

Appendix 4A.

TIMELINE¹

HIGH PRIESTS JOHN HYRCANUS I TO (THEOPHILUS-) MATTHAIS

<u>Year(s)</u> ² b.c.e.	<u>“LOCALLY”</u>	<u>SYRIA</u> ³	Rulers ----- <u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	<u>“Converted”</u> <u>Year</u> ⁴ b.c.e.
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Resumed from Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1:

Following the assassination of High Priest Simon Matthes:

134	John Hyrcanus I High Priest	Cleopatra III and Antiochus VII <i>Sidetes</i>	Ptolemy VIII <i>Physcon</i> ⁵ and Cleopatra IV	Third Period of “The Republic”
132	Rome’s provinces now were Sicilia, Sardinia with Corsica, Hispania Citerior, Hispania Ulterior, Gallia Cisalpina, Illyricum, Africa, Macedonia and Achaea. Antiochus VII besieged Hyrcanus I at Jerusalem for an unstated period of time, and then withdrew after extracting 300 talents and hostages. Antiochus VII strengthened Seleucid/Syrian power by several victories over Phraates II of Parthia. Hyrcanus I made league with Cleopatra III and Antiochus VII. Hyrcanus I accompanied Antiochus VII on one Parthian expedition.			
130	Antiochus VII fell in a battle at Ecbatana “about 130 b.c.”			

Cleopatra III

¹ Unless otherwise cited, data is drawn from (a) internal, cited narratives (Appendices 4B, II, II, and III and their attachments, charts and details (of which some cross-references are included here as examples of sources), and (b) from *Ency.* pp. 82, 84, 91-99. Question marks indicate uncertain data.

² Major established or strongly suggested years are given as points of reference. A number of years, routinely advanced, are not included in that they pose irreconcilables in progression (e.g. 105 b.c.e. as deposal of Ptolemy IX and restoration of Ptolemy X, it being reported “king’ Alexander I Janneus assisted, while his generally assigned date of ascendance is 103).

³ “Syria” (used first by Herodotus) now generally replaces “Seleucid” in all texts. “Syria” in its widest sense equaled the territory of the later Roman province, the large region south of the Taurus Mountains between the Euphrates River on the east, Mediterranean Sea on the west, ‘Palestine’s’ south border and Arabia’s north border. “Syria” in its narrower sense excluded Palestine and Phoenicia. (Ongoing referential name variations is demonstrated by *Lempriere’s* description of “Judaea”—“A famous country of Assyria, bounded by Arabia, Egypt, Phoenicia, the Mediterranean sea, and part of Syria.” Page 299.) See also Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Syria.

⁴ If in italics, it is a *proposed* year.

⁵ Numberings of Ptolemies differ among sources, many of which omit VII and show VIII as VII—refer to Appendix 3A, Attachment 6, at fns. 2 and 3.

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>“LOCALLY”</u>	<u>SYRIA</u>	<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	<u>“Converted”</u> <u>Year</u> b.c.e.
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Parthia freed Demetrius II, who took Rhodogyne, Parthian king Phraates' daughter, to wife. He then was given leave to return to Syria to reclaim the Syrian throne.
 Demetrius II established himself at Antioch. (It appears that his other wife, Cleopatra III, was established at Ptolemais.)

Cleopatra III (at Ptolemais)⁶
 Demetrius II *Nicator* (at Antioch)

Demetrius II “had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus,”
 Threatened, Hyrcanus I went to Rome to invoke a league. Rome was polite but gave no letters of protection.
 Demetrius III suffered ill will among his ranks; “Syrians and the[ir] soldiers...sent ambassadors to Ptolemy VIII asking him to send someone “of the family of Seleucus” to effect a takeover; Ptolemy VIII sent one Alexander Zabinas/Zebina to depose Demetrius II.
 Hyrcanus I allied with Alexander Zebina.
 Demetrius, an ill man, quickly was overcome; he retreated to Ptolemais, where Cleopatra III refused him admittance. (Demetrius later was caught and killed at Tyre,)
 Seleucus V, a son of Demetrius II, succeeded his father.

Cleopatra III with
 Seleucus V
 (Their respective location is not given.)

Seleucus V “was put to death in the first year of his reign by Cleopatra [III].”
 “Ptolemy [VIII]...raised to the throne” Alexander Zebina.

Cleopatra III (at Ptolemais?)
 Alexander Zebina (at Antioch?)

“In the hundred fourscore and eighth year, the people that were at Jerusalem and in Judea, and the council, and Judas [undesigned], sent greetings and health unto Aristobulus [undesigned] king Ptolemaeus’ master, who was of the stock of the anointed priests, and to the Jews that were in Egypt.”⁷ *2 Maccabees* 1:10. 123

123 Zebina was conquered and killed by Antiochus VIII, younger son of Cleopatra III and Demetrius II. (Date per *Ency.* p. 82.)

Cleopatra III with
 Antiochus VIII *Grypus*

⁶ It will be noted that the record frequently is silent (such as with Selene [A] in Syria later) as to the precise location and circumstances of women involved in co-rulerships.
⁷ See fn. 11 for a potential Aristobulus here mentioned. (The preface to *2 Maccabees* 1:10 mentions a similar missile in “year 169;” see at converted year 142 b.c.e., Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1 timeline.)

Year(s) b.c.e.	"LOCALLY"	Rulers			"Converted"
		SYRIA	EGYPT	ROME	Year b.c.e.
117	Antiochus VIII, learning that Antiochus IX was raising an army, abandoned contemplation of war on Hyrcanus I and prepared for an expected attack by Antiochus IX. Antiochus VIII was forced out by Antiochus IX. (<i>Ency.</i> p. 82.)				
		Antiochus IX <i>Cyzenicus</i> [Cleopatra III's status uncertain]			
116	Antiochus VIII and Antiochus IX continued their battling. Hyrcanus I had gained possession of Shechem and Gerizzim, and "subdued" the Idumaeans. Ptolemy VIII died. Ptolemy VIII "left Cyene separately to his son Ptolemy Apion, and Egypt and Cyprus to his second wife, Cleopatra [IV]." She "was instructed to choose one of her sons as joint ruler." She chose Ptolemy X <i>Alexander I</i> over Ptolemy IX <i>Lathyrus</i> .				
			Cleopatra IV ⁸ with Ptolemy X <i>Alexander I</i>		
	In Egypt, Ptolemy X quickly "became odious;" Cleopatra IV replaced him with Ptolemy IX <i>Lathyrus</i> . She allowed him to ascend, however, on condition that he marry Selene [A]/ Cleopatra VI.				
			Cleopatra IV with Ptolemy IX <i>Lathyrus</i> (Married to Selene [A])		
111	At some point, Hyrcanus I began a siege of Samaria city/Sebaste; its people sought assistance from Antiochus IX. Ptolemy IX, without Cleopatra IV's consent, provided Antiochus IX with 6000 soldiers, with which "Egyptians" Antiochus IX overran Hyrcanus I's territory, in an effort to divert him from the Samaria siege. Hyrcanus I's sons, Aristobulus I and Antigonus I battled Antiochus IX, who "fled to Tripoli...and committed prosecution of the war against the Jews" to other generals, but they failed to break the siege. Aristobulus I and Antigonus I took Samaria city and its inhabitants; the siege had lasted "one year." Hyrcanus I then obliterated the city. Aristobulus I and Antigonus I marched "as far as Scythopolis...and laid waste all that country that lay within Mt. Carmel." "After an indecisive series of battles (113-112)," the Antiochii VIII and IX struck a bargain and divided the Syrian realm between them--Antiochus VIII ceded Coele-Syria to Antiochus IX. (The dates are per <i>Ency.</i> p. 82.) In Egypt, Ptolemy IX was expelled by Cleopatra IV with the "assistance and intrigue" of Alexandra I and her husband, another Hyrcanus I son, Alexander [I] Jannaeus. Cleopatra IV recalled Ptolemy X to co-rule.				

⁸ Sometimes referred to as Cleopatra "Berenice."

⁹ Some overlap of dates appears in this timeframe; refer to fn. 2.

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	<u>Rulers</u>			<u>"Converted"</u>
		<u>SYRIA</u>	<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	<u>Year</u> b.c.e.

Selene [A] (Cleo VI) ("first married [to] Latherus/Lathyrus") now became wife to Antiochus VIII of Syria, "by desire of her mother [Cleopatra III]."

Antiochus IX <i>Cyzenicus</i> (Over Coele-Syria) Antiochus VIII + Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI [At Antioch?]	Cleopatra IV and Ptolemy X <i>Alexander I</i>
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Cleopatra III at some point attempted to poison Antiochus VIII; he discovered it and compelled her to drink the poison instead.

Antiochus VIII + Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI

In the interim, Judaea and Hyrcanus I (who had got "an immense quantity of money" during the time following the death of Antiochus VII) had been in "flourishing" condition. "[N]ot only those Jews[Hebrews¹⁰] who were 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 her son Ptolemy IX." The prosperous state of affairs of Hyrcanus I and his sons "moved the Jews to envy" and "occasioned a sedition"--"the worse disposed being the Pharisees," who carried "great a power over the multitude," while "the Sadducees (were) not able to persuade any but the rich". When political contentions culminated in a slanderous charge against Hyrcanus I, he changed his party to "the sect of the Sadducees." Afterward, Hyrcanus I had no further disturbances for the rest of his tenure.

John Hyrcanus I died after 30 years as high priest. He bequeathed the government to his [unnamed] widow and the priesthood to his eldest son, Aristobulus I [*Judas*].

Aristobulus I, besides assuming high priesthood, titled himself "King."

104/103	Queen Unnamed--widow of Hyrcanus I--with Aristobulus I, ¹¹ High Priest and King
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Aristobulus' unnamed [step?-] mother "disputed the government with him;" he put her (and some undesigned relatives of hers) in prison, where she died either of starvation or melancholy (or both).

Aristobulus I's wife was named "Salome," but the "Greeks" called her "Alexandra [I]." (Her lineage is not given.)

¹⁰ Here it is recalled that the term "Jews" refers to Hebrews of areas other than the land of "Judah."

¹¹ This could have been the Aristobulus "of the stock of anointed priests" of the 142 b.c.e. letter mentioned in the 123 b.c.e. letter from Jerusalem to Alexandria--see fn. 7.

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		<u>SYRIA</u>	<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	<u>Year</u> b.c.e.
	Alexandra I, Queen Aristobulus I, High Priest and King				
	<p>In his brief tenure, Aristobulus added a great part of Ituraea to Judaea territory and imposed Hebrew law and circumcision on inhabitants.</p> <p>Aristobulus I became ill during his first, his only year as king. Palace plotters (wife Alexandra I is said to have been one) contrived the murder of his younger [half-?] brother, Antigonus [I], a great favorite with the people. Aristobulus I's illness worsened.</p> <p>Aristobulus I then died, "when he had reigned no longer than a year."</p> <p>Alexandra I freed other imprisoned "brethren" and married Alexander [I] Janneus (mother unnamed), another son of Hyrcanus I. King Janneus assumed high priesthood office as well as crown.</p>				
103	Alexandra I, Queen Alexander [I] Jannaeus. King and High Priest				
97/96	<p>"Ptolemaeus Apion [<i>sic</i>]...the illegitimate son of Ptolemy Physcon, died after a reign of 20 years as king of Cyrene; and, as he had no children, made the Romans heirs of his dominions," later reduced to a Roman province "following political turbulence and insurrection."¹²</p>				
93	<p>Antiochus VIII was assassinated "by his favorite, Heracleon." (<i>Ency.</i> p. 82.) Seleucus VI and Antiochus IX contended for rule of Syria. Antiochus IX expelled Seleucus VI and "married" Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Antiochus IX <i>Cyzenicus</i> + Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI</p> <p>Seleucus IV returned, conquered and killed Antiochus IX. Selene [A] joined with Antiochus XI <i>Eusebes</i>.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Antiochus XI <i>Eusebes</i> + Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI</p> <p>Ptolemais sent to Cyprus for aid from Ptolemy IX. Cleopatra IV accepted a plan of Alexander I <i>Janneus</i>—they faked an alliance with Ptolemy IX to have him first dispose of a tyrant named Zoilus (who had entered the fray¹³), while Cleopatra IV prepared her army.</p>				

¹² *Lempriere*, under Cyrene.

¹³ As will be noted consecutively, the purely mercenary involvements of various potentates and generals frequently complicated regional struggles.

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	Antiochus X <i>Pius</i> defeated and drove out Seleucus VI (who later died in Cilicia, "b.c.e. 93"). "Antiochus XI was defeated and killed [the circumstances and by whom is not said], but...Philip continued the war with Antiochus X." <i>Ency.</i> p. 82. Antiochus X "married" Selene.	Antiochus X <i>Pius</i> + Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI			
	Antiochus X "vigorously opposed" the other Syrian contenders, Philip/Philippus and Demetrius III. His army, however, was destroyed by Philip (or by another brother-- <i>Josephus</i> is unclear here). Philip now "reigned over some part of Syria."	Antiochus X <i>Pius</i> ¹⁴ and Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI Philip "over some part"			
	Ptolemy IX assisted Philip's "fourth brother, Demetrius [III]," to take Damascus (Ptolemy IX "made him king of Damascus"). Antiochus X died [either] in battle fighting Parthians "as an auxiliary to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites [or in Mopsuestia; see at fn. 14 of Appendix 4B, I]...while [now] Demetrius and Philip governed Syria."	Demetrius III at Damascus; Philip "over some part" (Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI status uncertain)			
	Demetrius III had warned the people of Ptolemais, if they accepted aid from Ptolemy IX, Cleopatra IV subsequently surely would bring her own army against them. Ptolemy IX meanwhile routed Zoilus; then he learned of his Cleopatra IV's and Alexander I <i>Janneus'</i> ploy, Ptolemy IX went on the march toward Egypt. Enroute, he took the Galilee city of Asochis and made an attempt on Sepphoris.) Cleopatra IV, seeing Ptolemy IX reaching toward her gate, "sent Ptolemy X to Phoenicia with a fleet. She herself went to Ptolemais. When the city refused to receive her, her army laid siege. Ptolemy IX made for Egypt, figuring it would be without defenses. (Chelcias, in pursuit, "died at this time.") The battle met between Ptolemies IX and X was "a great slaughter," in which Ptolemy IX's losses were compensated by "auxiliaries" but Ptolemy X's were not; Ptolemy X's army dissolved. Ptolemy IX also conquered Alexander I <i>Janneus</i> and "exercised the greatest cruelty upon the Jews"--Ptolemy IX "overran all the country," occupying "certain villages of Judea" and gained control at Gaza, where he wintered. In the interim, Cleopatra IV had taken possession of Ptolemais. Ptolemy IX abandoned an attempt on Egypt and returned to Cyprus. After Ptolemy IX retired to Cyprus, and Cleopatra IV was back in Egypt--"presently"--Alexander I <i>Janneus</i> "made an expedition against Celesyria" and took Gadara and Amathus, a strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, "where Theodorus, the son of Zenoi, had his chief treasures." Theodorus attacked, slew 10,000, and both retrieved his goods and seized a "baggage" from Alexander. "Undaunted," Alexander I <i>Janneus</i> "made an expedition upon the maritime parts, besieged Gaza " and ravaged" the country; but he soon was opposed by one Appollodorus,				

¹⁴ According to *Lempriere*, Antiochus X was over "Coele-Syria;" p. 587.

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general of Gaza's army. The Gazans were encouraged by "Aretas, king of the Arabians," and fought stoutly. Aretas promised assistance but before his arrival, Appollodorus was killed by his brother, Lysimachus [undesigned]," Lysimachus gathered the army and "delivered up the city [Gaza] to Alexander [I] Janneus."
 "Some" of Cleopatra IV's "friends" counseled her to seize Alexander I Janneus and "take possession of his country."
 General Ananias counseled to the contrary--that it would be unjust action [against] a man that was her ally...and a man who is related to us, and would make all of us that are Jews to be thy enemies." Cleopatra IV "complied...did no injury¹⁵ to Alexander [I], and made a league of mutual assistance with him at Scythopolis, a city of Coele-Syria [Coele-Syria]."

At some point, Ptolemy X, "to prevent being expelled a second time, put Cleopatra [IV] to death."

Ptolemy X *Alexander I*

c. 88/87 Ptolemy X "was murdered by one of his subjects"/"by the people of Alexandria," who recalled and restored Ptolemy IX *Lathyrus* as sole ruler.

Ptolemy IX *Lathyrus*

Some cities of Egypt refused to acknowledge Ptolemy IX as sovereign . Thebes. for "its obstinacy." was reduced to ruins after a three-year siege.
 "King Alexander [I *Janneus*] and his wife made Antipas[Antipater II] general[/regional governor] of all Idumea."
 In a battle at Gadara ("near Golan") between Alexander I Janneus and "Obedas, king of the Arabians," Alexander's "entire army" was broken. He escaped to Jerusalem, where "nation"--"the multitude, which hated him before"¹⁶ — rebelled. In several ensuing battles "he slew not fewer than 50,000 of the Jews in an interval of six years."
 Alexander I finally resorted to negotiations but was unsuccessful; and his "subjects...sent to Demetrius III [of Syria]... to make a league of mutual defence." Demetrius III "readily complied [and as] he came with his army, the Jews joined with those their auxiliaries about Shechem." When the forces of Demetrius III and Alexander I Janneus met, Demetrius initially tried to bring off the Greek mercenaries with Alexander while Alexander tried to bring off the Jews with Demetrius. "But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement." All of Alexander I's mercenaries were killed. Demetrius III emerged victorious; but now "divested of those who had enticed his involvement," he returned to his country.
 Alexander I fled to the mountains where he was joined by 6000 Jews from Demetrius III's army; but "the rest of the multitude...had perpetual war with Alexander." He eventually slew "the greatest part of them," took many captives, including "the most powerful of them," returned to Jerusalem, and crucified about 800. Some 8000 soldiers who had fought against him fled and remained fugitive for the remainder of his reign. Alexander I "at last...procured quiet to his kingdom, and left off fighting any more [with his subjects]."

¹⁵ This mention of Scythopolis as part of *Coele-Syria* is a rare indication of territory embraced by *Coele-Syria*.

¹⁶ Previously, Alexander I Janneus had slain "about six thousand" when his "own people...[already] seditious against him" rose up and pelted him as he stood upon the altar.

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c. 88	Meanwhile, during the continuing civil war in Syria, Demetrius III besieged Philip at Berea. ¹⁷ Philip formed an alliance with Berea's tyrant Strato, a ruler of Arabian tribes named Zizon, and Mithridates Sinax of the Parthians. Demetrius III's army was overcome and he, himself, was captured and "sent to] Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia." ¹⁸ "So Philip presently...came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria."				
		Philip (Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI status uncertain)			
86	Rome sacked Athens. At some point, Antiochus XII Dionysius "aspired to dominion, came to Damascus and got the power...and there he reigned."				
		Philip at Antioch; (Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI status uncertain); Antiochus XII at Damascus.			
	Nabataean king Aretas made an expedition against Judaea and defeated Alexander I Janneus in a battle near Adida, following which Aretas retired out of Judaea "upon certain conditions agreed upon." Antiochus XII took an expedition against the Arabians/Nabataeans. In his absence, Philip made a try for Damascus. Milesius, "governor of the citadel, first delivered Damascus over to Philip but, receiving no reward, retook possession for Antiochus XII, "and Philip was obliged to leave Damascus again." Alexander I Janneus attempted to hinder Antiochus XII as his expedition passed through Judaea but his efforts were unsuccessful. "About this time" the Damascens, who hated Ptolemy "the son of Menneus[Milesius?]," called on Aretas, who occupied Damascus. Antiochus XII fought "desperately" with Aretas ("a mighty slaughter") and fell at the forefront of the battle. (Survivors of his army "fled to the village Cana, where the greatest number perished" "by want of necessities.")				
85	"Aretas was king of Coelesyria, 85 b.c." (<i>Lempriere</i> , p. 587)				
		Philip at Antioch; (Selene [A]/Cleopatra VI status uncertain); Aretas at Damascus.			
84	Rome sacked Ephesus.				
83	Tigranes I, king of Armenia, invaded Coele-Syria. (Date per L 587) Aretas evacuated Damascus.				

¹⁷ "A town of Syria, 90 miles from the sea...[also] called Aleppo." L 105.

¹⁸ Demetrius III was held by Mithridates "in great honour, till he ended his life by sickness."

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		Philip at Antioch (Selene [A] status uncertain; at Ptolemais?) Tigranes I at Damascus			
81	In Egypt, Ptolemy IX "Lathyrus died 81 years before the Christian era." He was succeeded by his only daughter, Cleopatra [V] ¹⁹ .		Cleopatra V ("6 months"); With Ptolemy XI <i>Alexander II</i> ("19 days") ²⁰		
	Ptolemy XI fell "into the hands of Mithridates."				
80 b.c. ²¹	"After a peaceful reign, he [Ptolemy XII] was banished by his subjects." ²² The people of Alexandria installed Ptolemy XIII.		Cleopatra V with Ptolemy XII <i>Alexander III</i>		
			Cleopatra V with Ptolemy XIII <i>Auletes</i>		
	It is unclear exactly how long Ptolemy XIII lasted in this, the first of his reigns, before he "was banished by the Alexandrians." "[S]ince of his Ptolemy [XIII]'s three daughters, ...the eldest [Berenice C] was legitimate, they proclaimed her queen." Berenice C "reigned with her mother Cleopatra [V] Tryphaena for one year and then alone one year."		Berenice C with Cleopatra V		
	Ptolemy XI at some point "escaped from Mithridates to [Roman dictator] Sylla, who restored him to his kingdom." Ptolemy XI "married and [then] murdered" Cleopatra V.		Berenice C with <i>Ptolemy XI Alexander II</i>		
	"A few days after his restoration," Ptolemy XI "was murdered by his subjects [/"by the people of Alexandria"]."				

¹⁹ Also sometimes found referred to as "Cleopatra Tryphaena."

²⁰ The tenures shown are per *Lempriere*, p. 14.

²¹ *Loc. cit.*

²² *Lempriere (loc. cit.)* shows Ptolemy XII's reign to 65 b.c.e., when he died at Tyre and by will bequeathed his rights in the Egyptian kingdom "to the Roman people."

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Berenice C

Toward the end of Alexander I's tenure he "marched again," on a three-year expedition, during which he took Pella, Gerasa, Dios, Essa (where Zeno had his treasures), Golan, Seleucia and "that valley which is called *The Valley of Antiochus*. He also took also the fortress of Gamala and "stripped Demetrius [undesigned], who was governor therein...and turned him out."

At this time, "the Jews were in possession of many cities that had belonged to the Syrians, Idumaeans and Phoenicians." (During Alexander I Janneus' reign, he "overcame the Arabians, such as the Moabites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute." Among his conquests were a large number of cities in Idumaea; and he also took some territory from Syria and Phoenicia.)

C. 76 Alexander I Janneus, "afflicted by a quartan ague," died at a fortress beyond the Jordan ("in the bounds of Ragaba"), "after he had reigned seven and twenty years."

Queen Alexandra I followed her husband's last counsel and withheld news of his death from the military until after she had returned to Jerusalem and occupied its fortress. After Alexandra I had taken the fortress, she "spoke to the Pharisees" and followed her husband's further advice, that she share power with them, as they "had great authority among the Jews/[Hebrews]" and "would reconcile the nation to her."

Alexandra I appointed son John Hyrcanus II as high priest, in that she believed his a-political nature would avoid problems with the Pharisees, "who differed in nothing from lords" in the amount of authority they possessed. She kept other son, Aristobulus II (who had a "warm temper") "with her as a private person."

Alexandra I, Queen
John Hyrcanus II, High Priest

Hyrcanus II became high priest "on the third year of the 177th olympiad."

70

Alexandra "restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus [I], had abrogated."

Although the Pharisees "became themselves the real administrators," Alexandra I "was...sagacious...in the management of great affairs...increased the army the one half and procured a great body of foreign troops, till her own nation became not only very powerful at home, but terrible also to foreign potentates."

"Alexandra I, under pretence that Ptolemy XIII was always oppressing" Damascus, "sent out her army [and] she got possession of it [without] any considerable resistance."

Insurrection at Antioch expelled Philip.

"Selene the [Syrian] queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra" and who ruled Syria, "persuaded the inhabitants [of Damascus] to exclude Tigranes."

Selene [A] (location uncertain)

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Tigranes I then made a large military expedition in Syria, besieged and took Ptolemais. Selene was taken prisoner and put to death by Tigranes (it is not certain where).

Apprehensive, Alexandra I sent ambassadors and gifts to Tigranes, received back "good hopes of his favour, and made "agreements" with him.

Tigranes was diverted from the siege at Ptolemais by Parthian incursions into Armenia .

c. 72²³ Herod the Great was born to Cypros II and Antipater II.

70 Roman senate elected Crassus and Pompey as consuls.

Alexandra I consistently had been hounded by the Pharisees about punishment for opponents who had influenced the Alexander massacre of their 800 constituents. Eventually some took personal vengeance, and several murders of former supporters of Alexander I Janneus were committed. "But the principal of those...in danger fled to Aristobulus [II]," who in turn had "persuaded his mother to spare the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them...so they were dispersed all over the country."

69 Roman general Lucullus expelled Tigranes I completely from Syrian dominions and installed Antiochus XIII.

68 Antiochus XIII
Asiatikos/Asiaticus

At Jerusalem, leading Pharisees insisted that, if Alexandra I truly was committed to them, "she would place them every one in her fortresses." They threatened her further that, otherwise, "Aretas, the Arabian king," would receive them as foreign auxiliaries. Alexandra, forced into what appeared to be the lesser evil, gave them command of 22 of her fortresses. She kept Hyrcania, Alexandrium and Macherus, which held her "principal treasures." "After this," she fell ill.

Aristobulus II commenced to solidify plans for a coup, his [unnamed] wife being the only person with knowledge of his secret efforts. Within 15 days he had secured all 22 fortresses, "wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled." He assembled an army of mercenary soldiers and "made himself king."

Hyrcanus II complained to Alexandra I; "she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus' wife and sons under restraint in Antonia [/"Citadel"/"Tower of Antonia"]...a fortress that joined to the north part of the temple." The "elders of the Jews" and Hyrcanus consulted Alexandra I as to how to proceed. She, 73 years old and failing, "bid them to do what they thought proper."

67 Shortly thereafter, Alexandra I died after a rule of nine years.

Alexandra I committed the kingdom to Hyrcanus II, "but Aristobulus [II] was superior...in power and magnanimity." The battle for the crown was met at Jericho, where the majority of Hyrcanus II's men defected to Aristobulus.

²³ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	<u>Rulers</u>			<u>"Converted"</u>
		<u>SYRIA</u>	<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	<u>Year</u> b.c.e.

Hyrchanus II retreated to and gained control of the Jerusalem citadel but sent a conciliatory message to Aristobulus, who willed agreement between them. Hyrchanus gave up his claim to the crown but retained royal family dignities in private life. The resolution took place in the temple before "the whole multitude." Aristobulus II also assumed the office of High Priest.

Aristobulus II (wife unnamed)
High Priest and King

- 67 In Syria, Philip II, son of Philip, had been civil warring (unsuccessfully) with Antiochus XIII, the prince of Arabian Emesa slew Antiochus XIII "by treachery." (*Ency.* p. 82)
Rome annexed Crete and Cyprus (although the Cyprus annexation also is found dated to 58 b.c.)
Antipater II of Idumaea, friend of Hyrchanus II, privately lobbied against Aristobulus II with "the most powerful of the Jews," and specifically with Hyrchanus II, that Aristobulus II should be ejected. Hyrchanus at first paid no heed.
- 65 Ptolemy XII *Alexander III* died at Tyre. By his will, his rights to the Egyptian kingdom were left "to the Roman people."
(Ptolemy XIII's "predecessor, by his will, had left the kingdom...to the Romans" [as a client kingdom].)
- 65/64 Roman consul general Pompey was Rome's commander in the East. He drove Mithridates VII from Pontus and joined its territory to the new Roman province of Bithynia.
"Four years" after Antiochus XIII had ascended the Syrian throne, he was deposed by Pompey "B.C. 65."
Syria was made a Roman province.
Antipater II, in league with Arabians, Gazaites and Ascalonites, finally persuaded Hyrchanus II to ally with Arabian/Nabataean king Aretas. In a meeting at Petra, Hyrchanus II agreed that, once he was established, "those 12 cities which his father Alexander [I Janneus] had taken" would be returned to Aretas.
Pompey, warring with Tigranes of Armenia, sent Roman general Scaurus into Syria, where Scaurus dispossessed "Lollius and Metellus" of Damascus, which they recently had taken.
Aristobulus II acquired a large army; made war on Aretas and Hyrchanus II, and "slew about 6000 of the enemy" at a place called Papyron. (Phalion, a brother of Antipater II, also fell in that battle.)
After a first battle with Aretas, in which "many went over to Hyrchanus...Aristobulus was left desolate" and retreated to Jerusalem's temple, where he was besieged by "united...forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together"--"none but the priests continued with Aristobulus, inside the walls. (The "principal" Jews fled the country, into Egypt.)
Scaurus, "hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, made haste thither as to a certain booty."
Scaurus' arrival saved Aristobulus II from being taken by force, for Scaurus "interposed himself and lifted the siege."
Hyrchanus II and Aristobulus II both sent ambassadors to Scaurus with promises of money. Scaurus accepted 300 talents from Aristobulus II "and ordered Aretas to depart, or...be declared an enemy of the Romans. "Aretas...terrified...retired out of Judea to Philadelphia" and Scaurus returned to Damascus."
Pompey and his army were on the march for Damascus; in the process they demolished the Apamia citadel, "took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus," "got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celesyria," and via Pella arrived at Damascus, to which Pompey had summoned all regional contenders to appear before him in the spring. Besides the Jerusalem contenders, ambassadors came to Pompey "from all Syria and Egypt."
Hyrchanus II's lead ambassador was Antipater II; Aristobulus II's, Nicodemus. Pompey received testimony "of the *nation* against them both, which

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	-----Rulers-----	<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	<u>"Converted"</u> <u>Year</u> b.c.e.
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[nation] did not desire to be under kingly government [but rather under] the form [of] their orofathers [subject to the priesthood.]²⁴ Pompey shelved the issue, saying he would return and settle the affair once he had "first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans," and admonishing the brothers to keep the peace until his return.

Aristobulus II, however, went on the march again. Pompey's anger, combined with "great intercessions...by Hyrcanus and his friends," resulted in Pompey making an expedition against Aristobulus II, with a force consisting of his own Roman legions and auxiliaries from Damascus and other parts of Syria. Aristobulus retreated to the fortified stronghold of "Alexandrium." Pompey followed.

At Alexandrium, Aristobulus II met with Pompey and also with Hyrcanus II, disputing the situation. Nonetheless, Pompey forced Aristobulus to write to every governor of his fortified places to yield them up. Aristobulus complied, but he "retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey." Pompey himself, however, set off for Jerusalem from his camp "at Jericho" the very next day. There, Aristobulus went out supplicatingly, promising both money and delivery of himself and the city. But when Roman consul Gabinius went to collect, "Aristobulus' soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed," and did not so much as admit Gabinius into the city.

Aristobulus II wound up as Pompey's prisoner (how is not said). Subsequently, "sedition" brewed between the faction which wanted to surrender the city to Pompey and the faction that did not want to surrender. Aristobulus II's party seized the temple and prepared for a siege, while the others admitted Pompey and his army and surrendered the king's palace. Pompey, assisted in every way by Hyrcanus II, installed a garrison in the palace, pitched camp (on the north part of the temple), constructed banks for a siege, obtained "mechanical engines," etc. from Tyre, and battered the temple with stones. At the end of three months the towers were felled; "the enemy poured in apace." (One of Pompey's cohorts was headed by Cornelius Faustus, son of Sylla.) "[A]ll was full of slaughter"--some Jews slain by Roman forces, "some by one another; "the greatest part" of the many priests "were slain by their own countrymen of the adverse faction." "[A]n innumerable number" committed suicide. (Absalom, Aristobulus II's "uncle and father-in-law," was taken captive.)

64²⁵ **"Pompey made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans,** and took away those cities of Celesyria which the inhabitants of Judea had subdued, and put them under the government of the Roman president, and confined the whole nation." "The city was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the 179th Olympiad." Pompey committed Celesyria ("the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates") including the "provinces" of Syria and Judaea, to Scaurus as their governor, and gave him two supporting legions.²⁶ (Rome's annexation of the new "provinces" of Syria²⁷ and Judaea "extend[ed] the dominion of Rome to the Euphrates.") Pompey restored Hyrcanus II as High Priest.

John Hyrcanus II, High Priest

Pompey then proceeded with haste to Rome, and he "carried bound along with him Aristobulus [II] and his children," being "two [unnamed] daughters, and as many sons"--Alexander II and Antigonus II.²⁸ Enroute to Rome, Alexander II escaped.

²⁴ Refer to Appendix 4B, I, "High Priests Hyrcanus I Through Antigonus II," for details.

²⁵ If year one of that olympiad.

²⁶ Refer to Appendix 4B, I, for Pompey's arrangements as to other regional cities (Samaria, for example, was restored to its own inhabitants),

²⁷ Antioch, Syria's capital, was the third major city in the Roman Empire, after Rome and Alexandria.

²⁸ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 1, "Charted Exploration of Descendancies/Familial Relationships, Asmonaeans/Maccabees/Hasmonaeans."

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	-----Rulers-----		<u>"Converted"</u> Year b.c.e.
		<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	

59	<p>Antipater II, on command of Hyrcanus II, furnished general Scourus with all he needed for an expedition against Nabataean king Aretas at Petra. Hyrcanus himself went to Aretas "to induce him to pay money [300 talents] to buy his peace." Aretas accepted and Scourus withdrew his army from Arabia.</p> <p>Pompey's arrangements in the East were ratified by Rome's senate and Julius Caesar was made a third consul, but only after agreement between Pompey, Crassus and Julius to act together for mutual interests.</p>			
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The "First Triumvirate"
Pompey, Crassus and Julius

In Egypt, Berenice [C], after she solely had established herself on the throne following banishment of her father (Ptolemy XIII), had sent for a husband from Syria, and had married one Seleucus Cybiosactes--"Seleucus, to whom the Egyptians referred the crown of which they had robbed [the banished] Auletes [Ptolemy XIII]."

Berenice [C] and
Seleucus *Cybiosactes*

"Within days," however, Berenice [C] had Seleucus *Cybiosactes* strangled.²⁹

Berenice [C]

"In some time," Alexander II had canvassed the country and assembled a large army, which "lay heavy upon Hyrcanus [II]. and overran Judea."³⁰ Alexander II captured the fortresses of Alexandria, Hyrcania and Macherus, Meanwhile, Hyrcanus II was attempting to rebuild Jerusalem's wall but was hampered by the Romans stationed there. Now Gabinius sent Mark Antony and other commanders, over "such Romans as followed them...and such Jews as were subject to them...and also their friends that were with Antipater [II]," and Gabinius followed with his own legion. Alexander II first was forced to fight "in the neighbourhood of" Jerusalem; 6000 of his men were killed and 3000 taken captive. Alexander and the rest of his army retreated to Alexandria. Alexander II refused to surrender; the Roman-led forces laid siege [Hyrcanus II apparently also was present]. Alexander II's [unnamed] mother, out of concern for her captive husband and other children at Rome (and "to mollify Gabinius"), pleaded with Alexander II, who acquiesced to her wishes. He sent ambassadors to Gabinius, asked pardon, and delivered up the three fortresses he had possessed, which were demolished.

After Alexander II's agreement, Gabinius returned Hyrcanus II to Jerusalem and committed care of the temple to him but ordained the "political government to be by an aristocracy and ordained five councils, distributing the nation into the same number of parts. "[T]hese councils governed the people; the first was at Jerusalem, the second at Gadara, the third at Amathus, the fourth at Jericho, and the fifth at Sepphoris in Galilee. So the Jews [Hebrews] were now freed from monarchic authority and were governed by an aristocracy."³¹

²⁹ Some sources say, her mother--who, however, seemingly already was dead.

³⁰ Alexander II seems to have held part of Syria also?--see at 53 b.c.e., where he is mentioned as seizing that(?) government "a second time," and see also following 49 b.c.e., where Scipio (sent by Pompey) killed Alexander II ("thus did he die at Antioch").

³¹ "Aristocracy. 1: a government by the best individuals or a small privileged class. 2a: a government in which power is vested in a minority consisting of those felt to be best qualified. b: a state with such a government. 3: a governing body or upper class usu. made up of a hereditary nobility. 4: the aggregate of those felt to be superior." Webster, p. 47.

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	<u>Rulers</u>		<u>"Converted"</u> Year b.c.e.
		<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	

c. 59 Aristobulus II by some means escaped Rome with Antigonus II; they assembled former supporters.

[Aristobulus II
displacing Hyrcanus II?]³²

Meanwhile, at Rome, Pompey had received Egypt's banished Ptolemy XIII. One hundred ambassadors who opposed Ptolemy XIII were killed. Rome's first triumvirate sent a legion under general Gabinius to effect restoration of Ptolemy XIII to Egypt's throne.

58 This year, as well as 67 b.c.e., is found for Rome's annexation of Cyprus.

56 At Luca in northern Italy, Crassus, Pompey and Julius Caesar renewed their alliance and agreed on their future territorial commands, by which "these man divided among them the Roman world."

Second Term of the
"First Triumvirate"

c. 55 Aristobulus II and Antigonus II heard that Sisenna, Mark Antony and Servilius had been sent against them. They made for Macherus, with 8000 men and were accompanied by Roman lieutenant Pitholaus who had defected with 1000 soldiers. Battle was met enroute. Five thousand of Aristobulus II's soldiers were slain, 2000 fled, but the remainder broke through the Roman lines and reached for Macherus. After a two-day siege by the Romans, Aristobulus II and Antigonus II were captured and brought to Gabinius. Aristobulus II was taken back to Rome, where the senate kept him "in bonds (his "having been both king and high priest for three years and six months"), but Gabinius "returned his children back to Judea" in keeping with his promise to [Aristobulus' unnamed wife] do so for the delivery of the fortresses to him. It appears, however, that Antigonus II also was taken back to Rome; see at 49 b.c.e. (Julius Caesar's release of them).³³ Meanwhile, Berenice [C] of Egypt "had married Archelaus, priest of Bellona"/"made priest of Comana by Pompey."

Berenice [C] and
Archelaus of Bellona

c. 55 Gabinius—"making use of Hyrcanus [II] and Antipater [II] to provide everything that was necessary," and gaining passage to Egypt by enlisting confederates "from those Jews who were above Pelusium...[that] had been guardians of the passes that led into Egypt"—took an army against Archelaus of Bellona/Comana. Archelaus had lasted barely "six months," before he "was slain in battle by Gabinius." Gabinius restored Ptolemy XIII. Ptolemy XIII "slew...his daughter [Berenice C]."

Ptolemy XIII

53 Crassus and Pompey were Rome's consuls. L 170.

While Gabinius had been involved in Egypt, Alexander II "brought the Jews to revolt again;" Gabinius returned quickly and "found Syria in disorder, with seditions." Alexander II had reassembled "a very great army," "seized the government a second time," and had "proceeded to

³² This would correspond with the statement that Aristobulus II, when captured the second time (see at 55 b.c.), had been "both king and high priest for three years and six months."

³³ His grandson later would assist Mark Antony at Actium and by Antony made king of Cappadocia; refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, "Charted Exploration of Descendants/Familial Relationships, Through the Herodians," ([Archelaus, HP of Bellona-) Glaphyra [A] "defiled the bed of her husband" with Mark Antony, etc.)

Year(s) b.c.e.	"LOCALLY"	-----Rulers-----		"Converted" Year b.c.e.
		EGYPT	ROME	
	besiege...Gerizzim.." Gabinius sent Antipater II, who "prevailed with some of the revolters," but 30,000 remained with Alexander II. In an ensuing battle at Mount Tabor, 10,000 of them fell and "the rest of the multitude dispersed." At Jerusalem, Gabinius "settled the government as Antipater [II] would have it." He then gained victory over "the Nabateans," turned over regional governance to Crassus, and returned to Rome.			
51	Before Ptolemy XIII "had had much time to reign, he died of disease, leaving behind two sons and two [living] daughters." "[T]he Alexandrians proclaimed as sovereigns both the elder of the boys [Ptolemy XIV] and Cleopatra ["VII,"the Great; "the famous one"].	Cleopatra VII with Ptolemy XIV ³⁴		
	Syria was overrun by Parthians. Preparing to march against the Parthians, Crassus swang through Judaea and took all of the temple's treasury. "AUC 701 Crassus and all his army perished in Parthia." Parthian king Orodes defeated Crassus. Crassus was followed by Cassius, who stopped Parthian incursions into Syria and took possession of it. Cassius "made a hasty march through Judea, took some 30,000 captives, and on Antipater II's advice killed Pitholaus. Cassius "forced Alexander [II] to come to terms and to be quiet," before he headed for the Euphrates to check the Parthians.			51
50	Pompey as sole consul. L 170. Revolt of the Gauls crushed by Julius Caesar. L 170. Eruption of competition between the parties of Pompey and Julius Caesar. In Egypt, "associates of the boy [Ptolemy XIV] caused an uprising and banished Cleopatra [the Great], and she set sail with her sister [Arsinoe #4] to Syria."	Ptolemy XIV		
	"When 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." (<i>Plutarch</i> , 1952 Ed., p. 749.) ³⁵ "Curio, the friend of [Mark] Antony, having changed his party...to Caesar, brought Antony over." ³⁵			
49 ³⁶	The Roman "senate ordered Julius Caesar to lay down his command on pain of being declared a public enemy." Proconsuls Mark Antony and Cassius vetoed the action and civil warring commenced. At some point, Pompey sent Scipio "to slay Alexander [II]." Scipio cut off Alexander II's head; and thus did he die at Antioch." "Some time afterward," when Julius Caesar "had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian Sea," Julius Caesar freed Aristobulus II and Antigonus II and sent them with two legions to take Syria and neighboring parts. Pompey supporters poisoned Aristobulus II before his campaign got underway. Aristobulus II's widow (who was at Askelon), on the invitation of Ptolemy, son of Menneus, sent to him her son, Antigonus II, "and her daughters...one of which...Alexandra [III], became wife first to said Ptolemy's son, Philippion, afterward killed by his father, who himself then married Alexandra III.			

³⁴ Found referred to also as "Dionysius II."

³⁵ "...and by his influence with the people and money supplied by Caesar," Curio had been enabled "to make Antony, first, tribune of the people, and then, augur." (See Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, augures.)

³⁶ This and subsequent Roman event dates, taken from Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, show small differences with many standardly-assigned dates.

Year(s) b.c.e.	"LOCALLY"	Rulers		"Converted"
		EGYPT	ROME	Year b.c.e.

48 Julius Caesar conquered Pompey's forces on the plain of Pharsalia in Thessaly. [Lempriere states that the "civil wars of Julius Caesar and Pompey" ended 48 b.c.e. but elsewhere puts the year at AUC 706.] Pompey fled for Egypt, Julius Caesar had conquered opposition on all fronts of the Roman empire. "For the first time in history the world of the ancients extending from the Euphrates to the Atlantic bowed to one will;" and Rome had its first "emperor...holding all chief religious and civil offices of the republic...king in all but name." Pompey was captured on his flight to Egypt and killed.

Julius Caesar, Emperor

Julius Caesar's legions invaded Egypt. Antipater II "who managed the Jewish affairs," was "very useful to Caesar when he made war against Egypt; and that by order of Hyrcanus." Julius Caesar entered into a personal relationship with Cleopatra VII. Julius Caesar defeated Ptolemy XIV (who died "during the fighting about Alexandria," or Julius Caesar "put the lad to death." Julius Caesar reinstalled Cleopatra VII with her "brother," Ptolemy XV.

Cleopatra VII with Ptolemy XV

While "passing through Syria and Asia Minor" Julius Caesar "settled affairs of the provinces."³⁷ Antigonus II, alleging that his father had been poisoned and his brother beheaded "by Antipater's means," unsuccessfully petitioned Julius Caesar to recognize him as High Priest. Julius Caesar declared Hyrcanus II to be most worthy of the high priesthood, granted him permission to re-raise Jerusalem's walls, and gave "leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased."³⁸ Antipater II "was constituted procurator of all Judea." After Julius Caesar departed Syria, Antipater II returned to Judaea and "settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw Hyrcanus [II]...not fit to manage;" he "partly threatened...partly advised" people all about the country that if they did not submit well to Hyrcanus, they would find Antipater "to be their lord instead of procurator." Antipater II also proceeded "to rebuild that wall of his own country which Pompey had overthrown."

c. 47 In this timeframe, Cleopatra the Great gave birth to Ptolemy Caesarion, her only child by Julius Caesar.

Antipater II "constituted his eldest son, Phasaleus [I], governor of Jerusalem and the parts about it; he also sent his next son, Herod [the Great], who was very young ["but 15 years of age"] with equal authority in the Galilee."

³⁷ Botsford, p. 187. Botsford comments, at page 192: "No human mind can conceive the brutal tyranny of the ruling classes or the woe and misery which the polite aristocrats had spread over the whole civilized world."

³⁸ Antipater II, for his courage and many wounds sustained in the Egyptian campaign, was made a citizen of Rome by Julius Caesar, and among other bestowals given freedom from taxes. "On this account it was that he [Caesar] also confirmed Hyrcanus [II] in the high priesthood."

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	<u>Rulers</u>		<u>"Converted"</u> Year b.c.e.
		<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	
47 ⁴⁰	Hyrcanus II, High Priest and Ethnarch ³⁹ Antipater II, Chief Administrator Phasaelus, Governor of Jerusalem Herod the Great, Governor of Galilee			

Herod the Great, shrewdly playing the changing politics among Rome's generals quickly entered the good graces of "Sextus Caesar,"⁴¹ "president of Syria" and "kinsman" of Julius Caesar. Meanwhile, "the nation paid Antipater [II] the respects that were due only to a king," in that he stood in good stead at Jerusalem and his son Phasaleus retained good will in managing Jerusalem city;" "Chief men of the Jews"--"many people in the royal palace itself"--were pjerorative as to Hyrcanus' perceived abuse by Antipaterian authority, especially when Antipater II obtained money from Hyrcanus and sent it to Rome as if from himself. They openly accused Antipater II before Hyrcanus⁴² and also urged that Herod the Great, whom they saw as a potential tyrant, be made to answer for his killings in unilateral agressions in the northlands. Hyrcanus II was privately envious of Antipater II but concerned more at the steady information of Herod the Great's growing reputation, At length Hyrcanus II, prevailed upon (also by mothers of those slain) persuaded to summon Herod the Great to a trial. Sextus Caesar sent a threatening epistle to Hyrcanus on Herod's behalf; Herod garrisoned the Galilee and himself brought an army with him to Jerusalem. The sanhedrin was ready to convict; Hyrcanus, however, bowed under outside pressure, continued the trial a day, and then advised Herod to retire from the city. Herod went to Sextus, at Damascus, and prepared for war in the event he was resummoned. Sextus made Herod ("sold him that post for money") general of Celesyria and Samaria. Herod backed off from an intended assault on Jerusalem by counsel of his father and brother.

"[T]he [Roman] aristocrats could not yield forever their own titles of lords of the earth and their privilege of misrule." They now simultaneously honored Julius Caesar while plotting his murder, "in which some 60 of them were involved."⁴³ The chief conspirators were Brutus and Cassius.

44 Julius Caesar was assassinated ("after he had retained the government three years and six months"). He died "the 15th of March, B.C. 44, in the 56th year of his age." *Lempriere* p. 116. Julius Caesar's assassination caused "great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference with one another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of their own." The Republic had perished totally. Julius Caesar's death ostensibly left consul Mark Antony at head of government.

Mark Antony

³⁹ Hyrcanus II variously also is referred to as "king."

⁴⁰ *Blank*.

⁴¹ Son of Julius Caesar's daughter, Julia, by Pompey the Great?--refer to Appendix 4B, I, fn. 43.

⁴² e.g. the Great had killed one Hezekiah and his followers without The Law's requisite condemnation by the sanhedrin.

⁴³ *Botsford*, p. 192.

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	-----Rulers-----	<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	<u>"Converted"</u> Year b.c.e.
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Antony "managed...with absolute power, which lorded it over the senate."⁴⁴
 Julius Caesar's old soldiers flocked to his great-nephew and heir, Octavianus/Octavian.
 Antony allied with Sextus Caesar.
 Following Julius Caesar's death, Cleopatra VII murdered Ptolemy XV and assumed regency for her son by Julius Caesar.

Cleopatra VII and
 Ptolemy XVI
Kaisarion/Caesarian

Octavian handed Antony an initial defeat in Italy.
 "In the mean time" in Syria, one Bassus killed Sextus Caesar and took his army; and civil war erupted between Romans at Apamia-- "the affairs of Syria were in great disorder," Antipater's "sons" assisted in battling Bassus until Marcus [undesigned] was sent by Rome to recover Sextus' government. Cassius reconciled Bassus, Marcus and the troops to his party; he then canvassed the region, levying heavy tributes. Antipater II was charged with raising 700 talents, which task he parted among his sons and acquaintances. Herod the Great garnered "the greatest favour with Cassius" by being first to comply, with exactions he made in the Galilee.
 Competitors Octavian and Antony came to an "understanding," following which Rome's senate ratified a five-year "Second Triumvirate" consisting of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus (formerly Julius Caesar's master of horse").⁴⁵ Altogether the triumvirate possessed 43 legions.

The "Second Triumvirate"
 Antony, Octavian and Lepidus

Roman civil warring continued, in which Herod the Great "followed [first] the interest of Brutus and Cassius, and afterwards, that of Antony."
 Cassius and Brutus "got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessities, they than made him procurator of all Syria, gave him a fleet...and an army...and made him general of the forces of Celesyria," with the promise that after the war they would make him king.
 Once Cassius was gone, the hostility of Malichus (who had been a leader of Jews subject to the Romans, against Alexander II; AJ XIV.V.2) toward Antipater II brought them to the brink of war; they temporarily were reconciled by Herod and Phasaeus.
 Subsequently, however, at a feast, Malichus bribed Hyrcanus II's cupbearer to poison Antipater II. "This being done," Malichus--who "made the people believe he was not guilty"--having armed men with him, proceeded to prepare for retaliation by Herod the Great. Phasaleus and Herod, however, feigned belief of Malichus' innocence and planned to get him into their hands "by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country."
 Herod went to subdue tumult in Samaria City. When he returned to Jerusalem at a time of "the festival," Malichus had Hyrcanus II forbid Herod's accompanying armed men into the city (as "foreigners...to mix themselves with the people...while they were purifying themselves"). Herod brought them in by night and restrained himself with Malichus; but Herod wrote to Cassius, who also hated Malichus. Cassius responded that Herod should avenge his father's death.
 Herod stood ready to punish Malichus; Malichus, meanwhile, hoped to start a revolt while Cassius busied himself against Antony. Malichus expected to

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁴⁵ In the process all three "sacrificed friends and even kinsmen:" "They met secretly and by themselves, for three days together, near the town of Botonia. ... Caesar, it is said, contended earnestly for Cicero the first two days; but on the third day he yielded, and gave him up. The terms of their mutual concessions were these: that Caesar should desert Cicero, Lepidus his brother Paulus, and Antony Lucius Caesar, his uncle by his mother's side." (Assassins finally reached Cicero as he was being carried toward the sea on a litter, at Capita, where he had retreated. "And thus was he murdered," at age 64, stretching forth his neck out of the litter...." His head and hands, cut off on Antony's order, were hung "up over the rostra, where the orators spoke," at Rome; where "the Roman people...believed they saw there, not the face of Cicero, but the image of Antony's soul." *Plutarch*, *Ency.Brit./Benton*, 1952, p. 723.

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	<u>Rulers</u>		<u>"Converted"</u>
		<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u>	<u>Year</u> b.c.e.
	<p>"easily dispose of Hyrcanus [II], and get the crown for himself."</p> <p>Herod enticed Malichus and Hyrcanus to Tyre for a proposed feast, while Cassius sent orders to commanders there to assist Herod. On the approach of the invited guests (outside of the city near the seashore), Malichus was surrounded and killed.</p> <p>Felix, brother of Malichus, revolted/suddenly assaulted Phasaelus, securing "a great many" fortresses. Herod was detained by illness at Damascus, where he had been with its prefect Felix; but Phasaelus managed to get "Felix" imprisoned in the tower but then released him "on certain conditions." Phasaelus complained that Hyrcanus II was supporting the enemies.</p> <p>Meanwhile, Ptolemy, son of Menneus, "brought Antigonus [II] back into Judea," supplying him with all he needed.</p> <p>Marion, a "tyrant" placed over Tyre by Cassius, also sided with Antigonus II, marched into the Galilee and garrisoned three fortresses, while Malichus' brother had instigated revolts "in many places."</p> <p>Herod the Great returned.</p> <p>Herod recovered the fortresses, drove Felix out of Masada and Marion out of the Galilee. "When Herod had fought against these...he was conqueror in the [main] battle, and drove away Antigonus [II]."</p> <p>At some point Herod "contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus [II] by having espoused" Miriamne/Miriam I.</p> <p>Herod was received with honor at Jerusalem.</p>			
42	<p>Antony and Octavian conquered the forces of Cassius and Brutus in two battles near Philippi (Cassius and Brutus each committed suicide after losing their respective battles). (Date per <i>Lempriere</i> p. 462.)</p> <p>The Second Triumvirate was renewed for another five years. Mark Antony married Octavia, Octavian's sister.</p>			<p>Second Term of the "Second Triumvirate"</p>
	<p>Lepidus soon dropped out of the triumvirate, leaving Antony in the East and Octavian in the West as "sole masters of the Roman empire," and all of its provinces.</p>			<p>Mark Antony ("East") Octavian ("West")</p>
	<p>After the Philippi victory, Antony "marched for Asia." In Bithynia, ambassadors went to him from all parts, including "the principal men of the Jews," who charged that Hyrcanus II was but a figurehead and that Phasaelus I and Herod the Great reigned literally and kept the government by force. Herod the Great also was present, and Antony (whose friendship Herod had secured by large sums of money) was not disposed to listen to the charges. But at Ephesus, where Hyrcanus II sent an ambassador with a gift of a crown of gold, Antony granted a request for return of captives taken by Cassius.</p> <p>Antony now supposed that "Asia may be at rest from war."</p> <p>Cleopatra the Great, who met Antony in Cilicia, had "brought him to fall in love with her."</p> <p>At Daphne, "by Antioch," Herod the Great again was accused before Antony, by "100 of the most potent of the Jews...all this in the presence of Hyrcanus II, who was Herod's ["espoused"] father-in-law already." After listening to both sides, Antony asked Hyrcanus who governed best, and Hyrcanus responded, "Herod and his friends/his party."</p> <p>Antony made Herod the Great and Phasaelus both tetrarchs "and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose." (15 of the opponent ambassadors he seized to kill "presently," the others he drove away in disgrace, but they did not remain quiet. Upon news of Antony's appointments, "a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem.")</p> <p>"[T]hey sent 1000 ambassadors to Tyre, where Antony [next] abode/. Antony, "corrupted by the money" from Herod and Phasaelus, set Tyre's governor on the ambassadors, many of whom were either killed or wounded, the rest flying away.</p> <p>"In the second year," Parthians "possessed themselves of Syria." Lysanias (successor of Ptolemy son of Menneus) and Antigonus II allied. They offered Pacorus, son of Parthia's king, and Barzapharnes, a Parthian commander/governor, "1000 talents and 500 women" for the death of</p>			

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>Rulers</u>	<u>ROME</u> Antony and Octavian	<u>"Converted"</u> Year b.c.e.
	<p>Herod, deposal of Hyrcanus, and installation of Antigonus II.</p> <p>Pacorus marched along the coast; Barzapharnes took the midlands. Pacorus was "received" by Sidon and Ptolemais. "Jews that dwell about Mount Carmel came to Antigonus [I]...ready to march with him into Judea." Antigonus' force increased in number as it went, "fell upon Jerusalem," and joined by more people, went against the kings palace "in great numbers...and besieged it." One battle with a strong force of Hyrcanus II and Phasaelus I ensued "in the market-place; some of Antigonus' party were captured by Herod's party. The battling continued "by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes [and "daily skirmishes"], and slaughters were made continually among them."</p> <p>At "Pentecost, tens of thousands of the people gathered about the temple, some in armour, some not. Herod made a sally against the enemy, who lay in the north quarter of the city; they took flight to various places.</p> <p>Antigonus II prevailed on Phasaelus to receive Pacorus who proposed that Phasaelus go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes and negotiate an end to the warring. Herod exhorted against it, but both Phasaelus and Hyrcanus II went with Pacorus. The people of the Galilee, however, had revolted; "the governors of the cities there met them in arms. Phasaelus and Hyrcanus were conducted to Ecdippon, a maritime city, soon heard of Antigonus II's promises to the Parthians and realized Parthian guards remained near them, corroborating a tip that they were being kept alive only until Herod had been seized.</p> <p>Phasaelus went to Barzapharnes and offered him a greater payment than Antigonus but Barzapharnes denied everything. As soon as he had left, however, the guards put both Phasaelus and Hyrcanus in bonds, while "that cup-bearer of the royal family" was sent to Jerusalem to lure out Herod. Inside Jerusalem's walls, the "most potent of the Parthians...[and] lords of the rest, deceitfully urged Herod to go out and receive good news of a successful settlement; intelligence reports, however, indicated otherwise. (Alexandra [II], "the shrewdest woman in the world," begged Herod not to go out.) Herod decided he would flee the Parthians that night.</p> <p>Herod took with him "the armed men whom he had...his wives...his mother [Cypros I], and Sister [Salome I], and her [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, and without the enemy's privy pursued his way to Idumaea...[w]hile the women drew along their infant children."</p> <p>Once Herod reached the road "sixty furlongs from the city" he repeatedly had to skirmish with both Parthians and Jews--the latter "fell more heavily on him than did the Parthians." Reaching Idumaea, Herod was met by his brother, Joseph; meanwhile, people and mercenaries joining Herod's caravan had swelled to a number far exceeding that which the Masada fortress could support. Herod gave money for provisions to some 9000-plus individuals and bid them disperse and find safety in Idumaea.</p> <p>At Masada, Herod "left 800 of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient [to withstand] a siege," and himself went to Petra, intending to obtain from Arabia's king Malthus a gift or loan and then obtain Tyrian intercession to redeem Phasaelus I from the Parthians for 300 talents. Herod took along Phasaelus' seven-year-old son to leave as collateral.</p> <p>The Parthians, after assisting Antigonus II to put Herod the Great on the run, left Jerusalem in the hands of Antigonus II but plundered it before leaving. Phasaelus I they left as prisoner with Antigonus. Hyrcanus II they carried, bound, to Parthia.</p>				

c. 42/41 Antigonus II

Phasaelus I, expecting to be executed, hands bound, suicidedly "dashed his head against a great stone" and died afterwards (either from the wound itself or from its being poisoned by physicians sent by Antigonus).

Herod was put off by the Arabians. The next day he learned of Phasaelus' fate and headed for Egypt, Herod now made haste for Pelusium from whence the ship captains, on his appeal and out of regard for him, conducted him to Alexandria, where "he was received by Cleopatra [VII the Great] with great splendour, who hoped he might be persuaded to be commander of her forces in the expedition she was now about; but he rejected the queen's solicitations," and sailed for Rome. At Rhodes, with help from friends he acquired a ship "of very great magnitude, wherein he and his friends sailed to Brundisium, and went thence to Rome with all speed."

Herod related to Antony all that happened, how the Parthians had established Antigonus II, and the trials Herod had endured reaching Rome (he almost lost his life in violent weather at sea). Herod offered Antony money; Octavian also favored Herod because of Antipater II's role in assisting Julius Caesar and Rome in its conquest of Egypt. A convocation of the senate declared Antigonus II an enemy, and voted for an Antony proposal

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>Rulers</u>	<u>ROME</u> Antony and Octavian	<u>"Converted"</u> Year b.c.e.
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that Herod should be designated king (contrary to the Romans' custom of bestowing kingship, when it did, on someone of the local royal family).
 41⁴⁶ Rome granted Herod the Great kingship "on the 184th Olympiad," provided Herod could oust Antigonus II.

[44, 43, 42, 41]

Which of its four years is not said:

Meanwhile, while Antigonus II's forces besieged Masada, Roman general Ventidius (subduing Parthian incursions near Syria) marched into Judea, "in pretense" of aiding Herod's brother, Joseph, but "in reality...to get money of Antigonus." Ventidius pitched camp near Jerusalem, "stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money," and left a troop there under one Silo. Antigonus "cultivated a good understanding" with Silo, while privately hoping for Parthians once again to come to his defense.

Herod had sailed from Italy to Ptolemais and assembled "no small army, both of foreigners...and his own countrymen, and marched through the Galilee against Antigonus II;" "all Galilee, with some exception, joined Herod--"the greatest number" "of the people of the country" joined him "in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom.") Antony sent word to both Ventidius and Silo to assist Herod.

Joppa gave Herod trouble, and he was required first to conquer it. At Jerusalem, Silo (who had been taking bribes from Antigonus II) withdrew his men. He "was pursued by the Jews," but Herod "soon put the Jews to flight and saved Silo." Herod's "strong army" suffered little along the way from the "snares and ambushes" laid by Antigonus II supporters and Herod "easily recovered" his relations from Masada. Arriving at Jerusalem, Herod pitched camp on its west side. He was joined by Silo's soldiers and "many out of the city, from a dread of his power."

Antigonus II's guards shot darts and arrows; some sallied out in hand-to-hand combat. Herod proclaimed 'round the wall that he intended the people's good and preservation of the city and was prepared to forgive and forget, while Antigonus II's soldiers made an interrupting clamour. Antigonus II told the Romans that it was wrong to give the kingdom to Herod, "no more than a private man, and an Idumean, *i.e.* a half Jew," when there existed qualified royal family members; if they did not want Antigonus to have it, there wre others of his family both "of the sacerdotal family" and in good standing with Rome. His men on his order easily drove Herod's troops away from the towers.

Winter was upon them. Silo desired to get his soldiers off the siege; instead Herod promised them all they would need, secured "a great abundance of necessaries" immediately from the surrounding country and via friends about Samaria (which city also had joined him) he stocked corn, wine, oil and cattle for future needs at Jericho, where the Romans had plundered the vacated city and Herod had installed a garrison. The Roman forces all took winter quarters in the countries "that were come over to" Herod--"Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria"--and "lived in plenty of all things." "Antigonus...by bribes" obtained permission from Silo to let part of his army be wintered at Lydda.

Herod, however, did not remain idle; he sent a force under Joseph I against Idumaea, which was "seized...and kept." Herod removed and settled his mother and other relatives in Samaria, and proceeded to capture Antigonus garrisons in the Galilee. Arbela required a pitched battle, but the guards at Sepphoris deserted before any assault. "So Herod brought over to him all the Galilee (excepting those who lived in caves), after which he paid his soldiers well and sent them into winter quarters.

Silo and Herod next were called by Ventidius to war against the Parthians, but "first to settle the affairs of Judea." Herod sent Silo ahead and arranged for part of his army, under command of one Ptolemy [undesigned], to clear out the cave-dwellers.

Antony at this time was abiding in Athens.

Another insurrection in the Galilee resulted in Ptolemy's death; 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 upon rebellious cities

"By this time" Pacorus had been slain, and the Romans had driven back the Parthians. Antony now commanded Ventidius to send a general Macheras with two legions and 1,000 horse, as auxiliaries for Herod the Great against Antigonus II. Antigonus, pleading by letter to Macheras the merit of his own cause and offering money, solicited Macheras to aid him instead. Macheras apparently was playing both sides; and Antigonus II, deducing it, refused to admit Macheras to the city when he approached. When Antigonus' soldiers instead pelted Macheras from the walls at the time he believed Antigonus was going to receive him, Macheras afterward retired to Emmaus, but "slew all the Jews whom he met," Herod's

⁴⁶ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A, (3), at fn. 11.

<u>Year(s)</u> b.c.e.	<u>"LOCALLY"</u>	<u>Rulers</u>		<u>"Converted"</u>
		<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>ROME</u> Antony and Octavian	<u>Year</u> b.c.e.
	<p>supporters included.</p> <p>Herod was at Samaria; provoked, he threatened to go to Antony concerning Macheras' "maladministration;" Macheras begged for and was granted a reconciliation, and he went to join forces with Joseph II, who Herod had left over his army, with a charge to avoid any encounters with enemy forces in Herod's absence.</p> <p>Herod, enroute to join Antony in Roman sieges at Samosata and "the metropolis of Commagena," assumed leadership at Antioch of another large number of recruits, and cleared out ambushes as he went. At Samosata, Herod gained profound respect and admiration from Antony, in that he "soon made an end of that siege, and slew a great number...and took a large prey. "In a little time Antiochus [undesigned] delivered up that fortress, and on that account [that] war was at an end."</p> <p>Mark Antony released command to Sosius, ordered him to assist Herod, and himself made for Egypt while general Sosius, sending two legions ahead, made for Judaea.</p> <p>Antony proceeded in his enmeshment with Cleopatra the Great, the beginning of disintegration of his alliance with Octavianus.</p> <p>Antigonus II had a force under command of one Pappus.</p> <p>While Herod had been with Antony, Joseph II ignored Herod's orders and with five regiments from Macheras marched to reap Jericho's mid-summer corn. The green regiments with Joseph II were trapped by Antigonus II's forces and utterly destroyed. Joseph was killed; Pappus cut off dead Joseph's head. Upon this victory of Antigonus II. Galilaeans revolted from their commanders; they drowned those of Herod's party, and a great part of Judaea became seditious. "Great change" occurred also in Idumaea, where Macheras had proceeded to build a wall around a fortress named Gitta/Gittha.</p> <p>Herod, at "Daphne by Antioch" when he received the news, quickened his army (one Roman legion, joined by 800 men of Mount Libanus) and proceeded along the Galilee by night. He routed the enemy from one unnamed fortress aided by a second legion sent by Antony, and then he resumed his march and pitched camp at Jericho.</p> <p>In the morning Herod's army was met by 6000 of his enemies from out of the mountains, who began to fight with those in the forefront, "which greatly terrified the Romans." Antigonus II, meanwhile, sent a force under Pappus against both Samaria and Macheras.</p>			
c. 40	Cleopatra the Great gave birth to twins, Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene/[Selene B], by Mark Antony.			
38	<p>By winter's end of the third year from Roman senate acceptance of Herod, Herod had defeated Pappus (sending his head to Joseph I to confirm retribution for Phasaelus' fate), Antigonus II's outlying forces were decimated, and Herod had his army pitched near the most easily-assaultable part of Jerusalem's wall, "before the temple, intending to make his attacks...as did Pompey." Herod "demolished the suburbs" and put many hands to work building siege bulwarks, towers, etc.</p> <p>Herod himself returned to Samaria "to complete his marriage" to Miriam I.⁴⁷</p> <p>"After the wedding," Antony sent Roman general Sosius with a large company to join Herod, who had left Samaria with an army of now about 30,000. Their forces which met at Jerusalem's walls consisted of 11 armed foot legions, 6,000 horsemen, and "other auxiliaries out of Syria." The "multitude" inside Jerusalem's walls was divided between the "weaker" crowd about the temple, resigned to martyrdom, the bolder men who robbed and plundered in groups ("there was no food left either for the horses or the men"), and the warlike who fought at the walls and made surprise raids via underground tunnels.</p> <p>Summer weather hastened Herod's preparations for an offensive, as he sent armed legions to "remote places" to gather food. Both sides made use of their war engines (for those within had also "contrived a few"). The defending Jews "within the walls fought... with great alacrity and zeal (for the whole nation was gathered together);" despite the strength of their opponents, they "bore a siege of five months" and "persisted in this war to the very last." It took 40 days for the first wall to be scaled and 15 the second. Cloisters surrounding the temple were burned. The temple's outer court was taken; "the Jews fled into the inner court...and upper city." Herod granted a request that they be allowed to receive "beasts for sacrifices" and thought the defenders might yield. When it did not so occur, Herod made a massive assault. The mayhem that occurred throughout the city's narrow streets, fueled by the repressed rage of Roman and mercenary soldiers, far exceeded victory's need—a slaughter irrespective of gender, infancy and old age. "</p>			

⁴⁷ When Herod "came to the government, he sent away her whom he had before married when a private person, and who was born at Jerusalem, whose name was Doris." Wars I.XXII.1.

Year(s) b.c.e.	"LOCALLY"	Rulers		"Converted"
		EGYPT	ROME Antony and Octavian	Year b.c.e.
37	The "destruction" accompanying the defeat of Antigonus II "befell...when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallius were consuls of Rome, on the 185th olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast"-- (--as did that] under Pompey; for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after 27 years time"). Antigonus finally descended from the citadel and fell at the feet of Sosius, who took no pity and placed him in bonds. Herod amply rewarded the soldiers and commanders; "all went away full of money." Sosius took Antigonus II as a prisoner, to deliver him to Antony. Herod, fearing that if Antigonus II made it to Rome he himself might gain a senate hearing on the issue of to whom kingship properly belonged. "[By] giving Antony a great deal of money," Antony was persuaded to order "Antigonus the Jew" to be taken to Antioch and there, beheaded. Antony was "supposing he could no other way bend the minds of the Jews so as to receive Herod...for by no torments could they be forced to call him king;" and "this dishonorable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus' memory...." "[T]hus did...government [by] the Asamoneans cease, 126 years after it was first set up...[and] came to Herod...."			[40, 39, 38, 37] ⁴⁸

King Herod the Great

- 37 Now in absolute power, Herod the Great took revenge on the opponent party. He slew 45 of Antigonus II's principal supporters and all members of the Sanhedrin, which included the men before whom he had been brought to trial by Hyrcanus II. Herod confiscated all the royal ornaments and stripped wealthy citizens of silver and gold, from which he bestowed generous amounts on friends and a heap on Mark Antony. Herod appointed as High Priest one Ananelus, whose stock was of priest captives carried "beyond the Euphrates."

Ananelus, High Priest
King Herod the Great *continued*

Cleopatra VII prevailed on Mark Antony to assassinate "the principal men among the Syrians, and contrived to get Syria as a possession."
Alexandra II, highly indignant that the office of high priest had not been given to Aristobulus III (her son and Miriamne I's brother), wrote to Cleopatra VII asking her to intercede with Mark Antony to see that Aristobulus III was installed.

Antony stalled taking action.

Cleopatra VII pressed Mark Antony to dispose of Herod the Great and Malichus and to give her Judaea and Arabia as possessions. He appeased Cleopatra by giving her some parts of each of those kingdoms.⁴⁹

Mark Antony went on an expedition to Armenia against the Parthians.

Herod considered killing Cleopatra VII but instead pacified her with presents, when she passed through Judaea after having accompanied Mark Antony as far as the Euphrates River. Herod rented from Cleopatra VII the parts of Arabia and land around Jericho which she held; ensuingly he became "niggardly" in payments.

Mark Antony "subdued" Armenia and sent booty and captured prey (including Artabazes and his family) to Cleopatra VII "as a present."

- c. 36 Cleopatra the Great gave birth to Ptolemy XVII Philadelphus by Mark Antony.

⁴⁸ Josephus' statement, "on the 185th olympiad," seemingly implies the first year of it; 27 years from Pompey's taking of Jerusalem in 64 b.c.e., however, yields 37 b.c.e., or year four of the 185th olympiad. This fits closely with the statement at *Josephus* XVII.VIII.1 that, when Herod the Great died (taken as 4 b.c.e.; see Appendix 4A, Detail A, 1 and 3) he had reigned "34 years after he had procured Antigonus to be slain."

⁴⁹ Refer to Appendix 4B, I following fn. 57.

Year(s)
b.c.e.

“LOCALLY”

EGYPT

ROME
Antony and Octavian

Alexandra II allowed drawings of Aristobulus III and Miriamne I to be sent to Mark Antony. He refrained from asking that Miriamne I be sent to Egypt but wrote to Herod the Great to send Aristobulus III. Herod politely refused, noting that “all would be in a state of war,” if Aristobulus III left the country, “because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government..” Hyrcanus II was able to leave Parthia and returned home, being led to believe by Herod that they would share governance. Herod informed “his friends” that Alexandra II was conspiring to use Cleopatra VII to oust him from the government. Herod replaced Ananelus as high priest with Aristobulus III, deceitfully giving reason that it was Aristobulus III’s young age which had kept Herod from appointing him first.

Aristobulus III, High Priest
King Herod the Great *continued*

Joyful at Aristobulus’ appointment, Alexandra II apologetically now pledged subservience. Herod remained suspicious and had her watched constantly. Soon Alexandra perceived herself no more than a prisoner. She again communicated with Cleopatra VII. Cleopatra advised her to flee to Egypt with Aristobulus III.

Alexandra’s plan was foiled by an informant. Herod took no punishment on her, which “he knew Cleopatra would not bear...on account of her hatred to him.” But “he fully proposed...by one means or other,” to remove Aristobulus III from the picture for good.

Herod’s intent was sealed when the handsome 17 or 18-year-old Aristobulus was popularly hailed, as he presided as high priest at the ensuing feast of the tabernacles.

During an ending celebration of the feast hosted by Alexandra II at Jericho, Aristobulus III was drowned by “such of Herod’s acquaintance...appointed to do it.”

At some point, Herod appointed one “Jesus, son of Phabet,” as high priest.

[Phabet-] Jesus, High Priest
King Herod the Great *continued*

Antagonism increased between the camp of Herod’s mother, Cypros I, and [half-?] sister, Salome I, and that of Alexandra II and Miriamne I. Salome lodged charges of “lust” against Miriamne I, because of the drawing that had been sent to Antony.

Alexandra II reported all to Cleopatra VII, who “made the case her own” and pressed Antony “to punish the child’s [Aristobulus III’s] murderer.” Antony summoned Herod.

Herod separated his two female families before answering the summons, placing Cypros I and Salome I, with other members, at Masada under care of Pheroras, and Alexandra II and Miriamne I, with other members, at Alexandrium under “his uncle,” Joseph I (Salome I’s husband). He instructed Joseph I to “kill Mariamne immediately,” if he didn’t return. Joseph revealed the injunction to Miriamne.

A false rumor that Herod had been put to death prompted Alexandra II to press Joseph I to take her and hers to the Roman legion encamped around Jerusalem “as a guard to the kingdom.” Instead, Herod had made presents to Antony, regained his favor, and traveled part way with him on an expedition.

Year(s)
b.c.e.

“LOCALLY”

EGYPT

ROME
Octavian vs. Antony

When Herod returned, Cypros I and Salome I informed him as to Alexandra II's efforts during his absence. Salome I also insinuated that “criminal” conduct had occurred between Joseph I and Miriamne I. Miriamne I revealed to Herod that she had learned of his instructions about killing her; Herod took it as evidence that Joseph “had debauched” Miriamne.

Herod gave order that Joseph I be killed and had Alexandra II “bound...and kept her in custody.”

Herod made Costobarus, an Idumaeen, governor of Idumaea and Gaza in place of Joseph I and had Salome marry him. Not long afterward, Costobarus wrote to Cleopatra VII that he was ready to “transfer his friendship” to her and Mark Antony.

Herod heard somehow about the Costobarus matter but pardoned him on the entreaties of Cypros I and Salome I. “But some time afterward,” Salome I unilaterally sent Costobarus a bill of divorce.⁵⁰

Herod, learned that Costobarus had assisted the escape of “the sons of Babas” during the siege of Antigonos II. Herod had all intimidated supporters of the escape sought out and slain.

c. 32/31 Antony and Cleopatra formally joined in marriage.⁵¹

The situation between the camps of Mark Antony and Octavian reached a 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 Alexandria, Egypt as the capital.

Herod prepared to be an auxiliary to Antony; instead, on the influence of Cleopatra VII, Antony commanded Herod to go against the king of Arabia. Cleopatra contemplated that, if the kings of Judaea and Arabia went against each other, she ultimately would obtain one country or the other; she sent a general Athenio to “observe” the battle. Athenio, however, aided the Arabians in a severe rout of Herod's army.

“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.”

31/30/29⁵² Battle of Actium.

M. Agrippa Vipsanius⁵³ commanded Octavian's fleet against the joined squadrons of Antony and Cleopatra VII.

Battling continued between Herod and the Arabians, in which Herod ultimately gained the upper hand, significantly near Philadelphia⁵⁴, east of the Jordan. Herod refused to consider all offers of terms of redemption, decimated the foe, and

⁵⁰ “though this was not according to Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so; but a wife, if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away.”

⁵¹ *Lempriere* p. 31. According to available dates given for births of their children, their family was begun some time before public marriage.

⁵² The generally-accepted year of the Actium battle is 31 b.c.e., which year *Lempriere* also shows under Actium and Augustus. At page 170, however, *Lempriere* shows the battle under AUC year 723 (29 b.c.e.), “although according to some authoris it happened in the year of Rome 721 [31 b.c.e.]” (“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.” L 8.

⁵³ Refer to Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A, (3).

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EGYPT

ROME
Octavian vs. Antony

“punished Arabia so severely and extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler.”

Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony, outmanoeuvred at Actium, abandoned the sea battle, after which Antony’s land forces surrendered.

At some point after the deaths of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony, Cleopatra’s sons, Ptolemy Caesarion by Julius Caesar and Alexander Helios by Mark Antony, also were extinguished. (Cleopatra’s two remaining children, Cleopatra Selene [B] and Ptolemy Philadelphus, were reared by Octavia [A].)

Herod the Great, as former ally of Antony, anticipated punishment by Caesar Octavius, the new Roman emperor. He further contemplated how the aged, royal Hyrcanus II, father of Alexandra II, might be seen as a logical successor. Alexandra II pressured Hyrcanus II to seek refuge for himself and the family with Arabia’s governor, Malchus. A turncoat showed Herod the letter from Hyrcanus II to Malchus. Herod had it delivered with orders to also return to him the response from Malchus.

Malchus responded to Hyrcanus’ letter with a guarantee of sufficient force for safe escort.

Herod “showed the correspondence to the sanhedrim, and put the man Hyrcanus II to death immediately.”

Herod then hastened to sail to Rhodes to meet with Caesar Octavius. Before leaving, he again separated the womens’ camps as before, this time leaving “his treasurer Joseph [II?]” together with one “Sohemus of Iturea” in charge at Alexandria, once more with instructions to kill both Miriamne I and Alexandra II if he did not return, to preserve the kingdom for Pheroras.

Caesar Octavian responded well to Herod’s presentations of his father’s and his own fealty to Rome, his counsel to Antony that Antony kill Cleopatra, etc. Octavian “restored Herod his diadem again.”

Meanwhile Alexandra II and Miriamne I again had been informed (this time by Sohemus) of Herod’s instructions that they be killed if he did not return.

Herod on his return found the turmoil in his households at a peak. Cypros I and Salome I continued to tell him stories that caused him to become “worse and worse disposed to her.”

Word came of Caesar Octavian’s complete triumph in Egypt. Herod went to meet Octavian and conducted him as far as Antioch.

Gaius Julius Octavian/Augustus;
Commencement of “The Diarchy.”⁵⁵

Octavian received the title, *Augustus*.

Augustus organized the provinces,⁵⁶ of which Egypt now was one.

Octavian added to Herod the Great’s kingdom “the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra,” together with several other cities, and gave Herod a 400-man bodyguard.

Herod’s public position now was more magnificent than ever; but distress from familial hatreds persisted the whole ensuing year.

Miriamne I “reproached” him for causing the deaths of her father and brother, showed him contempt, and refused to “lie down by him.” Then Salome I floated a story that suggested Miriamne I had acquired a potion to kill Herod. When the eunuch involved was tortured, he finally stated that something Sohemus had told Miriamne had fueled her hatred. Once more Herod adjudged such revelation would have been made only if there had been improper conduct between Miriamne I and Sohemus.

⁵⁴ Present-day Amman, Jordan; anciently, Rabbah, etc.—refer to Appendix 2A, Rabbah.

⁵⁵ See Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, fn. 16.

⁵⁶ Refer to Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, sub-part II, for a description.

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ROME

Octavian Augustus continued

Herod ordered Sohemus to be executed immediately.

Herod then put Miriamne I on trial. The court, described as “those that were most faithful to him,” “passed the sentence of death upon her,” which sentence was carried out.

At some point (“while the queen [Alexandra II] was alive,” a “great number of informers” brought Herod to believe that Pheroras was plotting to poison him. All that Herod could extract, from the torture of many of Pheroras’ friends, was that Pheroras was prepared “to take her whom he loved,⁵⁷ and run away to the Parthians,” and that Costobarus was instrumental to the plan. At this time, Pheroras obtained Herod’s pardon.

28/27 The 13th year of Herod’s reign was one of “great calamities” --droughts, barrenness, and pestilence ravaged the country. Herod worked to mitigate the afflictions, gave some of his rich possessions to Rome’s prefect in Egypt to obtain corn, made distributions as best he could, and gave seed to the Syrians, as well--all of which served to wipe off some of the old hatred toward him. But disease killed “the greatest part of the multitude and of his best and most esteemed friends.”

Before long Herod himself fell into “a dangerous distemper/inflammation.” Treatments at Sebaste, where he was in residence, at first of no effect.

Alexandra II, in Jerusalem, now proposed to those in charge of Jerusalem’s two fortifications give them over “to her, and to Herod’s sons.” Two old friends of Herod--one being his first cousin, Achiabus--sent news to Herod of Alexandra’s actions.

Alexandra II was slain on order from Herod.

Herod the Great recovered somewhat from his illness, but he remained sorely afflicted--now in mind, as well as body.

Nonetheless, his affairs soon returned again to “flourishing condition.” After providing a select company to Roman general Aelius Gallius on a Red Sea expedition, Herod built a richly adorned palace with large apartments “in the upper city.”

Herod “fell in love” with [Miriamne II] the daughter of “one Simon [“Cantheras;” *AJ* XIX.VI.4], a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of Boethus, a citizen of Alexandra, and a priest of great note there.” Herod (deciding it would be politically disadvantageous merely to take Simon’s daughter), “immediately deprived Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood, and conferred that dignity on Simon.”

? [Boethus-] Simon [A⁵⁸], aka Simeon, High Priest
King Herod the Great *continued*

After the wedding [with Miriamne II⁵⁹] Herod built another citadel, distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs.”

? Marcus Agrippa was sent to govern “the countries beyond the Ionian Sea.” Agrippa became a “particular friend and companion” of Herod.

“Some” Gadarenes made accusations against Herod; M. Agrippa bound them and sent them to Herod without a hearing.

The first Actium games were held.

“After the first games at Actium,” Caesar Octavian bestowed on Herod “both the region called Trachon [“Trachonitis”], and...in its

⁵⁷ Concerning the lack of identification of Pheroras’ wife, and her potential relationship to Mariamne I, refer to Appendix 4B, II.

⁵⁸ Refer to fn. 125 (a Simon [B]).

⁵⁹ Refer to Appendix 4B, II, Attachment 2 chart, (H).

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- neighbourhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis (former territory of Zenodorus, deprived by Octavian).
- c. 24 “Herod had already reigned 17 years” when Caesar Octavian, in Syria, held a hearing of complaints against Herod by the Gadarenes, who were spurred by Zenodorus (Zenodorus was dedicated to the Gadarenes being “severed from Herod’s kingdom, and joined to Caesar’s province”). Undesignated “Arabians” in Herod’s dominions also were advocating sedition, claiming Zenodorus had sold Auranitis to them.
Caesar Octavian cleared Herod of any charges and “bestowed Zenodorus’ country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha, and Paneas, and the country round about.”
Caesar Octavian made Herod “one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do nothing without his approbation.” (Herod subsequently began construction of “a most beautiful temple...in Zenodorus’s country, at...Panium,” dedicated to Caesar.)
- c. 23 Caesar Octavian, at Herod’s bequest, granted Peraea to Pheroras as a tetrarchy.
Herod in his “18th year” commenced raising and rebuilding of Jerusalem’s temple, and construction of royal cloisters, etc. He forgave his subjects some taxes but failed to attain good will, restricting fraternalization, setting “spies everywhere,” putting to death many “who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly,” and requiring all (except the “Essens”) to take an oath of fidelity. Hatred toward Herod was abetted when he unilaterally enacted a law to eject “housebreakers/thieves” from the kingdom, which law contradicted provisos of The Law.
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 Octavian’s palace.

(20 to 18 b.c.e., roughly the period of birth of Miriam/Mary [A], mother of Jesus of the *New Testament*, if Jesus’ birth is placed between 6 and 4 b.c.e.⁶⁰ [According to apocryphal data, Mary A was either 12 or 14 when she became pregnant with Jesus.⁶¹])

Herod sailed to Italy and retrieved sons Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, who had “completed themselves in sciences. At home, their fortunate adornment and countenances “became conspicuous” among the admiring multitude and they soon became “objects of envy to Salome.”
Herod married Alexander III to Glaphyra [B], daughter of king Archelaus of Cappadocia, and Aristobulus IV to Bernice [A], daughter of Salome I and Costobarus.
Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, whose enmity against their father had been sealed by their mother’s fate at Herod’s hands, let it be known publically that they had no desire for their father’s company.
Herod royally entertained M. Agrippa on a visit and the following year made a special effort to join up with Agrippa and assist him with certain affairs at Pontus. On their return voyage through various cities, Herod became an instrumental intercessor in

⁶⁰ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A, concerning alternative years conjectured for Jesus’ birth.

⁶¹ Refer to Appendix 4C, Supplemental Data, Mary [A] and Joseph [A], for relevant quotations.

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petitions made to Agrippa and gained his further appreciation.

In Ionia, Agrippa held a hearing brought by “a great multitude” of Hebrew residents concerning their treatment in their places of residence. Agrippa summoned “the principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there.” Herod chose “Nicolaus, one of his friends,” to plead the Hebrews’ cause. Agrippa ruled that they be allowed to observe their customs without injury. Herod, on his return to Jerusalem, held an assembly and pleased the people with a report of the beneficent status “of the affairs of the Jews in Asia,” attained through his efforts, and remitted a fourth part of taxes for the year past.

“[A]ffairs in Herod’s family,” however, “were in more and more disorder, as Salome proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence, as to endeavour that none of Miriam [I’s] posterity might be left alive.”

Alexander III’s and Aristobulus IV’s outspokenness was seized upon by the opposing faction, and intimations were made to Herod that Alexander, relying on father-in-law Archelaus, planned to put his cause against Herod before Caesar Octavian. The young men continued in their imprudent public expressions until “the whole city was full of their discourses.” while Antipater III, Doris’ son, used all means to ingratiate himself with father Herod and cultivated persons Herod trusted to reinforce ill reports about his half-brothers.

Herod “chose to elevate” Antipater III, “wrote frequently to Caesar in favour of him,” and recalled Doris to the royal court.

- c. 15/14? Agrippa finished his “ten years” of governance in Asia. Herod “delivered” Antipater III to Agrippa to be taken to Rome “so he might become Caesar’s friend,” for it “looked as if he 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.”

From Rome, Antipater III pursued further malignments of his half-brothers.

Herod finally decided to accuse his sons before Caesar Octavian. Archelaus wrote to his friends at Rome, asking that they give assistance to Alexander III at the trial.

Herod charged Alexander III of attempting to poison him and both Alexander and Aristobulus IV of “mad actions, and...attempts against him, [alleging] they were enemies to him; and...would take away his life, and so obtain the kingdom. “ At the hearing, the brothers, who “knew in their own conscience they were innocent,” drew sympathy from Caesar and his court, and ultimately from Herod, too, as they wept in unsophisticated confusion. Caesar scolded them and exhorted repentance and apology; they fell at Herod’s feet, followed by a warm forgiveness.

Caesar “left it in Herod’s power to appoint...his successor or distribute it in parts to every one.”⁶² Herod was prepared to divest immediately, but Caesar would not give him to divest himself while he lived. Herod made a present of 300 talents to Caesar; Caesar gifted Herod with half the revenue of the Cyprus copper mines.

Herod had not overcome altogether, however, his suspicions; while Antipater III, “the fountain-head of the accusations, pretended rejoice at the family reconciliation.

At home, Herod reported to an assembly that concord had been achieved, and he outlined his intention that his sons “would be kings.... The age of one...and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them in the succession”--“Antipater [III] first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus.” Herod exhorted the rulers and soldiers, however, that for the time being they were to respect him as king. His speech “was acceptable to the greatest part,” but “those who wished for a change of affairs...pretended they did

⁶² A fourth unnamed, undescribed Herod son, “the youngest,” previously had died at Rome at an unspecified time.

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not so much as hear.”

13/12 “About this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste was finished...the twenty-eighth year of Herod’s reign, and into the 192nd olympiad.”⁶³

[c. 12 Year of birth of Mary [A], if Jesus birth is placed
c. 2 b.c.e.⁶⁴]

Herod produced “a great festival”--the “fifth-year games,” and pursued construction projects in addition to those already funded in his regions and in Syria, Ionia and Greece.⁶⁵

Herod the Great continued to be “always inventing somewhat further for his own security...encompassing the whole nation with guards,” to keep an eye out for tumults and commotions amongst the people.

A spy revealed to Herod that a plot had been laid to kill him. Herod discerned the names of the 10 [unnamed] male citizens by torturing “certain women.” In addition to executing the men, Herod’s punishment included the destruction of “their entire families.”

Meanwhile, in Herod’s palace, “the tumult was like a civil war,” as the various members carried or caused to be carried mean stories about each other to Herod. Salome I was “all in all” against Miriamne’s sons; Glaphyra [B] lorded it over Salome I and Bernice [A]; meanwhile Antipater III two-facedly employed “stratagems, very cunning,” against his half-brothers--he himself feigning kindness toward them before Herod while paying others to make treacherous insinuations. Antipater III’s “general aim was...to lay a plot...to make it believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father.” Alexander III and Aristobulus IV were ignorant of the inroads being made against them.

Pheroras (who already had a wife [unnamed] beloved by him) also fell out of favor, when he refused to comply with his father’s consecutive proposals, that Pheroras take as a wife one and then another of Herod’s daughters.⁶⁶ Additional furors erupted. One--grievously quelled--occurred when Pheroras insinuated to Alexander III that Herod had a passion for Alexander’s wife, Glaphyra; and Alexander was moved to confront his father about it. A second involved an attempt by Sylleus, manager of the affairs of Arabia’s then-king Obodas, to marry Salome I, who was spurred in the matter by Livia [A/Julia], Caesar Octavian’s wife. Sylleus backed out when Herod finally agreed on the proviso that Sylleus “come over to the Jewish religion. Herod then “compelled Salome,” “against her own consent,” to marry Alexas, a friend of his.”

While Herod had been in Rome his commanders had subdued a revolt in Trachonite territory. On his return, Herod had gone “all over Trachonitis, and slew their [the rebels] relations;” but 40 principals had taken refuge in Arabia with Sylleus. Now, “they overran not only Judea but all Celesyria,” while Sylleus gave them protection. Herod fueled the situation by appealing to Syria’s presidents. The foes numbers increased, and the “proceedings came to be like a real war.”

⁶³ Strictly subtracting 28 years from 41 b.c.e. yields 13 b.c.e., while the four years of the 192nd olympiad were [776 - (191 x 4 =) 764 =] 12, 11, 10 and 9 b.c.e.

⁶⁴ Refer to Appendix 4C, Supplemental Data, Mary [A] and Joseph [A], and Detail A to this Attachment 4A, concerning date of birth of Jesus.

⁶⁵ Refer to Appendix 4B, II, paragraphs following fn. 21, for details of all his projects and generous bestowals.

⁶⁶ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2 chart.

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Herod pressed Syria's presidents for both punishment and repayment of a loan he had made to Obodas. They ruled that each side should deliver to the other any of the other's subjects found in their territories and that the loan be repaid in 30 days. Sylleus failed to perform under the agreement and instead went to Rome. Herod obtained permission of the Syrian presidents for himself to undertake execution of their judgment and led an army into Arabia, captured the "robbers" and demolished their garrison, and placed 3000 Idumaeans in Trachonitis, which "restrained the robbers that were there." Sylleus, at Rome, had "insinuated himself" with Caesar and made charges that Herod had laid waste in Arabia, destroyed 2500 principal Arabians, and carried off booty. Caesar was angered, when he obtained confirmation that Herod had led an army into Arabia, "and wrote to Herod sharply," informing him that henceforth Caesar would "now use him as his subject" instead of friend. The Arabians, "elevated," neither delivered up perpetrators nor paid money due, and retained previously-hired pastures rent-free. "Those of Trachonitis...rose up against the Idumean garrison...." Two embassages sent to Caesar by Herod ("now in a low condition") were refused audience. In Arabia, Obodas had died (or been murdered by Sylleus) and Aretas had taken over the government. He and Sylleus contended for Caesar's support. "[I]n the meantime, 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; for of the two kings, the one (Aretas) 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," Herod sent Nicolaus of Damascus at the head of another embassy, hoping 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, Herod obtained confessions implicating Alexander III in "criminal conversation"—that he had many rulers and friends on his side and, with assistance from the eunuchs (later to be richly rewarded), "he should quickly have first place in the kingdom." Herod, "terrified" and "overrun with suspicion" now "sent spies abroad privately" and became unable to trust anyone. He made himself feel safer by destroying palace domestics without clear evidences of guilt; he expelled old friends from the palace and refused others to be admitted. He conducted "great numbers" of torturous examinations of and death to persons believed faithful friends of Alexander III," as Antipater III "was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent." Almost all "died without having any thing to say." One person, however, said that Alexander III, had considered killing Herod, with his brother's assistance, while they were out hunting, and then proceed to Rome and ask for the kingdom. Letters between Alexander III and Aristobulus IV also were found, containing complaints relative to Herod's favoritism of Antipater III. Antipater III, with Alexander now "under his misfortunes," 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 upon immediately, and bound;" but he needed "some surer mark of his son's wickedness." Upon further tortures of Alexander's friends, he secured a confession that Alexander had sent to friends at Rome to secure him an audience with Caesar, to whom he would reveal a plot wherein Herod was joined against the Romans with Mithridates, king of Parthia, and further, that Alexander had had a poison prepared (for which Herod searched but did not find). Alexander III plead with his father not to torture more persons and composed four "books" of defenses, which were placed in

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Herod's hands. The writings pointed to Salome and Pheroras as the greater of plotters and included charges against Ptolemy [undesigned] and Sapinnus (the most "faithful" of Herod's friends), together with other men in power--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 "hastily into Judea" "on purpose," to compose the family differences. Archelaus adroitly facilitated a calming of 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;" Alexander, Archelaus reasoned, may "himself [have] been plotted against." The preponderance of Herod's anger now turned from Alexander to Pheroras.

Archelaus next counseled Pheroras, pledging to help him but advising that Pheroras' only hope to rewin Herod's good will was to confess all. Pheroras tearfully prostrated himself before Herod, pleading that it was "disorder of his mind, and distraction, which his love for a woman...had brought him to." Archelaus convinced Herod that clemency was the best course, in view of the importance of healing such difficulties not uncommon in kingdoms.

Archelaus had avoided criticism of Herod and had indicated the possibility of dissolving the marriage of his daughter, Glaphyra [B] to Alexander. Herod petitioned Archelaus not to do so, "especially since they had already children" and reasoning that Alexander's deep love for Glaphyra would help preserve him from further offenses. The reconciliations were followed by feasting and entertainments. Herod gifted Archelaus (who, "at this juncture...[was] the most agreeable person to Herod in the world." It was accepted that Archelaus would go "to Rome to discourse with Caesar Octavian, because he [Archelaus] had already written a full account to him of this whole matter."

Herod accompanied Archelaus as far as Antioch, where he effected "a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the president of Syria," which two "had been greatly at variance."

Subsequently, the travels of one Eurycles--a "notable" but "corrupt" and avaricious Lacedemonian brought him into Judea, where he proceeded to cultivate Herod's "blind side" while making himself seem to each family member that he was that person's particular friend. He procured both Alexander III and Aristobulus IV to open to him their private grievances against their father. Eurycles then reported the brothers' remarks to Antipater III, from whom he "received a great sum of money. The confidences were revealed to Herod, fueled by Eurycles' suggestions that, once Alexander gained Caesar's audience, he would provoke inquiry into the fates of Hyrcanus II and Mariamne I.

Herod found "proofs too weak," but he placed both Alexander and Aristobulus in custody.⁶⁷

Antipater III bolstered the Eurycles' results by causing some unnamed persons to allege that his half-brothers had talked privately with two of Herod's formerly discharged royal horsemen. The men sustained a long torture; but "at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod" by feigning a hunting accident, revealed money was hidden in a stable, and implicated Herod's chief hunter as having provided Alexander with weapons.

Herod "was in a very great rage," when there was produced a letter purportedly written by Alexander III to the [unnamed]

⁶⁷ Eurycles wrote to Archelaus, advancing himself as aiding reconciliation in Herod's kingdom, and then immediately went to Cappadocia, "got money of Archelaus also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out."

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“governor of a castle”/“commander of the garrison of Alexandrium.” The letter, which Alexander claimed was drafted by Antipater and forged by the king’s secretary, concerned refuge for himself and his brother, once Herod had been killed. The Alexandrium commander was caught and tortured also. Then Herod “produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho” for public accusations against Alexander and Aristobulus. The crowd stoned many of the accused persons to death and would have done likewise to the brothers, but was restrained by Ptolemy [undesigned] and Pheroras. The brothers were put under guard; the “fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals.”

?

[At some points in this timeframe there occurred Mary [A]’s discharge from the temple and her betrothal to Joseph [A].⁶⁸

Aristobulus IV reportedly exasperated Salome I’s involvement by cautioning her to watch for her own safety--that Herod was preparing to put her to death, also, because of her consortment with Sylleus. Salome informed Herod; and “this it was, that came as the last storm and entirely sunk the young men.”

Archelaus sent his ambassador Melas, before whom Herod questioned Alexander III. Alexander admitted that he and Aristobulus had planned to escape to Archelaus, “who had promised to send them away to Rome,” and that they otherwise were innocent of all charges, of which Herod might have been apprised had he the opportunity to examine more strictly his discharged horsemen, who “had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who had put his own friends among the multitude [at Jericho, who had performed the stonings].

Herod then questioned both Alexander III and Glaphyra [B] before Melas--Alexander weeping and Glaphyra groaning over his bonded state. Each professed their only their desire was to retire to Archelaus in Cappadocia, and thence to Rome.

Herod took ill-will toward him on Archelaus’ part as “fully proved.” He dispatched an army general and a friend to Rome with “letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men,” with instructions to give Caesar the letters, should Nicolaus have gained some ground interceding for Herod.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, at Rome, Caesar had been hearing the matter of Sylleus vs. Aretas; and “some” of Sylleus’ party defected and joined with Nicolaus, providing evidence of Sylleus’ slaughter of a great number of friends of the former Arabian king Obodas.

Nicolaus used the circumstances to make a plea on Herod’s behalf--that, in addition to allegations of other wrongs, Sylleus “had alienated Caesar from Herod, and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities.”

At Caesar’s direction, Nicolaus was allowed to “principally demonstrate” that very little, if any, of the imputations made against Herod had been true, and that Herod’s actions had been in self-defense.

Caesar’s final ruling was to formally admit Aretas’ ambassadors; he “accepted of Aretas’ presents, and confirmed him in his government.”

Caesar accepted the information sent by Herod. Although “mightily troubled at the case of the young men,” he “did not think he

⁶⁸ Refer to Appendix 4C, Supplemental Data, Mary [A] and Joseph [A].

⁶⁹ Herod also wrote to Archelaus, who responded he had stood prepared to receive his daughter and son-in-law, but had had no intentions of sending them to Caesar or of any other act of ill will toward Herod.

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ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons.” He wrote back that Herod was appointed to have the power over them, “would do well to make an examination of the plot against him 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,⁷⁰ composed of Syria’s presidents, Archelaus, and as many more as Herod thought of appropriate “friendship and dignity.”

- c. 11⁷¹ The court assembled by Herod (“150 assessors were present”) consisted of presidents Saturninus and Pedanius and “all principal men of Syria, excepting Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him;” “next to them, the kings kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras.” Aristobulus IV and Alexander III were kept in custody nearby at “Platana [Platane], a village of the Sidonians.” (Herod did not produce the brothers 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 a “very vehement” manner, “exaggerated” what his sons had said, “as if they had confessed the design against him, and, that “by Caesar’s grant” and as the young men’s parent, he stood ready to initiate his sons’ death in his own kingdom by stoning. “[Y]et did he wait for the court’s determination.” “The assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his authority.”⁷²
- Herod at Tyre encountered Nicolaus returning from Rome. When asked, Nicolaus reported that the consensus at Rome was for imprisonment, not death.
- “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.” In general, “men’s pity was forced to be shut up in themselves,” except for one Tero, father of a friend of Alexander. Tero openly castigated Herod and named a “great many” of Herod’s army captains” had expressed indignation. Herod imprisoned Tero and those he named.
- When Herod’s barber Trypho related that Tero often had suggested that Trypho could cut Herod’s throat, Tero was put to the torture until his agony drove his son to a confession.
- Herod then held an assembly “and brought the people together in a body against” Tero, his son, “300 officers,” and barber Trypho, as well, all of whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them.”
- “Alexander [III, “the eldest”] and Aristobulus [IV] were brought to Sebaste, by their father’s command, and there strangled.” Herod sent the widowed Glaphyra [B] back to her father, king Archelaus of Cappadocia.
- After “Antipater III had thus taken off his brethren,” “intolerable hatred fell upon him from the nation [in that] all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies.” He “governed the nation jointly with his father...[but] was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod,” so as to secure himself in the kingdom before his father could discover his own true involvement. Antipater by bountiful gifts sought the favor of friends at Rome, and also “got into Pheroras’ favour...by

⁷⁰ aka Berut, an ancient town of Phoenicia, on the coast of the Mediterranean; L 106.

⁷¹ Concerning this estimated year, see next footnote.

⁷² Of the court members, “Volumnius’s sentence was to inflict death.” (“Volumnius, a prefect of Syria, b.c. 11.” L 648.) Saturninus, his three legate sons, “two lieutenants...and some others” disagreed. (“Saturninus, Sentius, a friend of Augustus and Tiberius. He succeeded Agrippa [see above at c. 15/14] in the government of the provinces of Syria and Phoenicia.” L 5545.

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presents;" but he made no headway with Salome I.

Meanwhile, Herod effected certain betrothals of his remaining descendants,⁷³ which put Antipater III "in great disorder," seeing that "the posterity of those that had been slain, growing up, would become greater;" and Archelaus would support Glaphyra's and Aristobulus' sons, who also would have tetrarch Pheroras' support since one of them now was betrothed to a Pheroras' daughter. Antipater contemplated that "the multitude...would so commiserate" and he might lose the government "even in his father's lifetime."

As Antipater attempted to have Herod change the settlements, "a suspicion came into Herod's mind," that "the false tales " of Antipater had been responsible for the deaths of Alexander III and Aristobulus IV. Antipater prevailed in changes of betrothals, so that Antipater himself, instead of Pheroras' son, "should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pheroras' daughter, although "the espousals...were changed...even without the king's real approbation."

A different complex now took sway in the palace, as Antipater III and 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." Those four women became united in what was told to Herod; "there was only Salome who opposed." The former group, together with Pheroras and Antipater, did not demonstrate their fraternization in front of Herod; Salome, however, "knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod," alleging that they held clandestine counsels together.

Pheroras' women additionally "were inveigled" by Pharisees (which sect "being above 6,000").⁷⁴ The Pharisees "foretold...that Herod's...posterity should be deprived of [the government]; [and] that the kingdom should come to her [Pheroras' wife] and Pheroras, and to their children. " Salome reported to Herod the Pharisees' prediction, also alleging that "they had perverted some persons about the palace itself."

Herod held an assembly of friends and kindred and accused Pheroras' wife of making Pheroras' his enemy, among other things, and told Pheroras that he "would do well...to put his wife away," to which Pheroras responded "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, then charged Antipater III and Doris to discontinue all intercourse with Pheroras' wife and relatives.

Herod "slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused...Bagoas the eunuch, and one Carus...his catamite. He "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 and secured friends at Rome, to suggest to Herod that Antipater be sent to abide a time with Caesar. "Herod made no delay." He sent Antipater to Rome with a great deal of money and also with Herod's testament. In it, Herod named Antipater as first heir to the kingdom; but, should he die before his father, then Herod's successor was to be "Herod [B]"--"that Herod, I mean," Josephus states, "who was the son of Mariamne [II], the high priest's [(Boethus-) Simon Cantheras'] daughter."⁷⁵

Herod, unable to force Pheroras "to put away his wife,...at length" banished both her and Pheroras to Peraea, Pheroras' tetrarchy. Pheroras swore he never would return so long as Herod lived. Pheroras refused to answer a summons when Herod

⁷³ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2 chart and its Detail A.

⁷⁴ Pheroras' [unnamed] wife even paid on their behalf a fine that had been imposed on them by Herod.

⁷⁵ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2 chart, H.

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suffered a temporary illness. Then Pheroras himself subsequently became ill; Herod "pitied his case, and took care of him." Pheroras died. (a) "[A] report spread abroad that Herod had killed him." (b) Two of the Herod the Great's "much esteemed" freed men told Herod Pheroras had been poisoned and urged an investigation. They claimed (1) that Pheroras' mother-in-law and wife's sister had purchased a poison two days before Pheroras' death; (2) that at supper the day before his illness "his wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner; and that upon eating it, he presently fell into a distemper; and (3) that the deed "was done by the management of Sylleus."

Herod conducted a series of tortures of "the maid-servants and some of the free women"--"Pheroras' women." Herod ultimately collected various admissions from them--that Doris was "author of all these our miseries" (this, cried out "under the utmost agonies"); of secret meetings; of Antipater's hatred for Herod and despair his father would not die soon enough; of Antipater and Pheroras commiserating that neither they nor their families would escape Herod's beastliness; and that Pheroras had resolved to fly with them to Perea."

Herod "cast Doris out of the palace...took care of Pheroras' women after their torture...[but] had many innocent 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" that Antipater had obtained a potion out of Egypt that was delivered by Doris' brother, Theudio/Theudion to Pheroras, which Antipater wanted Pheroras to administer to Herod while Antipater was in Rome, and that Pheroras had put the poison in care of his wife.

Pheroras' wife admitted that he had given her the box in question. Ordered to produce it, she instead "threw herself down from the housetop." "[S]enseless from her fall," she was brought to Herod, who 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 claimed that as Pheroras lay dying he had repented of all ill-will toward his brother and told her to burn that poison "left with us by Antipater...in order to destroy" Herod. She had saved only a small quantity for herself, she said, which box, when produced, "had a small quantity of this potion in it." Further torture of others incriminated in obtaining the poison corroborated its acquisition.

There then "were brought out such as were [even] freest from suspicion...whereby it was discovered," by a declaration under torture of her very brothers, "that Miriamne II...was conscious of this plot."

Herod "blotted Herod [B] whom he had by her [Miriamne II], out of his testament. (It is not reported what became of Miriam II.)

Herod took the high priesthood from Miriamne II's father ([here referred to as "Simeon") and appointed "Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room."

[Theophilus-] Matthias, High Priest
King Herod the Great *continued*

"While this was doing," Antipater III's freed-man Bathyllus, who had come from Rome, "was tortured also, "and "found to have brought another deadly potion" to give to Doris and Pheroras, in case the first poison was ineffective. Bathyllus also had letters that Antipater, by means of great bribes, had "forged...in the name of his friends at Rome, accusing his half-brothers Archelaus and Philip of sympathies in the slaughter of Alexander III and Aristobulus IV. Similar letters sent earlier, before Herod's suspicions of Antipater had solidified, had caused Archelaus and Philip to be summoned home.

"[Y]et did no one [who] came to Rome inform Antipater of his [unfolding] misfortunes in Judea." He wrote from Rome--of his

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successes there, and that he had been dismissed by Caesar and would soon 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 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 was when Antipater reached Celenderis that suspicion descended on him that his mother’s troubles might involve him. Friends counseled him varyingly—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 now there was no turning back; and with “a forced boldness countenance,” “clothed in purple” he proceeded to enter Herod’s palace, where porters denied entry to his companions.

Herod sat with Quintilius Varus.⁷⁶ (Herod “desired...advice in his present affairs” from Varus, who had been “sent to succeed Saturninus as president of Syria.”)

When Antipater arrived in the presence of Herod and Varus, Herod repulsed him as a murderer of brethren and plotter of parricide, announced that Varus was to be his judge, and gave Antipater ‘til the morrow to prepare for a hearing.

The assembled court was composed of “Herod’s kinsmen and friends and Antipater’s friends...as 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 from from Doris to Antipater warning him that Herod knew all and not to return to Herod “unless thou canst procure assistance from Caesar.”

Antipater begged at Herod’s feet for an opportunity to first make his case to Herod, personally; but Herod was adamant.

“Nicolaus of Damascus, the king’s friend,” who prosecuted Herod’s case at his request, summed up the collected evidence, strengthened by a large number of [unnamed] men that came forward with voluntary corroborations.

All that Antipater 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 the palace at Antioch; “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 Octavian about “Antipater’s wickedness.”

At some point in this timeframe Herod “fell into a severe distemper.”

“Now, at this very time,”⁷⁷ there was seized a letter to Antipater out of Egypt, from the man involved with acquiring the poison, both wishing Antipater success and referring to a letter from one “Acme, a Jew by birth” and “maid-servant of [Livia A/] Julia [wife

⁷⁶ “The legate, P. Quinctilius Varus, with three legions, was annihilated by the German Arminius,” “9 a.d. [c.e.]” “in the battle of Teutoberg Forest” (*Ency.* 103); “Varus, Quintilius, a Roman proconsul...appointed governor of Syria, and afterwards made commander of the armies in Germany.” Surprised by the enemy and his army “cut to pieces, ...he killed himself A.D. 10” (L 635).

⁷⁷ The sequencing of *Josephus* does not yield precision on the relative development of this and following events.

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4⁸³ Margalothus-] Matthias, who had raised the sedition, with his companions, alive."
"And on that very night there was an eclipse of the moon" (c. March 12/13 of that year).

[Boethus-] Joazar, High Priest
King Herod the Great *continued*

[Between 6 and 4 b.c.e: Primary estimate of the birth of Jesus.⁸⁴]
"[W]hen were fulfilled the days of the purification⁸⁵ ...according to the
law of Moses, they [Jesus' parents] led up him into Jerusalem to present
[at temple]." *Luke 2:22.ff.*
[--?--commencement of a Quirinius census/registration?⁸⁶]

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, where 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 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 and her husband Alexas that, immediately after he died and before releasing the news, they were to have all the prisoners killed," and further ordered "that one of every family should be slain."

[--?Herod learned of the existence of prospective 'legal' heirs according to The Law?
--?Herod had priest Zechariah questioned concerning the whereabouts of his son John ("the baptizer")?
--?Zechariah, refusing, "was murdered in the entrance of the temple and altar, and about the partition," by Herod's "servants"?
--Herod issued an order that all infants under two years old in the Bethlehem region be slain?
--Self-exile of Joseph [A] and his family to Egypt?⁸⁷]

⁸² *AJ* XVII.VI.4, XVIII.I.1.

⁸³ A moon eclipse is pivotal in determining the actual year of Herod's death *vis-a-vis* the year of the birth of Jesus. Two other moon eclipses, in January and December of 1 b.c.e., prompt differing theories as to the prospective years of his death and Jesus' birth - *refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.*

⁸⁴ See preceding footnote.

⁸⁵ When a woman is delivered of a male child, she "shall be unclean seven days...and on the eighth day shall be circumcised the flesh of his foreskin. Thirty days three days she shall remain in the blood of her cleansing...and when are fulfilled the [7 + 33 =] forty days of the cleansing,...she shall bring a lamb a son of a year for a burnt offering and a young pigeon or a turtle dove for a sin offering, to the door of the tent of meeting, to the priest." *Leviticus 12:1-6.*

⁸⁶ *Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.*

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Herod's ambassadors to Rome now returned. Caesar had 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, "overbourned 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 "verily believed" Herod had died and attempted to bribe his jailers to release him. Instead, Herod lived still, and was told.
Death of Antipater III--Herod, "although he was at death's door," commanded some of his guards to kill Antipater "without further delay."
Herod again altered his testament. Antipas was designated to be tetrarch of Galilee and Perea. Philip was to receive Gaulonitis, Trachonitis and Paneas. The balance of the kingdom was bequeathed to Herod's son Archelaus. Salome I was to receive Jamnia, Ashdod, Phasaelis, and 500,000 coined silver. Further provisions left "all the rest of his kindred...in a wealthy condition" and included 10,000,000 coined money and precious metal vessels to Caesar Octavian and costly garments to Caesar's wife.

c. 4 b.c.? Herod the Great died, having survived Antipater III's death "five days."⁸⁸

Before news of Herod's death was released, Salome I and Alexas freed the persons Herod had imprisoned, crediting it to a pre-death change of mind of Herod himself.

Herod's signet ring had been entrusted to one "Ptolemy" [undesigned]. Said Ptolemy, at an assembly gathered by Salome and Alexas in the Jericho amphitheater, first read an epistle providing payments to the military and then Herod's testament. It was Ptolemy's duty to take Herod's ring to Caesar for confirmation of Herod's testamentary settlements.

[c. 3 b.c.e.?-- Year of betrothal of Mary [A] to Joseph [A] if Jesus' birth is placed c. 2 b.c.

[? -- Quirinius census?

[c. 2 b.c.e. -- Alternate year suggested for birth of Jesus and his mother's offering at temple 40 days later;⁸⁹ followed by Herod order and escape to Egypt as described above.

[c. 1 b.c.e. or 1 c.e. -- Year of Herod's death if based on an alternate eclipse.]⁹⁰

Archelaus, King-designate

⁸⁷ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A (and Appendix 4C for Zechariah).

⁸⁸ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

⁸⁹ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

⁹⁰ Refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

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Archelaus arranged a distinguished funeral and invoked a seven-day mourning period.

Archelaus held an assembly at the temple, solicited the people’s good will, and stated that, although “the army would have put the diadem on [him] at Jericho,” he would not accept it until “the superior lords should have given him a complete title to the kingdom.” Archelaus listened and made no contradictions to clamours for release of prisoners and tax reforms. Archelaus “proposed...to go to Rome immediately to look after Caesar’s determination about him.”

Toward evening, however, crowds gathered, lamenting the murders of Judas, Matthais, etc. (above, following 4 b.c.) and demanding punishments (of whom is not stated). “[I]n the first place” they demanded that Archelaus “deprive that high priest 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.”

Eleazar (“son of Boethus;”
“brother of Joazar”),
⁹¹
High Priest

A general sent by Archelaus to negotiate temporary suspension of other matters was stoned and driven away from the temple, and other intermediaries subsequently sent by Archelaus were treated similarly.

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 sent by Archelaus, with orders to use force if needed, was assaulted; the tribune and some soldiers were wounded by the rebels.

Archelaus “sent his whole army upon them”--“on the sudden, as they were offering their sacrifices”--many footmen through the city and horsemen, 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 left his brother Philip “as governor of all things belonging both to his own family and to the public” and “went down to the sea-side” to depart for Rome. He was accompanied by “his mother⁹² and friends, Poplas [undesigned], Ptolemy,⁹³ Nicolaus, and Salome I with “her children and many of her kindred.” (For the time being, Salome I behaved as if she supported Archelaus.)

At Caesarea, Archelaus met up with “Sabinus, Caesar’s steward[/”procurator”] for Syrian affairs,” who was “making haste into Judea to preserve Herod’s effects.” Syrian president Varus, however, whom Archelaus had summoned, “restrained” Sabinus and elicited a promise that Sabinus would “neither seize upon any of the castles that were among the Jews, nor...seal up the

⁹¹ Textwise in *Josephus* this appointment would appear to be later--Archelaus “accused Joazar...of assisting the seditious, and took away the high priesthood from him, and put Eleazar his [half?-] brother in his place.”

⁹² ?Yet it appears Archelaus’ mother did not sail with him?--see below, where it is reported she traveled with Antipas.

⁹³ It is unclear but appears that this Ptolemy, who went with Archelaus as far as the sea-side, is the same Ptolemy, “brother of Nicolaus,” who went to Rome with Antipas, not Archelaus (below *at fn.* 94).

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treasures in them."⁹⁴

Antipas, Archelaus' brother, also set sail for Rome, set upon obtaining the government on the basis that Herod's penultimate testament was the valid one, which claim Salome I and "many of Archelaus' kindred" had promised to support. ("Ireneus, the orator," "intrusted with the affairs of the kingdom," "had prevailed over advisers who had urged Antipas to yield to his elder brother."

Antipas was accompanied by his mother⁹⁵ and Ptolemy, "the brother of Nicolaus,...now zealous for Antipas."

At Rome, Archelaus provided Caesar Octavian[/Augustus] in writing with the basis of his claim to the throne, and with Herod's testament and ring, and a monetary accounting. Caesar noted the complexities of settling the kingdom, and "understood that Antipas had also sent letters to lay claim to the kingdom." Caesar also reviewed letters from Varus and from Sabinus (the latter lauded Archelaus).

When Antipas arrived at Rome "inclinations...of...Archelaus's kindred who hated him were removed to Antipas," if they should be forced to accept a monarchy, "although in the first place every one rather desired to live under their own laws" "under a Roman governor." "Salome, and those with her," organized their case against Archelaus and delivered it to Caesar.

Caesar summoned "the principal persons among the Romans." In the "first seat" sat "Caius, the son of [Marcus] Agrippa [Vipsanius⁹⁶] and of Julia [#4] his [Caesar Octavian's] daughter [by Scribonia]."

Antipater IV, Salome I's son, spoke for the Antipas faction; Nicolaus, for Archelaus'. Among the main issues were (a) "the slaughter in the temple" (Nicolaus said it could not have been avoided; that the slain were enemies of Caesar also); and (b) whether Herod's last testament could or could not be relied upon.

Caesar ruled in Archelaus' favor (*Josephus* relates, however, that Caesar privately wondered if he should not instead part the kingdom among the various heirs).⁹⁷

Letters then came from Varus informing Caesar "of the revolt of the Jews; for after Archelaus was sailed, the whole nation was in a tumult." Varus had "restrained...for the most part...this sedition, which was a great one," then returned to Antioch, leaving one legion of soldiers at Jerusalem. But Sabinus, "Caesar's procurator, [who] staid behind...made use of them," and in his "extraordinary covetousness" oppressed the people and "zealously pressed on the search after the king's money." "On the approach of pentecost⁹⁸ ...tens of thousands of men got together"--"a great number...of Galileans, and Idumeans, and many men from Jericho, and others who had passed over the river Jordan," "but the people that naturally belonged to Judea itself were above the rest, both in number, and in the alacrity of the men;" all most zealous to assault Sabinus. 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

⁹⁴ Sabinus tarried, however, at Caesarea; and as soon as Archelaus had sailed and Varus had returned to Antioch, Sabinus went to Jerusalem, seized the palace, and then publicly called for inventory and accounting from all "the keepers of the garrisons" and "the stewards" who had charge of Herod's effects, and assumed possession of the citadels. Their governors, however, "not unmindful of...commands laid upon them by Archelaus...continued to guard them, and said the custody of them rather belonged to Caesar than to Archelaus."

⁹⁵ See fn. 92.

⁹⁶ Refer to Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A, "Explorative Chart, Roman Ruling Families," (3).

⁹⁷ Before Caesar declared his decision, "Malthace, Archelaus's mother, fell into a distemper and died of it."

⁹⁸ the 50th day from Passover."

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the western part of the city, where the king's palace was...to besiege the Romans, and to enclose them on all sides." Sabinus sent repeated messages for help to Varus; but "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 kept the palace surrounded.

Various factions formed, as there continued "great disturbances in the country...in many places." "[A] great many" of the monarchy's party deserted from the Romans; in Sebaste, 3000 men and their captains deserted to them. In Idumaea, 2000 of Herod's disbanded veteran soldiers fought the monarchy party (led by Achiabus, Herod's first cousin). One (Ezekiel-) Judas (who had "ambitious desire" to attain the kingship), led a "multitude...[from] about Sepphoris in the Galilee" on a break-in of the royal armory. In Peraea, one Simon, a former "slave" of Herod, burned down and plundered the Jericho palace, "was declared to be a king" by "a certain number [who] stood by him, but lost his force (and his head, *literally*) 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 "put a diadem on his head," slaying "a great many both of the Romans and of the king's forces."

"And thus did...great and wild fury spread itself over the nation, because they had no king..., and because those foreigners who came to reduce the seditions...on the contrary set them more in a flame, because of the injuries...and the avaricious management of their affairs."

Varus assembled a major expedition and ordered that he be met by "several auxiliary forces which...kings or certain of the tetrarchs afforded." "Aretas...brought a great army of horse and foot.;" and 1500 auxiliaries were collected at Berytus as Varus passed through. Varus divided his forces into companies. One went into the Galilee and took Sepphoris, while Varus, enroute to Jerusalem, proceeded via Samaria. "[A]ll places were full of fire and slaughter."

At Jerusalem, Varus ended the people's siege and "made their camps disperse. "[T]he Jerusalem Jews"/"citizens" received Varus and asserted that the warring had resulted from the conflux of strangers, and without their approbation, in that "they were on the side of the Romans, and besieged together with them."

Varus had the country searched for rebels, caught "great numbers," dismissed some but crucified "about 2000." Some "10,000 men still in arms" in Idumaea delivered themselves up to Varus "by the advice of Achiabus...before it came to a battle."

Varus left the former legion as a garrison at Jerusalem, returned to Antioch, and sent "several" captured commanders to Caesar Octavian. Caesar "gave orders that certain of the king's relations--for some of those that were among them were Herod's kinsmen" should be put to death, "because they had engaged in a war against a king of their own family." ("[T]he several [undesignatable] relations of Herod who had been among these men in this war were the only persons whom he [Caesar] punished.")

After Varus' return to Antioch, Archelaus, still at Rome, "had new sources of trouble come upon him, " for Varus had permitted "the nation to send" "an embassy of the Jews"--"fifty" ambassadors--to "petition for the liberty of living by their own laws." They were joined by "above 8000 of the Jews that were at Rome already."

Caesar held council. "The multitude of the Jews 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 brother Philip," also to come ("out of Syria)--principally, to help Archelaus; but "if...any change happen in the form of government...that he [Philip] might have his share."

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The ambassadors, in their plea for dissolution of the monarchy, described the viciousness and injustices under Herod and alleged that Archelaus already had evidenced, even before his dominion had been established, that he was cut of the same cloth. The ambassadors desired that their territory “might be added to Syria, and be put under the authority of such presidents/[Roman “commanders”]...as should be sent.” Nicolaus, on the other side, claimed it was the willful lawlessness in the nation that had precipitated the temple incident, and that it was lame now to use unpunished acts of Archelaus’ dead father against him.

A few days later Caesar Octavian ruled as follows:

- (a) Archelaus was not confirmed as king; he instead was made “ethnarch of the one half of that [country] which had been subject to Herod,” with the proviso that if he proved himself through virtuous governance he would receive full royal dignity. Archelaus would receive the annual tribute of Idumaea, Judaea and Samaria. (Samaria was to be relieved of one-fourth of its tribute for having not joined in revolts.) The cities of Strato’s Tower, Sebaste, Joppa and Jerusalem were also made subject (including their tribute) to Archelaus. Archelaus annual revenues were 600 talents.
- (b) Caesar removed the “Grecian” cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos to the province of Syria.
- (c) The other half of Herod’s former kingdom was divided between Antipas and Philip as tetrarchs. Antipas would receive the tribute of Peraea and Galilee (revenues of 200 talents); Philip, of 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) , a royal residence at Askelon/Ascalon (which, however, remained in Archelaus’ ethnarchy), and 500,000 coined silver.
- (e) Caesar married “Herod’s two virgin daughters⁹⁹ ...to Pheroras’s sons.”

Subsequently Caesar dealt with “a certain young man” who claimed to be the secretly survived Alexander III. For a time he was accepted as so by a large number of people, but ultimately he confessed to Caesar that he was an imposter.

Archelaus was married to “Miriamne [IV?].”

High priest Eleazar did not “abide long in the high priesthood...Jesus, the son of Sie, being put in his [Eleazar’s] room while he was still living.”

c. 3 c.e.¹⁰⁰ [Sie-] Jesus, High Priest;
Archelaus, Ethnarch;
Antipas and Philip, Tetrarchs.

At some point, Archelaus had divorced or did divorce an unspecified “Miriamne” (IV?)--“then” his wife--and married Glaphyra [B], the widow of Alexander III, who had become a widow again upon the death of a second husband, Juba, king of Lybia.

When Glaphyra “was come into Judea, and had been there for a little while,” she narrated [to unnamed person or persons] a dream she had 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 from what she died.)

⁹⁹ Taken to be Roxana and Salome III, daughters, respectively, of Phaedra and Elpis.

¹⁰⁰ Depending on the year taken for Herod’s death--refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

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c.e.

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[Between

6 and 8 c.e. Jesus was 12 years old¹⁰¹ --if his birth is placed between 6 and 4 b.c.e.]

c. 6¹⁰² [I]n the tenth [or "ninth"] year of Archelaus's government, both his brethren and the principal men of Judea and Samaria... accused him before Caesar," of immoderate rule. Caesar summoned Archelaus to Rome, and "upon hearing...banished him...[to] Vienna...and took his money away from him."
"Archelaus's country was laid to the province of Syria."
It appears that at some point Joazar regained the high priesthood, "which dignity had been conferred on him by the multitude."¹⁰³

[Boethus-] Joazar, High Priest

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." "Coponius...was sent together with him, to have the supreme power over the Jews.

c. 6 "Coponius 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." "Coponius...was sent as a procurator, having the power of...death put into his hands by Caesar."

Procurator Years as Commonly Given¹⁰⁴

Coponius, Procurator
[Boethus-] Joazar, High priest *continued*

6 - 9 c.e.

Under Coponius' administration, the "Jews" took the "report of a taxation heinously," but were persuaded by the "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 sect...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."
[Josephus here provides a detail of the three other sects--Essen, Sadducee and Pharisee.¹⁰⁵] According to Josephus, "the

¹⁰¹ Mary [A] and Joseph [A] went "according to year into Jerusalem to the festival of the Passover." And when he [Jesus] came to be of years twelve," they also went, "according to the custom." *Luke 2:41-42.*

¹⁰² Estimations of Herod the Great's death c. 4 b.c.e. and Archelaus' original confirmation as king c. 3 c..e. correspond well with the alternately reported 6 c.e. as the "ninth" year of Archelaus.

¹⁰³ The statement does not appear until *AJ XVIII.II.1*; however Joazar also is mentioned as high priest when Coponius commenced taxations--see below.

¹⁰⁴ *Source: Ency., en passim.*

¹⁰⁵ *Refer to Appendix 4B, III, commencing at citation AJ XVII.XIII.3-5, XVIII.I.1; Wars II.VII.3-4, II.VIII.1.*

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fourth sect of Jewish philosophy [of which] Judas the Galilean was the author...agree[d] in all...things with the Pharisaic notions but...ha[d] an inviolable attachment to liberty and sa[id] that [Tet.] 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]his immovable resolution of theirs is well known...”¹⁰⁶

c. 6¹⁰⁷ “[T]he taxings were...made in the thirty-seventh year of Caesar’s [Octavian’s] victory over Antony at Actium.” When the taxings “were come to a conclusion,” Cyrenius/Quirinius deposed high priest Joazar, “which dignity [previously] had been conferred on him by the multitude, and he appointed Ananus, the son of Seth, to be high priest.”

Coponius, Procurator, *continued*
[Seth-] Ananus [/Annas], High Priest

At the time of a Passover during Coponius’ administration, “some Samaritans” defiled the temple (they “threw dead bodies in the cloisters”); “the Jews afterward excluded [Samaritans] out of the temple, which they had not used to do at such festivals.” “A little after which accident Coponius returned to Rome.” Coponius was replaced as procurator by Marcus Ambivius.

Marcus Ambibulus/Ambivius, Procurator 9 - 12 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.”

[c. 10 c.e. Jesus was 12 years old--if his birth is placed c. 2 b.c.e.¹⁰⁸]

c. 12¹⁰⁹ Marcus Ambivius was replaced as procurator by Annus Rufus.

Annus Rufus, Procurator 12 - 15 c.e.

At Rome, Agrippa I at some point became tutor of Augustus’ grandnephew, [Caius] Caligula.
14 Caesar Octavian/[Augustus] died. He was succeeded by “Tiberius [CDN], his wife [Livia A’s/] Julia’s son.”

¹⁰⁶ “nor am I afraid,” Josephus concluded, “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 would be “in [procurator] Gessius Florus’s time [c. 64-66 c.e.] that the nation [would be] grow[n] mad with this distemper,” “to make them revolt [totally] from the Romans.”

¹⁰⁷ This year is taken from the conclusion of section (2) of Detail A to this Appendix 4A.

¹⁰⁸ Refer to fn. 83.

¹⁰⁹ Ambivius’ tenure generally has been fixed at some three years.

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Claudius Drusus Nero Tiberius [CDN],
Emperor

"[W]hen the Roman empire was translated to Tiberius...both Herod [Antipas] and Philip continued in their tetrarchies." (*Wars* II.IX.1-2.)

Caesar Tiberius *CDN* "sent Valerius Gratus to be procurator of Judea...to succeed Annius Rufus."
Gratus "deprived Ananus of the high priesthood and appointed Ismael, the son of Phabi."

c. 14/15 Valerius Gratus, Procurator 15 - 26 c.e.
[Phabi-] Ismael, High Priest

After "a little time," Gratus removed Ishmael, also, and "ordained Eleazar, the son of [that] Ananus, who had been high priest before, to be high priest."

[Ananus/Annas-] Eleazar, High Priest

Eleazar held the high priest office "for a year." Gratus replaced him with "Simon, the son of Camithus."

c. 16/17 [Camithus-] Simon, High Priest

High priest Simon also "possessed that dignity no longer than a year; Joseph Caiaphas was made his successor."

c. 17/18 [? -] Joseph Caiaphas, High Priest

[Ananus/] Annas "was...father-in-law of the Caiaphas, who was chief priest." *John* 18:13. Antipas, who "was in great favour with Tiberius [*CDN*]," built "a city...Tiberius...in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesareth [sea of Galilee], which became the residence of both "strangers [and] a great number of Galileans," some "of condition" and some "poor." Antipas freed some persons and built homes for some at his own expense, in that "many sepulchres were to be taken away [a "transgress (of)...ancient laws"]" to make room for the city.

18 The Roman Germanicus defeated the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Commagena for Rome; they became Roman provinces.

c. 25/26 Gratus returned to Rome after having been procurator "eleven years." Caesar Tiberius [*CDN*] replaced Gratus with Pontius Pilate as procurator.

Pontius Pilate, Procurator 26 - 36 c.e.

[*Note*: No attempt has been made in what follows to sequence locations and travels of Jesus, as they are reported disparately in the first four books of the *New Testament*. Some events

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tentatively have been placed where they appear to coincide well with major political figures or circumstances.]

“Pilate...removed the [Roman] army from Caesarea to take their winter quarters at Jerusalem.” By night, there was conveyed into the city “those images of Caesar that are 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--on his “judgment seat...in the market place,” surrounded by soldiers--denied the request and threatened “immediate death, unless they would leave off.” However, when the people 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.”

King Phraates of the Parthians died.¹¹⁰ About this time “Antiochus, the king of Commagene,” died also.¹¹¹ During this general timeframe, Antipas, at Rome, stayed with “Herod [B]...his [half-] brother,.. son of the high priest [Boethus-] Simon’s daughter [Miriamne II].” Herod [B] was married to “Herodias...the daughter of Aristobulus [IV]...and the sister of Agrippa [I] the Great.” Antipas “fell in love” with Herodias. He, however, already “was married to the [unnamed] daughter of Aretas [king of Arabia], and had lived with her a great while.”

Macherus, which was “situated in the borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod [Antipas],” “was subject to Aretas.” Meanwhile, Pilate’s procuratorship was experiencing problems. One incident was connected with use of “sacred treasure which is called corban” to build aqueducts. Pilate went to Jerusalem and held a tribunal, where “many ten thousands of the people got together.” Pilate had concealed soldiers among them, whose crowd control consisted of “much greater blows than Pilate had commanded. “[M]any perished...[and] the multitude...astonished at the calamity...held their peace.” “And thus an end was put to this sedition.”

Roman general Vitellius,¹¹² “with great presents of money,” contrived to have the kings of Iberia and Albania allow Scythians passage through their territories to fight the Parthians. Parthia was filled with war, its principal men (including one of the king’s sons, also named Artabanus) were slain. “Armenia was again [temporarily] taken from the Parthians.” “Artabanus” “made his escape to the upper provinces.” Vitellius sought to have him assassinated; but Artabanus “raised a great army...fought with his enemies, and retained his principality.”

“When Tiberius [CDN] had heard of these things, he desired to have a league of friendship made between him and Artabanus. An agreement was reached at negotiations held at the mid-point of a bridge over the Euphrates. Artabanus gave his son, Darius, as hostage, and “many presents” (one of which was a Jew “by birth [named] Eleazar,” who was over “seven cubits” tall

¹¹⁰ *Josephus* gives considerable detail (AJ XVIII.II.4ff.) concerning ensuing Parthian dynastic events, involving Roman intervention by general Vorones, who was defeated by Artabanus, “king of Media” (but also of the “race of Arsaces”). Eventually Artabanus took Armenia and gave it to Orodes, one of his sons.

¹¹¹ Both Commagene’s people and nobility sent ambassadors; the former were “desirous to be under kings, as their fathers had been;” the latter, “the men of power, were desirous that their form of government might be changed into that of a province.” Rome’s senate sent “Germanicus...to settle the affairs of the East.” Following this, *Josephus* relates certain “shameful” events occurring at Rome’s temple of Isis, involving Pauline (wife of Saturninus) and one Decius Mundus.

¹¹² Lucius Vitellius, “father of the emperor” Aulus Vitellus, who would hold a part of imperial military power but briefly (vs. Otho) c. 69 a.d./c.e. *Ency.* 107; L 646.

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and called a giant). Vitellius next went to Antioch.

Tetrarch Antipas apparently assisted Vitellius with his mission, for he was "desirous to give Caesar the first information that they had obtained hostages."

After the Parthian mission, Antipas sent letters to Caesar that described all the particulars and left nothing for Vitellius to report; Vitellius "kept up a secret anger...till he could be revenged."¹¹³

In Rome, an unnamed "Jew...driven away from his own country by an accusation," "professed to instruct men in the wisdom of the laws of Moses." He and three partners moved Fulvia, [another?] wife of Saturninus, who had "embraced the Jewish religion," to contribute riches to Jerusalem's temple, which treasure they spent instead on themselves. Caesar Tiberius, following an inquiry made at the behest of Saturninus, "ordered all the Jews 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."

Meanwhile, Antipas apparently had decided to break his alliance with Arabia's king Aretas. Antipas "ventured to talk to Herodias about a marriage between them," to which she responded favorably. It is not said where Herodias [wife of Herod B] was living at the time; but it was agreed that she would "change her habitation, and come to him as soon as he should return from [a journey he was going to make, to] Rome." "One article of this marriage...was that he should divorce Areta's [unnamed] daughter."

29 "John, the son of Zechariah," "came into all country around of the Jordan, preaching," "in year...five and tenth of the governorship of Tiberius Caesar," in the days of "governor Pontius Pilate of the Judea,..tetrarch of the Galilee,..Herod [Antipas]...Philip...tetrarch of Ituraea and of Trachonitis...and chief priest Annas[/Ananus] and Caiaphas." *Luke 3:1-3.*

Unknown to Antipas, Aretas' daughter had advance knowledge of his plans. She had asked and obtained Antipas' permission to go to Macherus. She "soon came to her father," and told him of Herod's [Antipas'] intentions. Aretas and Antipas "raised armies on both sides...and sent their generals to fight."

Tetrarch Antipas feared Zechariah's son John, who had castigated Antipas' marriage to Herodias. Antipas "feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it into his power and inclination to raise a rebellion," for the people "had gone in crowds about him...greatly moved by his words." (Antipas was "being willing him [John] to kill [but] he feared the crowd, because as prophet him [John] they were having."¹¹⁴)

"Herod having sent off took hold of the John and bound him in prison"["Herod having laid hold of the John, bound and in prison."¹¹⁵

At some point, Herodias influenced Antipas to support her [half-?] brother Agrippa I, who had fallen on hard times. Antipas made him "magistrate" of Tiberias.

"[T]here was about this time Jesus.... He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles."¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Which opportunity would present itself later, after Caius (Caligula) succeeded in the Roman government.

¹¹⁴ *Matthew 14:5.*

¹¹⁵ *Mark 6:17; Matthew 14:3.*

¹¹⁶ *AJ XVIII.III.3.* This passage in *Josephus*, or portions of it, has/have been argued as being interpolated falsely.

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Tiberius

- [?] Jesus "was peaching onto the synagogues of Judea." *Luke* 4:44.]
Jesus, "having heard...that John was given over, he retired into the Galilee. ...[H]e took up residence into Capernaum...beside the sea in districts of Zebulun and Naphtali."¹¹⁷ *Matthew* 4:12-13, *Mark* 1:14, *Luke* 3:19-20.
(Jesus, aware that the Pharisees had heard that he was gathering more disciples than John had had, he left "Judaea" and "went away again into the Galilee." *John* 4:1-4.)
"Jesus...having known that they [the crowd] were about to be coming and to be snatching him in order that they might make king...withdrew." *John* 6:15. "But it was necessary...to be traversing through the Samaria" (in the process he rested at a city called Sychar "near the field that Jacob gave to Joseph his son." *John* 4:1-4.)
"[M]any believed into him [Jesus] of the Samaritans." "After...two days he went out from there into the Galilee,..[whence] received him the Galileans, all having seen as many [things] as he did in Jerusalem in the festival." *John* 4:39, 43.
John in prison received reports of events from Jesus' followers. John from prison sent a message to Jesus, to which Jesus responded. *Matthew* 11:2, *Luke* 7:19.
Under Pilate's procuratorship, neither did "the Samaritans...escape without tumults." Armed men under an unnamed leader had assembled near Mount Gerizzim and a village named Tirathaba. There, troops of Pilate had fallen on them; "some of them they slew...others of them they put to flight, and took a great many of alive, the principal of which, and also the most potent of those that fled...Pilate ordered to be slain."
"[M]any tax collectors...came...reclining with Jesus," after [textwise] he had crossed back west from a sojourn to "the country of the Gadarenes" and "went into his own city [Nazareth]." *Matthew* 8:28, 9:1, 9:10. "Levi...[son of] Alphaeus...followed him" (*Mark* 2:14) "and made reception feast great Levi to him in the house of him; and was crowd much of tax collectors and others who were with him." *Luke* 5:29.
Differences occurs in the accounts of where and how Antipas disposed of John:
(a) According to *Josephus*, John was "sent a prisoner, out of Herod's [Antipas] suspicious temper, to Macherus,..and...there put to death."
(b) Herod on his birthday made a "supper...to the greatest men of him and to the chiliarchs and to the first of the Galilee." There, an unnamed daughter of Herodias was prompted by her mother to ask for John's beheading as the favor Antipas promised her for dancing for him.¹¹⁸
(c) Antipas "having sent he beheaded John in the prison;" Antipas "having sent off...body guardsman he [Antipas] gave the order.... And [the guardsman] having gone off he beheaded him in the prison."¹¹⁹
"[S]ome...of the tetrarchy of Philip joined with Aretas' army," and Antipas' army was destroyed. "Now some of the Jews thought the destruction...came...justly...as a punishment of which he did against John, that was called the *Baptist*[/baptizer]; for Herod [Antipas] slew him."
Antipas wrote to Caesar Tiberius, who, "very angry at the attempt made by Aretas, wrote to Vitellius [now "president of Syria"] to

¹¹⁷ Refer to Book One, Introductory Summary, following fn. 56.

¹¹⁸ *Matthew* 14:6ff.; *Mark* 6:21ff.

¹¹⁹ *Matthew* 14:10; *Mark* 6:27.

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- make war upon him," and either to return Aretas to Caesar in bonds or send Caesar his head. Vitellius took two legions "and made haste for Petra." Vitellius acquiesced to a request by the "principal men" that his army, bearing its unacceptable ensigns, "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."
- 32? Midway through the festival of tabernacles at Jerusalem, Jesus taught/discoursed at the temple. *John 7:10ff.*
"Were saying some of the Jerusalemites, 'Not this one they are seeking to kill?'" *John 7:25.*
"Sent forth the chief priests and the Pharisees subordinates in order that they might get hold of him." *John 7:32.*
At the end of the festival, when the officers returned without having taken Jesus into custody, they responded to their superiors' query, "Never spoke thus man." The "Pharisees" replied to the effect that the "crowd" was ignorant, and that not anyone of the "rulers" and Pharisees "believed into him." "Nicodemus...having come toward him [Jesus] previously, cautioned to the effect that "our law" does not judge a man "before first hearing from him and it is known what he is doing." *John 7:32, 37, 45ff.*
- 32? Winter, festival of dedication at Jerusalem, Jesus 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." *John 10:22, 39-40.*
Jesus journeyed "through...cities and villages teaching [while] making for...Jerusalem." "Were going with...him crowds many." *Luke 13:22, 25.*
"And it occurred in the...going into Jerusalem...he was traversing through midst of Samaria and of Galilee." *Luke 17:11.*
"[C]ame...some Pharisees saying to him, "'Get out and be gone from here, because Herod [Antipas] is willing you to kill.'" *Luke 13:31.*
"[T]herefore Jesus not yet outspokenly was walking about in the Jews [*sic.*]." "But he went off...into the country near the desolate, into Ephraim...city, and there he remained.... Now the passover...was near," and people arriving in Jerusalem looked for Jesus, "saying with one another in the temple...'What is it seeming to you? That not he might come into the festival?' Had given...the chief priests 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." *John 11:54-57.*
"Was...drawing near...the Passover. And were seeking the chief priests and the scribes...how they might take up him [Jesus], they were fearing for the people." *Luke 22:1-2.* "...Judas...being called Iscariot...having gone off, he talked with the chief priests and captains the how to them he might give beside him." Upon an offer of money, Judas "consented" to find a time "without crowd" around for Jesus to be seized." *Luke 22:3ff.*
- c. 33 Jesus arrived at Bethany either two or six days before passover.¹²⁰
While at Bethany, Greeks [among] those coming up... [to the] festival...approached [tetrarch?] Philip...saying, 'Lord, we are willing the Jesus to see.'" *John 12:20ff.* (It is unclear whether the requested meeting took place.)
On an unspecified day after his arrival at Bethany, Jesus "entered Jerusalem [and] was made to quake all the city saying, 'Who is this?' The...crowds were saying, 'This is the prophet Jesus...from Nazareth of the Galilee.' And entered 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." *Matthew*

¹²⁰ Refer to Appendix 4C, Attachment 1, Detail A, The Anointer, B.

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21:10-13. "[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." *Mark* 11:15. "And having entered into the temple he started to be throwing out [those] selling, etc." *Luke* 20:45.

[*Note*: Either another, identical disruption was caused by Jesus some years previous, or the *John* report at 2:13-25 is missequenced in that book.]

"[H]e was teaching in the temple; the...chief priests and the scribes were seeking him to destroy also the first [rulers] of the people and not they were finding the what they might do, the people for all was hanging out of him...." *Luke* 19:47.

[Jesus received a night visit by Nicodemus, seeking elucidation of Jesus' beliefs. *John* 3:1ff.

The sequencing of that event depends also on the question referenced in the above note, in that it is reported with the *John* account of temple disruption.]

Jesus said, "you know that two days from now the passover occurs.... 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." *Matthew* 26:1-5, *Mark* 14:1-2, *Luke* 22:1-2 [22:54]. "Led together...the chief priests and the Pharisees Sanhedrin," questioning, "What are we doing because [of] this the man.... If ever we should let go off him thus, all will believe unto him, and will come the Romans and they will lift up of us.... One of them, 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." *John* 11:47, 49-50, 53.

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." (In response to questions regarding payment of Roman taxes, Jesus gave the well-known response.) *Luke* 20:20-25.

Jesus and his band spent the night before the day of his execution at "a spot...Gethsemane"--"he went as custom into the Mount of Olives," "he went according to custom into the Mount of Olives," "Jesus came out together with the disciples...[to] other side of the winter torrent of the Cedars where was garden"--where Judas 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 he was arrested. *Matthew* 26:36ff., *Mark* 14:32ff., *Luke* 22:39ff., *John* 8:1ff.

"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."

"[H]aving been seized the Jesus [was] led off toward Caiaphas...where the scribes and the older men were led together," and discussion was held. At its conclusion high priest Caiaphas alleged Jesus was guilty of blasphemy, and asked, "What to you seems it?"--to which the others responded, "Held in of death he is." *Matthew* 26:57-66. "Caiaphas...counseled to the Jews that it is bearing together one man to die over the people." *John* 18:12.

"And as it became day, was led together the body of elders of the people, chief priests both and scribes, and they led away him into the Sanhedrin," and questioned him. *Luke* 22:66ff.

"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." *Matthew* 27:11. "[E]arly in the morning consultation having made the

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“LOCALLY”

ROME
Tiberius

chief priests and the older men and scribes and whole the Sanhedrin... Jesus [they] gave over to Pilate.” *Mark 15:1, Luke 23:1.* “[T]hey are leading...Jesus from the Caiaphas into the praetorium,” where Jesus was accused of “turning through the nation...and forbidding taxes to Caesar,” and his accusers claimed they would not have brought him thus to Pilate had Jesus not been a “wrong-doer.” *Luke 23:2-3.*

“Pilate...inquired...if the man Galilean is, and having ascertained that out of the authority of Herod [Antipas] he is,..sent him toward Herod [Antipas], being also him in Jerusalem in these...days.” *Luke 23:6.*

Antipas “rejoiced,” having wanted for some time to see Jesus, and spoke at him at length; but Jesus “answered nothing to him,” as the priests and scribes stood by “vehemently accusing.” 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....” *Luke 23:8-12.*

Jesus was brought a second time to Pilate, with demands that Jesus be impaled.¹²¹ Jesus refused to answer Pilate’s question, whether he was “king of the Jews.” *John 18:28ff.* Pilate said, “take you him you and impale.., I...not am finding in him cause.” They answered, “We law are having, and according to the law [blasphemy] he is owing to die....” *John 19:6-7.* (Pilate also noted that Antipas had found no grounds. *Luke 23:15.*)

Pilate questioned Jesus inside the governor’s palace but still could find no cause. He returned outside and asked--according to the custom of Roman release of a prisoner at passover time-- “[A]re you wishing therefore I should release to you the king of the Jews?,” which offer was declined in favor of one Barabbas. (Pilate asked, “Are you willing...I should lose off to you the king of the Jews? He was knowing...that through envy had given over him the chief priests.” *Mark 15:9-10.*)

Pilate then had Jesus scourged and presented him, saying “not one cause I am finding in him.” (Pilate seemingly was moved by the claim 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.” *John 19:8ff.*)

33 Pilate led Jesus outside of the governor’s palace, “and he sat down upon step into place being said Stone pavement.... Was but preparation of the passover, hour was as sixth.” Pilate 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,” and Pilate then washed his hands in the Roman custom following a judgment.

“Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men...condemned him [Jesus] to the cross.” (*AJ XVIII.III.3*)

?¹²² “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 his death is not related. Philip’s “principality Tiberius took” (“for Philip “died childless”/“left no sons behind him)” and added it to the province of Syria.”

¹²¹ “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. (*Impalement*, see Appendix 4D.)

¹²² Common reliance on Tiberius’ quoted year of reign and assumed date of Herod the Great’s death, to fix the year of Philip’s death, is reflected by *Josephus’* editor’s remark, “[S]ince Herod [the Great] died about September, in the fourth year before the Christian era, and Tiberius began, as is well known, Aug. 19, A.D. 14, it is evident that the thirty-seventh year of Philip, reckoned from his father’s death, was the twentieth of Tiberius, or near the end of A.D. 33...or...in the beginning of the next year, A.D. [C.E.] 34.” (*AJ XVIII.IV.6 fn.*) (Philip died at “Julias--” which “Julias” is not specified; however, Philip as tetrarch had developed Bethsaida into a large city and renamed it “Julias”--see Appendix 4C, *Bethsaida*.)

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Tiberius

[*Note:* There seemingly is a 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, quoted at 44 c.e.]

At Rome, Caesar Tiberius imprisoned Agrippa I.¹²³

Vitellius, entering Jerusalem at [another?] time of a Passover festival, 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. The "Samaritan senate sent an embassy to Vitellius accusing Pilate of murder, claiming that the people at Tirathaba had gone there not "in order to revolt from the Romans, but to escape the violence of Pilate."

During this timeframe, Vitellius "deprived Joseph, who was called Caiaphas, of the high priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus...to succeed him."

(Ananus-) Jonathan, High Priest

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, on order from Tiberius and enroute with two legions to war on Aretas, made a stop at Jerusalem "for three days," during which time he "deprived Jonathan of the high priesthood, and gave it to his brother, Theophilus" ("son of Ananus," AJ XIX.VI.2).

(Ananus -) Theophilus, High Priest

- c. 37 "On the fourth day letters...informed him [Vitellius] of the death of Tiberius. A "few days" before Tiberius died he had "appointed Caius [Caligula; "the fourth emperor"] to be his successor."
The Roman senate conferred imperial office on Caius Caligula.

Caius Caligula

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 of Judea.

¹²³ Refer to Appendix 4B, III, for details of Agrippa I's accumulated indebtednesses and involvements with various Roman personages, which ultimately led to Caesar Tiberius first keeping Agrippa under a type of house arrest and then, finally bound, in prison for the last six months of Tiberius' life.

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"LOCALLY"

ROME
Caligula

Marcellus, Procurator

Caesar Caligula ordered 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."

[?c. 37--death of tetrarch Philip?¹²⁴]

"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," and also "promised" him "the tetrarchy of Lysanias." (Agrippa 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, and appeared...all unexpectedly as a king."

Agrippa I, King

Abetted by Herodias' urgings, Antipas and Herodias sailed to Rome, in that since Caesar Caligula had made Agrippa I, "a private person," a king over Philip's former tetrarchy, Caesar "much more would...advance Antipas" from tetrarch to king.

Meanwhile, Agrippa I sent a servant ahead to Caligula with letters against Antipas and presents; and he himself followed.

Antipas was with Caius Caligula when Agrippa I's letter arrived. Agrippa 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;" and "Caius took that to be sufficient proof of the accusation that he intended to revolt."

Caesar Caius Caligula took Antipas' tetrarchy from him, "gave it by way of addition to Agrippa's kingdom" (together with Antipas' money), and decreed Antipas perpetually banished to Lyons in Gaul ["into Spain"]. (Caligula offered leniency to Herodias on learning she was Agrippa's "sister." She declined out of loyalty to her husband, and Caligula, angry, "sent her with Herod [Antipas] into banishment, and gave her estate to Agrippa [I].")

Note: The *Josephus* narrative, 4B, III, and the timeframe of this volume, essentially end at this point; however some ensuing *Josephus* data, cited independently, is provided below, through the deaths of Caligula, Agrippa I and Herod [A] and into the reigns of Roman emperor Caesar Claudius and Agrippa II. (Brief additional data on subsequent Roman emperors also appears in Appendix 4A, Attachment 1.)

A tumult...at Alexandria," "between the Jewish inhabitants and the Greeks," caused an embassy to Caligula of "three

¹²⁴ Refer to fn. 122 and Note in text.

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“LOCALLY”

ROME
Caligula

ambassadors...out of each party,” the leader of the opposition of the “people of Alexandria” being one Apion, and “the principal of the Jewish embassy” being Philo, “brother of Alexander the alabarch,” whose defense Caligula--“in a rage”--refused to hear. “Hereupon Caius [Caligula]...sent Petronius to be president of Syria and successor...to Vitellius,” with orders to invade Judaea and, if unable to enforce the erection of the emperor’s statue in the temple, “to conquer them by war and then do it.”

Petronius became involved with large assemblies headed by principal men throughout the region, seeking that Caligula be made to reconsider. Petronius finally gave way under their insistence they would preserve their rights and decided to write to Caligula. Dispensation was effected through Agrippa I, who lived at Rome and was in great favor with Caligula. Caligula wrote to Petronius that he could abandon attempting to erect the statue--“This I have granted as a favour to Agrippa.” Caligula received Petronius epistle afterwards; and when he read that “the Jews were very ready to revolt, etc.” if their law was violated by force, Caligula wrote back to Petronius commanding him “to kill himself with his own hands” for not following orders. But by the time Petronius received the letter Caligula was dead. *AJ XVIII.VIII.*

- c. 41 Caligula was assassinated by certain officers of the praetorian guard, “after he had reigned four years, within four months”/“three years and eight months.” *AJ XIX.II.5; Wars II.XI.1.*

“Claudius was hurried away by the armies that were at Rome to take the government upon him; but the senate...went up into the capitol in great numbers, and resolved to oppose Claudius by force, on account of the barbarous treatment they had met with from Caius; and they determined either to settle the [Roman] nation under an aristocracy, as they had of old been governed, or at least to choose by vote such a one for emperor as might be worthy.” Agrippa I was Claudius’ liaison and ambassador before the Senate. Civil war threatened when the soldiers on the Senate’s side walked out. Agrippa I was instrumental in counseling Claudius to restrain those soldiers of his, “who were in a fit of madness against the patricians.” Claudius received the senate into his camp without incident...treated them after an obliging manner, and went out with them...to offer their thank-offerings...proper upon his first coming to the empire.”

c. 40

Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus [TCND],

Claudius “bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod [the Great] Trachonitis and Auranitis, and still besides these that kingdom which was called the kingdom of Lysanias. This gift he declared to the people by a decree...[also] engraved on tables of brass, and to be set up in the capitol.”

Claudius “bestowed...the kingdom of Chalcis” on his [Agrippa I’s] [half?-] brother Herod, who was also his [Agrippa I’s] son-in-law, by marrying Bernice [B].” *Wars II.XI.1-5.*

Agrippa I “removed Theophilus, the son of Ananus, from the high priesthood, and bestowed that honour of his on Simon, the son of Boethus, whose [Boethus’] name was also Cantheras, whose daughter [Miriam II] king Herod [the Great] married....”

“Simon, therefore, had the priesthood with his brethren, and with his father, in like manner as the sons of Simon, the son of Onias, who were three, had it formerly under the government of the Macedonians....” *AJ XIX.VI.2.*

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ROME
Claudius

King Agrippa I *continued*,
with expanded territories.
[Boethus-] Simon [B¹²⁵]/Cantheras,
High Priest.

After settling the high priesthood, Agrippa I released the inhabitants of Jerusalem from "tax upon houses." "But after a little while the young women of Doris" carried a statue of Caesar into "a synagogue of the Jews and erected it there." Agrippa I "accused the people of Doris" before "Publius Petronius...then president of Syria," who issued a letter to the people of Doris that they refrain from "any occasion of sedition or disturbance, but that everyone be allowed to follow their own religious customs," citing and affirming emperor Claudius' edicts "lately caused to be published at Alexandria." (It "was not long before Marcus succeeded Petronius as president of Syria." *AJ* XIX.VI.4.)

"And now Agrippa took the priesthood away from Simon Cantheras, and put Jonathan, the son of Ananus, into it again." But Jonathan declined, saying his brother was more worthy. "So the king...passed by Jonathan and...bestowed the high priesthood upon Matthias."

King Agrippa I, *continued*
(Ananus -) Matthias, High Priest

Agrippa I "was by nature very beneficent...[and] loved to live continually at Jerusalem...[and kept himself entirely pure." He repaired the city walls and took to widening them extensively, but was stopped by emperor Claudius, who felt some intimidation. Agrippa built also "in many places," particularly at Berytus, where he built a theater and "showed...magnificence" on it by exhibiting there "the several antagonists...; no fewer than 700 men to fight with 700 other men; and allotted all the malefactors he had for this exercise, that both the malefactors might receive their punishment, and that this operation of war might be a recreation in peace." *AJ* XIX.VII.3-5.

Afterwards, Agrippa I "removed to Tiberias...Galilee," and met with his brother, Herod [A], king Antiochus of Commagena, king Emessa of Sampsigeramus, king Cotys of Lesser Armenia, and king Polemo of Pontus; and while the kings were guests of Agrippa, Syria's president Marcus went "thither." The visiting kings rode along with Agrippa in his chariot as he went to greet Marcus, who, taken aback by the alliance apparent, ordered his subordinates to induce the visiting kings "to go their ways home without further delay." This was very ill-taken by Agrippa, who after that became his [Marcus'] enemy.

"And now" Agrippa I "took the high priesthood away from Matthias, and made Elioneus, the son of Cantheras, high priest in his stead." *AJ* XIX.VIII.1.

[Cantheras-] Elioneus,
High Priest

¹²⁵ ?It appears that this is a second *Simon*--son of (Boethus-) Simon?--for, according to the preceding quotation, this Simon [B] had the high priesthood "with his brethren [Joazar and Eleazar]...in like manner as the [three] sons of [Onias-] Simon," "and with his father [Simon A]?"

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c.e.

“LOCALLY”

ROME
Claudius

- c. 44 Agrippa I died “in the 54th year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign, for he reigned four years under Caius Caesar [Caligula], three of them were of Philip’s tetrarchy only; and the fourth that he had that [other] of Herod added to it; and he reigned, besides those [four years], three years under the reign of Claudius Caesar; in which time he reigned over the forementioned countries, and also had Judea added to them, as well as Samaria and Cesarea.” “But before the multitude were acquainted with Agrippa’s having expired, Herod [A] the king of Chalcis, and Helcias the master of his horse and the king’s friend, secured the death of Agrippa’s general Silas, “who would be their enemy.” *AJ XIX.IX.2-3.*

Claudius was disposed to send as Agrippa I’s successor his son, Agrippa II (whom Claudius had raised) but was dissuaded by counsel. He effected an exchange with Agrippa II of Agrippa I’s kingdom for some provinces and resumed Judaea as a procuratorial province, sending Fadus as procurator.

“Judaea” again as a procuratorial province.
Cuspius Fadus, Procurator

44 - 46 c.e.

Fadus’ first task involved an uprising in Peraea, where a border dispute had provoked Jews dwelling there to take up arms against the people of Philadelphia[/Rabbah/Amman].

One Theudas, claiming to be a prophet, persuaded many people to follow him to the Jordan,” (where is not specified, but at a point where he claimed he would miraculously “afford them an easy passage over it.”) But Fadus “did not permit them to make any advantage of his wild attempt [and] sent a troop of horsemen out...who...slew many of them, and took many of them alive, including Theudas,” whose head was cut off and carried to Jerusalem.

After disposing of the perpetrators,¹²⁶ Fadus requested “the high priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem” to lay up the sacred vestments in the tower of Antonia under control of the Romans. The priests, etc. asked and were given leave to send ambassadors to petition Claudius at Rome that they be allowed to retain control of the “holy vestments.” On the counsel of Agrippa II, Claudius granted the ambassadors’ request, in writing (“That they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power”).

“Herod [A], also, the [half?-] brother of Agrippa, who then possessed of the royal authority over Chalcis, petitioned Claudius Caesar for the authority over the Temple, and the money of the sacred treasure, and the choice of high priests, and obtained all that he petitioned for.”

“Accordingly, Herod [A] removed the last high priest, called Cantheras, and bestowed that dignity on his successor, Joseph, son of Camus”[“son of Camydus”]. *AJ XX.I.3, XX.V.1-2.*

Herod [A; King of Chalcis],
Governor of the Temple;
[Camus-] Joseph, High Priest.

¹²⁶ Whose names were (Cero-) Comelius, (Theudio-) Trypho, (Nathaniel-) Dorotheus, and (John-) John.

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"LOCALLY"

ROME
Claudius

"Then came Tiberius Alexander as successor to Fadus; he was the son of Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria...a principal person among all of his contemporaries, both for his family and wealth." XX.V.2.

Tiberius Julius Alexander, Procurator 46 - 48 c.e.

It was under procurators Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander "that great famine happened in Judea, in which queen Helena [of "Adiabene"¹²⁷] bought corn in Egypt at great expense and distributed it to those that were in want." AJ XX.V.2.

"And besides this, the sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain, I mean of that Judas who caused the people to revolt, when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews." "[T]hose sons were James and Simon, whom [Tiberius] Alexander commanded to be crucified." AJ XX.V.2.

"But now Herod [A], king of Chalcis, removed Joseph, the son of Camydus, from the high priesthood and made Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, his successor." AJ XX.V.2.

(Nebedeus-) Ananias, High Priest

"Down that...time thrust upon Herod [A] the king [of Chalcis] the hands to treat badly some of th[ose] from the ecclesias. He took up...James the brother of John to sword.... [H]e added to that with also [Simon] Peter, were but days of the unleavened, whom also having laid hold...put into prison." Acts 12:1-4.

"Herod [A]...departed this life, in the 8th year of the reign of Claudius Caesar."

"And now it was that Cumanus came as successor to Tiberius Alexander." AJ XX.V.2.

Ventidius Cumanus, Procurator¹²⁸ 48 - 52 c.e.

During a Passover, a soldier (one of the Roman regiment guarding the cloisters) insultingly dropped his pants in front of the crowd; in the ensuing tumult "20,000" persons were "pressed to death." Shortly thereafter, an imperial servant was plundered on a public road. Soldiers sent by Cumanus to plunder in retribution a neighboring village seized and destroyed a copy of "the laws of Moses." Cumanus, then at Cesarea, was besought by affronted Jews "in great numbers;" and, to abort the possibility of an outright sedition, Cumanus had the offending officer beheaded. AJ XX.V.2-4.

Also at a festival time, Galilaeans were assaulted while traveling to Jerusalem through the Samaria region. Cumanus stood accused of being bribed by Samaritans against taking punitive action. "The multitude of the Jews," encouraged by Galilaeans, took up arms "to regain their liberty," despite attempts of "their principal men" to desist. Many Samaritan villages were plundered; provoked, Cumanus "marched again out against the Jews...caught them...slew many...and took a great number of

¹²⁷"a province of Assyria now [at the time of printing] Kurdistan;" *Cassell's Latin Dictionary*, Marchant, M.A., J.R.V. and Charles, B.A., Joseph F., Revision, NY, NY: Funk & Wagnalls Co. 1958, p. 12. (Helena's son, king Izates, was an avid follower of The Law.)

¹²⁸"Ventidius Cumanus, governor of Palestine, etc. *Tacit. A.* 13, c. 54." L 637.

Year(s)
c.e.

"LOCALLY"

ROME
Claudius

them alive." Nonetheless, "the principal Samaritans" brought accusations before [then] Syrian president Quadratus at Tyre--the Jews responding that the Samaritans had been the instigators and that Cumanus had been corrupted by gifts. Quadratus went to Samaria; "he supposed that the Samaritans were the authors" of the disturbance. However, when Quadratus was "informed that certain of the Jews were making innovations, he ordered those to be crucified whom Cumanus had taken captives."
After a second hearing at Lydda, Quadratus ordered that "one of the chief of the Jews...Dortus," and "four" innovators with him, be put to death on charges they had persuaded the multitude to a revolt from the Romans. "[B]ut still he sent away Ananias the high priest, and Ananus the commander,¹²⁹ in bonds to Rome, to give an account of what they had done to Claudius Caesar," and sent also "the principal men both of the Samaritans and of the Jews," Cumanus, and Celer the tribune. Quadratus then visited Jerusalem, "but he found the city in a peaceable state" celebrating one of their usual festivals, and finding no reason to expect trouble he returned to Antioch.
At Rome, Caesar's freed-men and his friends were very zealous on behalf of Cumanus and the Samaritans; but Agrippa II "had earnestly entreated Agrippina, the emperor's wife, to persuade her husband...to condemn those to be punished who were really the authors of this revolt from the Roman government."
"Claudius...found that the Samaritans had been the ringleaders...[and] gave order that those who came up to him should be slain, and that Cumanus should be banished. *AJ XX.VI.1-3*.
"Claudius sent Felix, the brother of Pallans[/Pallas] to take care of the affairs of Judea."

Antonius Felix, Procurator;¹³⁰
(? -) Jonathan, High Priest.

52 - 59 c.e.

Note: It is not stated directly that (Nebedeus-) Ananias was among the slain (or banished); but the appointment of "Jonathan" as high priest is found in the reports of his assassination--contrived by Felix, *AJ XX.VIII.5*; by Sicarii, *Wars II.XIII.3*.

At the end of "the twelfth year of Claudius' reign, he bestowed upon Agrippa [II] the tetrarchy of Philip and Batanea, and added thereto Trachonitis, with Abila, which last had been the tetrarchy of Lysanias; but he took from him Chalcis, when he had been governor thereof four years." *AJ XX.VII.1*.
Claudius gave Agrippa II "the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis...." *Wars II.XII.5*.
"Claudius Caesar died when he had reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days...." *AJ XX.VIII.1*.

¹²⁹ *Josephus* eds. add "[of the temple]."

¹³⁰ "Felix, M. Antonius, a freedman of Claudius Caesar, made governor of Judaea, Samaria and Palestine. He is called by Suetonius the husband of three queens, as he married the two Drusillae, one granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, and the other a Jewish princess, sister of Agrippa [I; Appendix 4B, Attachment 2 chart, I. The name of his third wife is unknown. *Suet. in Cl. 18--Tacit. Ann. 12, c. 14.*" L 239.

Year(s)
c.e.

“LOCALLY”

ROME
Nero

Claudius' successor, Nero, “bestowed on Agrippa [II] a certain part of the Galilee, Tiberias, and Taricheae, and ordered them to submit to his jurisdiction, [and] gave him also Julias,¹³¹ a city of Perea, with 14 villages that lay about it.”
AJ XX.VIII.4.

Agrippa II appointed (Fabi¹³²) Ishmael chief priest.

(Fabi-) Ishmael, High Priest

* * *

Subsequent Procurators and High Priests Until Roman Conquest¹³³

No attempt is made to assign years to the following individuals whose tenures occurred beyond the timeframe of this volume:

Procurator Porcius Festus supplanted Antonius Felix.

High Priest Joseph Cabi, “a son of Simon, formerly high priest,” substituted by Agrippa II for (Fabi-) Ishmael.

High Priest (Ananus/Annas-) Ananus (one of the five sons of his father, “all who performed the office of a high priest”¹³⁴), substituted by Agrippa II for Joseph Cabi after death of Porcius Festus and before arrival of his successor.

Procurator Luceius Albinus

High Priest (Damneus-) Jesus, substituted by Agrippa II for Ananus, who “ruled but three months.”

High Priest (Gamaliel-) Jesus, substituted by Agrippa II for (Damneus-) Jesus.

- During the foregoing “time it principally came to pass that our city [Jerusalem] was greatly disordered, and that all things grew worse and worse;” “the high priests, with regard to one another...frequently came, from reproaches, to throwing stones at each other.”

High Priest (Theophilus-) Matthias, the last appointment by Agrippa II.

- Irreversible revolt against Rome was spreading quickly as northern cities fell; “there were, besides, disorders and civil wars in every city....”
- Roman general Vespasian conquered the Galilee c. 67 c.e.
- Jerusalem and Judea were in a state of ungoverned anarchy, divided between those who were for and those against combatting the Romans.

¹³¹ Refer to Appendix 4C, Bethsaida. (This and other quotations may pertain to the indecision on siting *Bethsaida*(s).)

¹³² Resembles earlier “Phabi” (-Ismael) and “Phabet” (-Jesus).

¹³³ Gathered from AJ XX.VIII.9 - XX.IX.1-7, Wars IV.III.8, and L 239, 328.

¹³⁴ “But this [last] Ananus...was very insolent. ...[H]e assembled the sanhedrin of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus...whose name was James, and some others...and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned....”

High Priest (Samuel-) Phannias--"a mere rustic," 'installed' as high priest by the "zealot" faction, was selected by a casting of lots by "one of the pontifical tribes, which is called Eniachim."¹³⁵

- After John of Gishala's retreat to Jerusalem, Jerusalem fell to Vespasian's son, Titus, c. 70 c.e.

¹³⁵ *Josephus* eds. note: "This tribe or course of the high priests...here called Eniachim, seems to...be that 1 Chron. xxiv.12, 'the course of Jakim,' where some copies have 'the course of Eliakim', [referencing a "learned Mr. Lowth"];” *Wars* IV.III.8.