

Appendix 4B, I

HIGH PRIESTS HYRCANUS I THROUGH ANTIGONUS II

Cited Narrative¹

Ptolemy of Abubus, after his assassination of high priest Simon, captured Simon's [unnamed] wife and two of his [also unnamed] sons and retired with the prisoners to a fortress named Dagon, "above Jericho." Hyrcanus I, "having taken the high priesthood that had been his father's before," pursued said Ptolemy and laid a siege. Abubus repeatedly had Hyrcanus' mother and brothers brought to the fortress wall and tortured in Hyrcanus' sight. His mother "spread out her hands, and begged of him that he not grow remiss on her account." Each time he resolved to attack, however, "when he saw her beaten, and torn to pieces, his courage failed." At some point there occurred a "seventh year of rest," obliging Hyrcanus to halt his siege. Ptolemy of Abubus then "slew the brethren of Hyrcanus, and his mother," and then "fled" to one Zeno who was called Cotylas--"tyrant of the city Philadelphia."²

AJ XIII.VII.1, 4; VIII.1; Wars I.II.3-4; 1 Maccabees 16:11ff.

Antiochus VII, "so angry at what he had suffered from Simon...made an expedition into Judea" "in his fourth year of his reign and the first year of the principality of Hyrcanus, in the 162nd Olympiad" (132 b.c.e.³). Antiochus VII "sat down before Jerusalem, and besieged Hyrcanus." He "burned the country [and] shut up Hyrcanus in the city," ultimately encompassing Jerusalem with seven encampments. At first Antiochus VII made little headway against the strong walls and valor of their defenders; but ultimately he raised three-story-high towers on the north side, from which his soldiers made daily attacks.

Hyrcanus I weeded the populace; only those fit for war were kept inside the city. Antiochus VII refused to let past all those who had been put out. Caught as they were, between the enemy and the walls, they gradually began to die of famine. On arrival of the time for the feast of tabernacles, Hyrcanus petitioned Antiochus VII for a seven-day truce. The truce was granted,⁴ and the pitying city inhabitants opened the gates to the outcasts. Antiochus' conciliations⁴ prompted Hyrcanus to send ambassadors of peace. Antiochus VII agreed to end the warring if the city (a) delivered up its arms, (b) allowed re-establishment of his garrison, and (c) made restitution for Joppa and other border cities. Jerusalem's leaders were in agreement with all but the garrison, for which they proposed substituting 500 talents in precious metals--a down payment of 300 talents, and hostages to secure the balance. Antiochus accepted. (An [unnamed] brother of Hyrcanus I was among the hostages given.) Antiochus VII then withdrew. *AJ XIII.VIII.2-3.*

Subsequently, Hyrcanus I opened the King David sepulchre and removed from it

¹ *Josephus* is the main source for this material and is cited at regular intervals; *Maccabees* supplies a small amount during the period's beginnings. The narrative is complimented by data from Appendix 4A (Explorative Timeline), Appendices 4B II and III, and Attachments 1 through 4. (Considerable detail from *Josephus* is given in this narrative, but more is available in that text for the desiring reader.)

² (a) This occurrence of a seventh year of rest, according to the Hebrews' calendar, does not translate to the passage of seven years of siege. (b) *Found are*: (1) "Ptolemaeus, a Jew...for some time governor of Jericho about 135 b.c."--Ptolemy of Abubus?--L 1826; (2) Zeno, "a general of Antiochus [undesigned]; L 656; (c) Cotyla/Cotyora, "a city of Asia Minor, founded by a colony from Sinope;" "a Greek city on the coast of Pontus, a colony of Sinope;" *Greek Dictionary*, p. 822; L 175 ["Sinope, a seaport town of Asia Minor, in Pontus;" "Sinopean, an inhabitant of Sinope, in eastern Paphlagonia, an important coast city, a Greek colony;" L 569; *Greek Dictionary*, p. 831; (3) *Philadelphia*, refer to Appendix 2A, *Rabbah*.

³ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, B (Calendrical Conversions).

⁴ In addition to granting the truce, Antiochus VII "sent in a magnificent sacrifice, bulls with their horns gilded...all sorts of sweet spices, and with cups of gold and silver. So those that were at the gates received the sacrifices from those that brought them, and led them to the temple; Antiochus, the meanwhile, feasting his army--which was a quite different conduct from Antiochus Epiphanes:...for this Antiochus [VII] all men called *Antiochus the Pius*, for the great zeal he had for religion." *AJ XIII.VIII.2.*

3,000 talents, which he used to become “the first of the Jews [to] maintain foreign troops.” He also established a league of assistance with Antiochus VII, admitted him to the city, furnished him with soldiers, and marched with him on one Parthian expedition.

At a time when Antiochus VII was “gone on an[other] expedition” (and/or, “When Hyrcanus I heard of the death of Antiochus”) Hyrcanus made an expedition against the cities of Syria, calculating they would be “destitute of fighting men.” It took six months, longer than expected and with “great distress of his army,” to conquer Medaba alone. At some point Hyrcanus I sent ambassadors to renew league with Rome, asking assistance to regain several cities. The senate politely took note of Hyrcanus I’s petition and paid for his ambassadors’ trip home; but they shelved issuing “letters of protection” to other kingdoms and cities to a time “when their own affairs would give them leave.” Hyrcanus I, however, did take other sites (including Shechem and Gerizzim) and “subdued” the Idumaeans (whom he required to submit to circumcision⁵). Meanwhile, Antiochus VII had again joined battle with Parthia, lost the greater part of his army, and himself was killed. Subsequently, Parthia freed Demetrius II (Antiochus VII’s brother) from captivity to try to regain the kingdom of ‘Syria.’⁶ (Demetrius accepted in marriage Rhodogyne, daughter of then Parthian king, Phraates.)

AJ XIII.VIII.4 and IX.I-2; Wars I.II.5-6.

“Demetrius [II] had a mind to make war against Hyrcanus, the high priest;” but “both the Syrians and the soldiers, [who] bare ill-will to him, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy VIII *Physcon* asking him to send someone “of the family of Seleucus” to lead a takeover. Ptolemy VIII sent an army under one Alexander Zebina. Demetrius II, then an ill man, quickly was overcome and fled to Ptolemais, where wife Cleopatra III refused him admittance. Demetrius II proceeded to Tyre, where he was caught; and, “after he had suffered much from his enemies before his death, he was slain by them.” Zebina took the ‘Syrian’ kingdom and Hyrcanus I made league with him.

Antiochus VIII *Grypus* contended with Zebina, conquered and killed him. Then Antiochus VIII heard that an army was being raised by Antiochus IX *Cyzenicus* (a half-brother; son of Cleopatra III by Antiochus VII, “who died in Parthia). Antiochus VIII desisted then from making war on Judaea and “staid in his own land...to prepare himself for the attack he expected from his brother.” Hyrcanus I--seeing Antiochus IX “destitute of Egyptian auxiliaries and...he and his brother...in ill condition in [their own] struggles”--made an expedition against “Samaria [city, later] called Sebaste...and set his sons Judas/Aristobulus I and Antigonus I over the siege. (They pushed so hard a siege that the famined people within the city “were forced to eat what never was esteemed food.”)

The people of Samaria/Sebaste sent for Antiochus IX to come to their aid. Ptolemy IX *Lathyrus*, son of Cleopatra [IV] and Ptolemy VIII, gave Antiochus IX a force of some 6000 men “without his mother’s consent, who...then in a manner turned him [Ptolemy IX] out of his government. With these Egyptians [sent by Ptolemy IX] Antiochus [IX] did at first overrun and ravage the country of Hyrcanus...that by thus harassing his land he should force Hyrcanus to raise [abandon] the siege of Samaria.” “[B]ut he [Antiochus IX] fell into snares...lost many of his soldiers...[“was pursued as far as Sythopolis” by Aristobulus I and Antigonus I], fled away from them...to Tripoli, and committed the prosecution of the war against the Jews to [generals named] Callimander and Epicrates.” *AJ XIII.X.1-2; Wars I.II.7.*

“Callimander...was put to flight, and destroyed immediately.... Epicrates, he was such a lover of money, that he openly betrayed Scythopolis and other places near it to the Jews, but was not able to make them raise the siege of Samaria.” Aristobulus I and Antigonus I

⁵“At which time this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews.” (*Josephus* editor notes, “Justin [is] in agreement with Josephus,” saying, “The power of the Jews was now grown so great that after...Antiochus [VII; “by year 130 b.c.”] they would not bear any Macedonian [-descended] king over them, and that they set up a government of their own, and infested Syria with great wars.” *AJ XIII.X, fn.*) (*Medaba*, some 20 miles south of present-day Amman, Jordan.)

Appendix 3A, VI at *AJ XIII.V.10-11; 1 Maccabees 14:3.*

returned to Samaria/Sebaste, “shut the multitude again within the wall; and when they had taken the city they demolished it, and made slaves of its inhabitants.” “And when Hyrcanus [I] had taken that city...after a year’s siege...he demolished it [and] took away the very marks that there had even been such a city.” Aristobulus and Antigonus “did not suffer their zeal to cool, but marched with an army as far as Scythopolis, and made an incursion upon it, and laid waste all the country that lay within Mount Carmel.” *AJ XIII.X.3; Wars I.II.7.*

“Now, Hyrcanus [I] lived all this while in peace;⁷ for after the death of Antiochus [VII] he revolted from and ceased to pay the Macedonians any regard, as either subject or friend; but his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the time of Alexander Zebina, and especially under these [Antiochii] brethren, for the war which they had with one another gave Hyrcanus the opportunity of enjoying himself in those times of quiet in Judea, insomuch that he got an immense quantity of money.” *AJ XIII.IX.3.*

“[A]t this time, not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were in Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus; for Cleopatra [IV] the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy [IX],... and she appointed for her generals Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias [IV] who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like to that at Jerusalem.... Cleopatra entrusted these men with her army, and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attest[ed], when he saith thus, ‘Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy [IX] immediately; only those that were called Onias’ party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favour with the queen.’” *AJ XIII.X.4.*

The successes of Hyrcanus I and his sons “made them be envied, and occasioned a sedition in the country; and many there were who got together and would not be at rest until they brake out into open war.” As the “prosperous state of affairs moved the Jews to envy Hyrcanus...the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees,” who had “so great a power over the multitude that, when they [said] any thing against the king, or against the high priest, they [were] presently believed.” Hyrcanus had been “a disciple of theirs, and greatly beloved by them.” Now, one Pharisee Eleazar told Hyrcanus that if he truly was righteous he would resign the high priesthood and declared, “‘We have heard it from old men, that thy mother had been a captive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.’ This story was false.”

“The Pharisees...delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason [was] it that the Sadducees reject[ed] them, [saying] we [were] to esteem [only] those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word [and]...not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences [arose] among them, while the Sadducees [were] not able to persuade none but the rich, and...the Pharisees [had] the multitude on their side.”

Hyrcanus [I] had a “very great friend” named Jonathan, “of the sect of the Sadducees.” who urged Hyrcanus to seek Eleazar’s death for his slander. The Pharisees, however, deemed “stripes and bonds” sufficient punishment. Further “irritated” by Jonathan’s influence, Hyrcanus changed parties. “But when Hyrcanus had put an end to this sedition, he after that lived happily and administered the government in the best manner for thirty-one years, and then died, leaving behind him five sons.” *AJ XIII.X.5-6; Wars I.II.8.*

When Hyrcanus I was dead, “the eldest son Aristobulus [I], intending to change the government into a kingdom...first of all put a diadem on his head, 481 years and three

⁷ As the use of this term in this context reflects, “The Seleucid dynasty was of Macedonian origin.” *Williamson*, p. 411 (endnote 17 to p. 35).

months after the people...were returned to their own country again” from Babylon.⁸ Aristobulus I also assumed the office of High Priest. His unnamed mother “disputed the government with him;” he put her in prison, where either he killed her “with hunger” or she “pined to death.” “Aristobulus loved his next brother, Antigonus [I], and treated him as equal; but the others he held in bonds.”

Aristobulus I resisted being “alienated from his brother Antigonus by calumnies” which at first he discredited and attributed to “the envy of the relatives.” At a point in Aristobulus I’s first and only year, as he lay ill “in the tower [“Citadel”] which was called Antonia,” a palace conspiracy resulted in the murder of Antigonus. Aristobulus I’s “wife, Salome, who by the Greeks was called Alexandra [I],” was a party to the plot. Antigonus I, who “was returned from the army,...when they make the [feast of the] tabernacles,” adorned himself and offered prayers before visiting his sick brother. [Unnamed] individuals caused Aristobulus I to think it really possible that his brother intended to take the kingdom; so he instructed his guards that, when Antigonus came to see him, “if armed, they should kill him.”

“[T]he queen, and those that joined with her in the plot...persuaded the messenger to tell Antigonus the direct contrary:” that Aristobulus “had heard that he [Antigonus] had made himself [had got in Galilee] a fine suit of armour for war, and desired him to come to see him in that armour, that he might see how fine it was. So Antigonus suspecting no treachery...came to Aristobulus...with his entire armour...but when he was come to a place which was called Strato’s Tower⁹ where the passage happened to be exceeding dark, the guards slew him.” Aristobulus fell into misery and repentance, his illness worsened, and he himself soon died, “when he had reigned no longer than a year.” *AJ XIII.XI.1-2; Wars I.III.1-6.*

Despite the brief tenure of Aristobulus I, “called a lover of the Grecians,” he “conferred many benefits on his own country, and made war against Iturea, and added a great part of it to Judea, and compelled the inhabitants, if they would continue in that country, to be circumcised, and to live according to the Jewish laws.” *AJ XIII.XI.3.*

Alexandra I released other “brethren” from prison, and she married and made king Alexander [I] Jannaeus, (half-?) brother of [Judas/]Aristobulus I and Antigonus I. (Jannaeus had been “hated by his father,” who had “suffered him to be brought up in the Galilee.”) Alexander I also assumed the high priesthood.

“[O]f the maritime cities” Ptolemais and Gaza remained unconquered. When Alexander I laid siege at Ptolemais, a “tyrant” named Zoilus entered the fray. Zoilus already had in hand Strato’s Tower and Dora, which had been placed at bay due to the warring between Antiochii. Ptolemais saw as its “only hope...Ptolemy [IX] Lathyrus, who...held Cyprus, where he had been driven by Cleopatra [IV] his mother.” The people of Ptolemais appealed “to this Ptolemy Lathyrus...to deliver them...out of the hands of Alexander [I],” and gave Lathyrus to believe that his efforts on their behalf would be joined by Zoilus, people of Gaza, Sidonians, and others. Ptolemy IX readied his fleet. *AJ XIII.XII.1-2.*

Demetrius III meanwhile had risen to Seleucid/Syrian power at Damascus. He warned the leaders of Ptolemais that Cleopatra already wanted to oust Ptolemy IX from Cyprus, would not “overlook an army raised by him,” certainly would go against him with her own army, and while Ptolemy IX always could re-escape to Cyprus the people of Ptolemais would be left high and dry. Despite the likelihood of Cleopatra IV’s intervention, Ptolemy IX nonetheless embarked, landed, and pitched camp near Ptolemais, only to have the city fail to receive his ambassadors. Alexander I, however, withdrew “into his own country” and privately suggested

⁸ (a) Adding Aristobulus I’s estimated date of accession, 104 b.c.e. to 481⁺ yields 585⁺ --c. Nebuchadnezzar’s conquest and exiles, not returns; (b) deducting 481 years from the Cyrus edict/Zerubbabel first return (538 - 481) yields 57 b.c.e., which is *circa* the time that Aristobulus II briefly was in power; (c) however, deducting 57 b.c. from Cyrus’ edict (538 - 57) yields 481 b.c.e.--very near the 479 b.c. standardly assigned date of the Ezra return.

⁹ “in a subterraneous place, which was called...by the same name with that Cesarea which lay by the seaside.”

a plan to Cleopatra IV. He could pretend to seek league with Ptolemy IX and pay him a good sum to get rid of Zoilus (on the promise that Alexander I would receive the then-Zoilus-controlled territory), while Cleopatra secretly prepared to march against Ptolemy IX. Cleopatra agreed. Ptolemy IX accepted Alexander I's proposal and routed Zoilus, but then he learned the truth. He had his generals commence a siege of Ptolemais, which they eventually took, while he himself went to confront Alexander I, on the march with a force of "about 50,000" ["some writers have said" 80,000].

Ptolemy IX took the Galilee city of Asochis by force, taking "about 10,000 slaves and a great deal of other prey." Although he next lost many men trying to take nearby Sepphoris, he continued on to engage Alexander I. Their battle was met "at the river Jordan, near a certain place called Saphoth," where the armies' camps were separated by the river. Alexander I allowed Ptolemy IX to bring his army across, thus putting the river at their back. "[A] great slaughter was made by both the armies," with Alexander I's forces at first being "superior;" but Ptolemy IX's losses were supplanted by auxiliaries. As there were no replacements for Alexander I, his army ultimately dissolved; Ptolemy IX's army mercilessly pursued and killed the fleeing soldiers.

Ptolemy IX "overran all the country," occupying "certain villages of Judea" and perpetrating dreadful atrocities on their women and children" (reportedly, to the degree of cannibalism, to instill the greatest terror of him in the region's inhabitants--as "both Strabo and Nicholaus [of Damascus]...affirm").

AJ XIII.XII.3-6.

Cleopatra IV--seeing that Ptolemy IX had wasted Judaea, held power over Gaza and practically was at her gate--"immediately marched against him with a fleet at sea and an army of foot..., and made Chelcias and Ananias the Jews generals of her whole army," while her son Ptolemy X *Alexander I* took a fleet to Phoenicia. She herself "went to Ptolemais and when its people would not receive her she besieged the city." Ptolemy IX, "supposing that he should find Egypt destitute of an army," hastened to get there. Cleopatra IV's general Chelcias, in pursuit, "died at this time."

AJ XIII.XIII.1.

Ptolemy IX's attempt at Egypt "did not succeed according to his expectations," in that Cleopatra IV dispatched part of her army to drive him out. He wintered at Gaza, during which time she captured Ptolemais. Alexander I Janneus gave her "presents and such marks of respect as were but proper;" however, "some of her friends" attempted to persuade her "to seize Alexander and...take possession of his country.... But Ananias' counsel was contrary...[claiming it would be]...unjust action...[against] a man that was her ally...'and a man who is related to us"¹⁰ "What injustice thou dost to him will make all of us that are Jews to be thy enemies." Cleopatra "complied;...did no injury to Alexander, but made a league of mutual assistance with him at Scythopolis, a city of Celesyria."

AJ XIII.XIII.2.

"Presently" Alexander Janneus made an expedition against Celesyria...took Gadara after a seige of ten months...also Amathus, a very strong fortress belonging to the inhabitants above Jordan, where Theodorus, the son of Zeno, had his chief treasures.... This Zeno ["Theodorus"] fell unexpectedly upon the Jews and slew 10,000 of them and seized upon Alexander a baggage" ["took what belonged to himself as well as the king's baggage"]. Undaunted, Alexander I Janneus "made an expedition upon the maritime parts of the country," and by force "took Raphia and Gaza, with Anthedon, also".¹¹ After Ptolemy IX retired to Cyprus from Gaza and Cleopatra was back in Egypt, Alexander I Janneus besieged Gaza and "ravaged" the country. But soon he came up against Appollodorus, general of Gaza's army. Their battling went back and forth; many were slain, but the Gazans "stoutly resisted"-- encouraged by "Aretas, king of the Arabians, a person then very illustrious....," who promised to assist. But it happened that, before Aretas came,

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In what manner is not said.

¹¹

"[A]fterwards called Agrippias by king Herod [the Great]."

Appollodorus was killed by his envious brother, Lysimachus [undesignated].

Lysimachus gathered the army together “and delivered up the city to Alexander [I Janneus],” who, afterward, let his army loose upon the city. Many died on each side (some Gazans killed their own families to prevent their capture into slavery); “but the Senators, who were in all five hundred, fled to Apollo’s temple (for this attack happened to be made as they were sitting), whom Alexander slew, and when he had utterly overthrown their city, he returned to Jerusalem, having spent a year in that siege.” *AJ XIII.XIII.3; Wars I.IV.1-2.*

“About this time” Antiochus VIII died, “when he had lived 45 years and reigned 29” [others say, 26] years. His son Seleucus [VI] warred with “Antiochus [IX], his father’s [maternal, half-] brother, who was called Antiochus Cyzicenus,¹² and beat him, and took him prisoner, and slew him.” “But after a while” Antiochus IX’s son, “who was called Pius [Antiochus X¹³]...put the diadem on his own head, and made war with Seleucus, and beat him, and drove him out of Syria.” Afterward, Seleucus’ brother, Antiochus [Dionysius or Philip?¹⁴] overcame Antiochus X and destroyed his army. Antiochus X “fled out of Syria, went to Mopsuestia¹⁵ again and levied money upon them, but the people...burnt down his palace, and slew him, together with his friends.”

Following the defeat of Antiochus X, “his [half-] brother Philip [/Philippus] put on the diadem and reigned over some part of Syria; but Ptolemy IX sent for his [Philip’s] fourth brother, Demetrius [III], who was called Eucerus...and made him king of Damascus. Antiochus ‘Pius’ vigorously opposed both Philip and Demetrius but presently he died, falling in battle while an “auxiliary to Laodice, queen of the Gileadites, when she was making war against the Parthians...while Demetrius and Philip governed Syria....” *AJ XIII.XIII.4.*

In Judaea, Alexander I Janneus reportedly was hated by the majority; unrest was fomented by the leading Pharisee faction; and Alexander I’s “own people were seditious against him.... [A]t a festival...when he stood upon the altar...the nation rose upon him, and pelted him.... They also reviled him, as derived from a captive, and so unworthy.... [I]n a rage [he] slew about six thousand.”

During his reign, Alexander I Janneus “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 “king Alexander and his wife made Antipas general [regional governor] of all Idumea. (“This Antipater was at first called Antipas...his father’s name also.”) Alexander I Janneus also battled “Obedas, king of the Arabians,” wherein “at Gadara [“near Golan”], a village of Gilead, Janneus hardly escaped with his life [and “lost his entire army...broken to pieces by the multitude of camels”].” From thence he fled to Jerusalem, where...the nation insulted him [“where he provoked the multitude, which hated him before, to make an insurrection against him”]. “In the several battles that were fought on both sides, he slew not fewer than fifty thousand of the Jews in an interval of six years.... ...till at length he left off fighting, and endeavoured to come to a composition with them, by talking with his subjects. But Janneus was unsuccessful in overcoming their ill will: “they all cried out, that he ought to kill himself. They also sent to Demetrius [III] Eucerus...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.” *AJ XIII.XIII.5 and XIV.I.3; Wars I.IV.4.*

Demetrius III, who had 3,000 horsemen and 40,000 [or 14,000] footmen, joined those who had sought his aid, and they pitched camp at Shechem. Alexander I Janneus went against Demetrius “with his six thousand two hundred mercenaries and about twenty

¹² This name frequently is found spelled *Cyzenicus*.

¹³ Per *Josephus’ ed.n.*, this has been “corrected” to *Pius* from “grossly false” readings such as ‘Antiochus Antonius/Antoninus.’

¹⁴ Some confusion is involved in identifications of the Seleucid relatives during this period.

¹⁵ “Mopsuestia, or Mopsos, a town of Cilicia near the sea.” L 380.

thousand Jews...of his party [1,000 horsemen, 8,000 mercenaries on foot, and 10,000 supportive Jews].” “The kings made a proclamation to attempt first to draw off each other’s soldiers.” “[T]here were great endeavors on both sides--Demetrius trying to bring off the mercenaries that were with Alexander, because they were Greeks, and Alexander trying to bring off the Jews that were with Demetrius.” “But since neither the Jews would leave off their rage, nor the Greeks prove unfaithful, they came to an engagement.” Demetrius won, with many slain on each side (all of Alexander’s mercenaries were killed).

Alexander I Janneus fled to the mountains, where 6,000 Jews from Demetrius III’s army defected to him “out of pity at the change of his fortune.” Demetrius III--divested of those who had enticed his involvement, and supposing that all at length would run back to Alexander--left the country, and went his way. However, the rest of the multitude...when the auxiliaries were gone...had a perpetual war with Alexander, until he had slain the greatest part of them, and driven the rest into the city Bemeselis; and when he had demolished that city, he carried the captives to Jerusalem.” (Alexander besieged “Bethome,” where “the most powerful of them” had taken refuge. He then captured Bethome¹⁶ and them, and brought them to Jerusalem.)

Alexander I Janneus took special vengeance on the captives, for introducing “foreigners against him,” and for his being forced to give back to the king of Arabia the Moab and Gilead land that he had subdued and the places in it. While “feasting with his concubines, in the sight of all the city,” he ordered about eight hundred of the captives to be crucified (“hung upon crosses”); and while the crucified “were [still] living, he ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes.” “[T]he soldiers that had fought against him, being about eight thousand...ran away...and continued fugitive all the time that Alexander lived; who being now freed from any further disturbance from them, reigned the rest of his time in utmost tranquillity.” (“[E]ight thousand of his opposers fled away the very next night, out of all Judea, whose flight was only terminated by Alexander’s death; [and]...at last...he procured quiet to his kingdom, and left off fighting any more.”)

AJ XIII.XIV.1-2; (Wars I.IV.5-6).

As for Demetrius III, he proceeded to besiege his brother Philip at Berea but wound up facing an alliance of Philip, Strato (Berea’s tyrant), “Zizon the ruler of the Arabian tribes” (called in by Strato), and “Mithridates Sinax, the ruler of the Parthians,” whose large force drove Demetrius’ army back to its encampment; those previously not killed by arrows were thirsted out. “So they took a great many spoils out of that country, and Demetrius himself, whom they sent to Mithridates, who was then king of Parthia.” The Antiochian captives, however, they freely restored to Antioch. (Mithridates...had Demetrius in great honour, till Demetrius ended his life by sickness.) “So Philip, presently after the fight was over, came to Antioch, and took it, and reigned over Syria.”

AJ XIII.XIV.2-3.

“After this,” Philip’s brother, Antiochus Dionysius (“brother [also] of Demetrius”) “aspired to dominion, and came to Damascus, and got the power into his hands, and there he reigned.”¹⁷ While he was off “making war against the Arabians,” Philip went to Damascus, where one Milesius, left as governor of the citadel, delivered the city over to Philip. But when Philip treated the act as one done out of fear and returned no reward, Milesius captured him and held Damascus for Antiochus [XII?¹⁸] who came back “out of Arabia.” “Philip was obliged to leave Damascus again.”

“Antiochus”¹⁹ immediately made an expedition through Judaea. [“Alexander (I Janneus) was afraid of him, when he was marching against the Arabians”]; Alexander

¹⁶ *Bemeselis* and *Bethome* cannot be placed (the latter only similar to *Beth-horon*--Appendix 2A).

¹⁷ *Josephus ed.n.*, per *Spanheim*’s notice: “Antiochus Dionysius...styled himself on his coins ‘Antiochus, Ephiphanes, Dionysius.’”

¹⁸ *Josephus ed.* adds *Eucerus*, but as noted at fn. 14, there is some confusion on Antiochii during this period.

¹⁹ XII tentatively is assigned to this Antiochus in Appendix 4A timeline.

prepared to hinder the approach by digging a deep trench from Chabarzaba and the sea at Joppa ["between Antipatris, which was near the mountains, and the shores of Joppa"] and raising a high wall before it, with towers. Antiochus, however, "soon burnt them all ["filled the trenches"] and made his army pass by that way into Arabia." Antiochus fought "desperately" with Arabian king Aretas and was killed just as he had victory in his grasp [Aretas' with a 10,000 force ambushed and wrought "a mighty slaughter" on Antiochus, who fell in the forefront of battle]. After Antiochus fell, the survivors of his "army fled to the village Cana, where the greatest part of them perished by famine" ["were consumed by want of necessaries, a few only excepted"].

["About this time"] those in control of ["the people of"] Damascus, who hated Ptolemy ["the son of] Menneus, called in Aretas, who then reigned over Celesyria ["and made him king of Celesyria"]. Aretas made an expedition against Judaea and beat Alexander Janneus in a battle near Adida; subsequently, however, Aretas retired out of Judaea "upon certain conditions agreed upon."
AJ XIII.XV.1-2; [Wars I.IV.7-8].

"But Alexander marched again," and spent three years in warring. He took the city of Dios; he battled and took Essa, which held Zeno's treasures; he marched to and took Golan and Seleucia and "that valley which is called *The Valley of Antiochus*; and he took the fortress of Gamala. ["But Alexander, when he had taken Pella, marched to Gerasa again, out of the covetous desire he had of Theodorus' possessions...[and] took the place by force. He also demolished Golan, and Seleucia, and what was called the Valley of Antiochus; besides which, he took the strong fortress of Gamala, and stripped Demetrius [undesigned], who was governor therein"], accusing "Demetrius, governor of those places...of many crimes, and turned him out." [Janneus "had been three whole years in this expedition."] When he "returned to his own country...the Jews joyfully received him upon this his good success." At that time "the Jews were in possession of many cities that had belonged to the Syrians, Idumaeans and Phoenicians."²⁰ ["After this," Alexander became "afflicted with a quartan ague." Thinking he would rid himself of the distemper by forcing himself to undertake hard expeditions at unseasonable times, "he brought himself to his end. He died, therefore...after he had reigned seven and twenty years"], "in the bounds of Ragaba, a fortress beyond Jordan."
[Also Wars.I.IV.8]

As Alexander I lay dying, queen Alexandra I lamented the coming fate of herself and her children. Her husband gave her explicit instructions: she should conceal his death from the military, until she had secured the kingdom; she should return to Jerusalem triumphantly, as if from a victory, and place a part of her authority in the hands of the Pharisees, who upon that honor "would reconcile the nation to her; for he told her they had great authority among the Jews," saying further that "it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation." She also was to turn over his body to them to do as they willed, and to "promise them also...[to] do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom."

Alexander I died "after he had reigned twenty-seven years, and lived fifty years within one." "So Alexandra [I], when she had taken the fortress, acted as her husband had suggested, and spake to the Pharisees, and put all things into their power, both as to the dead body, and as to the affairs of the kingdom." Her pacifications and laudatory speeches resulted in a funeral for Alexander Janneus "more splendid than had any of the kings before him." AJ XIII.XV.3-5; III.XVI.1.

"Alexander [I] left behind him two sons, Hyrcanus [II] and Aristobulus [II], but committed the kingdom to Alexandra [I]." Alexandra "restored again those practices which

²⁰"At the sea-side, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocolura; in the middle of the country, near to Idumea, Adroa, and Marissa; near the country of Samaria, Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara; of the country of Gaulonitis, Seleucia and Gabala; in the country of Moab, Heshbon, and Medaba, Lemba, and Oronas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices, and Pella; which last they utterly destroyed, because its inhabitants would not...change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews. The Jews also possessed others of the principal cities of Syria, which had been destroyed."

the Pharisees had introduced, according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law, Hyrcanus [I], had abrogated.” Alexandra was to realize formidable success in keeping her nation’s predators at bay but was hounded by local politics. “[S]he had indeed the name of regent, but the Pharisees had the authority; for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set such as were prisoners at liberty, and, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However, the queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom, and got together a great body of mercenary soldiers, and increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them; and the country was entirely at peace excepting the Pharisees; for they disturbed the queen.”

“Hyrcanus [II] was indeed unable to manage public affairs, and delighted rather in a quiet life; but the younger, Aristobulus [II], was an active and a bold man.” So Alexandra [I] “made Hyrcanus high priest, because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics,” and would not irritate the Pharisees.” [Aristobulus II she kept “with her as a private person, by reason of the warmth of his temper.”]

Hyrcanus [II] began as high priest “on the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus...of Crete, were consuls at Rome.”²¹ Hyrcanus II continued as high priest during all of his mother’s nine-year reign. “The Pharisees joined themselves” to Alexandra I, “to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. ... But these Pharisees artfully insinuated...and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound and loosed at their pleasure...” Alexandra I, however, “was a sagacious woman in the management of great affairs, and intent always upon gathering soldiers together; so that she 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, while she governed other people, and the Pharisees governed her.”

The Pharisaic faction appealed to Alexandra I to punish opponents who had influenced Janneus’ massacre of their 800 constituents. [“They, themselves,”] slit the throat of one Diogenes [“a person of figure...and friend to Alexander [I]”] and then slew several others.... But the principal of those that were in danger fled to Aristobulus [II].” Aristobulus, with those who “were the most potent,” came to the palace--it appearing “openly, that if he had an opportunity, he would not permit his mother” to follow her chosen course of governance. [Aristobulus “persuaded his mother to spare the men on account of their dignity, but to expel them out of the city; so they...were dispersed all over the country.”]

The lead Pharisees insisted that, if in truth she was committed to them, “she would place them every one in her fortresses; they further threatened, that “Aretas the Arabian king” gladly would receive them as foreign auxiliaries. Alexandra chose the ‘lesser evil’ and gave them command of 22 of her fortresses, keeping Hyrcania, Alexandria and Macherus, which three held her “principal treasures.”

AJ XIII.XVI.1-3; [Wars.V.1-3].

“Alexandra [I] sent out her army to Damascus, under pretence that Ptolemy XIII was always oppressing that city, [and] she got possession of it [without] any considerable resistance.” Armenia’s king Tigranes made a large military expedition into Syria, which then was ruled over by “Selene the queen, the same that was also called Cleopatra...who had persuaded the inhabitants to exclude Tigranes.” Tigranes began a siege of Ptolemais. Apprehensive, Alexandra sent him “many and very valuable presents, as also ambassadors,” whom Tigranes returned with “good hopes of his favour.” [Alexandra “prevailed [on]

²¹ Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, B, Calendrical Conversions--third year of 177th olympiad = 70 b.c.e. (L 170 shows Hortensius and Metellus as consuls in AUC year 685 = 67 b.c., the year generally given for Alexandra I's death.)

Tigranes...by agreements and presents, to go away.”] Tigranes took Ptolemais²² [“Tigranes soon arose from the siege,”] diverted by serious Parthian incursions into Armenia (general Lucullus had not been able to subdue Mithridates). Selene was captured by Tigranes (either at Ptolemais or later, and put to death in the citadel of Seleucia.)²³

“After this,” Alexandra I fell ill and son Aristobulus II--knowing brother Hyrcanus II's political ineptness, to preclude Pharisee total power when their mother died--solidified plans for a coup. Aristobulus II's [unnamed] wife at Jerusalem was the only person initially aware of his intentions, as he secretly first went to “Agaba” and was received by “Galestes, one of the potent men before mentioned.” One by one, Aristobulus secured the fortresses and, one by one, messengers came and informed Alexandra. “[T]hen it was that the queen and the nation were in the greatest disorder.” “They’ [--unnamed--]” feared the punishment Aristobulus [II] would invoke, once he had the government, “for the mad treatment his house had had from them.”

Within 15 days Aristobulus II had all 22 fortresses, “wherein his friends, that were such from the days of his father, were settled.” Further, he had proceeded to raise an army [“got together a number of mercenary soldiers”] with the aid of the kings of Libanus and Trachonitis [“and made himself king”]. [Hyrcanus II complained to his mother, and “she compassionated his case, and put Aristobulus's wife and sons under restraint in Antonia(/"Citadel;" "Tower of Antonia"), which was a fortress that joined to the north part of the temple.”] Hyrcanus II and the “elders of the Jews” consulted the queen on how to proceed. Alexandra I, 73 years old and failing, was forced to leave matters in their hands; she “bid them to do what they thought proper,” and shortly thereafter she died.²⁴

AJ XIII.XVI.4-6; [Wars I.V.3-4].

“Now Hyrcanus [II] was heir to the kingdom, and to him did his mother commit it before she died; but Aristobulus [II] was superior...in power and magnanimity.” The battle for the kingdom was met at Jericho, where the majority of Hyrcanus II's men defected to Aristobulus II. Hyrcanus retreated to and gained control of the Jerusalem citadel, including the hostages, and sent a conciliatory message to his brother. Aristobulus willed agreement between them that Hyrcanus would resign claim to the crown but retain all the dignities of a king's brother, in private life. The resolution was effected in the temple with oaths, handshakes and an embrace before “the whole multitude,” after which Aristobulus II, who assumed also the office of high priest, took residence in the palace and Hyrcanus II lived in Aristobulus' former home.

South/southeast in Idumaea, the house of Antipater [II], an ally of Roman general Pompey, was on the rise. Antipater II, [“by birth an Idumean,”] had married “a wife of an eminent family among the Arabians, whose name was Cypros [II], and had four sons born to him by her, Phasaelus and Herod, who was afterwards king [the Great], and, besides these, Joseph and Pheroras; and he had a daughter whose name was Salome. ...[Antipater II] made himself friends among the men of power every where...[and contracted] the greatest friendship with the king of Arabia, by marrying his relation; insomuch that when he made war...he sent and intrusted his children with [the Arabian king].”²⁵ Antipater II, “made a league of friendship with those Arabians, and Gazites, and Ascalonites, that were of his own party.”

Antipater II, a friend of Hyrcanus II, privately lobbied against Aristobulus II with “the most powerful of the Jews,” but specifically with Hyrcanus II--making various charges to

²² *Josephus* editors note that there is no true conflict of *Josephus* with *Strabo*, who claims that Tigranes did not capture Selene at Ptolemais but later, in the Mesopotamian citadel at Seleucia, after she had left Syria; *Josephus*, *Wars* I.V.3.

²³ *Wars* I.V.3 ed. note.

²⁴ *Josephus*' eulogy for Alexandra I, “loved by the multitude,” attributes her misfortunes (among other things) to “a desire of what does not belong to a woman,” despite the fact that “she preserved the nation in peace.”

²⁵ *Josephus*, p. 621.

persuade Hyrcanus that he should eject Aristobulus, who would not see his rule as secure until Hyrcanus was dead. Hyrcanus at first paid no heed but eventually was moved to turn to Aretas in Arabia, “a country that borders upon Judea.”²⁶ Antipater went first to lay the ground with Aretas; and “a while afterward he took Hyrcanus, and stole out of the city by night, and went a great journey...to Petra, where the palace of Aretas was.” Aretas agreed to take up the cause, on exchange of promised “presents” and, once Hyrcanus was established in Judea, the return to Aretas of “those twelve cities which his father Alexander [I] had taken.”²⁷
AJ XIII.XIV.2-4; [Wars.VI.1-2].

Aretas, with a 50,000 horse and foot army, battled and beat Aristobulus II. After the victory “many went over to Hyrcanus...Aristobulus was left desolate,” and he retreated to Jerusalem’s temple. Aretas “united the forces of the Arabians and of the Jews together” and besieged the temple; “none but the priests continued with Aristobulus.” This happened at the time of “the feast of unleavened bread...passover.”

The “principal” Jews fled the country, into Egypt. One “Onias, a righteous man” who “had himself, because he saw that this sedition would last a great while,” was brought “to the Jewish camp,” compelled to speak, and prayed for delivery of the priests. “Whereupon...as soon as he had” made his prayer, he was stoned to death.

The priests with Aristobulus II, wanting to offer the customary passover sacrifices, desired to receive the wherewithal from “their countrymen without,” assuring the providers that they “should have as much money...as they should desire.” Accordingly, Aristobulus and the priests let down from the walls 1,000 drachmae for each head of cattle expected but the sacrifices were not delivered. (An ensuing windstorm, however, “destroyed the fruits of the whole country, till a modius of wheat was then bought for eleven drachmae.”) *AJ.XIV.II.1-2.*

[Aristobulus II would have been taken “at first, by force, if Scaurus, the Roman general, had not come and seasonably interposed himself, and raised the siege.”] Roman general Pompey,²⁸ who meanwhile had been warring with Tigranes²⁹ of Armenia, sent general Scaurus into Syria; Scaurus dispossessed Lollius and Metellus of Damascus, which they recently had taken. [Scaurus, ‘[U]pon hearing how the affairs of Judea stood, made haste thither as to a certain booty.’] Upon Scaurus’ entry into Judea, both Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II sent ambassadors to enlist him, promising money. Scaurus found Aristobulus as the better cause, both in wealth and strength (“...it was not the same thing to take a city...as it was to eject out of the country some fugitives, with a greater number of Nabateans....”). Upon receipt of 300 talents from Aristobulus II, Scaurus “sent a herald to Hyrcanus and the Arabians, and threatened them with the resentment of the Romans and of Pompey, unless they would raise [desist from] the siege.”

Scaurus went to Jerusalem, “raised the siege, and ordered Aretas to depart, or else he should be declared an enemy to the Romans” [“So Aretas was terrified, and retired out of Judea to Philadelphia”], and Scaurus returned to Damascus. Aristobulus with a great army made war with Aretas and Hyrcanus [“pursued his enemies”], and fought and beat them “at a place called Papyron, and slew about six thousand of the enemy, with whom fell Phalion also, the brother of Antipater [II].”
AJ XIV.II.3; [Wars I.VI.2-3].

Pompey took his army out of winter quarters and marched toward Damascus; on the way he demolished the Apamia citadel built by Antiochus Syzicenus, “took cognizance of the country of Ptolemy Menneus.” (Alexandra III, daughter of Aristobulus II and granddaughter of Alexandra I) was married first to Phillipion, son of Ptolemy of Menneus and then taken from

²⁶ Hyrcanus “lived with Aretas;” *AJ XIV.V.1.*

²⁷ Medaba, Naballos, Libias, Tharabasa, Agala, Athone, Zoar, Orone, Marissa, Rudda, Lussa and Oruba.

²⁸ Cneus Pompeius, surnamed *Magnus* (Pompey ‘the Great’); L 495.

²⁹ Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, P.

him by his father.) Pompey conquered Lysias (where “Silas a Jew was tyrant”), passed over Heliopolis and Chalcis, “got over the mountain which is on the limit of Celesyria [and] came from Pella to Damascus. He had ordered any and all regional contenders to appear before him in the spring at Damascus, and “there it was that he heard the causes of the Jews, and of their governors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.” (Aristobulus had sent him a great present, which was a golden vine, of the value of 500 talents.” Ambassadors came to Pompey also “from all Syria, and Egypt.)

Hyrcanus II’s ambassador was Antipater II. Hyrcanus’ points were that Aristobulus had deprived him of his firstborn prerogative, was responsible for both incursions into neighboring territories and piracies at sea, had but a small following among his nation’s people, and was avoiding revolt only by reason of his violent nature. “[N]o fewer than a thousand Jews, of the best esteem...confirmed this [the last] accusation; which confirmation was procured by Antipater. Pompey received testimony “of the *nation* against them both, which [nation] did not desire to be under kingly government [but] the form [of] their forefathers [subject to the priesthood]”; further, that “though these two were the posterity of priests, yet did they seek to change the government of their nation...in order to enslave them.”

Aristobulus II’s ambassador was Nicodemus. [Aristobulus himself initially appeared, “but soon thought it beneath him to come in such a servile manner...so he departed.”] Aristobulus’ points were that it was Hyrcanus’ own contemptible inactivity that had made it necessary for Aristobulus to take the reins of government and that assuming the title of king was no more than had done his father. (Moreover, Aristobulus II’s witnesses were ill-received- -“young and insolent” and garbed “not “for a court of justice, but as if they were marching in a pompous procession.”)

Pompey dismissed the brothers for the time being, condemning Aristobulus for his violent behavior but treating him civilly “lest he should make the nation revolt.” Pompey said he would return to settle affairs, once he had “first taken a view of the affairs of the Nabateans.” Aristobulus, however, “without expecting any further determination...went to the city Delius, and thence marched into Judea.”

[Aristobulus II’s behavior caused Pompey “great indignation” and “anger,” which--combined with “great intercessions...by Hyrcanus and his friends”--resulted in Pompey marching against Aristobulus with “not only his [own] Roman forces, but many of his Syrian auxiliaries.” “[T]aking with him that army which he was leading against the Nabateans, and the auxiliaries that came from Damascus and other parts of Syria, with the other Roman legions which he had with him, he [Pompey] made an expedition against Aristobulus.” Passing Pella and Scythopolis, Pompey came to “Corea, where one enters the country of Judea...through the Mediterranean parts;”³⁰ and there he heard that Aristobulus had “fled to Alexandria...a strong hold fortified with the utmost magnificence...upon a high mountain.”

[Pompey sent messengers commanding Aristobulus II to come down; Aristobulus’ “inclination was to refuse and do battle but was convinced by “his friends” not to defy the power of the Romans. Aristobulus met Pompey, “made a long apology for himself, and for the justness of his cause in taking the government, [and] returned to the fortress.” On invitation from Hyrcanus II, Aristobulus returned “two or three times” to dispute with Hyrcanus and “pretended he would obey Pompey.” Pompey, however, “commanded him to give up his fortified places, and forced him to write to every one of their governors to yield them up.... Accordingly he did what he was ordered...but had still an indignation...retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to fight with Pompey.”]

Pompey allowed Aristobulus II no time. Hastened at Jericho by the news of the death of Mithridates], who had been assassinated by his son Pharnaces, Pompey camped at

³⁰ “the first entrance into Judea when one passes over the midland countries;” see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, Caria.
App4B.1

Jericho one night only and set out for Jerusalem the next morning. Aristobulus “affrighted...came and met him by way of supplication,” promising money and delivery of both himself and the city.” Pompey backed off but, when Roman consul Gabinius went to collect the money, “Aristobulus’ party would not so much as admit Gabinius into the city,” and “Aristobulus’ soldiers would not permit the agreements to be executed.”

AJ XIV.III.1-4; [Wars I.VI.4-6]³¹

An angry Pompey imprisoned Aristobulus,³² while within Jerusalem “sedition” brewed between two factions, those who believed it best that the city be given over to Pompey and those who opposed it and wanted to free the king. Aristobulus’ party seized the temple, broke its bridge from the city, and prepared for a siege, while the others admitted Pompey’s army to the city and delivered up it and the king’s palace up. Pompey garrisoned the palace and, assisted by Hyrcanus in every way, occupied and fortified houses both adjoining and in the temple vicinity. When the occupants did not accept other accommodations, Pompey “encompassed all the places thereabout with a wall...[and] pitched his camp within, on the north part of the temple, where it was most practicable; but even on that side there were great towers, and a ditch...and a deep valley begirt it round about, for on the parts towards the city were precipices, and the bridge on which Pompey had gotten in was broken down.” A bank laboriously was raised, however, the ditch filled, and Pompey’s “mechanical engines and battering-rams” brought from Tyre were placed on the bank to batter the temple with stones.”³³

The battering engines eventually felled the towers [it took three months before one was overthrown] and portions of the fortifications, and the “enemy poured in apace.” (Among Pompey’s companies were Cornelius Faustus, son of Sylla, and his cohort, who ascended the wall first; centurion Furius next to him; and centurion Fabius ascended in the middle with a large cohort.) “[A]ll was full of slaughter; some of the Jews being slain by the Romans, and some by one another.... Of the Jews there fell twelve thousand, but of the Romans very few [“but a greater number was wounded].” Many of the priests chose to continue worship and offerings and did not run for their lives. “The greatest part of them were slain by their own countrymen, of the adverse faction.” “[A]n innumerable multitude threw themselves down precipices;” Absalom, uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus, was taken captive. Pompey entered the inner temple where rested its most valuable items and “2000 talents of sacred money;” but he touched nothing and instead commanded ministers to cleanse the temple and make required offerings.” He “cut off those that had been the authors” of the warring against him and restored the high priesthood to Hyrcanus II.

“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. (“[T]he city was taken on the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the 179th Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls.”³⁴) Pompey also rebuilt Gadara for his freedman,” Demetrius of Gadara, and “restored the rest of the cities, Hippos, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Dios, and Samaria, as also Marissa, and Ashdod, and Jamnia, and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants: these were in the inland parts. Besides those that had been demolished, and also of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppa, and Dora, and Strato’s Tower...[a]ll these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the province of Syria.” Celesyria--[“the countries as far as Egypt and Euphrates”/] --from the Euphrates to Egypt [including --the

³¹ Henceforth brackets will not be used to separate material from *AJ* and *Wars* unless significantly different statements.

³² It is not clear, where.

³³ *Josephus* notes that the bank would not have been perfected had the Romans been unable to take advantage of sabbaths, during which time, although The Law gave “leave...to defend...against those that...fight...and assault...yet does it not permit us to meddle with our enemies while they do any thing else.”

³⁴ Third month of 179th Olympiad = 178 prior Olympiads x 4 years each = 712 b.c.e. which, taken from (the assigned date of the first Olympiad) 776 b.c.e., yields 64 b.c.e. as the first year of the 179th Olympiad.

“provinces” of Syria and Judea], Pompey committed to Scaurus as their governor, and gave him two supporting legions.

Pompey then proceeded with haste to Rome. He “carried bound along with him Aristobulus [II] and his children; for he [Aristobulus II] had two daughters, and as many sons; the one of which [, “Alexander [II]...as he was going,”] ran away; but the younger Antigonus [II], was carried to Rome, together with his sisters.” *AJ XIV.IV.1-6; Wars I.VII.1-7.*

Scaurus then proceeded on an expedition against Petra in Arabia, burning surrounding places because of the difficulty of access. Antipater II “furnished him with corn out of Judea, and...whatever else he wanted...at the command of Hyrcanus. Scaurus sent Hyrcanus as ambassador to Aretas, “to induce him to pay [Scaurus] money to buy his peace;” Hyrcanus pledged to be surety for the sum of three hundred talents; Aretas accepted the proposal and Scaurus withdrew his army from Arabia.

“In some time” Alexander II, assembled a large band of men “and lay heavy upon Hyrcanus, and overran Judea, and was likely to overturn him quickly.” Hyrcanus was attempting to rebuild Jerusalem’s wall but was hampered by the Romans stationed there. Gabinius entered Syria as successor to Scaurus, to command Rome’s forces. Alexander canvassed the country and, arming many men, assembled an army of 10,000 footmen and 1500 horsemen. He fortified Alexandrium (“a fortress near to Coreae”) [“and Hyrcanium”) and Macherus (“near the mountains of Arabia”). Gabinius sent ahead Marcus Antonius and other commanders, who armed “such Romans as followed them...and such Jews as were subject to them [“another body of Jews under the command of Pitholaus and Malichus; and...also their friends that were with Antipater, and [they] met Alexander, while Gabinius himself followed with his legion.” Alexander retreated before them but near [“in the neighbourhood of”] Jerusalem, he was forced to fight, and lost 6,000 men, 3000 of which were taken alive.” Alexander “fled with the remainder to Alexandrium.”

Gabinius followed and at Alexandrium found “a great many there encamped” before the fortress. He first offered conditional surrender, including amnesty, but “they would hearken to no terms of accommodation” and Roman-led forces attacked (Marcus Antonius/Mark Antony “signalized himself in this battle” and “seemed to come off with the greatest honour”). Gabinius left there a part of his army to take the city and himself moved on into other parts of Judea, ordering the rebuilding of demolished cities as he encountered them,³⁵ which cities were restored to habitation after long desolation. *AJ XIV.V.1-3; Wars I.VIII.1-3.*

Gabinius then returned to Alexandrium and pressed the siege. Alexander’s [unnamed] mother, “out of concern for her relations that were captives at Rome, which were her husband and her other children,” and “to mollify Gabinius,” went to the outnumbered Alexander II and plead with him. Alexander complied with what she asked. He sent ambassadors to Gabinius, asking pardon, and delivered up the “remaining” fortresses, Hyrcanium and Macherus, “and at last Alexandrium...which fortresses Gabinius demolished “at the persuasion of Alexander’s mother, that they might not be receptacles of men in a second war.” Following the settlement, Gabinius returned Hyrcanus II to Jerusalem and committed care of the temple to him; but Gabinius “ordained the other 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.” “So the people were glad to be thus freed from monarchical government, and were governed for the future by an aristocracy.” *AJ XIV.V.4-5; Wars I.VIII.4-5.*

³⁵ Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Dora, Marissa, Adoreus, Gamala, Gaza and “not a few others besides.”

Aristobulus II and his son, Antigonus [II], now left Rome. They assembled many former supporters, “Jews that were desirous of a change.” They first captured Alexandria and began to re-wall it. They then heard that Gabinius had sent out an army under Sisenna, Antonius and Servilius, to prevent a retaking of the country. Aristobulus made for Macherus, dismissing “the unprofitable multitude,”³⁶ and marching with only 8000 armed men, accompanied by Pitholaus, a Roman lieutenant who defected with 1,000 men. Battle was met enroute. The Romans supervened, despite courageous fighting by Aristobulus’ men, of whom 5000 were slain and 2000 fled.

Aristobulus II and his remaining force, some 1,000+ men, managed to break through the Roman ranks and reached Macherus. Time had not permitted Aristobulus II adequately to fortify Macherus or re-enlarge his army as he had hoped. “[T]he Romans falling upon him, he resisted [their siege]...for two days, and then was taken, and brought a prisoner to Gabinius, with Antigonus his son.” Gabinius carried Aristobulus II back again to Rome. The Roman Senate retained Aristobulus “in bonds, having been both king and high priest for three years and six months.” However, the Senate “returned his children back to Judea, because Gabinius informed them by letter that he had promised Aristobulus’ mother to do so, for her delivering of the fortresses up to him,” “and accordingly they then returned to Judea.”

Gabinius, who had proceeded to march to do war with Parthians and already past the Euphrates, “changed his mind, and resolved to return into Egypt, in order to restore Ptolemy XIII to his kingdom.”³⁷ Gabinius took his army against Archelaus [priest of Comana]. He was supplied with corn, weapons and money by Antipater II (“making use of Hyrcanus and Antipater to provide everything that was necessary”); and enlisted confederates from “those Jews who were above Pelusium...[that] had been guardians of the passes that led into Egypt,” to allow him through.

With Gabinius absent, “the other part of Syria was in motion and Alexander [II] “...brought the Jews to revolt again.” Gabinius, forced to quickly return out of Egypt, “found Syria in disorder, with seditions...; for Alexander [had] seized the government a second time by force,” had assembled a “very great army, and...[was] killing all the Romans that were in the country,” and had “proceeded to besiege the mountain called Gerizzim.” Gabinius, “afraid, ...sent Antipater, who prevailed with some of the revolters;” but 30,000 remained with Alexander. In the ensuing battle “near Mount Tabor,” 10,000 of Alexander’s men fell “and the rest of the multitude dispersed.” Gabinius went to Jerusalem “and settled the government as Antipater would have it.”

Gabinius next went against and was victorious over “the Nabateans,” after which he gloriously returned to Rome “and delivered the government to Crassus.”

AJ XIV.VI.1-4; Wars I.VIII.6-7.

Crassus, preparing to march against the Parthians and looking for funding, swang through Judea and took all of the temple’s treasury (2000 talents and 8000 talents worth of gold items, plus a wrought-gold beam--breaking thereby an initial promise to Eleazar, “guardian of the sacred treasures,” that he would take only the 2000 talents and beam). Crassus “and all his army,” however, perished in Parthia. Crassus was followed by Cassius, who stopped Parthian incursions into Syria and took possession of it. Cassius “made a hasty march into Judea;” he took Tarichaea (carrying away about 30,000 captives); and he killed Pitholaus, supporter of “the seditious followers of Aristobulus [II]; and it was Antipater [II] who advised him so to do.” “Cassius...forced Alexander [II] to come to terms and to be quiet,” and then headed for the Euphrates to check the Parthians.

AJ XIV.VII.1-3; Wars I.VIII.8-9.

³⁶ Many who joined in supporting Aristobulus II were without weaponry.

³⁷ *Josephus* editors note, “This history is best illustrated by Dr. Hudson out of Livy, who says that: ‘A. Gabinius, the proconsul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and ejected Archelaus, whom they had set up for king,’ etc. See *Prid.* at the years 64 and 65.”

“But some time afterward [Julius Caesar], when he had taken Rome, and after Pompey and the senate were fled beyond the Ionian Sea, freed Aristobulus [II],” gave him two legions “and sent him in haste into Syria, as hoping that by his means he should easily conquer that country, and the parts adjoining to Judea.” “[T]hose of Pompey’s party prevented it, and destroyed him by poison.” “Scipio,³⁸ upon Pompey’s sending to him to slay Alexander [II]...cut off his head; and thus did he die at Antioch. ...Ptolemy, the son of Menneus, who was [at this time] the ruler of Chalcis, under Mount Libanus, took his [Alexander’s] brethren to him, and sent his son Philippion to Askelon to Aristobulus II’s wife, and desired her to send back with him her son Antigonus [II], and her daughters; the one of which, whose name was Alexandra [III], Philippion fell in love with, and married her, though afterward his father Ptolemy [son of Menneus] slew him, and married Alexandra [III], and continued to take care of her brethren.” (The fate of the second [unnamed] daughter is not reported.)

Antipater, “who managed the Jewish affairs, became very useful to Caesar when he made war against Egypt; and that by the order of Hyrcanus.” When general Mithridates of Pergamus and his auxiliaries were held up at Askelon from marching through Pelusium, Antipater (a) brought 3000 armed Jews; (b) arranged that Arabians also would join; and (c) delivered assistance from “all the Cyrians...viz. Jamblicus the ruler, and Ptolemy his son, and Tholomy the son of Sohemus,³⁹ who dwelt at Mount Libanus, and almost all the cities.” Antipater “signalized himself” at Pelusium, when Mithridates laid a siege, as being the first to break an entrance through the city’s wall, thereby enabling it to be taken. “Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onion/country of Onias,”⁴⁰ initially refused Mithridates passage but acquiesced when Antipater produced epistles of Hyrcanus [II] the high priest, wherein he exhorted them to cultivate friendship with Caesar,” and to supply any and all provisions requested. “And when the Jews about Memphis heard that these Jews were come over to Caesar, they also invited Mithridates to come to them; so he came and received them also into his army.”⁴¹

Once Mithridates “had gone over all the Delta, as the place is called,” a pitched battle was had near “the place called the Jewish Camp,” where Mithridates was saved by arrival “along the [“river”] shore” of Antipater II’s force, which “had already beaten the enemy that opposed him; so he delivered Mithridates and put those Egyptians who had been too hard for him to flight.” In Mithridates’ account of the battle to Julius Caesar he gave Antipater II credit for the victory, who commended Antipater “and made use of him all the rest of that war.”

Antipater II “became a most courageous warrior; and had many wounds” as testimony to it. And “when [Julius] Caesar, after some time, had finished that war [against Egypt, and was sailed away for Syria,] he gave him the privilege of a Roman citizen, and freedom from taxes [and other bestowals]. On this account it was that he [Caesar] also confirmed Hyrcanus [II] in the high priesthood.” “[A]t this time,” while Julius Caesar was in Syria, Antigonus [II], the son of Aristobulus II, made complaint and appeal to Caesar--“that by Antipater’s means” had his father been poisoned and his brother beheaded, and that Hyrcanus and Antipater governed by violence. Antipater (after exhibiting his war scars) claimed that Antigonus II was son of a Roman enemy and if given governance could not be trusted.

Caesar declared Hyrcanus II to be the most worthy of the high priesthood, giving

³⁸ Scipio, with Pompey at his defeat at Pharsalia by Julius Caesar, afterwards would retire to Africa and finally be defeated by Julius Caesar at Thapsus.

³⁹ Later, Herod the Great would leave one “Sohemus of Ituraea” in charge with Joseph I at Alexandria.

⁴⁰ Refer to Appendix 3B, II (Chief/High/Levite Priesthoods), sub-part IV, C, Heliopolis, Egypt.

⁴¹ Josephus notes that, according to Strabo and Strabo’s source, Hyrcanus II the high priest was also present in the Mithridates’ Egypt expedition. *AJ* XIV.VIII.3.

“leave to Antipater to choose what authority he pleased,” Antipater “was constituted procurator of all Judea;” and Hyrcanus was granted his desire to raise up “the walls of his own city” destroyed by Pompey. AJ XIV.VII.4-VIII.5;
Wars I.IX.1-X.3.

The first thing Antipater II did, however, as soon as Julius Caesar left Syria, was to return to Judaea and “rebuild that wall of his own country which Pompey had overthrown.” Going about the country, he “partly threatened...partly advised” all that they would enjoy peace if they submitted [well] to Hyrcanus [II] but, if they did otherwise, “they should then find him [Antipater II] to be their lord instead of their procurator.” Antipater II then “he settled the affairs of the country by himself, because he saw Hyrcanus...not fit to manage the affairs of the kingdom. So he 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 fifteen years of age”⁴²] with equal authority into Galilee.”

Herod, “an active man,” quickly entered the good graces of Sextus Caesar,⁴³ “president of Syria” and “kinsman” of Julius Caesar. Herod became “greatly beloved by the Syrians” (he killed one Hezekias, captain of a band that had been overrunning Syrian parts, whom he killed along with his “great troop”). Antipater II stood in good stead in Jerusalem, also, where Phaeselus I retained good will in the management of the city; “whence it came to pass that the nation paid Antipater the respects that were due only to a king...[with] honours due to an absolute lord.” Hyrcanus, nominally as king and high priest, privately was envious; but he was harassed more by the activities of Herod, of whom many messengers brought information of a growingly great reputation.

Meanwhile, “the principal men among the Jews” [“many people in the royal palace itself”], seeing the good will the Antipaters were enjoying, and “the revenues which they received out of Judea, were pejorative as to Hyrcanus’ acceptance of Antipaterian authority and management. (Antipater II, whose friendship with Rome’s emperors had grown, had prevailed on Hyrcanus II to give money to Rome and then sent it “as if it were his own, and not Hyrcanus’s gift.”) The “chief men of the Jews,” seeing Herod as a potential tyrant, finally accused Antipater openly before Hyrcanus and urged that Herod ought to answer for killings he had undertaken absent Hyrcanus’ command and contrary to The Law. (“[F]or Herod, Antipater’s son, hath slain Hezekiah, and those that were with him, and hath thereby transgressed our law...[it being] forbidden to slay any man...unless he had been first condemned to suffer death by the sanhedrim [*sic.*]”)

At length Hyrcanus was prevailed upon, moved also by mothers of those slain by Herod the Great, which women continued every day at the temple to persuade “the king and the people that Herod might undergo a trial...for what he had done.” Hyrcanus “summoned Herod to take his trial.” Herod garrisoned the Galilee and took an impressive body of soldiers with him to Jerusalem, while Sextus Caesar sent a threatening epistle on to Hyrcanus on Herod’s behalf. “[W]hen Herod stood before the sanhedrim, with his body of men about him, he affrighted them all, and no one of his former accusers durst...bring any charge against him, but there was a deep silence, and nobody knew what was to be done.” Finally, one Sameas spoke, of the contrast between Herod’s appearance before them opposed to the customary humility of defendants, and warning that “this very man, whom [it appears] you are going to absolve and dismiss, for the sake of Hyrcanus,” one day would punish them all.

“[W]hen Hyrcanus saw that the members of the sanhedrim [*sic.*] were ready to pronounce the sentence of death upon Herod,” he continued the trial for a day, secretly

⁴² Or 25?—refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A.

⁴³ “Sextus, a praenomen given to the sixth son....” “A son of Pompey, the Great.” “A governor of Syria.” L 565. (Julius Caesar’s daughter Julia [#3] had been married to Pompey the Great and died during child birth c. BC 53.)

contacted Herod, and told him to escape the city.⁴⁴ Herod “retired to Sextus, to Damascus, and got every thing ready, in order not to obey,” should he be resummoned. Sextus made Herod general of Celesyria and Samaria (“he sold him that post for money”). When Antipaterian foes told Hyrcanus that Herod was preparing for war he “fell into the utmost degree of terror.” Herod indeed went to engage Hyrcanus but was stopped from an assault at Jerusalem by the counsel of his father Antipater and brother Phasaelus, who among other things reminded him of the advantages their family had received via Hyrcanus and that Hyrcanus had saved him from a sanhedrin sentence. Herod took his gains by show of force as sufficient for the time being and backed off.

“In the mean time,” Sextus Caesar fell victim to a “treacherous slaughter” (“perpetrated out of...good-will to Pompey”) by Cecilius Bassus, “one of Pompey’s party.” Bassus slew Sextus, took his army, “and got the management of public affairs into his own hand.” Civil war erupted “among the Romans at Apamia;” “Caesar’s generals came against Bassus,” and “the affairs of Syria were in great disorder.” Antipater sent “assistance by his sons;” and, “as the war was drawn out into a great length, Marcus [undesigned; Brutus?] came from Rome to take Sextus’ government upon him.”

“But [Julius] Caesar was slain by Cassius and Brutus in the senate-house, after he had retained the government three years and six months.” *AJ XIV.IX.1-5. XI.1; Wars I.X.4-10.*

[Josephus *AJ XIV.X* presents a large sampling of Roman decrees over time to various widely-regional provincial governments, demonstrating Rome’s “league of friendship” with Hyrcanus II and civil rights of “Jews.” Primary conferrals included recognition of Hyrcanus as “ethnarch of the Jews;” vesting of the ethnarchy and high priesthood in Hyrcanus’ lineage—that “Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed;” allowing encompassing of Jerusalem’s walls; establishing tributes payable to the ethnarchy; confirming certain territorial possessions; excusing “Jews” from military service; ensuring to them their customs and practices; and advising of the Senate’s intention to meet with ambassadors to establish a more extensive mutual league.]

The murder of Julius Caesar caused “great agitations, and the great men were mightily at difference one with another, and every one betook himself to that party where they had the greatest hopes of their own.”

Cassius went from Rome to Syria, took over the Apamia camp, “raised the siege and reconciled both Bassus and Marcus, and the legions which [previously] were at difference with him, to his party.” He then canvassed regional cities for weapons and soldiers, levying heavy taxes. He “chiefly oppressed Judea.” Antipater II—seeing “the state to be in so great consternation and disorder” and out of his dread of Cassius’s threats—parted the raising of [a required 700 talents] among his sons...and others of his acquaintance, and to be done immediately.” Of necessity, “part of it was to be exacted by Malichus, who was ill-disposed to/at enmity with” Antipater.

Herod, considering it prudent to gain Roman good-will “at the expense of others,” was first to comply in exacting the 100 talents required of him from the Galilee, and garnered “the greatest favour with Cassius; whereas, Cassius—angered by recalcitrance—caused “the curators of the other cities, and their citizens [to be sold for] slaves and reduced four cities into a state of slavery”—Gophna and Emmaus (the two “most potent”) and Lydia and Thamna. Cassius would have killed Malichus for his procrastination if not pacified by Antipater, who sent 100 talents of his own.

“Herodes [Herod the Great]...followed the interest of Brutus and Cassius, and afterwards that of Antony.” L 272. “Upon the war between Cassius and Brutus on one side, against the younger Caesar [Octavian/Augustus] and Antony on the other, Cassius and Marcus got together an army out of Syria; and because Herod was likely to have a great share in providing necessaries, they then made him procurator of all Syria, gave him a fleet of

⁴⁴ Josephus remarks that were it not for outside pressure, Hyrcanus would have seen him convicted.

ships and an army of foot and horse and made him general of the forces of Celesyria.” They promised Herod that, after the war was over, they would make him king of Judea.

Once Cassius was gone from Judea, Malichus--“most afraid” of Antipater--“laid snares for Antipater, thinking that his death would be the preservation of Hyrcanus’s government.” Antipater, aware of the threat, “retired beyond Jordan, and got together an army, partly of Arabs, and partly of his own contrymen;” but Phasaelus and Herod, convinced by Malichus that he had no contrary designs, reconciled them. Subsequently, Malichus bribed Hyrcanus’ butler/ cupbearer to poison Antipater when he was feasting with Hyrcanus and Malichus. “This being done,” Malichus, “having armed men with him, settled the affairs of the city.” Malichus denied any complicity in Antipater’s death, “made the people believe he was not guilty,” and proceeded to prepare an army to counter an expected retaliation by Herod.

Herod with an army did approach, but Phasaelus counseled “it best to get [the] man into their hands by policy, lest they should appear to begin a civil war in the country; so he accepted of Malichus’s defence for himself, and pretended to believe” that he had not been involved in his father’s violent death. Herod also professed Malichus clear of suspicion.

AJ XIV.XI.2-4; Wars I.XI.1-5.

Herod went to subdue tumult in Samaria City. After restoring peace there, he returned to Jerusalem (at a time of “the festival”), with armed men. Malichus had Hyrcanus II forbid “them to introduce foreigners to mix themselves with the people of the country, while they were purifying themselves; but Herod despised the pretence, and him that gave that command, and came in by night.” Herod restrained himself when he met up with Malichus, knowing the latter’s lamentations for Antipater were false; privately, he wrote to Cassius, who also hated Malichus.

Cassius captured Laodicea, and “all went together to him, and carried him garlands and money,” which time “Herod allotted...for the punishment of Malichus.” Malichus “somewhat apprehensive of the thing,” went to Tyre planning secretly to retrieve his son (then a hostage) before marching into Judea. Since Cassius was anxious to march against Antony, Malichus hoped to inaugurate a revolt while the Romans were otherwise engaged, “easily depose Hyrcanus, and get the crown for himself.”

Meanwhile, Cassius had sent word back to Herod the Great “that he should avenge his father’s death...and privately [Cassius] gave order to the tribunes that were under him/to the commanders at Tyre that they should assist. Herod “had said before that he would feast them all” [Hyrcanus II, Malichus and himself] at Tyre. He sent a servant ahead, ostensibly to ready the supper but, in reality, carrying an order to the army commanders. Outside the city, “upon the sea-shore...they encompassed Malichus round about, and killed him with many wounds. Upon which Hyrcanus...swooned away, and fell down...and with difficulty...recovered,” and asked who had killed Malichus. Told that it had been at Cassius’ command, Hyrcanus credited Cassius with saving him and his country” from the dangers posed by Malichus.

AJ XIV.XI.5-6; Wars I.XI.6-8.

Upon Cassius’ withdrawal from Syria, Malichus’ brother Felix, left with an army at Jerusalem, made a “sudden attempt on/assaulted” Phasaelus [I]” and instigated revolts “in many places.” He secured “a great many” fortresses, including Masada, “the strongest of them;” “the people rose in arms.” Herod had been with Felix, the prefect at Damascus, where he temporarily was detained from going to Phasaelus’ aid by a sickness/distemper. Alone, Phasaelus managed to imprison Felix in the tower but thereafter “on certain conditions released him.” Meanwhile, Malichus brother instigated revolts “in many places;” Phasaelus complained that Hyrcanus II was supporting the enemies.

Cassius had “set [his] tyrants over all Syria,” placing one “Marion” over Tyre. Marion marched also into the Galilee, which lay in his neighborhood, took and garrisoned three fortresses. It was “principally on Fabius’ account” and partly out of hatred of Herod that Marion assisted Antigonus II, who, in the meantime, had raised an army and with money

made Fabius “his friend/assistant.” “Ptolemy, son of Menneus” (ruler of Chalcis, who had married Alexandra III) “brought Antigonus [II, “his kinsman”] back into Judea” and supplied him with all that he needed.

As soon as Herod was well he returned, recovered the fortresses, drove Felix out of Masada “in the posture of a supplicant,” and also drove out Marion, taking steps to secure good-will of the Tyrian soldiers. “When Herod had fought against these in the avenues of Judea, he was conqueror in the [main] battle, and drove away Antigonus [II].” Herod was received with honor at Jerusalem, where “the people put garlands about his head; for he had already contracted an affinity with the family of Hyrcanus by having espoused a descendant of his [Miriam I]”--the daughter of Alexandra [II] and Alexander [II], the son of [unnamed mother and] Aristobulus [II]--and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus [II], by which wife he [would become] the father of three male and two female children.” Herod formerly had married “a wife out of his own country out of a lower family of his own nation [“of no ignoble blood”], who was called Doris, of whom he begat Antipater [III]; so did he now marry [espouse] Miriamne [I], the daughter of Alexander [II], the son of Aristobulus [II], and the granddaughter of Hyrcanus [II], and was become thereby a relation of the king.”

AJ XIV.XI.7-XII.1; Wars I.XII.1-3.

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.... [H]e expelled [“deposed”] Antipater [III] the son of Doris...and permitted him to come thither at no other times than at the festivals.”

Wars I.XXII.1.

Mark Antony and Julius Caesar conquered Cassius near Philippi. After that victory, Caesar went into Gaul⁴⁵ and “Antony marched for Asia.” When Antony arrived at Bithynia he was met by ambassadors from all parts; “the principal men also of the Jews came thither.” The latter made charges that Hyrcanus was but a figurehead; that Phasaelus I and Herod the Great had all the power, literally reigned, and kept the government by force. Herod also was present but Antony was not disposed to listen to charges against him, in that he had “made Antony his friend by the large sums of money which he gave him”

On the other hand, Antony--next at Ephesus--received an embassy from Hyrcanus II (with a gift of a crown of gold), and granted Hyrcanus II's request for freedom of captives carried away by Cassius, “and to restore them that country, which, in the days of Cassius, had been taken from them.” Antony “immediately wrote back and at the same time sent decrees to the Tyrians,” Antony's epistles related also how “Brutus, when he had fled as far as Philippi, was shut up by us, and became a partaker of the same perdition with Cassius,” and included Antony's supposition that now “Asia may be at rest from war.”

Cleopatra the Great, who met Antony in Cilicia “brought him to fall in love with her.”

At Daphne “by Antioch,” “There came...100 of the most potent of the Jews to accuse Herod and those about him, and set the men of the greatest eloquence among them to speak. But [one] Messala contradicted them, on behalf of the young men, and all this in the presence of Hyrcanus II, who was Herod's [“espoused”] father-in-law already.” Antony (“already in love with Cleopatra to the degree of slavery”) listened to both sides and then asked Hyrcanus who governed best; Hyrcanus responded, “Herod and his friends/his party.” The ambassadors were indignant; Antony took fifteen of them in custody, “whom he was also going to kill presently, and the rest he drove away in disgrace. Nonetheless, “these men” did not remain quiet. When Antony then made Herod the Great and Phasaelus both tetrarchs, “and committed the public affairs of the Jews to them, and wrote letters to that purpose,” “a still greater tumult arose at Jerusalem.”

On news that Antony was going to be at Tyre, “they sent a thousand ambassadors to

⁴⁵ *Josephus* editors add, [Italy].
App4B.1

Tyre, where Antony [then] abode” on his march to Jerusalem. Antony, “corrupted by the money which Herod and his brother had given him,” sent Tyre’s governor after them, “to punish all he could catch...and to settle those in the administration whom he had made tetrarchs.” Herod (with Hyrcanus) hurried out to where they stood “upon the shore before the city” and bade them desist and disperse for their own sakes and that of their “native country. “But they did not acquiesce [“grew still more outrageous, [and] Antony sent out armed men,”] whereupon the Romans ran upon them with daggers, and slew some [“many], and wounded more...and the rest fled away and went home, and lay still in great consternation. And when the people made a clamour against Herod, Antony was so provoked at it, that he slew the prisoners [“those whom he had in bonds].”

AJ XIV.XIII.1-2; Wars I.XII.4-7.

“[I]n the second year,” Pacorus, son of the Parthian king, and Barzapharnes, a Parthian commander [“a governor among the Parthians”], “possessed themselves of Syria.” [Menneus-] Ptolemy had died and been succeeded in the government [*ed. note*, of Chalcis] by his son, Lysanias; Lysanias took Antigonos II as a commander and friend. Antigonos had offered the Parthians [Lysanias prevailed with Barzapharnes by virtue of] 1,000 talents and 500 women, on condition that they depose Hyrcanus, give the government to Antigonos, and kill Herod. Pacorus marched along the coast and ordered Barzapharnes “to fall upon the Jews” through the midland. The Tyrians “excluded Pacorus, but the Sidonians and those of Ptolemais received him.” Pacorus sent a horse troop in command of “a certain cup-bearer belonging to the royal family, of his own name...to march into Judea...to learn the state of affairs...and to help Antigonos when he should want his assistance.”

When the Parthians “were ravaging Carmel,” “the Jews that dwelt about Mount Carmel came to Antigonos...ready to march with him into Judea.” He sent them to seize Drymi/Drymus [“the woodland”⁴⁶] where they won a battle and drove their foes before them. Antigonos’ force increased in number as it went and “privately fell upon Jerusalem,” where, joined by more, went against the king’s palace “in great numbers...and besieged it.” Hyrcanus II and Phasaelus I met them, however, with a strong force, and in a battle that ensued “in the market-place...Herod’s party [“the young men”] beat the enemy, and shut them up in the temple, and set sixty men in the houses adjoining as a guard. “But the people that were tumultuous against the brethren came in, and burnt those men [the captured, “yet being destitute of such as should support them, were burnt, and the houses with them”]; while Herod, in his rage for [that] attacked and slew many of the people, till one party made incursions on the other by turns, day by day, in the way of ambushes [“daily skirmishes”], and slaughters were made continually among them.” *AJ XIV.XIII.3; Wars I.XIII.1-2.*

At “Pentecost, a feast of ours so called...many ten thousands of the people were gathered together about the temple, some in armour, and some without. Those that came guarded both the temple and the city, excepting what belonged to the palace, which Herod guarded with a few of his soldiers; and Phasaelus had the charge of the wall, while Herod, with a body of his men, sallied out upon the enemy, who lay in the suburbs [north quarter of the city and were out of their ranks]...and put many ten thousands to flight, some flying into the city...some into the temple...some into the outer fortifications [Herod slew a great number, put them all to flight, and shut some up in the city and others within the outward rampart].” Phasaelus went to assist Herod, but he was prevailed upon by Antigonos to admit Pacorus, with a few of his horsemen, into the city, for a reconciliation, “under pretence indeed as if he [Pacorus] would still the sedition, but in reality to assist Antigonos in obtaining the government.” Phasaelus received Pacorus “kindly” and, although Herod exhorted against it, Phasaelus accepted Pacorus’ “fraudulent” proposal that Phasaelus go as an ambassador to Barzapharnes, believing thereby to put an end to the war.

Both Phasaelus I and Hyrcanus II left to see Barzapharnes, conducted by Pacorus, who had left 200 horsemen and ten men called the “free-men” with Herod. In Galilee “the governors of the cities there met them in their arms” [Phasaelus and Hyrcanus found “that the

⁴⁶ *Josephus ed. fr.*: “This large and noted wood, or woodland, belonging to Carmel.”
App4B.1

people of that country had revolted, and were in arms, [and] besought him (Barzapharnes) to conceal his treacherous intentions...[and] afterward...laid ambushes”. Barzapharnes met Phasaelus and Hyrcanus with good-will and presents; Phasaelus and his horsemen then “were conducted to the sea-side.” [When they arrived at Ecdippon, a maritime city, they heard of Antigonus’ plot, and how he had promised “the greatest number of the women that were there with them” to the Parthians, along with 1,000 talents.] “[T]hey also perceived that an ambush was always laid for them...in the night time;” and Parthian guards also remained always nearby, corroborating a tip that they were being kept alive only until Herod had been seized.

One “Ophellius,” who had learned of the planned treachery from “Saramalla, the richest of all the Syrians at that time,” was the most forceful among those who urged Phasaelus I to flee immediately, offering him ships to carry him off; but Phasaelus, wishing neither to desert Hyrcanus nor to cause danger to Herod, went to Barzapharnes, the Parthian governor, criticized his subterfuge, and offered him a greater payment than Antigonus. Barzapharnes denied all; but, as soon as he was gone, Hyrcanus and Phasaelus were put in bonds [“those Parthians who were left, and had it in charge, seized upon” them]. Meanwhile, “that butler [“cup-bearer of the royal family”]” was sent to Jerusalem to lure Herod outside of the city and seize him.

Herod went to “the most potent of the Parthians, [and] to the lords of the rest, who, although they knew the whole matter, dissembled with him in a deceitful way,” urged him to go with them outside the city to receive good news of a successful Phasaelus embassy. However, Herod had various intelligence reports--from some, that Phasaelus’ messenger had fallen to the enemy; from others, that Phasaelus had been seized. Further, “the daughter of Hyrcanus [who] he [Herod the Great] had espoused, was his monitor also, which made him still more suspicious of the Parthians; for although other people did not give heed to her, yet did he believe her as a woman of very great wisdom.” “Alexandra [II], the shrewdest woman in the world, Hyrcanus’s daughter, begged of him that he would not go out.”

Herod decided that he would delay no longer and would flee the Parthians that night. He 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, the daughter of Alexander [II], the son of Aristobulus [II], with her mother [Alexandra II], the daughter of Hyrcanus [II], and his [Herod’s] younger brother [Pheroras], and all their servants, and the rest of the multitude that was with him, and without the enemy’s privity pursued his way to Idumea. ...[w]hile the women drew along their infant children.”⁴⁷

At one point of the Great’s journey, the fall of a wagon put his mother in danger of being killed. Herod feared that and other delays would see him overtaken. Twice he considered suicide.⁴⁸ He both was restrained when he drew his sword and shamed against the act by many with him, who stressed the cowardice of leaving everyone else in “in the same distresses” as he found himself. Herod made haste, then, toward the fortress of Masada, and although he “had many skirmishes with such of the Parthians as attacked and pursued him, he was conqueror of them all.”

Neither was Herod “free from the Jews all along as he was in his flight” [“Nay...the Jews fell more heavily upon him than did the (pursuing) Parthians...and this ever since he got (to the road) sixty furlongs from the city; these sometimes brought it to a sort of a regular

⁴⁷ Here, during his showdown with Antigonus II, Herod the Great is seen as custodian of the remaining Asamonean women, when “he set on the beasts...his wives...as also his mother [Cypros I], and sister [Salome I].: her whom he was *about* to marry [Miriam I]--the daughter of Alexander [II], the son of Aristobulus [II], with her mother [Alexandra II], the daughter of Hyrcanus [II]....” Miriam’s brother, Aristobulus III, would have been in his teens at the time.

⁴⁸ As has been seen repeatedly, suicide (a non-torturous death) frequently was chosen by men on the brink of capture by foes.

battle.”] Herod beat them and killed a large number.⁴⁹ Herod’s brother, Joseph [II], met him when he reached Idumea at a place called Thressa;” the number of people joined with Herod had swelled along the way, together with the mercenaries now a truly great number. He held council as to how next to proceed, and Joseph counseled they ease themselves of a large number of followers” in that the fortress of Masada could not support them all. Herod gave money for provisions to the some 9000-plus individuals and bid them disperse and find safety in Idumea. Eight hundred--”the least encumbered, and most intimate with him”--Herod took to and lodged at Masada, which held enough corn, water and necessaries. [He “left 800 of his men as a guard for the women, and provisions sufficient for a siege.”] Herod, himself, “went directly for Petra, in [”]Arabia[”] [present-day Jordan].”

The Parthians plundered Jerusalem, its abandoned houses and the palace, leaving only “Hyrcanus’ money” (some 300 talents), and they went on to plunder the country and demolish Marissa. Herod, however, “beforehand,” had conveyed into Idumea a great deal of his own money [“and what was most splendid among his treasures”].

“[T]hus was Antigonus [II] brought back into Judea by the king of the Parthians, and received Hyrcanus [II] and Phasaelus [I] for his prisoners; but he was greatly cast down because the women had escaped, whom he intended to have given the enemy, as “promised...with the money, for their reward.” Hyrcanus and Phasaelus were under Parthian guard. Antigonus II, to ensure that Hyrcanus never “might have his kingdom restored to him by the multitude--cut off Hyrcanus’ ears” [“bit off Hyrcanus’s ears with his own teeth”], thus rendering him forever ineligible for the position of high priest.⁵⁰

Phasaelus I, believing he was about to be executed and unable to kill himself by his bound hands, “dashed his head against a great stone, and thereby [did take] away his own life”--however, “[i]t is also reported” he survived a large head wound which Antigonus sent physicians ostensibly to treat but secretly ordered them to infuse it with poison, from which Phasaelus died. Regardless, Phasaelus “underwent his death cheerfully,” for he heard from “a certain woman” before he died that Herod had escaped. “Thus was the death of Phasaelus; but the Parthians, although they had failed of the women they chiefly desired, yet did they put the government of Jerusalem into the hands of Antigonus [II], and took away Hyrcanus [II], and bound him, and carried him to Parthia.” *AJ XIV.XIII.4-10; Wars I.XIII.3-10.*

Herod the Great planned to obtain Tyrian intercession to offer the Parthians 300 talents for redemption for Phasaelus I, whose fate Herod as yet did not know. He intended to obtain the money from Arabia’s king, Malthus--if not as a gift then as a loan, by virtue of Antipater II’s friendship. Herod took with him Phasaelus’ seven-year-old son to leave as collateral should Malthus only give a loan. But Malchus sent out a messenger and put off Herod’s approach, as if he were being pressed by the Parthians to not receive Herod (that being “only a pretense which he made use of”--partly induced by the “principal [most potent] men” in the Arabian kingdom, to avoid both repaying monies loaned and returning monies “committed to their fidelity” [“deposited among them”] by Antipater II.

“[W]hen Herod had found that the Arabians were his enemies...he returned back, and went for Egypt (lodging the first evening in “a certain temple” [“at one of the temples of that country”], where “he had left a great many of his followers” [“in order to meet with those whom he left behind”]. The next day, arriving at Rhinocolura, he heard what had happened to his brother. Herod made haste to Pelusium. (Malchus, in a change of heart, had followed after Herod; either he never caught up, or “Herod had prevented them.”)

The ship captains at Pelusium, on Herod’s appeal and out of great regard for him,

⁴⁹ “Some time afterward” Herod built at that site “a most excellent palace [a citadel], and a city round about it [adorned it with the most costly palaces, and erected very strong fortifications], and called it Herodium.”

⁵⁰ According to the ordinance that a high priest have no such deformities; *Leviticus* 21:17ff.

conducted him to Alexandria, where “he was received by Cleopatra [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 being neither affrighted at the height of that storm which then happened (or the fact that “affairs of Italy were...in great disorder”), he sailed for Rome.” He was lucky to escape with his life violent weather near Pamphylia, although forced to jettison most of the ship’s lading. Arriving safely at Rhodes he was “received by his friends, Ptolemy [undesigned] and one Sappinas/ Sappinius. (Rhodes was “very much damaged [from] the war against Cassius, and Herod did what was in his power to aid recovery). Despite of his want for money, Herod was able to build a three-decked 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--that Antigonus II had been made king by the Parthians and by what means, the danger now threatening Herod’s relations, and the trials he had undergone to reach Rome. Antony was disposed to assist Herod, both in view of his prior friendship with Antipater II and in that Herod “offered him money to make him king, as he had formerly given it to him to make him tetrarch,” but chiefly because Antony hated Antigonus as an enemy of the Romans. Caesar [Octavian/Augustus] advanced Herod’s cause moreso, on account of Antipater II’s role in the war in Egypt, etc. So Octavian convoked the senate; “and Messala first, and then Atratinus, introduced Herod into it.”

Testimony was had as to the benefits and good will Rome had received from Herod’s meritorious father, while Antigonus was accused as an enemy, having “overlooked the Romans, and taken the government from the Parthians”--“at which juncture Antony came in and declared it was advantageous for Rome in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it.” “...Antony’s affection for Herod [was such]...that he...procured him a kingdom” (“which...the Romans...used to bestow...on some of the [[local] royal family”), which kingship Herod “did not expect...[and] did not come...to ask for himself but intended to desire it for his wife’s brother [Aristobulus III], who was grandson by his father [Alexander II] to Aristobulus [II], and to Hyrcanus [II] by his mother [Alexandra II].”

Herod followed the dignitaries out of the senate house with Antony and Caesar Octavian by his sides; sacrifices were offered and the decrees laid up in the capitol. Thus did Herod obtain the kingdom, “on the hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [“the first time”].” Herod “departed Italy in so few days as seven in all.”

Antigonus all the while had been besieging Masada, which at one point lacked water so badly that Herod’s brother, Joseph, was contriving to take the 200 “of his dependants”/“of his own friends” and make a run for Malchus, having learned of his repentance. However, an unexpected rain that very night, which filled the cisterns, also renewed courage, “so they made a sally, and fought hand to hand with Antigonus’s soldiers [“some in open battles, and some in private ambush], and destroyed a great number” [“although sometimes they were beaten, and ran away”].

“In the mean time” the Roman general, Ventidius, sent out of Syria to subdue Parthian incursions, marched on into Judea, “in pretence indeed to assist Joseph; but in reality...no more than a stratagem...to get money of Antigonus.” Ventidius pitched camp close to Jerusalem and “stripped Antigonus of a great deal of money.” Afterward Ventidius retired with most of his army but he left a troop there under Roman captain Silo, “lest if he [Ventidius] had taken...all [his soldiers] away, his taking of bribes might have been too openly discovered.” Antigonus “cultivated a good understanding with Silo, lest any interruption should be given to his hopes” that Parthians again would come to his defense.

AJ XIV.XIV.1-6; Wars I.XIV.1-4, XV.1-2.

“By this time Herod had sailed out of Italy to Ptolemais, and had gotten together no small army, both of strangers [“foreigners”]...and his own countrymen, and marched through

Galilee against Antigonus [II].” “[A]ll Galilee, with some small exception, joined Herod.” Of “the people of the country” who joined Herod, “the greatest number came to him in hopes of getting somewhat from him afterward, if he were once firmly settled in the kingdom,” although “some did it out of the friendship had with and benefits received from both Herod and his father, and some simply because of Herod’s “splendid appearance.” Ventidius and Silo received word from Antony that they also were to assist. Herod’s initial quest was to save those at Masada; but Joppa gave him trouble, and “it was necessary for him to take that place first,” wishing to leave no stronghold in enemy hands before proceeding south. Silo, who had been taking bribes from Antigonus, now had “plausible occasion of drawing off his forces” from Jerusalem, whereupon “he was pursued by the Jews [who] pressed upon him;” but Herod “made an excursion with a small body of men, soon put the Jews to flight and saved Silo.”

“Herod had now a strong army” and suffered little damage from “snares and ambushes” laid by Antigonus [II] in the passes and other places along the way. “So Herod received [“easily recovered”] those of his family out of Masada, and the fortress Ressa, and then went on for Jerusalem,” “where the soldiers that were with Silo joined themselves to his own, as did many out of the city, from a dread of his power.” Herod pitched camp on Jerusalem’s west side, where Antigonus guards shot darts and arrows, some also sallying out for hand-to-hand combat with Herod’s front ranks.

Herod caused proclamation around the wall that he was there for the people’s good and preservation of the city and prepared to forgive and forget previous offenses. Antigonus’ soldiers “made a contrary clamour, and did neither permit any body to hear...nor to change their party.” Antigonus responded to all--the Romans and Silo, as well--“that it would be wrong for them to give the kingdom to Herod,” “who was no more than a private man, and an Idumean, *i.e.* a half Jew,” when properly it belonged to one of the royal family; further, if they objected to Antigonus for his having been seated by the Parthians, there were many others of his family in good Roman standing, who properly “under their law” could take it, “and being of the sacerdotal family, it would be an unworthy thing to put them by.” On Antigonus’ orders, his soldiers on the wall with their bows and arrows easily drove the enemy away from the towers.

“[H]ere it was that Silo...set” many of the soldiers to insisting on pay, provisions, and convenient winter quarters and then, alleging them as the reasons, “moved the army, and attempted to get them off the siege.” Herod aborted the withdrawal by assuring Silo’s captains and soldiers that he would supply the necessary wherewithal. Herod first secured “a great abundance of [immediate] necessaries” from the surrounding country; and sent for another abundance for future needs, from “friends of his who inhabited about Samaria [which city had joined itself to him].” Herod stocked corn, wine, oil and cattle at Jericho.

Antigonus II, aware of it, deployed men who in turn “got together a great number of armed men” to lie about the mountains around Jericho to hinder corn collection and to lay ambushes. Herod went to Jericho with five cohorts of Romans, five of Jews, and some mercenaries, and found the city deserted. He “took and sent away” 500 residents who with their wives and children had settled on tops of hills,” while the Romans plundered the city and its houses, “full of all sorts of good things. So the king [Herod] left a garrison there and sent the Roman army to take their winter quarters in the countries that were come over to him, Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria [where the Romans] laid their weapons aside, and lived in plenty of all things.” [“Antigonus also by bribes obtained of Silo to let a part of his army be received at Lydda, as a compliment to Antonius.”]

Herod, on the other hand, was not inclined to remain idle. He sent out brother Joseph II with 2000 footmen and 400 horsemen against Idumea,“ which was “seized...and kept.” Herod, himself, removed his mother and other relatives to Samaria and, once they were settled, proceeded to take Antigonus garrisons in the Galilee. He easily took Sepphoris, whose guards deserted before any assault; at Arbela he encountered strong

resistance but ultimately won a pitched battle and pursued foes as far as the Jordan. "So he brought over to him all Galilee, excepting those that dwelt in the caves," after which he paid his soldiery well and sent them into winter quarters. Herod sent "his youngest brother, Pheroras, to take care of a good market for them...and to repair/build a wall around Alexandrium."

"In the mean time Antony abode at Athens, while Ventidius called for Silo and Herod to come to the war against the Parthians, but ordered them first to settle the affairs of Judea." Herod sent Silo while he himself set about clearing out the the cave-dwellers (employing basket chests, in which soldiers were lowered to fight resisters at the cave mouths). Herod left part of his army there, under command of Ptolemy [undesigned], and with 600 horsemen and 3000 footmen returned to Samaria, "intending to fight Antigonus." But Ptolemy's command did not go well--troublesome Galileans unexpectedly attacked and killed him in another insurrection. Herod responded immediately, "destroyed a great number of the seditious, and raised the sieges of all those fortresses they had besieged." At rebellion's end he "laid a fine upon the cities of a hundred talents."

"By this time" Pacorus had been slain and the Parthians driven out by the Romans. At Antony's command, Ventidius sent one general Macheras with two legions and 1,000 horsemen to Herod, as auxiliaries against Antigonus II. Antigonus, by a letter emphasizing the merit of his cause and promising money, solicited Macheras to aid him, instead. Macheras did go, albeit counter to Herod's counsel, "to take a view" of Antigonus' affairs ["as a spy to discover his affairs"]; Antigonus II, however, deducing Macheras' intentions, refused him entry to the city and threw stones at him ["defended himself against him as against an enemy, from the walls"]. Ashamed and enraged, Macheras "retired to Emmaus, to Herod...[and] he slew all the Jews whom he met with, without sparing those that were for Herod, but using them all as if they were for Antigonus." Provoked, Herod went to Samaria, intending to go to Antony with charges of Macheras' "maladministration;" but Macheras begged reconciliation and Herod instead allowed him to join forces with Joseph. Herod left Joseph II there over the army, but charged him not to quarrel with Macheras and not run any hazards [/to make no attempts against Antigonus til his return]."

Herod did proceed to join Antony, who, with a large army, was besieging [both] "Samosata...a strong city near to Euphrates" [and "the metropolis of Commagena"]. Herod with his force made haste toward an opportunity to both show courage and Antony support, and at Antioch assumed leadership of another large number of unmarshalled men looking to join up. Before reaching Samosata, Herod cleared out a major offense of ambushing rebels, thereby making it safe for those following ("these called Herod their saviour and protector"); the battle yielded "a great number of beasts for burden and of slaves." Herod was received by Antony at Samosata with profound respect and affection. Herod "soon made an end of that siege and slew a great number...and took a large prey; insomuch that Antony...did now admire Herod's courage still more." "[I]n a little time Antiochus [undesigned] delivered up the fortress, and on that account [that] war was at an end." "Antony released command to Sosius with orders to assist Herod; Antony, himself, made for Egypt. General Sosius, sending two legions ahead of his army, made for Judea. *AJ XIV.XV.1-9; Wars I.XV.3-6, XVI, 1-7.*

Joseph II, "as soon as [he] heard that his brother was at a very great distance...neglected the charge." With five regiments sent by Macheras, Joseph marched toward Jericho to reap [/seize] its mid-summer corn. The Roman regiments were green/unskilled in war (newly recruited out of Syria without a veteran among them); they were beaten [/utterly destroyed] when attacked in a trapped landscape; bravely fighting Joseph was killed in the battle. (When Antigonus II got possession of the slain, he cut off Joseph II's head.) "After this victory of Antigonus the affairs of Galilee were put in such disorder" that Galileans revolted from their commanders; they drowned those of Herod's party; and a great part of Judea was become seditious. "Great change" occurred also in Idumea; Macheras had

commenced building a wall around the fortress named Gitta/Gittha.⁵¹ “But Herod had not yet been informed of these things,” being with Antony, etc.

Herod the Great was at “Daphne by Antioch” when he received the news. Herod put aside his mourning, quickened the pace of his army (which then was one Roman legion) and, joined by 800 men of Mount Libanus, passed through Ptolemais and proceeded along the Galilee by night.

“Here it was” the enemy met and fought him and were beaten, and shut up in the same place of strength whence they had sallied out the day before [“the place which they had left”].” Herod began “an immediate and continual attack upon the (unnamed) fortress” in the morning, but was caused by a violent storm to draw off into neighboring villages. When a second legion from Antony arrived after a few days, “the enemy were affrighted...and left their fortifications in the night time.” Herod wasted no time in resuming the march to Jericho. Once the army’s tents were pitched, Herod gave a feast for his commanding officers/the principal men, in an undesignated house, before retiring for the night. (He took it as a sign of the dangers in store for him, when the house’s roof “fell down immediately” after he and the guests had gone out.)

Herod in the morning “set forward with his army, when about six thousand of his enemies came running down from the mountains, and began to fight with those in the forefront, “which greatly terrified” the Romans. The enemies loosed stones and darts, but stayed at a distance; one dart caught Herod in his side. *AJ XIV.XV.10-12; Wars I.XVII.1-4.*

Antigonus II, wishing to demonstrate his strength, sent a force, under a commander Pappus, against Samaria and to oppose Macheras. Herod moved his headquarters to Cana to go against Pappus, who was camped at a village named Isanas. Herod “overran the enemy’s country and demolished five little [undesignated] cities, destroying two thousand men that were in them, and burned their houses.” A “great multitude of Jews resorted to Herod every day,” out of both Jericho and other parts--some out of hatred for Antigonus II or to share Herod the Great’s glory; “others were led on by an unreasonable desire of change.” “Pappus and his party... marched out with great alacrity...and it came to a close fight.”

The ensuing action “chiefly brake the spirits of the enemy.” Herod, driven by the rage at his brother’s [Joseph II’s] murder, was unstoppable even after his victory, unrelentingly pursuing the foe. In one of the villages “from whence they had come out,” the houses that had filled with retreating soldiers were pulled down and the heaps of men from above and within were stoned to death--“nor was there a more frightening spectacle in all the war than this, where beyond the walls an immense multitude of dead men lay heaped one upon another.” The rest of Antigonus II’s forces fled. (That night Herod the Great entered a chamber to bathe and was surprised by a group of armoured enemy who had taken refuge there. In their own fear they cared only to escape, which they did without harming the king.)

The next day Herod cut off the head of the dead Pappus who had killed Joseph. (Herod sent Pappus’ head to brother Pheroras as confirmation of retribution for their other brother’s [Phasael’s] fate. If it had not been deep winter, Herod would have followed up his latest success with an immediate march on Jerusalem; there, “Antigonus was already looking about how he might fly and leave the city.”

At winter’s end, it being then year three following the Roman senate’s vote (c. 41 b.c.e.) that Herod was to be king, Herod moved his army and pitched camp hard by Jerusalem near the most easily assaultable part of its wall--“before the temple, intending to make his attacks in the same manner as did Pompey.” Herod “demolished the suburbs,” and many hands were put to work building three bulwarks/banks, erecting towers on them, and cutting down trees around the city. Herod left appropriate persons to oversee the work and,

⁵¹ *Josephus* editors add, [in Samaria].”
App4B.1

while the army remained camped there, “he himself went to Samaria, to complete his marriage, and to take to wife [Miriam I] the daughter of Alexander [II], the son of Aristobulus [II]; for he had betrothed her already, as...before related” [“and thus he accomplished this by the by, during the siege of the city, for he had his enemies in great contempt already.”] *AJ XIV.XV.12-14; Wars I.XVII.5-8.*

“After the wedding,” Roman general Sosius came through Phoenicia, sending his army ahead “over the midland parts” and he following with another large company of horse and footmen. Herod left Samaria with an army of now about 30,000. Under the two generals, the force that met and camped at Jerusalem’s north wall consisted of 11 armed foot legions, 6,000 horsemen and “other auxiliaries out of Syria.” [“Herod’s dependence was upon the decree of the senate, by which he was made king; and Sosius relied upon Antony, who sent the army that was under him to Herod’s assistance.”]

The “multitude”⁵² inside the city was divided into the “weaker” crowd about the temple, resigned to martyrdom; the more bold and hardy formed groups and robbed and plundered places surrounding the city (“there was no food left either for the horses or the men”); and the “warlike men, who were used to fight regularly,” did the fighting at the walls and made surprise raids via underground tunnels. As areas outside the city became divested of everything of potential sustenance, Herod sent armed legions to “remote places” to gather plenty; and summer weather hastened preparations for the offensive, “[T]heir engines...shook the walls of the city...; yet did not those within discover any fear, but they also contrived not a few engines” themselves. “[T]he Jews...within the walls fought against Herod with great alacrity and zeal (for the whole nation was gathered together).” By sallies outside the wall they destroyed equipment both built and underway, restored broken parts of the walls, “were not less bold than...the Romans” in hand-to-hand combat (if not as skilful) and, by “brutish courage rather than...prudent valour, they persisted in this war to the very last.” [Despite the size of the army against them, the defenders “bore a siege of five months.”]

It took 40 days for the first wall to be scaled and the second, 15; cloisters surrounding the temple were burned. After the lower city the temple’s outer court was taken--“the Jews fled into the inner court...and upper city.” An embassy was sent to Herod with a request, which was granted, that “beasts for sacrifices” could be received into the city. Herod had hoped that “they were going to yield.” When, however, such did not occur, he made a massive assault. Repressed rage of Roman and mercenary soldiers after a prolonged siege and “the zeal of the Jews that were on Herod’s side...not willing to leave one of their adversaries alive,” continued the slaughter through the crowded narrow streets and houses, far beyond victory’s need and irrespective of gender, infancy and age.

Antigonus II descended from the citadel, finally, and he fell at Sosius’ feet. Sosius, however, “took no pity,” insulted him mercilessly, had him bound and kept him in tight custody. Herod, who had been unable to curtail the killings, worked to restrain military plundering--he used his own money for proportionately satisfactory bonuses to the soldiers and their commanders, more to Sosius, “till...all went away full of money.” “This destruction befell...when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus 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.”⁵³

Sosius carried Antigonus II as a prisoner to Antony. Herod the Great feared that if in turn Antony conveyed the deposed king Antigonus II to Rome, Antigonus as a royal prisoner eventually could gain a full senate hearing, as to whether kingship did not properly belong with one of the until-then ruling family, as opposed to Herod. Herod, “by giving Antony a great deal of money,” persuaded him that Antigonus be slain. “[T]hen did the axe bring him

⁵² Some care is demanded in interpreting this frequently-used term, seemingly applied to a wide range of numbering.

⁵³ Refer to Appendix 4A at 37 b.c.e.

to his end.“ ”Antony ordered Antigonus the Jew to be brought to Antioch, and there to be beheaded... 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; so he [Antony] thought that this dishonorable death would diminish the value they had for Antigonus’s memory, and at the same time diminish the hatred they bare to Herod.”⁵⁴

“And thus did...government [by] the Asamoneans cease, 126 years after it was first set up. ...and it came to Herod [the Great], the son of [Cypros I and] Antipater [II] , who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other kings. And this is what history tells us was the end of the Asamonean family” [via its sons].”

AJ XIV.XVI.1-4; Wars I.XVII.9-XVIII.1-3.

Herod the Great, who now had the government in his hands, promoted persons who had been loyal to him, with special honors to “Pollio the Pharisee” and his disciple, “Sameas,” who had pressed for submittal during the siege of Antigonus II. Herod daily took some revenge on the opponent party. He slew 45 of Antigonus’ principal supporters and “all the members of the sanhedrim.” He “carried off all the royal ornaments and stripped wealthier citizens to assemble “a great quantity of silver and gold, bestowing generous amounts on friends and a heap on [Mark] Antony.”

Cleopatra the Great had Antony tightly in her grasp and it appears tenaciously was exerting every influence on him to further her own agenda. She already had effected “by means of Antony” the death of her [half?]-sister, Arsinoe [#4⁵⁵] and poisoned 15-year-old Ptolemy XV. Having “gone over Syria” with Antony, she “contrived to get it into her possession.” (Antony slew Lysanias, the son of Ptolemy the son of Menneus,⁵⁶ on accusation he had introduced the Parthians to those territories. It was”on Cleopatra’s account Lysanias the king [of Chalcis] was taken off.”⁵⁷) Cleopatra “petitioned Antony...[to] take...away from their present governors” the country of Judea and of Arabia” and give them to Egypt; and she “secretly laboured Antony to order the assassination of Herod the Great and Malichus (already having prevailed on him to slay the “principal men among the Syrians.” Antony appeased Cleopatra with partial compliance. He took away only some parts of each, and bestowed on her “the “the plantation of palm trees of Jericho...[and] all the cities on this side of the river Eleutherus⁵⁸ excepting Tyre and Sidon.”

Cleopatra the Great then accompanied Mark Antony as far as the Euphrates River, as he commenced an expedition to Armenia against the Parthians. She returned by way of Apamia and Damascus and in Judaea was met by Herod the Great. Herod, at a yearly rent of “two hundred talents” “farmed of her her parts of Arabia, and those revenues that came to her from the region about Jericho,” which bore “that balsam, which is the most precious drug that is there, and grows there alone.” Cleopatra was not above engaging in “criminal [and...] adulterous conversation” with Herod. He went so far as to consult his friends whether he ought to kill her, but was convinced against so dangerous a course. Herod instead “pacified her by large presents” and saw her off to Egypt.

Presently, “Antony subdued Armenia.” He sent to Cleopatra “as a present” the captured Artabazes (son of Tigranes), his children and procurators, and all the money and

⁵⁴ *AJ XV.1.1—Josephus quoting Strabo.*

⁵⁵ Appendix 4B, Attachment 4 (4).

⁵⁶ Alexandra III, daughter of Aristobulus II, may have been Lysanias’ mother—refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 1.

⁵⁷ *Wars I.XXII.3.*

⁵⁸ “Eleutheros, a river of Syria falling into the Mediterranean. *Plin.* 9, c.10.” L 219. (Also found is a town, *Eleutheropolis*, in west Judaea near the Mediterranean; *Shepherd’s Historical Atlas*, 9th Ed., Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble Books 1964, p. 7, Reference Map of Ancient Palestine.)

royal ornaments taken from that kingdom. Herod the Great, for a while, did pay to Cleopatra the tribute he had undertaken to pay for the king of Arabia...but he afterwards became very niggardly and slow in his payments.”

Herod “also did other things, in order to secure a government, which yet occasioned a sedition in his own family; for being cautious how he made any illustrious person the high priest...he sent for an obscure priest out of Babylon, whose name was Ananelus, and bestowed the high priesthood upon him.” Ananelus “was not of this country, but...of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates.... He was one of the stock of high priests, and had been of old a particular friend of Herod.” *AJ XV.II.4; AJ XV.III.1.*

Hyrcanus II, as captive of Parthia’s king Phraates, had been treated honorably, as a free resident at Babylon,⁵⁹ “where there were Jews in great numbers...[who still] honoured Hyrcanus as their high priest and king, as did all the Jewish nation that dwelt as far as Euphrates.” Hyrcanus could not be dissuaded by his associates from a belief that the time was right for him to return. “[T]he marriage of his granddaughter [to Herod the Great] was his temptation;” and, among other things, he once had kept Herod from a sentence of death. Herod corresponded deceitfully with Hyrcanus and “the Jews that were there,” to the effect that it was only right and proper that he and Hyrcanus share governance. Herod welcomed Hyrcanus II back with feasting and bided time in other gracious pretenses (he called Hyrcanus “father”). *AJ XIV.VIII.4, XV.I.1-2, XV.II.1-5, XV.IV.1-4; Wars I.XVIII.4-5, I.XXII.1.*

Resumed in Appendix 4B, II.

⁵⁹ *Josephus* editors note, this “Babylon...seems to be one...built by some of the Seleucids upon the Tigris...long after the utter desolation of [so-called] old Babylon.”