Arabia, captured the "robbers,"

⁵² Disparate and confusing language impedes distinguishing these Herod daughters; see Appendix 4B, III, *at and in* fn. 24.

⁵³ /Augusta/Livia A; refer to Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A (Roman Ruling Families descendency chart).

demolished their garrison, and placed 3000 Idumaeans in Trachonitis, to “restrain...the robbers that were there.”

Sylleus, at Rome, had “insinuated himself” with Caesar Augustus. He alleged that Herod had laid waste in Arabia, destroyed 2,500 principal Arabians, and carried off booty. Augustus was angered when he had it confirmed that Herod had taken an army into Arabia. He sharply informed Herod, in writing, that “henceforth” Caesar would “use him [Herod] as his subject,” instead of friend.

The “elevated” Arabians neither delivered up perpetrators nor paid money due. Moreover, they retained, rent-free, pastures previously “hired” from Herod. Two embassages sent to Caesar by Herod were denied audience. In Arabia, Obodas had died (possibly at the hands of Sylleus), and Aretas had taken over the government. Both Sylleus and Aretas contended for Caesar’s support.

“Those of Trachonitis...rose up against the Idumean garrison,” while “the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because...nobody had power to govern them.” “[O]f the two kings, the one [Aretas, in Arabia] was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient...and as for Herod, Caesar was immediately angry at him.” “At length,” another embassy, led by Nicolaus of Damascus, was dispatched by Herod, in hope that friends at Rome may have mitigated Caesar’s anger.

Now,” it was, “that this accident happened.” An unnamed person told Herod that Alexander III had “corrupted” Herod’s most trusted and beloved servant-eunuchs. After prolonged torture of the servants, Herod obtained a confession. It implicated Alexander III in “criminal conversation”—statements that he had many rulers and friends on his side, and that the eunuchs would be richly rewarded for their help, as “he should quickly have first place in the kingdom.” Herod, “terrified,” “overrun with suspicion” and unable to trust anyone, now “sent spies abroad privately.” He destroyed palace domestics without clear evidences of guilt, expelled old friends from the palace and refused admittance to others.

Antipater III was “very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent.” Herod inflicted “great numbers” of torturous examinations and deaths to persons believed faithful both to Alexander III and to his friends. All “died without having any thing to say,” except one who claimed that Alexander III had considered killing Herod while on a hunt and then go to Rome to ask for the kingdom. Letters between Alexander III and Aristobulus IV were found, which complained of Herod’s favoritism of Antipater III.

Now Antipater III got together a “stout company of his kindred” and raised the degree of slander to that point where Herod “fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword.” Herod “caused Alexander to be seized...immediately and bound.” However, “some surer mark of his son’s wickedness” was required. Herod tortured further of Alexander’s friends and finally secured a substantial confession. Alexander, it was said, had sent to friends at Rome to secure him an audience with Caesar Augustus, where he would allege that Herod was plotting against the Romans with Mithridates, king of Parthia; and further, that Alexander III had had a poison prepared. (Herod searched for the poison but did not find it.)

Alexander III pleaded with his father not to torture more persons and composed four “books” of defenses, which were placed in Herod’s hands. The writings pointed to Salome and Pheroras as the greater plotters, and made charges as well against others—one Ptolemy [undesignated], a Sapinnus (the most “faithful” of Herod’s friends), and other powerful men. Matters were such that there no longer “was...room for defence and refutation...all were at random doomed to destruction! so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others...that they were in expectation of the same miseries.”

“Now it was” that king Archelaus came from Cappadocia “hastily into Judea,” “on purpose,” to compose the family differences. Archelaus adroitly calmed Herod’s temper and

proposed a joint investigation. Together they carefully considered Alexander's writings. "[B]y degrees," Archelaus "laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books," "especially upon Pheroras." Archelaus reasoned with Herod that Alexander III, "himself [may have been] plotted against."

Herod the Great's anger and suspicion turned toward Pheroras, who then was counseled by Archelaus that his only hope to win his brother's good will was to confess all. Pheroras tearfully prostrated himself before Herod, pleading "disorder of his mind, and distraction, which his love for a woman [his unnamed wife]...had brought him to." Archelaus persuaded Herod that clemency was the best course, to heal such not-uncommon difficulties in kingdoms.

Archelaus had eschewed any criticism of Herod. Initially, however, he had indicated he might dissolve the marriage of his daughter, Glaphyra B, to Alexander III. Herod now petitioned Archelaus not to do so, "especially since they had already children," and also since Glaphyra would help restrain Alexander from future offenses, because of his great love for her.

The reconciliations were followed by gifts from Herod to Archelaus, feasting and entertainments. "At this juncture," king Archelaus was "the most agreeable person to Herod in the world." It was accepted that Archelaus would go "to Rome to discourse with Caesar, because he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter." Herod accompanied Archelaus as far as Antioch. While there he effected "reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the president of Syria," which two "had been greatly at variance."

Of Herod the Great's named female children, at this point Salampsio ("eldest daughter" of Miriam I and Herod) was married to her first cousin, Phaeselus/Phasaël II (son of an unnamed mother and Herod's dead brother, Phasaël I). Cypros III (Miriam I's other named daughter by Herod) at some point became or was to become wife of (Julius) Agrippa I.⁵⁴ Roxane (of Phaedra) and Salome III (of Elpis/Elpide) may have been quite young.⁵⁵

Now it happened that a notable and corrupt Lacedemonian named Eurycles, "principally hired by Antipater," insinuated himself into the Herodian palace melee. Eurycles cultivated Herod's "blind side" while feigning equal friendship with all the palace opponents. He advanced himself as in great favor with king Archelaus; Alexander III "open[ed] his grievances" to Eurycles, which confidences made their way to Herod. Eurycles added fuel, suggesting to Herod that, if Alexander ever reached Rome, inquiry into the Hasmonaeans' deaths was a certainty. But Herod found "the proofs" too weak.

Antipater III next caused a rumor that his half-brothers had talked with two former horsemen of Herod. Those men, who sustained a long torture, "at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod" in a feigned hunting accident, and had hid money in a stable. Herod's chief hunter also was implicated, as agreeing to provide Alexander with weapons. Herod exploded when then there was produced a letter purportedly written by Alexander, to the [unnamed] "governor of a castle"--"the commander of the garrison of Alexandrium." The letter concerned family refuge once Herod had been killed. According to Alexander, the incriminating letter had been forged by Herod's secretary and drafted by Antipater III.

The Alexandrium governor was taken and tortured. Then Herod "produced those that had been tortured" "to have them accuse the young men" "before the multitude at Jericho"—"which accusers many of the people stoned to death." They also would have killed the brothers, had not Pheroras and [an undesignated] Ptolemy intervened and restrained

⁵⁴(Julius) Agrippa I appears later. He commonly has been taken as son of Bernice A by Aristobulus IV, but his full parentage is unclear—refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, C(2) and I.

⁵⁵ Later, upon settlement of kingdom affairs after Herod died, Caesar Augustus would marry "Herod's two virgin daughters...to Pheroras's sons."

them. Herod now placed Alexander III and Aristobulus IV under guard; the “fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals.”

At some point in this timeframe there would have occurred Miriam/Mary [A]’s discharge from the temple and her betrothal/consignment to Joseph [A].

Herod next heard from Salome I, that Aristobulus IV had told her she should watch for her own safety--that Herod was preparing to put *her* to death, because of her involvement with Sylleus. “[T]his it was, that came as the last storm and entirely sunk the young men.”

Herod held an inquisition.⁵⁶ Alexander III admitted that he and Aristobulus IV had planned to escape to Archelaus, and that Archelaus “had promised to send them away to Rome.” Of other charges, Alexander stated, they were innocent--as Herod could have learned, from public examination of the horsemen. But that had been prevented by the Jericho stonings which, according to Alexander, had been done by “friends” of Antipater III. Herod lastly questioned Alexander and Glaphyra together, and Glaphyra [B] corroborated Alexander’s testimony that no harm of Herod had been planned, and that all they had desired “was to retire to Archelaus in Cappadocia and thence to Rome.”

Herod dispatched “letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men,” to Rome, hoping that Nicolaus had brought or could bring Caesar Augustus to receive them. Herod also wrote to king Archelaus, on whose part Herod felt “fully proved” ill will. Archelaus replied that he had stood ready, merely to receive his daughter and son-in-law, with no intent of sending send them to Augustus.

Nicolaus used another hearing, the matter of Sylleus vs. Aretas,⁵⁷ to introduce pleadings for Herod. He cited Sylleus as having “alienated Caesar,” and claimed that all that Sylleus had said about Herod’s actions “were falsities.” Augustus allowed Nicolaus opportunity to “principally demonstrate” that Herod’s actions for the most part had been in self-defense. In the principal case at hand, Augustus formally recognized Aretas’ ambassadors, accepted their presents, and confirmed Aretas as governor.

Augustus then accepted Herod’s written information. He was “mightily troubled at the case of the young men,” but he “did not think he ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons.” Augustus’ reply gave Herod all power over them and advised Herod “would do well to make an examination...in a public court.... [a]nd, if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death; but if they appear[ed] to have thought of no more than flying away...he should moderate their punishment.” Caesar ordered that Herod convene a court at or near Berytus/Berut, to consist of Syria’s presidents, king Archelaus, and as many more as Herod thought of appropriate “friendship and dignity.”

The court of “150 assessors” assembled by Herod c. 11 b.c.e. consisted of presidents Saturninus and Pedanius and “all principal men of Syria excepting Archelaus.” “[N]ext to them [were] the king’s [Herod’s] kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras.” Herod did not produce Alexander III and Aristobulus IV in open court, for “he knew well enough that...they would certainly have been pitied; and...Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of.”

Herod made his case in “very vehement” a manner, “exaggerated” what his sons had said (“as if they had confessed the design against him”), and that he--as their parent and “by Caesar’s grant”--stood ready to initiate his sons’ deaths, by stoning, in his own kingdom. “[Y]et did he wait for the court’s determination.” The assessors, “when they perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation,” “confirmed his authority.”

At Tyre, Herod on his return encountered Nicolaus, who told him that the consensus

⁵⁶ King Archelaus of Cappadocia was represented by an ambassador, Melas.

⁵⁷ As with much of this summary, the narrative gives many more details (in this instance, of the Arabians’ competition to succeed Obodas).

at Rome, about Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, was for imprisonment, not death. Locally, castigation of Herod by one Tero (father of a friend of Alexander) was ended (after torturings, etc.) by Herod causing an assembly to stone to death “300 officers”/300 of his own “captains,” along with Tero and the also-implicated royal barber.

“And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his own children.” Nonetheless, “by their father’s command,” “Alexander and Aristobulus were brought to Sebaste...and there strangled.” (A third son of Miriamne I, by Herod, reported but unnamed, died “at Rome,” year unknown.) The widowed Glaphyra [B] was sent back to her father in Cappadocia (it is assumed, with her children⁵⁸).

Antipater III, who “governed the nation jointly with his father...was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts” to secure himself in the kingdom, before his father could learn of his subversion. He curried the friendship of Pheroras, and favor of friends at Rome by bountiful gifts; but he made no headway with Salome I. Antipater III was put “in great disorder,” when Herod ordered certain betrothals among his remaining descendants. Antipater saw that “the posterity of those that had been slain, growing up, would become greater;” that king Archelaus would support Glaphyra’s and Aristobulus’ sons, who would have tetrarch Pheroras’ support too, because his daughter was betrothed to one of them. Antipater imagined how “the multitude” could be brought to sympathize, and how he could lose the government “even in his father’s lifetime.”

Antipater III lobbied Herod for changes in the settlements. Now “suspicion came into Herod’s mind,” that “false tales“ by Antipater had provoked the deaths of Alexander and Aristobulus. Antipater III prevailed in some manner, for “the espousals...were changed...[but] even without the king’s real approbation.” The new espousals provided that “Antipater III [himself] should marry Aristobulus [IV]’s daughter,⁵⁹ and “Antipater’s [unnamed] son should marry Pheroras’ [unnamed] daughter.⁶⁰”

A new complex took sway in the palace. Antipater III and his mother Doris now cultivated the Pheroras’ branch. “Pheroras was greatly enslaved to his [unnamed] wife, and to her [unnamed] mother, and to her [unnamed] sister.” Doris now united with them in things told to Herod; “there was only Salome who opposed.” The Antipater III/Pheroras camp tried to hide its fraternization from Herod, but Salome told Herod about clandestine meetings and “every thing they did.”

Pheroras’ women next are reported to have been “inveigled” by Pharisees (a sect “being above 6,000”). Unnamed Pharisees “foretold” Pheroras’ wife ...that Herod’s...posterity should be deprived of [the government]; [and] that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras, and to their children.“ Salome I repeated the prediction to Herod and alleged that those Pharisees “had perverted some persons about the palace itself.”

Herod accused Pheroras’ wife, before friends and kindred, of making Pheroras his enemy, and bade Pheroras that he “would do well to put her away.” Pheroras replied that “he would rather choose to die than to live, and be deprived of a wife that was so dear to him.” Herod, at a loss, charged Antipater III and Doris to discontinue all intercourse with Pheroras’ wife and relatives. He then “slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused...Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus...his [Herod’s] catamite.” Herod “slew also all those [unnamed] of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold.”

Antipater III, fearing that Salome would gather fresh fuel, decided to absent himself. He secured friends at Rome to suggest to his father that he be sent to abide a time with

⁵⁸ “[A]s for Alexander [III]’s posterity, they [thereafter] reigned in Armenia;” “these descendants of Alexander [and Glaphyra] went over to the Greeks;” refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, C(1) and Appendix 4A, Timeline. (Glaphyra, herself, would remarry, be widowed again, and lastly reign (but briefly, only) with ethnarch Archelaus (c. 3 b.c.e.; discussed below).

⁵⁹ Herodias?—as with Herod’s sons, there is no real data for fixing the years of births of Herod daughters.

⁶⁰ Betrothed priorly to Tigranes A?

Caesar Augustus. "Herod made no delay." He sent his last will and testament with Antipater, along with a great deal of money. Herod's last will named Antipater III as first heir to the kingdom, but if Herod survived him, then the successor would be "Herod [B]"--"that Herod, I mean" (Josephus states), "who was the son of Mariamne [II], the high priest's [(Boethus-) Simon Cantheras'] daughter."

Herod, unable to force Pheroras "to put away his wife," "at length" banished both to Peraea, Pheroras' tetrarchy. Pheroras swore he never would return so long as Herod lived; and he refused to answer a summons when Herod suffered a temporary illness. Herod, on the other hand, "pitied Pheroras' case," when subsequently he became ill, "and took care of him."

Pheroras died. "[A] report spread that Herod had killed him." According to two of the the Great's "much esteemed" freed men, however, Pheroras had been poisoned "by the management of Sylleus;" and they urged an investigation. They alleged that, two days before the death of Pheroras, his [unnamed] mother-in-law and his wife's [unnamed] sister had purchased a poison; further, at supper the day before Pheroras' illness (the freed men testified), "Pheroras' wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner; and that upon eating it, he presently fell into a distemper."

Herod conducted a series of tortures of "Pheroras' women"/"the maid-servants and some of the free women," which ultimately yielded various admissions, among them: (a) Doris was "author of all these our miseries" (this, cried out "under the utmost agonies"); (b) there had been secret meetings; (c) Antipater III hated his father and despaired Herod would not die soon enough, and that Antipater and Pheroras had commiserated neither they nor their families would escape Herod's beastliness; and (d) Pheroras, prior to his banishment, had resolved to fly to Peraea with them (*i.e.* the persons giving the admissions).

Herod "cast Doris out of the palace...took care of Pheroras' women after their torture...[but] had many innocent [other] persons led to the torture [so as to not] leave any guilty person untortured," including "Antipater [undesigned] of Samaria, who was procurator of Antipater [III]. This man "confessed" (a) Antipater III had obtained a potion out of Egypt that was delivered to Pheroras by Doris' brother (Theudio/Theudion); (b) that Antipater III wanted Pheroras to administer it to Herod while Antipater was in Rome; and (c) that Pheroras had put the poison in his wife's care.

Pheroras' wife admitted that her husband had given her the box in question. Ordered to produce it, she instead "threw herself down from the house-top." "[S]enseless from her fall," she was brought to Herod. He promised her and her domestics full pardon, if she confessed all. If not, he would have her torn to pieces. She corroborated the account about the poison, but she asserted that the dying Pheroras had repented of all ill-will toward his brother, and had told her to burn that poison "left with us by Antipater...to destroy" Herod. She had saved a small quantity only, for herself, she said; and the box when produced did have "a small quantity of this potion in it."

Others incriminated in obtaining the poison, upon further tortures, corroborated its acquisition. There then "were brought out such as were [even] freest from suspicion." The "very brothers [undesigned]" of Miriamne II declared, under torture, that she, too, "was conscious" of the plot. Herod "blotted Herod [B] whom he had by her, out of his testament," took the high priesthood from her father, and appointed one "Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room." (What became of Miriam II is not reported.)

"While this was doing," Antipater III's freed-man Bathyllus, came from Rome, was examined, "tortured also," and "found to have brought another deadly potion" to give to Doris and Pheroras, in case the first was ineffective. Bathyllus also had additional letters, over the names of friends of Herod at Rome, accusing Antipater's half-brothers, Archelaus (son of

Malthace[?⁶¹] by Herod) and Philip [son of “Cleopatra of Jerusalem” by Herod] as having been sympathizers of Alexander III and Aristobulus IV. Reportedly, the letters were forgeries that Antipater had effected by means of great bribes. Similar letters received earlier by Herod already had caused him to summon Archelaus and Philip home.

“[Y]et did no one [who] came to Rome inform Antipater III of his [unfolding] misfortunes in Judea.” Unaware, he had written from Rome of his successes there, that he had been dismissed by Caesar, and soon would be home. [O]ne may wonder how it came about, that while so many accusations were laid against him in Judea, during seven months before this time, he was not made acquainted with any of them.... [But] the roads were exactly guarded, and...men hated Antipater;...there was nobody who would run any hazard himself to gain him any advantages.”

Antipater III was at Tarentum when he received news of Pheroras’ death. At Cilicia, he received a noncommittal letter from his father that “some little complaint” about Doris would be laid aside on Antipater’s return. It only was when Antipater reached Celenderis that he considered his mother’s troubles might involve him. Friends counseled him varying--some, that he should “tarry;” others, that he should hurry, the sooner to correct matters.

Antipater III sailed on. He found no welcomers or salutes at Sebastus, but there was no turning back. “Clothed in purple” and with “forced boldness of countenance” he proceeded to Herod’s palace, where his companions were denied entry. Herod sat with Quintilius Varus, successor to Saturninus as Syria’s president. Herod repulsed Antipater III, when he arrived in their presence, as a murderer of brethren and plotter of parricide. He announced that Varus was to be Antipater’s judge, and gave Antipater until the morrow to prepare for hearing.

The assembled court consisted of “Herod’s kinsmen and friends and Antipater’s friends...also the king’s relations, with his sister Salome, and as many as could discover any thing, and such as had been tortured; and besides these, some slaves of Doris,” from whom had been intercepted a note by Doris warning Antipater that Herod knew all, and not to return unless he could “procure assistance from Caesar.” Antipater begged at Herod’s feet to be allowed first to make his case personally to Herod, but Herod was adamant.

“Nicolaus of Damascus, the king’s friend,” prosecuted Herod’s case. His summation of collected evidence was strengthened by a large number of [unnamed] men who came forward with voluntary corroborations. All that Antipater III said, when Varus asked for his defense, was, “God is my witness that I am entirely innocent.” Varus asked that the “potion” be produced and given to be drunk by another condemned prisoner, “who died upon the spot”/“who died presently.” Varus, after a one-day stay, returned to Antioch; and “it was generally supposed that whatsoever Herod did afterward about his son was done with Varus’ approbation.”

Herod had Antipater III placed in bonds and wrote to Caesar Augustus about “Antipater’s wickedness.” Then Herod “fell into a severe distemper.” “Now, at this very time,” there was seized a letter to Antipater from the [unidentified] man in Egypt involved in acquiring the poison. The letter wished Antipater success and referred to another letter, from one “Acme, a Jew by birth” and “maid-servant of [Livia A/] Julia [Augusta, wife of Caesar].” The second letter was found sewn in a seam of the delivering servant’s coat. It revealed Acme as complicit in an Antipater III scheme to falsely implicate Salome I in a plot against Herod.

Herod, who reportedly would have killed Antipater then and there, first thought to send him to Rome to make an account before Caesar. However, on reconsideration, Herod feared his son might find assistance at Rome that would keep him from punishment. He “kept him bound...and sent more ambassadors and letters to accuse his son, and an account [to Caesar] of what assistance Acme had given.”

⁶¹ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, D.

Herod then “sent for his testament...altered it, and therein made Antipas king...taking no care of Archelaus and Philip, because Antipater III had blasted their reputations to him.” Herod “resolved to put Antipater to death” “as soon as he [himself] should be well again.” But Herod’s “distemper became more and more severe.” “[A]lmost seventy,” he despaired of recovery.

(Betrothal of Miriam/Mary [A] and Joseph[A] would have occurred in this timeframe, c. 6 or 5 b.c.e., if Jesus’ birth is placed between 6 and 4 b.c.e.)

“And now...a certain popular” sedition erupted against Herod, instigated by “two of the most eloquent men among the Jews” --(Sepphoris/Saripheus-) Judas and (Margalus/Margalothus-) Matthias, who were “thought the most skilful in the laws of their country, and...in very great esteem over the nation.” “There was a great concourse of the young men to these men...and there got together every day a kind of an army of such as were growing up to be men.” Informed “that the king was dying,” Judas and Matthias “excited [the] young men to a sedition at the temple.” Upon a further report that Herod had died, the emboldened youths lowered themselves from the temple top at midday, and with axes they “cut down that golden eagle” which Herod had caused to be erected over the main gate.

Herod had some forty of the men, caught by his soldiers, bound and sent to Jericho, where he called together the principal men among the Jews. Herod (lying on a couch “because he could not himself stand”) “made a terrible accusation against those men.” The people--fearful on account of Herod’s barbarous temper, that even more would be found guilty--sanctioned punishment. Herod ordered that those who actually had removed the eagle, “together with their Rabbins...be burnt alive”--Herod “burnt the other [Margolus/Margalothus-] Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive.” The rest he delivered “to the proper officers, to be put to death by them.” “And on that very night [c. March 12/13 of 4 b.c.e.] there was an eclipse of the moon.”

Herod “deprived [Theophilus-) Matthias of the high priesthood, as in part an occasion of this [the foregoing] action, and made Joazar [another son of Boethus; brother also of Matthias’ unnamed wife] high priest in his stead.”

(The primary estimate of the birth year of Jesus is between 6 and 4 b.c.e.)

Herod the Great’s debility and pain reached limits of human endurance. During treatments near the Dead Sea, “he came and went as if he was dying.” He was returned to Jericho, and there he “grew so choleric...[he was in] all things like a madman.” Herod knew that to “the Jews/[Hebrews]...his death would be...very desirable...because during his lifetime they were ready to revolt from him.” “[I]n a wild rage,” he summoned “the most illustrious”--“all the principal men of the entire Jewish[/Hebrew] nation wheresoever they lived,” “out of every village,” “a great number...because the whole nation was called”--and had them shut up in the hippodrome. He extracted a promise from Salome I and her husband Alexas that, immediately after he died and before releasing the news, they were to have all the prisoners killed” and ordered further “that one of every family should be slain.”

It is not said directly that Herod knew of any living males that the Hebrew populace might consider legitimate kingdom contenders, according to descendancy under The Law. He did request that he be apprised of any finding by some visiting [unspecified] “magi[/eastern priests], who inquired in this timeframe about a birth of a “king of the Jews. Herod did have Zechariah (of the priestly division of *Abijah*), who then was serving at temple, questioned about the whereabouts of his and Elizabeth’s son, John (“the baptizer”). Zechariah refused, and he “was murdered in the entrance of the temple and altar, and about the partition,” by Herod’s “servants.” Herod then issued an order that all infants under two years old in the Bethlehem region be slain, followed by the self-exile of Joseph [A] and his

family to Egypt.⁶²

Herod's ambassadors returned from Rome to relate that Caesar had Acme put to death; and, "as to Antipater...Caesar left it to Herod to act...either to banish him, or to take away his life." Herod, "overbourne by his pains," threatened suicide and was prevented from it by cousin Achiabus; but a "great tumult...as if the king were dead" occurred "through the palace." Antipater III, who "verily believed" Herod had died, attempted to bribe his jailers to release him. Instead, Herod lived still and was told. "[A]lthough...at death's door," Herod commanded his guards to kill Antipater "without further delay."

Herod again altered his testament. It now designated that Antipas was to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and Philip would receive Gaulonitis, Trachonitis and Paneas. Salome I was to receive Jamnia, Ashdod, Phasaelis, and 500,000 coined silver. The rest of the kingdom Herod bequeathed to Archelaus. Further provisions would leave "all the rest of his kindred...in a wealthy condition," including 10,000,000 coined money and precious metal vessels to Caesar Augustus and costly garments to Caesar's wife.

Herod the Great survived Antipater III's death by "five days." Before releasing the news, Salome I and Alexas freed the persons Herod had imprisoned but credited the act to a pre-death change of mind by Herod himself. They then gathered an assembly in Jericho's amphitheater, at which Herod's last will was read by one "Ptolemy" (undesigned), to whom Herod had entrusted his signet ring. It was Ptolemy's duty to take Herod's ring to Caesar for confirmation of Herod's testamentary settlements.

Archelaus, king-designee, held a distinguished funeral and invoked a seven-day mourning period, after which he called an assembly at temple. He solicited the people's good will, stating that, although "the army would have put the diadem on [him] at Jericho," he would not accept it until "the superior lords [Rome] should have given him a complete title to the kingdom." Archelaus listened and made no contradictions to clamors for release of prisoners and tax reforms. He purposed "to go to Rome immediately to look after Caesar's determination about him."

Toward evening, however, crowds gathered in renewed lamenting of the Great's murders of Judas, Matthais, etc., and demanding punishments--of whom is not stated. "[I]n the first place" they demanded Archelaus "deprive that high priest [Joazar] whom Herod had made, and...choose one more agreeable to the law, and of greater purity, to officiate as high priest. This was granted by Archelaus." Archelaus "accused Joazar...of assisting the seditious,..took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar [also a son of Boethus], his [Joazar's (half?-)] brother, in his place."

A general left by Archelaus at temple as guard was stoned and driven away; other intermediaries of Archelaus were treated similarly. Meanwhile, that year's Passover was at hand. Of the "innumerable multitude" that came to Jerusalem, some sojourned in "tents without the temple;" "some...stood in the temple bewailing the [murdered] Rabbins...begging, in order to support their sedition." "[T]he seditious lamented Judas and Matthias, and kept together in the temple." A cohort ordered by Archelaus to use force if needed was assaulted. Archelaus then "sent his whole army upon them"--"on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices"—and many footmen throughout the city, and horsemen on the plain, "to prevent those that had their tents without the temple from assisting those that were within." Archelaus' forces slew 3,000 men. The remainder dispersed, followed by heralds "commanding them retire to their own homes, whither they all went, and left the festival."

Archelaus then departed for Rome. He left his half-brother Philip "as governor of all things belonging both to his own family and to the public." Archelaus definitely was accompanied by Nicolaus and apparently by Salome I, with "her children and many of her kindred." (Salome I is reported as only feigning support of Archelaus.) At Caesarea,

⁶² The events in this paragraph still are subject to queries of veracity and timing, largely due to occurrence in the timeframe of more than one eclipse and uncertain dating(s) of a later Roman census; Appendix 4A's timetable provides alternative datings.

Archelaus met up with “Sabinus, Caesar’s steward [/'procurator’] for Syrian affairs,” who was “making haste into Judea to preserve Herod’s effects.” Archelaus appealed to Syrian president Varus to “restrain” Sabinus; Varus elicited a promise from Sabinus to “neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor...seal up the treasures in them.”

After Archelaus had sailed from Caesarea, however, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, seized the palace, took possession of the citadels, and publicly called for inventories and accountings from all “the keepers of the garrisons” and “the stewards” who had charge of the Great’s effects. The citadel governors asserted that “custody” currently belonged to Caesar, rather than Archelaus, and continued to stay on guard.

Meanwhile, Antipas, too, had set sail for Rome--“Ireneus, the orator,” “had prevailed” over advisers who had urged Antipas not to oppose “his elder brother.” Antipas was set on winning the government on the claim that Herod’s penultimate testament was the valid one; and Salome I and “many of Archelaus’ kindred” reportedly had promised to support him. Antipas was accompanied by his mother Malthace⁶³ and Ptolemy [“the brother of Nicolaus”]...now zealous for Antipas.”

At Rome, Archelaus gave Herod’s ring and testament to Caesar Augustus, with a monetary accounting and written bases of his claim to the crown of the Jewish/Hebrew nation, a “client kingdom” of Rome. Letters were considered from Varus and Sabinus (the latter’s letter was for Antipas). “Salome and those with her” (that is, “Archelaus’ kindred who hated him”⁶⁴) stated that they “rather desired to live under their own laws...under a Roman governor;” however, if they had to accept a continuing monarchy, their choice was Antipas.

Augustus had summoned Rome’s “principal” persons. In the “first” seat sat “Caius, the son of [Marcus] Agrippa [Vipsanius] and of Julia [#4], Augustus’ daughter [by Scribonia].” Antipater IV, Salome I’s son by Costobarus, spoke for the Antipas faction. Nicolaus spoke for Archelaus. At issue were (a) “the slaughter in the temple” (Nicolaus said it could not have been avoided and also that the slain were enemies of Rome); and (b) whether Herod’s final testament should be taken as valid.

The ruling of Caesar Augustus was that the final testament would hold. Archelaus was confirmed as king.

At some point while at Rome, Malthace, mother of both Archelaus and Antipas, “fell into a distemper and died of it.”

Subsequently, letters came to Caesar from Varus about “a revolt of the Jews...after Archelaus was sailed,” that had put “the whole nation...in a tumult.” Varus gave a full account of events, in which he finally “restrained...for the most part...this sedition...a great one,” and left a legion at Jerusalem.

Varus related as follows. Sabinus, “Caesar’s procurator,” “in his “extraordinary covetness,” had oppressed the people and “zealously pressed on the search after the king’s money.” “[O]n the approach of Pentecost [the 50th day from Passover],” “tens of thousands of men got together”--“a great number,” all zealous against Sabinus--“Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan”--“but the people that naturally belonged to [the ‘state of’] Judea itself were above the rest...in number, and in the alacrity of the men.”

One group “seized on the hippodrome;...one pitched...from the northern part of the temple to the southern, on the east quarter...[and] the third held the western part of the city, where the king’s palace was..., to besiege the Romans [under Sabinus] and to enclose them

⁶³ Who earlier only had accompanied Archelaus as far as the port.

⁶⁴ It not said whether marriage or blood relations.

on all sides.” Sabinus had sent repeated messages to Varus for help, while “a terrible battle” and “terrible slaughter” occurred at the Phasaelus tower (ultimately its “vast works...were destroyed utterly”). The Romans gained entry and seized the treasure deposited there, but the people’s party had the palace surrounded.

Along with various factioning there continued “great disturbances in the country...in many places.” “[A] great many” defected from the Roman cause to the Hebrew. In Sebaste, 3000 men and their captains deserted. In Idumaea, 2000 of Herod’s disbanded veteran soldiers fought on, led by Achiabus. One (Ezekiel-) Judas, with “ambitious desire” to supravene, led a multitude... [from] about Sepphoris in the Galilee” to break into the royal armory. One Simon, a former “slave” of Herod, burned and plundered the Jericho palace in Peraea, and “was declared to be a king” by “a certain number [who] stood by him.” Simon lost his force and his head in “a great and long fight” against Gratus, “captain of the king’s party”--“no small part of those...from Peraea...were destroyed.” One “Athronges, a shepherd...not known by any body,” who commanded four numerous bands, also deigned to claim “a diadem on his head,” and slew “a great many both of the Romans’ and the king’s forces.”

“And thus did great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king [governance], and because those foreigners who came to reduce the seditions...on the contrary set them more in a flame...[because] of the injuries...and avaricious management.” Varus further recounted to Caesar Augustus how he then had assembled a major expedition, ordered that it be met by “auxiliary forces which...kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded [as client subjects].” “Aretas...brought a great army of horse and foot.” Fifteen hundred auxiliaries collected at Berytus. Had been formed by Varus into four companies, one of which took Sepphoris in the Galilee. Varus proceeded via Samaria to Jerusalem. “[A]ll places were full of fire and slaughter.”

At Jerusalem, Varus was received by the Jerusalem “Jews”/“citizens,” who asserted that “they were on the side of the Romans,” that the warring...without their approbation...had resulted from the conflux of strangers, and that they had fought for the Romans. Varus put an end to the people’s siege (“made their camps disperse”). He had the country searched out for rebels, caught “great numbers,” dismissed some and crucified “about 2000.” Some “10,000 men” in Idumaea (“by the advice of Achiabus...before it came to battle”) surrendered arms and delivered themselves over to Varus.

Varus had written the report on his return to Antioch, and he and sent “several” captured commanders to Caesar Augustus along with the report. “[S]ome of those...were Herod’s kinsmen.” Augustus issued “orders that certain of the king’s relations” “should be put to death, because they had engaged in a war against a king [Archelaus] of their own family.” “Several [unnamed] relations of Herod [the Great were] among these men in this war;” they “were the only persons whom he [Caesar] punished.”

Archelaus, still at Rome, “had new...trouble“ visited on him, in that Varus had allowed “the nation” to send “an embassy of the Jews,” “fifty” ambassadors, to “petition for the liberty of living by their own [theocratic] laws.” They were joined by “above 8000...that were at Rome already.”

Caesar held council. “The multitude of the Jews/[Hebrews] stood with the ambassadors, and on the other side stood Archelaus, with his friends; but as for the kindred of Archelaus, they stood on neither side.” Varus had persuaded his “great friend,” “Archelaus’s [half-] brother Philip [of “Cleopatra of Jerusalem”), to come “out of Syria,” principally to help Archelaus, but, “if...any change happen in the form of government,” for Philip to make a claim for his share.

The ambassadors, in their plea for dissolution of a monarchy, alleged the viciousness and injustices under Herod, and that Archelaus already had evidenced that he was cut of the same cloth. They suggested that their territory “be added to Syria, and be put under the

authority of such presidents...as should be sent” by Rome. On the other side, Nicolaus claimed it was a willful lawlessness in the nation that had precipitated the temple incident, and that it was lame to punish Archelaus for acts of his dead father.

A few days later Caesar Octavian ruled anew, as follows:

(a) The “Grecian” cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos formerly subject to Herod the Great were made Roman provinces of Syria.

(b) Archelaus was made ethnarch over one-half of the remaining territory, which included the cities of Jerusalem, Sebaste, Joppa and Strato’s Tower, and he would receive the annual tributes from the districts of Samaria, Judaea and Idumaea. (Samaria’s former tribute was reduced by one-fourth, for not having joined the revolt.) Archelaus’ annual revenue totaled 600 talents. Further, if Archelaus proved himself a virtuous governor, Caesar would be willing to declare him a king.

(c) Antipas and Philip were made tetrarchs, with the balance of the territory divided between them as follows: Antipas would receive the tributes from Galilee and Peraea (revenues of 200 talents). Philip would receive the tributes from Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis and certain parts of “what was called the House of Zenodorus about Jamnia” (revenues of 100 talents);

(d) Salome I received Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaelis (annual revenues of 60 talents); the royal residence at Askelon/Ascalon (which would remain, however, within Archelaus’ ethnarchy); and 500,000 coined silver.

(e) Caesar ordained the marriages of “Herod’s two virgin daughters...to Pheroras’s sons.” (These daughters are taken to have been Roxana, daughter of “Phaedra,” and Salome III, daughter of “Elpis/Elpide.”)

Originally, Archelaus had been married to an undesignated “Miriamne/[Miriam]⁶⁵. Upon his ascendance he divorced her and married Glaphyra [B]--originally the wife of Alexander III (and widowed a second time by the death of Juba, king of Libya). Nor did High Priest Eleazar “abide long.... Jesus, the son of Sie, [was] put in his [Eleazar’s] room while he was still living.”⁶⁶

When Glaphyra “was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while,” she narrated to an unnamed person or persons a dream she had about Alexander III. Glaphyra “hardly survived the narration of this dream of hers two days;” “in a few days’ time she departed this life.” It is not reported by what cause.

“[I]n the tenth [or “ninth”] year of Archelaus’s government, c. 6 c.e.,⁶⁷ Archelaus was accused of immoderate rule by “both his brethren and the principal men of Judea and Samaria.” Caesar Augustus summoned him to Rome, held a hearing, “banished Archelaus...[to] Vienna,..took his money away from him,” and “laid Archelaus’s country...to the province of Syria.”

It appears that at some point Joazar regained the high priesthood, which “had been conferred on him by the multitude.”⁶⁸

⁶⁵ IV?

⁶⁶ The timing of the within events depends on the year assigned to Herod’s death--here placed c. 3 or 2 b.c.e.

⁶⁷ Estimation of Herod the Great’s death as c. 4 b.c.e. and, Archelaus’ original confirmation as king c. 3 b.c.e., correspond well with the alternately-reported “ninth” year of Archelaus being c. 6 c.e.

⁶⁸ The statement does not appear until AJ XVIII.II.1; however Joazar also is mentioned as high priest when Coponius commenced taxations, detailed below.

(Jesus would have been 12 years old between 6 and 8 c.e., if his birth is placed between 6 and 4 b.c.e.)

In this timeframe, Cyrenius/Quirinius “was sent by Caesar Octavian[/Augustus] to take account of people’s effects in Syria,” “to be a judge of that nation,” and “to sell the house of Archelaus.”⁶⁹ “Coponius...was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews,” and “came himself into Judea, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance, and to dispose of Archelaus’s money.” The tenure years of Coponius, who was “sent as a procurator [with] the power of...death put into his hands by Caesar,” commonly are given as 6 to 9 c.e.

Under Coponius’ administration, the “Jews” took the “report of a taxation heinously,” but were persuaded by “high priest Joazar” to “leave off any further opposition...so they gave an account of their estates.” However, “a certain Galilean...Judas,” “a teacher of a peculiar sect,” together with one “Sadduc, a Pharisee--“prevailed with his countrymen to revolt.” “Judas and Sadduc...excited a fourth philosophic sect⁷⁰...and had a great many followers...[which] filled [the] civil government with tumults...[an] infection which spread thence among the younger sort, who were zealous for it.” Men of “the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy [of which] Judas the Galilean was the author...agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions but...have an inviolable attachment to liberty and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord.” Judas called his countrymen “cowards if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans and...submit to mortal men as their lords.”

“[T]he taxings were...made in the thirty-seventh year of Caesar’s victory over Antony at Actium,” or c. 6 c.e. When they “were come to a conclusion,” Cyrenius/Quirinius deposed the high priest, Joazar, who previously had been elected by the “multitude.” Procurator Coponius appointed Ananus[/Annas], the son of Seth[/“Sethi”], to be high priest.” At a Passover during Coponius’ administration, “some Samaritans” defiled the temple (they “threw dead bodies in the cloisters”), “a little after which accident Coponius returned to Rome.” (Thereafter, “The Jews excluded Samaritans out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals.”)

Coponius was replaced by Marcus [Ambibulus/] Ambivivus. His term commonly is fixed at 9 to 12 c.e. (Jesus would have been 12 years old c. 10 c.e., if his birth is placed c. 2 b.c.e.)

Salome I died. She left “all the toparchy of Jamnia.., Phasaelis in the plain, and Archelais [with its] great plantation of palm trees” to Caesar Octavian’s/[Augustus’] wife, [Livia A/] Julia.”⁷²

Marcus Ambivivus was replaced by Annius Rufus as procurator. His term commonly is fixed at 12 c.e. to 15 c.e. Meanwhile, at Rome, (Julius) Agrippa I⁷³ had been tutoring [Caius] Caligula, grandnephew of Caesar Augustus.

Augustus died in 14 c.e. He was succeeded by “Tiberius [*Claudius Drusus Nero*], his [Augustus’] wife [Livia A/]Julia’s son.” “[W]hen the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius...both Herod [Antipas] and Philip continued in their tetrarchies.” Caesar Tiberius CDN “sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea...to succeed Annius Rufus.” The tenure of Gratus commonly is taken as 15 to 26 c.e.

⁶⁹Sequencing events of the within period is hampered by uncertainties in data related to Cyrenius/Quirinius; refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A (Year of Death of Herod the Great and Year of Birth of Jesus).

⁷⁰This “fourth” sect is not given a name; Josephus provides detail of the three others--Essen, Sadducee and Pharisee, see pp. 804-806.

⁷¹“[T]his immovable resolution of theirs is well known...nor am I afraid,” Josephus concludes, “that any thing I have said of them should be disbelieved, but rather...that what I have said is beneath the resolution they show when they undergo pain.” (It still was to happen that, “in [procurator] Gessius Florus’s time [c. 64-66 a.d.] that the nation [would be] grow[n] mad with this distemper,” “to make them revolt [totally] from the Romans.”)

⁷²Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A (Roman ruling families chart).

⁷³Refer to fn. 54.

Procurator Gratus “deprived Ananus[/Annas] of the high priesthood and appointed “Ismael, the son of Phabi.” After “a little time,” Gratus removed Ishmael and “ordained Eleazar, the son of Ananus who had been high priest before, to be high priest.”⁷⁴ Eleazar had held the high priest office only “for a year,” when Gratus replaced him with “Simon, the son of Camithus” (c. 16/17 c.e.). Simon also “possessed that dignity no longer than a year. Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor” (c. 17/18 c.e.). [Ananus/] Annas “was...father-in-law of the Caiaphas, who was chief priest.”

Tetrarch Antipas “was in great favour with Tiberius [CDN].” He built “a city...Tiberius...in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth [sea of Galilee],” which became populated by both “strangers [and] a great number of Galileans,” some “of condition” and some “poor.” “Many sepulchers were...taken away [--a “transgress...[of] ancient laws”],” to make room for the new city; and Antipas at his own expense built homes elsewhere for some displaced persons and “freed” others.

In 18 c.e. Roman general Germanicus defeated the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Commagena. They became Roman provinces.

Gratus returned to Rome c. 25/26 c.e., having served as procurator “eleven years.” Caesar Tiberius [CDN] replaced him with Pontius Pilate. Pilate’s tenure is given as 26 to 36 c.e.

“Pilate...removed the [Roman] army from Caesarea to take its winter quarters at Jerusalem.” By night there was conveyed into the city “those images of Caesar called ensigns,” which former procurators had refrained from displaying because the people’s “law for[bade]...the very making of images.” “[A] vast number of people” went to Pilate, who abode at Caesarea. The “multitude ...interceded with him many days” to remove the ensigns. On the sixth day Pilate denied the request. From his place on the “judgment seat...in the market place,” surrounded by soldiers, he threatened “immediate death, unless they [the people] would leave off.” Instead, they prostrated themselves, “willingly ready to be slain.” Pilate--“deeply affected [by] their firm resolution,” and “greatly surprised at their prodigious superstition”--“presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cesarea.”

Antipas, during this general timeframe, sojourned at Rome with “Herod [B]...his [half-] brother, son of the high priest [Boethus-] Simon’s daughter [Miriamne II]” and Herod the Great. Herod [B] was married to “Herodias...the daughter of Aristobulus [IV]...and the sister of Agrippa [I] the Great.”⁷⁵ Antipas “fell in love” with Herodias. He, however, already “was married, to the [unnamed] daughter of Aretas [king of Nabataean Arabia], and had lived with her a great while.” Macherus, which “was subject to Aretas,” was “situated in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod [Antipas].”

Meanwhile, Pilate’s procuratorship continued to experience problems. One incident involved his use of “sacred treasure which is called corban” to build aqueducts. Pilate held a tribunal, where “many ten thousands of the people got together.” Blows by soldiers concealed among the people were “much greater” than Pilate had authorized; “many perished.” “[T]he multitude...astonished at the calamity...held their peace,” “and thus an end was put to [that] sedition.”

In the Roman arena, Tiberius CDN decided to pursue a league with Armenia, where its king Artabanus had both regained his principality from Parthia and warded off an ensuing attempt on it by Roman general Vitellius. Tetrarch Antipas assisted Vitellius in the

⁷⁴ It cannot be discerned whether this (Ananus/Annas-) Eleazar is identical to Eleazar, “Joazar’s brother [brother-in-law?], in that no maternal data is available for high priests appointed after the murder of Aristobulus III.

⁷⁵ The parentage relationship of Herodias and Agrippa I is unclear; refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, C(2) and E. (One of them may have been a child of Berenice/Bernice A by a father different than Aristobulus IV.)

negotiation, and he upstaged Vitellius by being first to inform Tiberius of its success.⁷⁶

In Rome itself, four unnamed men (one of them--a "Jew driven away from his own country by an accusation"--"professed" to instruct in the wisdom of the laws of Moses). The men influenced Fulvia, wife of Saturninus, to contribute riches, ostensibly for Jerusalem's temple, which instead they kept. Caesar Tiberius held an inquiry at the behest of Saturninus. Tiberius "ordered all...Jews [/Hebrews] to be banished out of Rome, at which time the consuls listed four thousand men [who were] sent...to the island Sardinia; but punished a greater number...who were unwilling to become soldiers on account of keeping the laws of their forefathers."

Now Antipas was moved to break his alliance with his father-in-law, Arabia's king Aretas. Herod "ventured to talk to Herodias, then wife of Herod [B], about a marriage between them." Herodias responded favorably and agreed to "change her habitation and come to him as soon as he should return [home] from Rome." "One article of this marriage...was that he should divorce Areta's daughter." (At some point Antipas agreed to support Agrippa I, Herodias' [half-?] brother, who had fallen on hard times. Antipas made Agrippa I "magistrate" of Tiberias.

Some three years into Pontius Pilate's term, c. 29 c.e., "John the son of Zechariah," "came into all country around of the Jordan, preaching." This was "the year...five and tenth of the governorship of Tiberius Caesar," "in the days of...tetrarch of the Galilee Herod [Antipas], Philip...tetrarch of Ituraea and of Trachonitis...and chief priest, Annas[/Ananus] and Caiaphas."⁷⁷

Unknown to Antipas, his Arabian wife had learned of or guessed his plans. She obtained permission for an ostensibly innocent visit to her father. But as "soon [as she] came to" Aretas at Macherus" she told him of Antipas' intentions. Aretas and Antipas both "raised armies...[and] sent their generals to fight."

Antipas was threatened by the priestly John, who publically castigated Antipas for his actions, and about whom went "crowds...greatly moved by his words." Antipas "feared...the great influence John had over the people might put into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion." Antipas was "willing him to kill" but "feared the crowd, because as prophet⁷⁸ him [John] they were having." Antipas "took hold of the John and bound him in prison"/"laid hold of the John, bound and in prison."

"[T]here was about this time [a man named] Jesus...[who] drew over to him both many of the Jews[/Hebrews], and many of the Gentiles,"⁷⁹ and was preaching onto the synagogues of Judea." John and Jesus apparently were related by way of their mothers (precisely how remains unclear⁸⁰). When Jesus "heard...that John was given over, he retired into the Galilee. ...[and] took up residence into Capernaum...beside the sea in districts of Zebulun and Naphtali."⁸¹

Jesus visited Judaea again, perhaps not long thereafter, during another festival time. At Jerusalem he incurred criticism from "Jews" (undesigned) for effecting a cure on a Sabbath day, to which he responded with a sermon. Then, aware that the Pharisees recognized that he was gathering even more disciples than John, Jesus "went away again

⁷⁶ Vitellius kept his anger "secret till he could be revenged," which opportunity would present itself some 10 years later under emperor Caligula.

⁷⁷ This statement may reflect Ananus/Annas' position as chief priest emeritus at temple.

⁷⁸ The translated definitions for this word in the Greek are "...one who speaks for another: *an interpreter of the will of a god*...generally, *an interpreter, proclaimer*. II. *An interpreter of scripture, inspired teacher, preacher*. III. *A foreteller, prophet*." *Greek Dict*.

⁷⁹ "gentile...n [ME, fr. LL *gentiles*, fr. L *gent-, gens* nation]...a person of non-Jewish[/Hebrew] nation or of non-Jewish[/Hebrew] faith..." *Adj...*"of or relating to the nations at large as distinguished from the Jews[/Hebrews]..." *Webster*.

⁸⁰ See Appendix 4C under their mothers' respective names.

⁸¹ Jesus' regional travelings cannot be sequenced with certainty from the disparate reports given in the first four books of the *New Testament*; only main events are briefed in this summary.

into the Galilee.” While traversing Samaria, “many” ‘Samaritans’ hearkened to him.

At the time of an approaching Passover, Jesus and his primary supporters crossed to “other side of the sea of the Galilee of the Tiberias” where, on a mountain, a congregation assembled of “five thousand” men” (“apart from women and little boys”). Some again began to call Jesus a prophet; he, believing that they were “about to be coming and to be snatching him, in order that they might make [him] king,” dismissed the people and withdrew. John, captive of Antipas, received reports “about all these” events and sent Jesus a message, which asked to the effect, ‘Are you the one...or are we to expect another?’ Jesus In response told John’s messengers to report back to John what they were hearing and seeing.

People of Samaria armed themselves and gathered under an unnamed leader in the vicinity of a village named Tirathaba, near Mount Gerizzim. Troops of Pilate fell on them, “slew [some,]...others of them they put to flight, and took a great many of alive.” “[T]he principal of which, and also the most potent of those that fled...Pilate ordered to be slain.”

Meanwhile, Jesus had crossed back to the west from a sojourn to “the country of the Gadarenes.” In “his own city [Nazareth],” “many tax collectors...came...reclining with” him. One Levi, son of Alphaeus, gave a great reception and feast at his house [location unspecified]; “and was crowd much of tax collectors and others who were with him.”

In this same timeframe, John met death at the hands of Galilee’s tetrarch Antipas.⁸²

“[S]ome...of the tetrarchy of Philip joined with Aretas’ army” against Antipas, and Antipas’ army was destroyed. “Now some of the Jews thought the destruction...came...justly...as a punishment of which he did against John...for Herod [Antipas] slew him.” Antipas wrote to Caesar Tiberius, who, “angry at...Aretas, wrote to Vitellius [now “president of Syria”] to make war upon Aretas,” and either send him to Tiberius in bonds or send his head.

Vitellius “made haste for Petra” with two legions. On request of “principal men,” Vitellius agreed that his army, bearing its unacceptable ensigns, would “march along the great plain, while he himself, with Herod [Antipas] the tetrarch and his friends, went up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice..., an ancient festival of the Jews being then just approaching.”

Midway through a festival of tabernacles,⁸³ Jesus taught/discoursed at the Jerusalem temple. “Sent forth the chief priests and the Pharisees subordinates in order that they might get hold of him,” and “were saying some of the Jerusalemites, ‘Not this one they are seeking to kill?’” But by festival end the “subordinates” had made no arrest; questioned, they emphasized the man’s speaking ability. Their Pharisee superiors remarked that the “crowd” was ignorant and that none of the Pharisees or “rulers” “believed into”⁸⁴ Jesus. Nicodemus (who privately had met with Jesus previously) cautioned that The Law did not judge a man “before first hearing from him and it is known what he is doing.”

During a wintertime festival of dedication at Jerusalem,⁸⁵ Jesus again appeared at the temple. “They were seeking therefore him again to get hold of, and he went forth out of the hand of them...again, other side of the Jordan.” “Were going with...him crowds many” as he journeyed, “through...cities and villages teaching,” before again “making for...Jerusalem.” “And it occurred in the...going into Jerusalem...he was traversing through midst of Samaria and of Galilee;” and “came...some Pharisees saying to him, “Get out and be gone from here,

⁸² Differences occur in the accounts of where and how. According to Josephus, John simply was “sent a prisoner, out of Herod’s [Antipas] suspicious temper, to Macherus...and...there put to death.” According to the New Testament reports, Herod on his birthday made a “supper...to the greatest men of him and to the chiliarchs and to the first of the Galilee,” during which an unnamed daughter of Herodias was prompted by her mother to ask for John’s beheading, as the favor Antipas promised if she danced for him. Antipas “having sent he beheaded John in the prison”/Antipas “having sent off...body guardsman he gave the order.... And [the guardsman] having gone off he beheaded him in the prison.”

⁸³ 32 c.e.?

⁸⁴ Another primary translation from the Greek of the word, “believe,” is “put trust in.”

⁸⁵ Again, 32 c.e.?

because Herod [Antipas] is willing you to kill.” Jesus “went off...into the country near the desolate, into Ephraim...city, and there he remained” for an unspecified period of time.

“Now...[another] passover...was near,”⁸⁶ and Jesus arrived at Bethany⁸⁷ either two or six days before. At some point after his arrival, [Hebrew-] “Greeks...coming up in order that they might worship...approached to Philip the one from Bethsaida of the Galilee,..saying, ‘Lord, we are willing the Jesus to see.’”⁸⁸ The meeting, if it occurred, is not described.

People arriving in Jerusalem looked for Jesus, “saying with one another in the temple...‘What is it seeming to you? That not not he might come into the festival?’” “Had given...the chief priests [sic.⁸⁹] and the Pharisees commands in order that if ever anyone should know where he is he should disclose, that they might get hold of him.” “[W]ere seeking the chief priests and the scribes...how they might take up him. “The scribes were seeking the effective way for them to get rid of him, for they were in fear of the people.” “Judas, the one called Iscariot,” met with the “chief priests and captains; and upon an offer of money he “consented” to find a time “without crowd around, for Jesus to be seized.”

One of the days after Jesus arrived at Bethany he entered Jerusalem. “[A]ll the city” “was made to quake” with interest in him, and many continued to refer to him as a prophet. “[E]ntered Jesus into the temple, and threw out all [those] selling and buying in the temple and the tables of the money changers he overturned, etc.”/ “[H]aving entered into the temple he started to be throwing out [those] selling and [those] buying in the temple, and the tables of the money changers and the seats of [those] selling the doves he overturned, etc.”/ “And having entered into the temple he started to be throwing out [those] selling, etc.”⁹⁰

As “he was teaching the according to day in the temple,” the “chief priests and the scribes” and “also the first of the people” “were seeking him to destroy...and not they were finding the what they might do, the people for all was hanging out of him hearing.” “Then were led together the chief priests and the older men of the people into the courtyard of the chief priest [“the house of the chief priest”]...Caiaphas, and took counsel together in order that the Jesus to crafty device they might seize and they may kill, they were saying ‘but not in the festival,’ in order that not uproar might occur in the people.”

Textwise near this point Jesus remarked, “You know that two days from now the passover occurs.”

“[T]ogether...the chief priests and the Pharisees Sanhedrin” questioned “What are we doing because [of] this the man...? If ever we should let go off him thus, all will believe⁹¹ unto him, and will come the Romans and they will lift up [crucify] of us....” “Caiaphas, chief priest being of the year that, said, ‘It is bearing together to you in order that one man should die over the people and not whole nation should be destroyed.’ ...[F]rom that therefore the day they took counsel in order that they might kill him.” The chief priests and scribes “sent off ones...pretending themselves righteous to be, in order that they might catch of him of word [to allow them] to give over him to the government and to the authority of the governor.” “And they sent off toward him some of the Pharisees and of the Herodians,” who asked whether he did or did not believe Caesar’s head tax to be lawful.⁹²

⁸⁶ 33 c.e.?

⁸⁷ See Appendix 3B, I, Ananiah, (1).

⁸⁸ If “Philip” the compatriot of Jesus was identical with tetrarch Philip, it would explain why the Greeks referred to him as “Lord.” See Appendix 4A, at and in fn. 122.

⁸⁹ It is unclear whether the plural in this and related passages denotes acting chief priest Caiaphas and/or chief priest emeritus Annas and/or ‘high’ priests of the Sanhedrin.

⁹⁰ Either another, identical tumult occurred some three years previous, with Jesus berating the money exchangers and charging them with profiteering, or that report at John 2:13-25 is missequenced. (Likewise, the sequencing of the secret visit by Nicodemus.)

⁹¹ See fn. 84.

⁹² Jesus, reportedly aware of their wily purposes, responded with a brief dialectic which avoided answering in the negative while playing on Caesar’s self-titled godship; *Matthew 22*, *Mark 12*, *Luke 20*. Prior to this, reported questionings put to Jesus at various places and points related to theocratic law issues, e.g. by “Pharisees” on divorce (*Matthew 19*; *Mark 10*); by “chief priests and the

Jesus and his band spent the night of his ultimate arrest at “a spot...Gethsemane,” going “as custom into the Mount of Olives,” “other side of the winter torrent of the Cedars where was garden.” There, Judas of Iscariot came “with...crowd much with swords and woods from the chief priests and older men of the people”/“with crowd...with swords and woods beside the chief priests and the scribes and the older men”/with “chief priests and captains of the temple and older men”/with “the band also out of the chief priests and out of the Pharisees subordinates.” Judas identified Jesus, and Jesus was arrested.

“The...band and the chiliarch and the subordinates of the Jews took...Jesus and bound him and they led toward Annas[/Ananus] first...father-in-law of the Caiaphas.” Alternately, “[H]aving been seized the Jesus [was] led off toward Caiaphas...where the scribes and the older men were led together.”⁹³ Discussion was held. At its conclusion high priest Caiaphas alleged Jesus was guilty of blasphemy.” (Three theocratic laws touched on Jesus’ acts and statements: sanctity of the Sabbath, apostasy, and blasphemy.⁹⁴) Caiaphas asked, “What to you seems it?,” to which the others responded, “Held in of death he is.”

“Caiaphas...counseled to the Jews that it is bearing together one man to die over the people.” “And as it became day, was led together the body of elders of the people, chief priests both and scribes, and they led away Jesus into the Sanhedrin” and questioned him. “Of morning...having occurred counsel together,” Jesus was taken by “all the chief priests and the older men of the people...bound...[and] led off...to Pilate the governor.” “[E]arly in the morning consultation having made the chief priests and the older men and scribes and whole the Sanhedrin...Jesus [they] gave over to Pilate.” They led “Jesus from the Caiaphas into the praetorium.” There, they accused him of “turning through the nation...and forbidding taxes to Caesar.” His accusers claimed they would not have brought him thus to Pilate were he not a “wrong-doer.”

Pilate inquired whether “the man Galilean is” and ascertained that Jesus was subject to the authority of tetrarch Antipas. Pilate “sent him toward Herod [Antipas], being also him in Jerusalem in these...[festival] days.” Antipas “rejoiced” at finally seeing Jesus and spoke at him at length; but Jesus “answered nothing,” while the “vehemently accusing” priests and scribes stood by. Antipas and his “troops” ridiculed Jesus and “sent back him to Pilate. “Became...friends...Herod and Pilate in very the day with each other; they were before...in enmity.”

Jesus was returned to Pilate with demands that he be impaled. He refused to answer Pilate’s question, whether he considered himself “king of the Jews [/Hebrews].” Pilate told Jesus captors, “take you him you and impale...,” I...not am finding in him cause.” They answered, “We law are having, and according to the law he is owing to die.” Pilate

older men of the people,” on from where he obtained authority to teach (*Matthew 21, Mark 11, Luke 20*); by “Sadducees,” on levirate duty (*refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part VII, A*) *vis-à-vis* resurrection (*Matthew 22, Mark 12, Luke 20*); by “Pharisees,” on descentance of an anointed one (*ibid.*).

⁹³ “[A]nother disciple...known to the chief priest...[who] went in with Jesus into the courtyard of the chief priest,” spoke to the portress so that Peter also was allowed to enter. While Peter was waiting he repeatedly was questioned as to whether he was one of those with “Jesus the Galilean.” (*Matthew 26:73*). After Peter’s denials, there was said to him, “Truly also you out of them are...for the speech of you evident it is making.” The parallel verses of *Mark (14:70)*, *Luke (22:59)* and *John (18:26)* do not include the reference to speech; however, see Appendix 1B, preceding fn. 10, where persons crossing between sectors were distinguished by pronunciation.

⁹⁴(a) “day the Sabbath keep holy,” “day the Sabbath...not You shall do any work...it [is] sanctified” (*Exodus 20:8*; a man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath was put to death by stoning, *Numbers 15:32-36*); (b) “Not you shall take the name of [Tet.]...in vain” (*Exodus 20:7*); “[H]e who blasphemes name [Tet.] surely shall be executed; surely shall cast stones at him all the congregation” (*Leviticus 24:16*); “[T]he person that does anything with a hand high, whether of native or of the alien [Tet.], the same, blasphemes; and shall be cut off person that from the midst of his people” (*Numbers 15:30*); (c) Should “a prophet...or dreamer of dreams” arise and employ methods to entice recognition of and service to “gods other [than] you have... .. [he] shall be executed, because he has spoken apostasy against [Tet.]” (*Deuteronomy 13:1ff.*). [Tet.] is the abbreviation used in this work for the *tetragrammaton*, four consonants which represented the ‘word’ for or ‘name’ of “God”—*refer to Appendix 4D, Tetragrammetron.*

⁹⁵ This text statement does not conform to a rule advanced that, “As the emperor’s representative, the governor exercised full control of the province...and the governor’s ratification had to be obtained by the [local] court for [its] sentence[s] to be valid.” (*Aid 1311.*)

responded, “Nothing I found in the man, this cause of which you are accusing.... [N]either Herod [Antipas], he sent back...him toward us.”⁹⁶

Pilate again questioned Jesus inside the governor’s palace but still could establish no cause. The Romans had a custom of freeing one prisoner at Passover time. Pilate returned outside and asked, “Are you willing” “I should release to you the king of the Jews?” (“He was knowing...that through envy had given over him the chief priests.”) The offer was declined, however, in favor of one Barabbas, who had been “with the seditionists having been bound who in the sedition murder they had done.”⁹⁷

Pilate then had Jesus scourged and presented him outside, saying “not one cause I am finding in him.” A last assertion was made to Pilate, that, “If ever this [one] you should release, not you are friend of the Caesar; everyone the king himself making is saying against the Caesar.” Pilate “sat down upon step into place being said Stone pavement.... Was but preparation of the passover, hour was as sixth;” and he asked, “The king of you shall I impale?” Answered the chief priests, ‘Not we are having king if not Caesar.’ Then therefore he gave beside him to them in order that he might be impaled;” “Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men...condemned him [Jesus] to the cross.”

Meanwhile at Rome, Caesar Tiberius had lost his trust of Agrippa I (Antipas’ brother-in-law) and placed him in a type of house arrest. Also at some point in this timeframe, the “Samaritan senate sent an embassy to president Vitellius” concerning the Tirathaba incident, “accusing Pilate of murder” and claiming that the people had gone there, not “in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate.”

Vitellius ordered Pilate to Rome to answer the accusations before Caesar Tiberius. Pilate, “who had tarried ten years in Judea,” could not disobey and “made haste” to go to Rome. Vitellius “deprived Joseph, who was called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus...to succeed him.”⁹⁸

“About this time it was that [tetrarch] Philip, Herod’s [Antipas’ half-] brother, departed this life, in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius [CDN], after he had been tetrarch...thirty-seven years.” The manner of Philip’s death is not related. Philip’s “principality Tiberius took and added it to the province of Syria” (“for Philip “died childless”/“left no sons behind him”).⁹⁹

Caesar Tiberius, nearing the end of his years, was informed of remarks made by Agrippa I, anticipating Tiberius’ death and Caligula’s ascendance. Tiberius then “ordered Agrippa to be bound, and had him very ill-treated in the prison for the last six months of Tiberius’ life.”

Vitellius is described over the above period as if twice at Jerusalem:

(a) At the time of one Passover festival, Vitellius was “magnificently received” and “honourably entertained by the multitude of the Jews.” He remitted taxes on buying and selling fruits; and after the festival, left “the high priest’s vestments, with all their ornaments...under the custody of the priests of the temple,” instead of, as before, being returned to the Roman captain of the guard, who previously would deliver them to the priests a week prior to the festival for purification and use.

(b) Vitellius, enroute with two legions on order from Tiberius to make war on Aretas, stopped at Jerusalem “for three days.” He “deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother, Theophilus” (“son of Ananus”).

⁹⁶Some political involvements would appear to be missing; it is unclear why Antipas sent Jesus back to Pilate (it appears he himself could have released him?)

⁹⁷ *Mark* 15:7.

⁹⁸ This may have occurred in the first of two Vitellius appearances at Jerusalem that cannot be fixed definitively in time—see (a), fourth paragraph below.

⁹⁹ There is a seeming contradiction in *Josephus* as to the year of death of tetrarch Philip—the here stated “20th year” of Tiberius against the reported years of Agrippa I’s reign; refer to Appendix 4A timeline at 44 c.e. and fn. 122.

“On the fourth day letters...informed him [Vitellius] of the death of Tiberius” (c. 37 c.e.). A “few days” before Tiberius died he had “appointed Caius [Caligula; “the fourth emperor”] to be his successor.” The Roman senate confirmed Caligula’s succession.

Vitellius “obliged the multitude to take an oath of fidelity to Caius” and sent his legions to winter quarter at home, “since, upon the devolution of the empire upon Caius, he had not the like authority of making the war which he had before.” (Reportedly, Aretas had been told by “diviners that it was impossible that this army of Vitellius’s could enter Petra.”) “So Vitellius truly retired to Antioch.”

Emperor Caligula sent one Marcellus to be procurator. Caesar Caligula ordered also that Agrippa I--“although still in custody [as per Tiberius’ prior order]”--be removed “and go to that house where he lived before he was put in prison.” “However, there did not many days pass ere” Caligula “put a diadem on his [Agrippa I’s] head and appointed him to be king of the tetrarchy of Philip.” Caligula “promised” Agrippa I to give him also “the tetrarchy of Lysanias.” (Agrippa I became known as “Agrippa the Great”/“Agrippa the Elder.”)

In Caligula’s “second year,” he gave Agrippa I leave “to sail home, and settle the affairs of his government.” “So he came into his own country [the former tetrarchy of Philip], and appeared...all unexpectedly as a king.”

Abetted by Herodias’ urgings, Antipas and Herodias sailed to Rome on the premise that, since Caligula had made Agrippa I (“a private person”) king over Philip’s former tetrarchy, Caesar “much more would...advance Antipas” from tetrarch to king. Meanwhile, Agrippa I sent gifts and letters against Antipas to Caligula; and he himself followed in person.

Antipas was with Caesar Caligula when Agrippa I’s letter arrived. It accused Antipas of having been part of a confederacy that opposed Tiberius, and that he now was a confederate of Parthian king Artabanus in opposition to Caligula. Agrippa I informed Caligula that Antipas “had armour sufficient for 70,000 men,” the truth of which Antipas “could not deny...it being notorious.” “Caius took that to be sufficient proof of the accusation that Antipas intended to revolt.”

Caligula banished Antipas perpetually, to Lyons in Gaul [“into Spain”]. He offered leniency to Herodias, Agrippa’s sister, which she declined out of loyalty to her husband. Caligula, angry, “sent her with Herod [Antipas] into banishment.” Caligula gave Antipas’ tetrarchy to Agrippa I (“by way of addition to Agrippa’s kingdom”), together with Antipas’ money.

Notes: This volume’s timeframe ends essentially with the establishment of King Agrippa I.¹⁰⁰ He would die c. 44 c.e. He would reign under Caligula four years, three of them over only Philip’s tetrarchy and the fourth year also over that of Antipas. Judaea, Samaria and Caesarea would be added by Caesar Claudius to Agrippa I’s domain in the second half of his reign.

¹⁰⁰Some ensuing data (from *Josephus*) is provided, however, by Appendix 4A through the deaths of Caligula, Agrippa I and Herod [A], into the reign of Roman emperor Claudius, with added detail on the emperors in Attachment 1 to 4A.