

## **Appendix 4B, II**

### **HIGH PRIESTS ANANELUS THROUGH [BOETHUS-] SIMON**

#### **Cited Narrative**

*Resumed from Appendix 4B, I.*

Alexandra II “could not bear th[e] indignity...offered to her son,” Aristobulus III, by Herod the Great’s appointment of high priest Ananelus; it “exceeded ill,” that “any one else should be sent for to have the dignity of the high priesthood conferred upon him.” She wrote letters secretly delivered to Cleopatra the Great, asking “her intercession with Antony, in order to gain the high priesthood for her son.”

Antony stalled taking action. In the interim, his friend Dellius, who had been in Judaea on business, rapturously regaled Antony with the stature and beauty of Alexandra II’s children. Dellius had persuaded Alexandra to send drawings of Aristobulus III and Miriam I to Antony, assuring her that once Antony had seen them he would deny Alexandra nothing. Antony, in Egypt, refrained from asking for Miriamne I to avoid Cleopatra’s reproaches; but “he sent, in the most decent manner he could, for the young man.” Herod the Great excused himself from sending Aristobulus III, on the reason that his kingship had not been reconfirmed fully yet by Rome, and advised Antony by letter that, “if this boy should only go out of the country, all would be in a state of war and uproar, because the Jews were in hopes of a change in the government.” Meanwhile, “Mariamne [I] lay vehemently at him to restore the high priesthood to her brother.”

*XV.II.5; Wars I.XXII.3.*

Herod assembled “his friends” and informed them that Alexandra II was conspiring to use Cleopatra to oust him from the government, and that, besides depriving Miriamne I of her dignity, it would bring the kingdom to great strife. “[I]n order to deceive the women, and those friends whom he had taken to consult,” Herod unseated Ananelus and made Aristobulus III high priest, alleging that the reason he originally had not was because of Aristobulus’ young age. A joyful Alexandra II made humble apologies, professed she was entirely satisfied with Herod holding the civil government with Aristobulus as high priest, and promised thenceforth to be “entirely obedient.” She further supplicated that Herod “excuse her, if the nobility of her family-- and that freedom of acting which she thought it allowed her-- had made her act... precipitously and imprudently.... So when they had spoken thus to one another, they came to an agreement, and all suspicions, so far as appeared... vanished.”

*AJ XV.II.6-7*

Herod remained suspicious of Alexandra II, nonetheless, and kept her so guarded that “nothing she did in private life every day was concealed.” Alexandra’s indignation returned--being “deprived of her liberty of speech, and, under the notion of an honorary guard, to live in a state of slavery and terror”--she again communicated with Cleopatra the Great. Cleopatra advised Alexandra to take herself and Aristobulus III immediately away to Egypt, and Alexandra made immediate plans to comply: she and her son, in coffins, by night, would be taken by trusted servants to a waiting ship at an undesignated point at the seaside.

Herod gained knowledge of Alexandra’s plot--Aesop, one of her servants, spoke of it to one Sabion, thinking he already knew of it. Sabion formerly had been “an enemy of Herod, and had been esteemed one of those [who]... gave poison to Antipater II.” Sabion had been considered a friend of Alexandra. Now, however, he saw his way to be restored fully in Herod’s good graces and revealed the plot; Alexandra was halted in the very act. Herod took no severe punishment of Alexandra II, however, “for he knew that Cleopatra would not bear that...on account of her hatred to him.” Instead, “he fully proposed...by one means or other,” to take Aristobulus III out of the picture for good.

*Wars I.XXII.2; AJ XV.III.2-4.*

Cypros I, Herod's mother, and Salome I, his (half?-) sister, laid a charge of lust against Miriamne on the basis of the picture that went to Antony. The "charge fell like a thunderbolt upon Herod"--not just out of jealousy, but "because he considered...Cleopatra was a shrewd woman, and that on her account Lysanias the king was taken off, as well as Malichus the Arabian."  
*Wars I.XXII.3.*

Herod bided time through an ensuing feast of the tabernacles. It passed in general merriment but Herod's intent was entrenched, when the people were not able to mask their rejoicing and acclaim when 17-year-old Aristobulus III, as handsome High Priest, presided at the altar. At festival's end, Alexandra hosted a feast "at Jericho." Some of the guests went to cool themselves from midday heat at "large fishponds about the house.... At first they were only spectators of Herod's servants and acquaintances as they were swimming; but after a while, the young man, at the instigation of Herod, went into the water among them, while such of Herod's acquaintance... appointed to do it, dipped him...in the dark of evening, as if it had been done in sport only; nor did they desist till he was entirely suffocated."

"And thus was Aristobulus ["dipped by the Galls, at Herod's command"] murdered, having lived no more in all than eighteen years, and kept the high priesthood one year only; which high priesthood Ananelus now recovered again." The sorrow of the women was "immoderate," Alexandra's, the deepest, "knowing how the murder was committed," "and that he had been destroyed" purposefully. However, aware of potential further consequences, despite at times considering suicide, she strove to reveal no suspicion, while Herod displayed great grief and arranged a magnificent funeral and burial.  
*Wars I.XXII.2; AJ XV.III.2-4.*

Herod appointed Jesus, son of Phabet, as high priest. (This is found only at his later deprivation--AJ XV.IX.3.)

Alexandra II reported all to Cleopatra, who "made the case her own, and would not let Antony be quiet, but excited him to punish the child's murder." Antony was persuaded by the argument that no man guilty of such crime against royal blood was worthy of kingship, and he commanded Herod to come to him at Laodicea to make his defense.

Herod feared he was in for certain death. Receiving the summons, he worried that in his absence Alexandra II would find opportunity to "bring the multitude to a revolt." He placed the women of the two family branches in different palaces--Cypros I, Salome I and other members of that family he left at Masada under care of his brother, Pheroras, who also was left in overall charge of the government. Alexandra II and Miriamne I he quartered at Alexandrium under care of "his uncle, Joseph [I], who was married to Salome," and made procurator/treasurer. (Herod "committed his wife to Joseph, his sister Salome's husband, as to one who would be faithful to him.")  
*Wars I.XXII.4.*

Herod instructed Joseph I that, if Herod met with death, Joseph was to "kill Mariamne immediately," giving as reason that his love for Miriam could not endure her engagement to another; "but his intimation...at the bottom" being that the fabled beauty of Miriamne had caused Antony "to fall in love" with her.

In Herod the Great's absence, Joseph I frequently found himself in light-hearted discourse with the women. At one point, "over-desirous" to demonstrate Herod's inability to live without Miriamne, Joseph gave as example the charge Herod had given. The women received the revelation as proof of quite the contrary.

"At this time" a false rumor spread in Jerusalem that Herod had been tortured by Antony and put to death. Alexandra tried to make Joseph accompany the women from the palace to officers of the Roman legion that lay encamped around the city "as a guard to the kingdom." By thus gaining Roman favor, they would have greater security should the palace undergo a disturbance due to Herod's death. "[B]esides, they hoped to obtain the highest

authority...if Antony did but once see Mariamne...they should recover the kingdom.” While they were deliberating, obviating letters arrived from Herod himself. Antony had “soon recovered his interest with him, by the presents he made him,” “had given Cleopatra Celesyria instead of what she had desired;” thought it “not good to require an account of a king” and so informed Cleopatra; and moreover had conferred on Herod other honors in general.

Herod first “conducted Antony on his way against the Parthians,” before returning to Judaea. On his arrival, Cypros and Salome informed him as to Alexandra’s behavior and intentions. Salome went further, insinuating that Joseph I’s conversations with Miriamne I often had been “criminal.” (Salome’s provocation was that Miriamne “for a long time bare her ill-will...took great freedoms, and reproached the rest for the meanness of their birth.”) Miriamne denied all on her oath when questioned by Herod, who made all effort to establish mutual confidence between them, and “assured her that he had never such an affection for any other woman.” “‘Yes,’ says she, ‘thou didst, to be sure, demonstrate thy love to me by the injunctions thou gavest Joseph, when thou commandest him to kill me’”--“[W]as not that command thou gavest, that if any harm came to thee from Antony, I, who had been no occasion to it, should perish with thee, a sign of thy love to me?”

Herod let go of Miriam, cried out and tore his hair, saying that “now he had an evident demonstration that Joseph had had criminal conversation with his wife”--“Joseph would never have disclosed that injunction...unless he had debauched her.” Herod maintained that a great familiarity had to prevail, in order for Joseph to reveal so firm a confidence. He restrained the passion which would have killed Miriamne then and there. “However, he gave order to slay Joseph, without permitting him to come into his sight; and as for Alexandra, he bound her, and kept her in custody, as the cause of all this mischief.”

*AJ XV.III.5-9; Wars I.XII.4.*

“[U]pon the slaughter of Joseph [I],” Herod gave...his sister Salome as wife” to one Costobarus and made Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, in place of Joseph “who had that government before.” Costobarus was “an Idumean by birth; and one of principal dignity among them, and one whose ancestors had been priests to the Koze, whom the Idumeans had esteemed as a god [until] Hyrcanus [I] had made a change in their political government, and made them receive the Jewish customs and law.” “In a little while,” Costobarus--who privately “did not think it fit...that the Idumeans be...[so] subject,” and thinking to pave the way for his future governorship independent of Herod--wrote to Cleopatra that “the Idumeans had been always under his progenitors,” and that he stood ready to “transfer his friendship” to her and Mark Antony. Cleopatra added Idumaeen territory to that which she already wanted Antony to give to her.

Herod heard somehow of the Costobarus matter and “was thereupon ready to kill Costobarus; yet, upon the entreaties of his sister and mother, he forgave him, and vouchsafed to pardon him entirely, though he still had a suspicion of him afterward for this attempt.” “But some time afterward, when Salome happened to quarrel with Costobarus, she sent him a bill of divorce, and dissolved her marriage with him, though this was not according to the Jewish laws; for with us it is lawful for a husband to do so; but a wife, if she departs from her husband, cannot of herself be married to another, unless her former husband put her away.”<sup>1</sup>

Salome told Herod she ended her marriage with Costobarus because “he, with Lysimachus [undesignated], and Dositheus, were raising a sedition against him.” As evidence, Salome told Herod that Costobarus for 12 years had been preserving “the sons of Babas”<sup>2</sup>--men “of great dignity and...power among the multitude,... faithful to Antigonus [II],” and who had spurred the people during Herod’s siege of Jerusalem to preserve the government to the royal family. Herod had designated the sons of Babas as government

<sup>1</sup> Refer to appendix 4D, Divorce.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only use of this name.

enemies under sentence of death. After the city was taken, Costobarus--guard of the city gates--had assisted in saving the sons of Babas "and concealed them in his own farms." Costobarus had survived all initial suspicion; but Herod now "sent men to the places where he had intimation they (the sons of Babas) were concealed, and ordered both them, and those that were accused as guilty with them, to be slain, insomuch that there were none at all left of the kindred<sup>3</sup> of Hyrcanus...." AJ XV.VII.9.

Herod, temporarily free of trouble in Judaea, had gained "Hyrcania, which was a place that was held by Antigonos' sister," and was holding himself ready to make war against the king of Arabia. "[T]he battle at Actium was now expected," however, "which fell into the 187th olympiad,<sup>4</sup> where Caesar and Antony were to fight for the supreme power of the world." Herod, "by his great taxes...raised great armies therewith," and he prepared one body to be an auxiliary to Antony. Antony commanded Herod to go instead against the king of Arabia, being influenced again by Cleopatra, who saw it better that "these two kings [of Judaea and Arabia]...do one another as great mischief as possible"--in which case, depending on the victor, she saw herself obtaining one or the other country.

The first battle occurred at Diospolis<sup>5</sup>, where "the Jews had the victory." The Arabians regrouped "vast multitudes" "at Cana ["Kanatha"], which is a place of Celesyria." Informed beforehand, Herod took the greater part of his forces and planned to encamp, erect a bulwark, and wait for the "proper season" for his attack. "[T]he multitude of the Jews," however, cried for immediate action; and upon the dramatic display of their numbers and zeal, "the greater part of the Arabians [initially] ran away, and avoided fighting." They all would have been destroyed, but for the intervention of Athenio, "Cleopatra's general," who had been sent to watch and see how the winds of battle went. Athenio "sent out men of that country" who were rejoined by Arabians against Herod's soldiers. Their joined enemy forces "fell upon the (fatigued) Jews unexpectedly ...and made a great slaughter of them."

Some of Herod's army escaped to "Ormiza [undesigned], where the Arabians surrounded their camp, and took it, with all the men in it." Shortly afterwards Herod rode to bring assistance but was too late. Afterwards, he encamped in the mountains, avoided pitched battles, and "could only act like a private robber...and distress them ["many parts of Arabia"] by sudden incursions.... He also took great care of his own forces, and used all the means he could to restore his affairs to their old state." AJ XV.V.1; Wars I.X.IX.1-4.

"At this time it was that the fight happened at Actium, between Octavius Caesar and Antony, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod,"<sup>6</sup> when coincidentally there happened in Judaea a devastating earthquake "as had not happened at any other time, and...brought a great destruction upon the cattle in that country. Some 10,000 persons perished in falling houses; "but the army, which lodged in the field, received do damage." "Jewish ambassadors" went to the Arabians, who, seeing their opponents as now totally vulnerable, beheaded them. Herod undertook to bolster "the Jews...so cast down by the calamities." He spoke first with his commanders. He then resurged "the multitude" with a long rousing address and hurried to lead them against the Arabians.

Herod "passed over Jordan and pitched his camp near to that of the enemy" [--"about Philadelphia"--], seeking to seize "a certain castle ["fortification"] that lay in the midst of them." Herod dislodged the Arabians from the fortification. Afterward, the Arabians and their general, Elthemus, together being in "a terrible fright," only partook in some skirmishes and

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear whether this term implies a familial relationship; however, there definitely were surviving relatives (Miriamne, etc.) of Hyrcanus.

<sup>4</sup> Refer to Appendix 4A timeline at "29 or 31 b.c.e."

<sup>5</sup> This "Diospolis" would appear not to be "Diospolis, or *Thebae*, a famous city of Egypt, formerly called Hecatompylos." L 209.

<sup>6</sup> The "seven years" would be from the defeat of Antigonos II (c. 37 b.c.e.), which would put the Battle of Actium c. 29-30 rather than the year 31 b.c.e. commonly assigned--refer to Appendix 4A timeline.

refused to come out of camp and do full battle. A bold attack by Herod on the Arabians's bulwark finally forced them out of their trenches, and a "terrible battle" ensued. While the Arabians did not lose many men so long as they fought, "as soon as they turned their backs, a great many were trodden to pieces by the Jews, and a great many by themselves, and so perished, till five thousand were fallen down dead in their flight." The rest of the Arabian force took refuge within the bulwark, where they remained surrounded until lack of supplies (primarily water) caused them to send ambassadors to negotiate with Herod and offer "500 talents, as the price of their redemption". Herod, however, "would admit of no ambassadors, of no price of redemption, nor of any other...terms."

The Arabians had no choice but to "come out, and deliver themselves up..., and in five days' time...4000 were taken prisoners." On day six, "the multitude that were left despaired." They came out of their trenches but could no way sustain the fight. "[A]t the first onset there fell about seven thousand;" and, "insomuch that Herod punished Arabia so severely, and so far extinguished the spirits of the men, that he was chosen by the nation for their ruler." Herod, "greatly elevated...returned home." *AJ XV.V.2-5; Wars I.XIX.1-6.*

Despite the prosperity locally of Herod the Great's affairs, Antony's defeat at Actium left him in a delicate position with Caesar Octavius. He expected punishment at Octavius' hands; "his friends despaired" for themselves while his enemies privately hoped for the change. Herod thoughts were bothered with how the royal Hyrcanus II, then "above foreshore years old," might be seen as his logical successor.

Meanwhile, Alexandra II commenced to pressure her father, Hyrcanus II, to seek refuge for himself and the royal family with Arabian governor Malchus, by which position--in the event of Herod's anticipated deposal--they would regain the government. Alexandra eventually prevailed; Hyrcanus II wrote a letter to Malchus for delivery by a trusted friend, Dositheus, asking Malchus for horsemen to conduct the family to the lake Asphalites (Dead<sup>7</sup> Sea). Dositheus had good cause for malice toward Herod, being "kinsman of one Joseph, whom he (Herod) had slain, and a brother of those that were slain formerly by Antony at Tyre. But Dositheus, "preferring the hopes he had from the present king," gave the letter to Herod. Herod bade Dositheus to deliver it and bring the reply to him also. Malchus responded that he would send sufficient forces to ensure a safe journey and that Hyrcanus II and all the others come, "even all the Jews that were of his [Hyrcanus'] party."

On reading Malchus' reply, Herod "immediately sent for Hyrcanus, and questioned him ...and when he denied it, he (Herod) showed the letter to the sanhedrim, and put the man to death immediately." "[T]his was the fate of Hyrcanus," he who had been high priest at the start of his mother's reign and, after her death, "took the kingdom himself and held it three months," lost it to brother Aristobulus [I], was restored by Pompey, "received all sorts of honor...and enjoyed them forty years," was deprived by Antigonus, maimed in body, captive by Parthians, had brought Antipater and Herod to greatness due to his mildness, but "at last he met with such an end...not agreeable either to justice or piety."

Immediately after Hyrcanus was dead Herod hastened to sail to Rhodes to meet with Caesar Octavius. First, however, he took precautions against his fear that Alexandra II "should take [that] opportunity to bring the multitude to revolt." Herod put the kingdom in the care of his brother Pheroras and instructed him to take the government should he not return. He kept Cypros I, Salome I, and "the (that) whole family" at Masada. Alexandra II and Miriamne I he placed at the Alexandria fortress, in charge of "his treasurer Joseph<sup>8</sup> and Sohemus of Iturea," charging them to kill both women and preserve the kingdom for Pheroras if Herod did not return.

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<sup>7</sup> Joseph I?

<sup>8</sup> Joseph II?  
**App4B.II**

Herod bared himself of his crown before Caesar Octavius but made no apologies. He straightforwardly acknowledged his great friendship with Antony, how he had sent supplies and would have been at Actium were it not for the Arabian diversion, and how at the last he had counseled Antony to kill Cleopatra, to make room for curing his political position and coming to terms with Octavius--all of which exemplified the type of loyalty and behavior Octavius himself could expect. Octavius (already cognizant that Herod had sent "assistance against the gladiators" to one Quintus Didius) received Herod's testimony well. "[H]e restored him his diadem again," and commented that Antony had done the Romans a favor "in preferring Cleopatra...for by this means we have gained thee." (Octavius refused Herod's petition, however, that "one Alexander [undesigned], who had been a companion of Antony," not be killed as Octavius had forsworn to do.) Herod took leave of Octavius "with greater honour and assurance than ever" and prepared to honor Octavius on his way to invade Egypt. Herod entertained Caesar royally at Ptolemais, made presents to the army and supplied abundant provisions (including water and wine for passage over the dry desert), and gave Caesar 800 talents.

*AJ XV.VI.1-7; Wars I.XX.1-4.*

Alexandra II and Miriamne I, saw themselves as powerless prisoners at Masada, especially in that they had gained the affection of Sohemus and he had revealed to them "all the king's injunctions." The Great, elated, returned home only to find the turmoil in his household worse than ever. Miriamne did not hide her suspicion and resentment that he would prevent her survival beyond him, openly declaring "it almost an insupportable task to live with him any longer." Her behavior cast the Great into a fatal love/hate state of mind, for--although he was wont to punish her--as is reported he indeed was completely enamored of her. Cypros and Salome seized on the situation, telling "long stories and calumnies" about Miriamne. Herod "became worse and worse disposed to her," and love turned to wrath; but just as "he was going to pay this matter past all remedy," he heard about Caesar Octavian's triumph in Egypt and went to meet him. Before leaving, he acted on Miriamne's recommendation that Sohemus was owed thanks for the care he had taken in Herod's absence, and "an honourable employment was bestowed upon him accordingly."

Herod in Egypt was well received by Caesar, who presented him four hundred Galatians who had been Cleopatra's guards. (Herod received also a bodyguard of "four hundred Galls."<sup>9</sup>) Caesar's also added to Herod's kingdom, first giving him "the country which had been taken from him by Cleopatra, and Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, and the maritime cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa and Strato's Tower. Herod, now more magnificent than ever, conducted Caesar Octavius as far as Antioch.

*AJ XV.VII.2-3; Wars I.XX.4.*

The distress from the hatreds between the women's camps persisted the whole ensuing year. It culminated when Miriamne I, summoned by Herod, "would not lie down by him...[and] showed contempt of him; and added [the] reproach, that he had caused her father<sup>10</sup> and brother to be slain." Concomitantly, Salome had arranged for Herod's cupbearer to tell the king a story that Miriamne, with presents, had solicited the cupbearer to prepare a "love potion" from "a composition...whose effects he did not know" and to offer it to the king. Herod ordered a "eunuch of Mariamne, who was most faithful to her" to undergo torture. Despite "utmost agonies," all that the eunuch could tell" was that, "so far as he knew, Mariamne's hatred against him (Herod) was occasioned by somewhat that Sohemus had said to her."

Herod, exclaiming that Sohemus would not have revealed the injunctions unless he had "a nearer conversation than ordinary with Mariamne," ordered Sohemus to be executed immediately. Herod then "got together those that were most faithful to him...laid an elaborate accusation" concerning the potion, and put Miriamne on trial. "Salome and her party

<sup>9</sup> *Josephus* editor adds, "[Galatians]."

<sup>10</sup> *Josephus* editor notes that *Josephus* intended *grandfather* (Hyrcanus II); intended, however, may have been Alexander II, if Miriamne believed Herod had had a hand in his death.

laboured hard“ against the suggestion that Miriamne simply be imprisoned; “and they prevailed with the king...lest the multitude should be tumultuous if she were suffered to live.” “Accordingly, when the court was at length satisfied that he [Herod] was so resolved, they passed the sentence of death upon her.”

Alexandra II, when she “observed how things went, and that there were small hopes” for her own future safety, reacted to the sentencing with a dramatic “hypocritical” condemnation of her own daughter, which Miriamne stoically accepted, in that she did “out of a greatness of soul discover” the concern behind her mother’s behavior. “And thus died Mariamne [I], a woman of excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul...beauty of her body, and...majestic appearance in conversation” but who “took too unbounded a liberty.”

AJ XV.VII.4-6.

It appears that at some point before Miriam’s death--“while the queen [Alexandra II]<sup>11</sup> was alive”--Pheroras was accused of plotting to poison his father. “[A] great number of informers” brought Herod to believe and fear it. In consequence, Herod “brought many of those that were under suspicion to the torture,” finally extracting from Pheroras’ friends only that Pheroras stood prepared “to take her whom he loved, and run away to the Parthians.” “Costobarus...was instrumental in bringing about this contrivance and flight.” Pheroras, however, obtained the king’s pardon for “the crimes he had been accused of.”

Wars I.XXIV.6.

“Now...the thirteenth year of [Herod’s] reign, very great calamities came upon the country”: “perpetual droughts...the ground was barren...pestilential disease...and [absence of] both methods of cure and food.” Neither “was the king himself free from this distress,” failing to receive tributes in foodstuffs. The dire circumstances continued into a second year, kindling the “hatred of his subjects; for it is a constant rule, that misfortunes are still laid to the account of those that govern.” Herod delivered to Petronius (then Caesar Octavian’s prefect in Egypt), proceeds of “rich furniture...silver and gold...[and] finest vessels” from his palace, to obtain corn exports and arranged for careful distributions. He secured wool for winter coverings (for which the people were divested due to destruction of their stock), and “gave seed to the Syrians,” as well. At the time of the next harvest he sent some 50,000 men “whom he had sustained into the country.” Herod had “repaired the afflicted condition of his own kingdom...[and] lightened the afflictions of his neighbours.” “Now it happened that this care of his, and this seasonable benefaction, had such influence on the Jews, and was so cried up among other nations, as to wipe off that old hatred.” It “also procured him great fame among foreigners.”

AJ XV.IX.1-2.

Herod for his life “had a body suited to his soul...a most excellent hunter...[and] such a warrior [that] many man...stood amazed...when they saw him throw the javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark.” Nonetheless, he met with some sufferings after his self-inflicted loss of Miriamne I. He lamented for her frequently “in a most indecent manner,” at times calling for her as if she lived still. Then, upon occurrence of “a pestilential disease [that] carried off the greatest part of the multitude, and of his best and most esteemed friends,” Herod took himself away “into desert places,” feigning hunting trips. Soon he himself fell “into a dangerous distemper...an inflammation... and a pain in the hinder part of his head, joined with [his] madness.” Drugs and the physicians who attended him in residence at Sebaste were of no effect.

Alexandra II, in Jerusalem, proposed to “those that had the keeping of [those] strongholds” that were Jerusalem’s two fortifications--“the one belonging to the city itself, the other belonging to the temple”--be given over “to her, and to Herod’s sons, lest, upon his death, any other person should seize upon the government;” also, none could keep them more safely for him than those of his own family, in the case that he recovered. One of the two fortress keepers was one Achiabus, a *cousin-german* of Herod. He and a [here

<sup>11</sup> The addition here of “[Mariamne]” by *Josephus’* editor may be due to where the account is placed in that text.

unnamed] other--old friends of Herod the Great, that "hated Alexandra"--sent news of Alexandra's efforts to Herod. "[H]e made no longer delay, but gave orders to have her slain...."<sup>12</sup>

"[Y]et was it still with difficulty, and after he had endured great pain, that he got clear of his distemper. He was still sorely afflicted, both in mind and body, and made very uneasy, and readier than ever upon all occasions to inflict punishment upon those that fell under his hand."  
*Wars I. XXI.13; AJ XV.VII.7-8.*

"About this time" was it that Herod sent a select company of 500 of his bodyguards as auxiliaries to accompany Caesar's general Aelius Gallus<sup>13</sup> to the Red Sea, "and who were of great service" to Gallus. Herod's affairs were again "in a flourishing condition." He built for himself, "in the upper city," a richly adorned palace of rooms of great height and apartments of "distinct magnitudes;" "one apartment was called Caesar's, another [Marcus] Agrippa's."

Herod "also fell in love again" with one who was "esteemed the most beautiful woman of that time"--the [here unnamed] daughter of "one Simon, a citizen of Jerusalem, the son of Boethus"--"whose name was also Cantheras" [AJ XIX.VI.2]--"a citizen of Alexandria, and a priest of great note there." Herod "was much affected" by commendations of Simon's daughter by "the people of Jerusalem" and became "smitten" with her. Herod did not want to "use his authority" simply to have her (thus having her seen as suffering "abuse"). Simon was "of a dignity too inferior" for a formal alliance; he also was, however, "too considerable to be dispised." Herod resolved matters by "immediately depriv[ing] Jesus, the son of Phabet, of the high priesthood,"<sup>14</sup> and conferred that dignity on Simon, and so joined in affinity with him."  
*AJ XIX.VI.4.*

After the wedding Herod built another citadel, "distant from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs," "in that place where he had conquered the Jews when he was driven out of his government" and Antigonus held it. Herod raised the moderate hill of the site to further heights, "till it was of the shape of a woman's breast."

Herod, who kept the people obedient largely through fear, and now with all of his designs successful "according to his hopes,...had not the least suspicion that any troubles could arise in his kingdom." He failed to achieve good, however--despite his providences for subjects, fine orations, and gifted cultivation of regional governors--because of his "transgress [of] the customs of his nation" and his extravagances, particularly those on behalf of Rome, which included the building of temples "in the country [outside Judaea]...after the manner of the Greeks."  
*AJ XV.IX.3-5.*

While "Herod was engaged in such matters, and when he had already re-edified Sebaste, he resolved to send his sons Alexander [III] and Aristobulus [IV] to Rome...lodged at the house of [Caius Asinius] Pollio."<sup>15</sup> Herod had had two daughters and three sons by Miriam; "the youngest [unnamed] of the sons" died at Rome, where he was educated; "the two eldest he treated as those of royal blood...because they were not born [of Miriamne I] till he was king."  
*Wars I.XXII.2, I.XXIII.1.*

Alexander III and Aristobulus IV also had leave to lodge in Caesar Octavian's palace, and Caesar "gave Herod leave to give/(bequeath) his kingdom to which of his sons he pleased. "[B]esides all this ["after the first games at Actium"] he (Caesar) bestowed on Herod

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<sup>12</sup> This would have been *circa* a neighborhood of four years of the birth of Miriam/Mary [A] of the *Greek* scriptures.

<sup>13</sup> *Josephus* editors note that this "seems to be no other than that Aelius Largus whom Dio speaks of as conducting an expedition that was about this time made into Arabia Felix...[with references]."

<sup>14</sup> When it was that Herod appointed Jesus, son of Phabet, does not appear on the record.

<sup>15</sup> *Josephus* editors note that "as Spanheim...observes," this Pollio was "Asinius Pollo, the Roman," and not "Pollio the Pharisee...mentioned by Josephus, ch. 1, sect. 1, and...ch. x, sect. 4."

“both the region called Trachon [“Trachonitis”], and...in its neighbourhood, Batanea, and the country of Auranitis”—territory taken from Zenodorus, who was cleared out on Octavius’ orders by general Varro, then president.<sup>16</sup> Zenodorus had colluded with mercenaries of “the house of Lysanias” (which in turn was allied with the “robbers that inhabited the Trachonites”), and had shared booty obtained by “plaguing the Damascenes.” Herod, once he had received the new grant from Caesar, “put a stop [on the situation] and procured peace...to the neighbouring people.” Zenodorus made complaint at Rome as to the loss of his “principality,” but was unsuccessful in obtaining redress.

“Now Agrippa was sent to succeed Caesar in the government of the countries beyond the Ionian Sea.” (Herod had met Agrippa, “a particular friend and companion,” while Herod was “wintering about Mitylene.”) “[S]ome of the Gadarenes” went to Agrippa with accusations against Herod; Agrippa bound them and sent them to Herod without a hearing. “Now when Herod had already reigned seventeen years, Caesar came into Syria; at which time the greatest part of the inhabitants of Gadara, encouraged by Zenodorus, clamoured against Herod, as one that was heavy in his injunctions, and tyrannical.” (Zenodorus had vowed not to leave off Herod until the Gadarenes were “severed from Herod’s kingdom, and joined to Caesar’s province.”) Herod, “almost inexorable in punishing crimes in his own family, but very generous in remitting the offences...elsewhere...stood unconcerned, and was ready to make his defence” against accusations of injuries, plunderings and subversions of temples.

Meanwhile, “the Arabians,” persuading some of Herod’s “poorer soldiers” to help, “attempted to raise a sedition” in Herod’s dominions, contesting the fact that Zenodorus for 50 talents had sold to them that part of his principality of Auranitis included in Caesar’s donation to Herod. Ever apprised, Herod used “rational methods aimed to mitigate” recurring incursions and occasional uses of force.

Caesar’s hearing of the Gadarene issue lasted only one day. The Gadarenes, seeing Caesar’s undisturbed favoring of Herod, despaired of hope—many killed themselves in the night, which events “seemed a sufficient condemnation of them; whereupon Caesar made no longer delay, but cleared Herod.” Coincidentally, Zenodorus suffered a bursted belly and died at Antioch, Syria; and Caesar “bestowed his country, which was no small one, upon Herod; it lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ulatha, and Paneas, and the country round about.” Caesar made Herod “one of the procurators of Syria, and commanded that they should do nothing without his approbation.” After Caesar departed Herod commenced to construct for him “a most beautiful temple, of the whitest stone, in Zenodorus’s country, at the place called Panium,” where were situate the caverns wherein arose the waters of the river Jordan.”

Herod the Great had become “beloved by Caesar next after Agrippa, and by Agrippa next after Caesar; whence he arrived at a very great degree of felicity.” He now asked of Caesar a tetrachy for brother Pheroras and himself gave Pheroras 100 talents, to secure him from domination by Herod’s sons if Herod came to any harm. *AJ XV.X.1-3; Wars I.XX.4.*

Over the within period, Herod forgave his subjects a third of their taxes—primarily to enhance their good will. Yet “people every where talked against him,” and he used every effort to keep them in control: he “enjoined them to be always at work; [did not] permit the citizens to meet together, or to walk or eat together, but watched every thing they did.” “[M]any there were who were brought to the citadel Hyrcania, both openly and secretly, and were there put to death; and there were spies set every where.” (Herod himself is said to have worn mixed with the people while wearing a disguise, to ascertain their opinion of the government.)

Herod also required the multitude to take an oath of fidelity; a great many of them yielded and did so; but “Pollio the Pharisee and Sameas, and the greatest part of their

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<sup>16</sup> *Josephus* editors add, “[of Syria].”  
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scholars” refused. Herod did not exact any punishment of them, however, “out of the reverence he bore to Pollio.” “The Essens also, as we call a sect of ours, were excused from this imposition. These men live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans.” Herod “had continued to honour all the Essens,” based on encounters with one Manahem, who had prophesied to Herod about his royal future when Herod was but a schoolboy. Later, when Herod reached the heights, Manahem also had predicted a long reign.

AJ XV.X.4-5.

In Herod’s “eighteenth year” he undertook the raising and rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple and construction of royal cloisters, etc.

AJ XV.XI.<sup>17</sup>

Hatred for Herod was abetted when he unilaterally enacted a law that “housebreakers/ thieves...be ejected out of his kingdom...[which potential] slavery to foreigners...was an offence against [The Law’s] religious settlement,” those ordinances providing that a “thief shall restore fourfold; and that if he have not so much, he shall be sold indeed, but not to foreigners, nor so that he be under perpetual slavery [but] released after six years.”

AJ XV.XVI.1.

“Now at this time it was” that Herod sailed to Italy to meet with Caesar Octavian and see his sons, Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, “who lived at Rome.” Caesar “delivered him his sons again...as having already completed themselves in the sciences; [and] as soon as the young men were come from Italy, the multitude were very desirous to see them.” Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, who “became conspicuous among them all” because of their fortunate adornment and countenances, “soon appeared to be the objects of envy to Salome;” and the persons who “had raised calumnies against Mariamne” feared the punishment the sons would invoke, if/when they came to the government. Miriamne I’s sons’ suspicion of their father as their enemy, which began during their school days at Rome and “increased upon them as they grew up,” had been sealed by Herod’s “crime” against Miriamne. Herod “respected them as he ought to do, and married them to wives, now they were of an age suitable thereto. To Aristobulus he gave for a wife Bernice, Salome’s daughter; and to Alexander, Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.” The young men, however, “gave it out that they were not pleased with their father’s company, because he had put their mother to death, as if it were not agreeable to piety to appear to converse with their mother’s murderer.” Herod, consistently informed of their public expressions, increasingly grew unable to not hate them.

AJ XVI.I.2; Wars I.XXIII.1, 2.

Herod heard that Marcus Agrippa was sailing from Italy to Asia and urged an opportunity to receive and entertain him. Agrippa was plied with “all sorts of the best and most costly dainties,” as he and his friends were entertained in the new-built cities and shown the edifices that had been constructed--at Sebaste, Cesarea, Alexandria, Herodium, and Hyrcania, as well as Jerusalem. Agrippa “abode many days...and would willingly have staid longer” before setting sail for Ionia, were winter not coming on; he and his group left with “many presents.”

The following spring Herod “made haste” to meet again with Agrippa, who was “designed to go to a campaign at the Bosphorus.” Herod sailed past Rhodes and Cos to touch at Lesbos, where he expected to overtake Agrippa. North winds, however, kept Herod’s ship from reaching shore at Lesbos and forced him to continue many days to Chios [Chios], where he furnished a large sum of money to rebuild the city portico that had been felled in the Mithridatic war. With a return of favorable winds Herod sailed to Mytilene and thence to Byzantium,<sup>18</sup> where he learned that Agrippa “was sailed beyond the Cyanean rocks.” Herod finally met up with Agrippa’s fleet near Sinope in Pontus; Agrippa was greatly impressed by Herod’s willed long voyage of assistance. “Accordingly, Herod was all in all to

<sup>17</sup> “[T]he temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months.” “[T]he cloisters and the outer enclosures...he built in eight years.”

<sup>18</sup> Later, Constantinople; “a town situate on the Thracian Bosphorus.” L 113.

Agrippa, in the management of the war, and a great assistant in civil affairs, and in giving him counsel...[as well as] a pleasant companion...and a joint partaker with him in all things.”

Agrippa and Herod decided not to return by sea when affairs at Pontus for which Agrippa had been sent were finished. Instead they passed through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, then over great Phrygia to Ephesus, from where they sailed to Samos. Along the way, Herod “bestowed a great many benefits on every city that he came to,...and became an intercessor for Agrippa in the successful hearing of petitions.” While “Agrippa and Herod were in Ionia, a great multitude of Jews, who dwelt in their cities, complained to Agrippa about their treatment by their overseers. Agrippa summoned the “principal of the Romans, and such of the kings and rulers as were there, to be his assessors.” Herod chose “Nicolaus, one of his friends,” to plead the Hebrew cause.

Nicolaus’ presentation underscored the freedoms and prosperity that the Romans had brought to all and their own desire only to have guarantees of non-abuse and of the privilege previously bestowed by the empire--“to preserve our religion without prohibition,” as witnessed by decrees “extant in the capitol”--as opposed to practices against them, primarily “not permitted to use their own laws,...compelled [by local judges] to prosecute their law-suits...upon their holy days,..deprived of the money they used to lay up at Jerusalem, having others “violently seize upon that money of ours...and impose tributes upon us, and... [being] forced into the army.” Nicolaus also pointed out Herod’s significant unbounded friendship with the Romans and contributions of goods and self to the empire and its rulers, as well as the former constant friendship and aid of his father. “[T]here was no opposition made to it (Nicolaus’ speech) by the Greeks, for this was not an inquiry made, as in a court of justice, but an intercession....”

“[W]hen Agrippa perceived that they (the Jews) had been oppressed by violence,” he stated that, “on account of Herod’s good-will and friendship, he [Agrippa] was ready to grant...whatsoever they should ask,” provided it was not detrimental to the Roman government; and, in that “their request was no more than...privileges they (Rome) had already given,” they “not be abrogated. [H]e confirmed this to them, that they might continue in the observation of their own customs, without any one offering them the least injury.” Agrippa then ended the assembly, exchanged salutes with Herod, and “went away from Lesbos.”

Herod went from Samos to Cesarea in a few days’ time, having good winds, and from there to Jerusalem, where he “gathered all the people together to an assembly.” Herod made a report of the successes of his journey and “of the affairs of the Jews in Asia, how by his means they would live without injurious treatment for the time to come...; and as he was very joyful, he now remitted to them the fourth part of their taxes for the last year. Accordingly, they were so pleased...that they went their ways with great gladness, and wished the king all manner of happiness.” AJ XVI.II.1-4.

Abetted by Herod the Great’s absence, “the affairs in his family were in more and more disorder, and became more severe upon him, by the hatred of Salome to the young men” (Aristobulus and Alexander). In the same manner “as she had fully succeeded against their mother [the young men were “observed to shed tears often”], so she proceeded to that degree of madness and insolence, as to endeavour that none of her [Miriamne I’s] posterity might be left alive.” The “hatred was equal on both sides.” Salome I and Pheroras “requited the young men with malicious designs, and actually laid treacherous snares for them.” Aristobulus IV and Alexander III persisted so painfully open about the king’s gross treatment of the Hasmonaeans that the others opined they eventually would dispatch Herod. “At length it came to this, that the whole city was full of their discourses, and, as is usual in such contests, the unskilfulness of the young men was pitied [while] the contrivance of Salome was too hard for them, and what imputations she laid upon them came to be believed, by means of their own conduct.” AJ XVI.III.1; Wars XVI.III.3.

The opposing royal faction seized on Aristobulus' and Alexander's outspokenness. They spoke to Herod "more plainly...that there were treacherous designs laid against him by both his sons"--that Alexander, relying on his father-in-law, planned to accuse Herod before Caesar. Herod defensively chose to elevate Doris' son, Antipater III, "and began all the ways he possibly could to prefer him before" Miriam's sons. Aristobulus and Alexander found the situation unbearable in view of their own noble births. Their anger increased day by day, while Antipater III "exercised all his own abilities, which were very great, in flattering his father, and in contriving many sorts of calumnies against his brethren," with stories he himself told or put in others' mouths.

*Wars I.XXIII.1-2.*

Some time after Herod's return and his speech to the assembly, "Pheroras and Salome let fall words immediately as if he were in great danger, and as if the young men openly" had threatened to delay no longer in revenging their mother's death. Pheroras and Salome asserted further that the brothers were looking to king Archelaus of Cappadocia, Alexander III's father-in-law, to take them to Caesar with their accusations. Herod's alarm doubled when "some others" made similar reports to him. Antipater III, meanwhile, "had but one single design in his head...to distress his brethren. ... Accordingly, all the reports that were spread abroad came from him," although he held himself beyond taint of suspicion and selected as his "assistants" persons Herod trusted but who secretly were betting their futures on Antipater III.

Herod "increased the honour that he had bestowed on Antipater, and was at last so overcome by his persuasions that he brought his mother [Doris, back] to court...[and] wrote frequently to Caesar in favour of" Antipater. Then, when Agrippa had finished his "ten years" of government in Asia and was returning to Rome, Herod sailed with Antipater III to meet Agrippa. Herod "delivered" Antipater III to Agrippa, "with many presents," to take Antipater to Rome, "so he might become Caesar's friend, insomuch as things already looked as if he had all his father's favour, and that the young men [Alexander III and Aristobulus IV] were already entirely rejected from any hopes of the kingdom." Antipater III was "publicly put into his father's will as his successor. Accordingly, he was sent with royal ornaments, and other marks of royalty, to Caesar.... He was also able in time to introduce his mother again into Mariamne's bed."

*AJ XVI.III.1-3; Wars I.XXIII.2*

Antipater III "made a great figure in Rome, [augmented by] recommendations of him" sent by Herod to his friends there. It bothered Antipater, however, not to be where he could monitor the situation in the royal household; and he "continually sent from Rome such stories as he hoped might grieve and irritate his father against his brethren...till he had excited such a degree of anger" in Herod who--although he held off as long as he could bear rather than act rashly--finally "thought it best to sail to Rome, and there accuse his sons before Caesar." Enroute Herod encountered Caesar Octavian at Aquilei and "presented his sons there," outlining their "mad actions, and...attempts against him, [alleging] they were enemies to him; and...would take away his life, and so obtain the kingdom."

"So the father drew Alexander [III] to Rome, and charged him with an attempt of poisoning him." Herod explained that his compulsion to lay the matter before Caesar was his frustrated inability to bring the matter to reconciliation on his own, despite all beneficence granted them. During the accusations, which "Herod laid with great vehemency," Alexander III and Aristobulus IV "both wept,...and were in confusion. ...[T]hey knew in their own conscience they were innocent; [and...it was hard for them to make their apology," yet to remain silent would seem from guilt; their youthful unskilfulness and modesty drew sympathy from Caesar and the particular others there, and in Herod himself. Finally Alexander was able to speak and made their "defence with dexterity and prudence."

In his long speech Alexander III showed great deference and respect to Herod. He acknowledged his and his brother's outspokenness but maintained it had been accompanied by no overt acts of hostility. Indeed, he reasoned, would they not know that to commit the

vile act suggested would get them nowhere?. Alexander closed with a plea for his father to lay aside all suspicions and let them live, “though even then we shall live in an unhappy way, for to be accused of great acts of wickedness, though falsely, is a terrible thing; but...our life is not so desirable to us as to desire to have it, if it tend to the harm of our father who gave it us.”

Caesar was “even more moved” beyond an initial disbelief of the charges against the young men, by the anxiety shown for them by others present and the “fame that was spread abroad [that] made the king hated.” Caesar’s reaction was underscored by the youthful beauty of the brothers, now past tears and feeling evidence of hope. He beckoned to the boys and exhorted repentance on both sides. He counseled that the boys properly should have “demeaned themselves toward their father,” to prevent the matter reaching such public heights, and that some apology was wanting on Herod’s part for bringing accusation.

“When therefore they [Alexander III and Aristobulus IV] were disposed to fall down to make intercession of their father, he took them up, and embraced them, as they were in tears (again), and took each of them distinctly in his arms, till not one of those that were present, whether free-man or slave, but was deeply affected with what they saw.” With thanks to Caesar, they “went away together; and with them went Antipater III, with an hypocritical pretence that he rejoiced at this reconciliation.”

Caesar “left it in his (Herod’s) own power to appoint which of his sons he pleased for his successor, or to distribute it in parts to every one, that the dignity might thereby come to them all. And when Herod was disposed to make such a settlement immediately,” Caesar responded he would not give leave for Herod to divest himself of his power over the kingdom or over his sons so long as he was alive. “In the last days they were with Caesar, Herod made Caesar a present of 300 talents...and Caesar made him a present of half the revenue of the copper mines at Cyprus, and committed the care of the other half to him” also.“ After this the king came back from Rome, and seemed to have forgiven his sons...[but] not...his...suspicions of them. They were followed by Antipater, who was the fountain-head of those accusations.”

*AJ XVI.IV.1-5; Wars I.XXIII.3-4.*

On the return journey, Herod passed Cilicia and “touched at Eleusa,<sup>19</sup> where he met Cappadocian king Archelaus, who had “formerly written to his friends at Rome that they should be assisting Alexander [III] at his trial.” Archelaus thanked Herod, rejoiced in the family reconciliation, and gave Herod 30 talents. At home, Herod again spoke to an assembly of the people, “presented to them his three sons,” and expressed thankfulness to Caesar, who had settled “his house when it was under disturbances, and had procured concord among his sons.” “I will render still more firm,” Herod said, “for Caesar hath put into my power to dispose of the government, and to appoint my successor;” and he admonished his sons, his court and the multitude to pursue concord.

The Great outlined his intention that his sons “would be kings. ... The age of one of them, and the nobility of the other two, shall procure them the succession”-- “Antipater first, and then Alexander and Aristobulus.” However, Herod told the rulers and soldiers, for the “present they should have all regard to...and esteem him king...since he was not yet hindered by old age, but was in that period of life...most skilful in governing;” in such manner would their lives be peaceable. Herod’s speech “was acceptable to the greatest part of his audience, but not so to them all; for the contention among his sons, and the hopes he had given them, occasioned thoughts and desire of innovations”--“those who wished for a change of affairs...pretended they did not so much as hear what he said.”

*AJ XVI.IV.6; Wars I.XXIII.4-5*

“About this time it was that Cesarea Sebaste was finished...being accomplished by the tenth year...the twenty-eighth of Herod’s reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second

<sup>19</sup> *Josephus* editors add, the [island of], later named “Sebaste.”  
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olympiad.”<sup>20</sup> Cesarea’s construction between Dora and Joppa, as a haven for ships sailing between Phoenicia and Egypt, and surmounted by a temple for Caesar, had been a formidable undertaking. Its harbor larger than that at Athens, and it was adorned with enormous colossi and the finest of ornaments, some out of Herod’s personal possessions and some from Julia [Livia A], Caesar’s wife,<sup>21</sup> who sent “part of her most valuable furniture.”

Herod produced a “great festival” to which a “great multitude was come to the city, to see the shows,” “for he had appointed a contention in music, and games to be performed naked [with] a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose [“of lions themselves in great abundance...prepared either to fight with one another, or (with)...men who were condemned to death”], horse [“chariot”] races also, and the most chargeable of such sports [“wrestling”] and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome and in other places.” Herod the Great “consecrated this combat to Caesar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year,” calling them “Caesar’s Games [“fifth-year games”], and for which this first he “himself proposed the largest prizes.” He also provided prodigious and costly events for ambassadors and dignitaries, entertaining “them all in the public inns, and at public tables, and with perpetual feasts.” Herod also contributed revenues for “the olympic games, which were in a very low condition [due to] failure of their revenues.”

Afterward, Herod built another city in the fruitful plain called Capharsaba [undesigned], “where a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees...round about it [“the finest plain in the kingdom”]; this he named Antipatris, from his father.” “He also built upon another spot of ground above Jericho, of the same name with his mother.” He erected a wall “about a citadel [there]...a very strong and very fine building,” “a place of great security and very pleasant for habitation, and called it Cypros.” The work included “other places at Jericho, also, between the citadel Cypros and the former palace,” and included a tower in the city (“not less than the tower of Pharos”), dedicated to and named Phasaelus after Herod’s brother. Herod also built a city named Phasaelus “in the valley of Jericho, as you go from it northward from Jericho.”

“...[I]t is impossible to reckon” the benefits Herod funded at other cities, “both in Syria and in Greece, and in all the places he came to in his voyages ( “as if they were part of his own kingdom”--“the greatest and most illustrious [of them being the rebuilding, after it had burned down, of] Apollo’s temple at Rhodes, to which city he gave also a large amount in silver talents to repair its fleet. Other such works included “the greatest part of the public edifices for the inhabitants of Nicopolis, at Actium;” “for the Antiochians, the inhabitants of the principal city of Syria”--“for that large open place belonging to Antioch in Syria”--a 20-furlong-long pavement of polished marble lined with cloisters.

One of the many of Herod’s public works that honored Roman dignitaries was a city in Samaria called Sebaste--“from Sebastus, or Augustus”/“a day’s journey from Jerusalem”--surrounded by a “beautiful wall, ...a most fruitful piece of land” centered by a temple to Caesar, to which city Herod “brought six thousand inhabitants”/“many of those that had been assisting him in his wars [together with] many of the people in that neighbourhood. ... Moreover, he parted the adjoining country, which was excellent in its kind, among the inhabitants.” Herod placed “select horsemen...in the great plain, building Gaba in the Galilee and Hesebonitis in Perea”--“always inventing somewhat further for his own security, and encompassing the whole nation with guards,” to keep an eye out for tumults and commotions amongst the people.

Herod also caused (a) construction of Panium at the fountains of the Jordan, on land in “another additional country” bestowed on Herod by Caesar; (b) construction of several

<sup>20</sup> Circa 13/12 b.c.e.; refer to Appendix 4A, Detail A, (3).

<sup>21</sup> After husband Augustus Caesar’s death, Livia [A] took the name of “Julia Augusta”--cited at Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A.

other cities called Cesarea; (c) reconstruction of the coastal city of Anthedon, renamed Agrippeum; and (d) rebuilding of the fortress Strato's Tower with white stone and splendid adornments and renamed its surmounting city Caesarea.<sup>22</sup> For himself, Herod built Herodium, "a fortress upon a mountain towards Arabia," replete with "curious art [and] costly palaces round about," and to which was brought all "necessaries...and water...from a great distance," so that apart from its size the fortress was itself a city.<sup>23</sup>

Herod's monetary bestowals extended with "great liberality through all Ionia" and "to no small number of foreign cities," including (a) exercise palaces at Tripoli, Damascus and Ptolemais; (b) a wall around Byblus; (c) large rooms, cloisters, temples and market-places at Berytus and Tyre; (d) theaters at Sidon and Damascus; (e) aqueducts for the Laodiceans who lived along the shore; (f) baths and fountains at Ascalon; (g) and funds to the Eleans, when they fell on hard times, to restore the fifth-year games, together with monies in perpetuity to maintain them.

"[I]t is related that Caesar and Agrippa often said that the dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul; for that he deserved to have both all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also." However, the Great's widespread endeavours--which appeared to stem as much from his passionate private ambition as from "a nature vastly beneficent"--could not compensate "the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations." "...[H]e was induced to be magnificent, wherever there appeared any hopes of a future memorial, or of reputation at present; and as his expenses were beyond his abilities, he was necessitated to be harsh to his subjects, [in that] the persons on whom he expended his money were so many...[while ever] conscious that he was hated by those under him, for the injuries he did them."

Herod could not refrain "to contain himself, but prosecuted his very kindred and friends, and punished them as if they were enemies; and this wickedness he undertook out of a desire that he might be himself alone honoured," as he treated thusly any person in his royal court who "was not very obsequious to him...and would not confess himself to be his slave." Further, in that "the Jewish nation is...by law...accustomed to prefer righteousness to glory...that nation was not agreeable to him," abhorring Herod's "introduction of foreign practices" which were perceived as corrupt, and against "their ancient constitution."

A theater also had been built at Jerusalem, heavily adorned with laudatory inscriptions to Caesar and "trophies" of his conquests. The trophies, which bore precious-metal ornaments, "gave most distaste to the Jews...[who] imagined them to be images" of men. Herod called the most eminent of them to the theater and had the images stripped of ornaments to the naked wood beneath, and the matter "became...of great sport and laughter to them." Herod "thus got clear of the multitude, and...dissipated the[ir] vehemency of passion...but still some of them continued in their displeasure."

Ten unnamed male citizens formed a suicidal conspiracy; they would stage an attack on Herod. Even if unsuccessful at killing Herod himself with their daggers, they would at least fell a good number of those around him. A spy of Herod's learned of and revealed the plot. Herod discerned the perpetrators through torture of "certain women." The accused, "by their several [undesigned] names," were brought before Herod. They staunchly defended their "holy and pious action [in] the conspiracy...and were led away to execution." Punishment included destruction of "their entire families." The identity of the informant became known to "some of the people," by whom he was seized, "pulled to pieces...and given to the dogs."

AJ XV.VIII.1-5; AJ XVI.V.1-5; Wars I.XXI.

<sup>22</sup> AJ XV.IX.6 provides much detail of the harbor, quay, and towers of the vast constructions at Strato's Harbor, and of the city (Caesarea) with its palaces, amphitheater, etc. above the bay.

<sup>23</sup> Herod also called "that hill that was of the shape of a woman's breast, and was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem," *Herodium*. *Josephus* editors say there were "two cities or citadels" called Herodium, at distances from Jerusalem of 200 and 60 furlongs respectively; however, references to other cities are unclear.

“Jews[/Hebrews]” residing in cities of Libya (“which joins to Cyrene”) and Asia, to whom former overlords had afforded equal rights, were at this time “affronted” by Greeks, “and that so far as to take away their sacred money, and to do them mischief on other particular occasions.” The ill-treated parties “sent ambassadors to Caesar on those accounts,” there being “no end of their barbarous treatment...met with among the Greeks.” [Josephus here sets forth another sample of the “testimonials of the ancient favourable disposition the Roman emperors had towards us,” sent to certain provincial governors to demonstrate how “we have been supported by them, while we followed our own religion.” *AJ XVI.VI.1-8.*]

Herod the Great had heard that his predecessor, Hyrcanus II, once had opened and taken 3000 silver talents from king David’s sepulchre; now, Herod, himself, was in need of funds. He secretly entered the sepulchre by night with “only his most faithful friends.” Of money he found none; but “that furniture of gold, and those precious goods that were laid up there, all...he took away.” Herod took pains that his entry into the sepulchre “should not be at all known in the city.” It is not reported whether any persons in the royal family learned of it; regardless, “the tumult was [become] like a civil war in his palace, and their hatred towards one another was like that where each one strove to exceed another in calumnies.” “Herod also recommended Ptolemy [undesignated],” who was a great director of his affairs in his kingdom, “to Antipater III, and consulted with his (Antipater’s) mother about the public affairs, also.” Of the women, Alexander III’s wife, Glaphyra [B], hated Salome I and also “seemed to behave herself somewhat insolently towards Salome’s daughter [Bernice A], who was the wife of Aristobulus [IV].”

Antipater III’s “stratagems [were] very cunning” against Alexander and Aristobulus, who “were in a worse and worse condition perpetually,” in that Antipater “corrupted Alexander’s acquaintances with money, or got into their favour by flatteries; by which means he...brought them to betray their master,” at the same time convincingly showing diligence as to his father’s preservation, and feigning kindness toward his brothers at advantageous times. “[E]very thing that was said by Alexander was presently brought to Antipater, and from Antipater it was brought to Herod with additions.” Antipater’s “general aim was this--to lay a plot, and to make it believed that Alexander lay in wait to kill his father.”

*AJ XVI.VII.1-2; Wars I.XXIV.1.*

Herod’s “natural affection...did every day diminish” towards Alexander and Aristobulus and “increase towards Antipater.” “The courtiers also inclined to the same conduct,” some voluntarily and “others by the king’s injunction, as particularly did Ptolemy, the king’s dearest friend.” “Antipater’s mother was also all in all” against Miriam’s sons, hating them “more than is usual to hate sons-in-law.” Herod charged “his most intimate friends, they they should not come near, nor pay any regard to Alexander, or to his friends. Herod was also become terrible not only to his domestics about the court, but to his friends abroad,” in that Caesar had given him a privilege no other king had--“that he might fetch back any one that fled from him, even out of a city that was not under his own jurisdiction.”

Alexander and Aristobulus “were not acquainted with the calumnies raised against them; for which reason they could not guard themselves...but fell under them.” Antipater had caused “their uncle Pheroras to be their enemy, as well.” *Wars I.XXIV.2*

“[N]either did the king’s brother Pheroras keep himself out of trouble.” Pheroras already had a wife [unnamed], beloved by him, when Herod gave to him a [here unnamed] wife “of the royal family, who was no other than his wife’s own sister” and “one of Herod’s daughters.” Pheroras loved his wife “to such a degree...that he despised the king’s daughter, and wholly bent his mind to the other, who had been but a servant.” Herod then betrothed that “damsel” Pheroras rejected to Phasaelus’s son, instead. Herod felt Pheroras denied him honour he deserved for favors received--such that “Pheroras was almost a partner...in the kingdom,” being tetrarch of “all land beyond the Jordan;” and after a while Herod blamed Pheroras for his first refusal “and desired that he take Herod’s second

daughter [by Miriamne I], whose name was Cypros [II].”<sup>24</sup>

Ptolemy [undesigned<sup>25</sup>] advised Pheroras he should “forsake her whom he had loved” and comply with his father’s wishes. Pheroras attempted, this second time around, to bow to prudence and “put his wife away, although he already had a son by her. ...[He] agreed that the thirtieth day after should be the day of marriage” to the second daughter. When the time came, however, Pheroras did not perform as promised and “continued still with his former wife.” Salome I, in the meantime, continued to discredit Miriam’s sons, even so far as to use every means of causing suspicions in Glaphyra.

The situation between the women’s camps was a plague to Herod, with Salome constantly carrying stories of rebellious comments made by the others, especially “whenever they saw” the Cypros branch “adorned with their mother [Miriamne I’s] clothes.” “Glaphyra augmented” hatred in the others by emphasizing her own noble genealogy, “being derived by her father’s side from Temenus, and by her mother’s side from Darius, the son of Hystaspes.”<sup>26</sup> She frequently reminded Herod’s sister and wives of “the ignobility of their descent,” claiming “they were every one chosen by him for their beauty, but not for their family. Now those wives of his were not a few; it being of old permitted to the Jews to marry many wives, and this king delighting in many.”

Aristobulus IV, following Glaphyra’s example, deepened the hatred between himself and his mother-in-law Salome, in that he “perpetually upbraided his wife [Bernice A] with the meanness of her family.” She, in turn, weepingly claimed that Alexander III had threatened the mothers of all his female half-siblings that, “should he become king ever, he would reduce them to weavers, and his half-brothers he would make schoolmasters.”

*AJ XVI.VII.3; Wars I.XXIV.2-3, I.XXV.5.*

Herod conferred seriously with Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, “before he went to Rome, whither he was now going by sea.” Herod spoke both as a father and as a king, pledging to forgive former offences if they would amend future behavior. They reiterated that the claims against them had been false, and that Herod “ought to shut his ears against such tales,” in that there would be people to malign them so long as their were those to listen. Yet, although they had pacified Herod and in that regard were safe for the time being, “they knew that Salome, as well as their uncle Pheroras, were their enemies. Pheroras “was a partner with Herod in all the affairs of the kingdom...had also 100 talents of his own revenue, and enjoyed the advantage of all the land beyond the Jordan, which he had received as a gift from his brother [Herod], who had asked of Caesar to make him a tetrarch, as he was made accordingly.” Moreover, “Herod had also given him a wife out of the royal family, who was no other than his own wife’s [Miriamne I’s?] sister, and after her [Miriamne I’s?] death had solemnly espoused to him his own eldest daughter [Salampsio], with a dowry of 300 talents; but Pheroras refused to consummate this royal marriage, out of his affection to a maid servant of his. Upon which account Herod was very angry, and gave that [eldest] daughter in marriage to a brother’s son of his [Joseph III?]<sup>27</sup>, who was slain afterward by the Parthians; but in some time he laid aside his anger against Pheroras, and pardoned him, as one not able to overcome his foolish passion for the maid-servant.”

*Wars I.XXV.4-5.*

At some point Pheroras repeated to Alexander III an accusation of Salome I, that Herod “was enamoured on Glaphyra [B], and that his passion for her was incurable.” Alexander’s pricked suspicions caused him to read more into Herod’s generally “obliging behaviour” towards Glaphyra, and at length confronted his father with the rumor. Herod the Great sent for and angrily took to task Pheroras, accusing him of attempting to “put a sword

<sup>24</sup> Regarding all Herodian betrothals/espousals, see Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, Detail A.

<sup>25</sup> *But see* Appendix 4B, III, fn. 9.

<sup>26</sup> *Refer to* book three, Appendix 3A, III, fn. 15.

<sup>27</sup> *Josephus* editors add, “[Joseph].”

into his [Alexander's] hands to slay his father." When Pheroras replied, "it was Salome who was the framer of this plot...the words came from her," Salome--also present--"cried out, like one that would be believed, that no such thing ever came out of her mouth;" that since "she was the only person who persuaded her brother to put away the wife he now had, and to take the king's daughter, it was no wonder if she were hated by him," and all was a ploy to discredit her to the king.

The confusion and quarreling between Pheroras and Salome I increased until Herod, "out of his hatred to his brother and sister, sent them both away, commending Pheroras for having given him a report." Although Salome "was convicted" of all the accusations, she obtained pardon; and "the king also pardoned Pheroras himself the crimes he had been accused of." Afterwards, "Salome's reputation suffered greatly...; the king's wives were grieved" at her two-facedness, and they became more bold in speaking out against her.

*AJ XVI.VII.4-5; Wars I.XXV.6.*

The affairs of Arabia's then-king Obodas--"Herod's bitter enemy"--were managed by one Sylleus, a young, handsome and shrewd man. Sylleus had met, had discourse with, and "set his heart upon" the widow Salome I. Salome I "looked upon Sylleus with some passion, and was very earnest to be married to him," "because [she] at that time [was] less in favour with her brother." "[T]he [undesigned] women"--laughing "at the indecency"--remarked to Herod about the budding relationship, and Herod set Pheroras to observe the situation. Pheroras subsequently corroborated that, by all signals, "they both were evidently in love."

Two or three months later procurator Sylleus returned and proposed to Herod that Salome I become his wife. Salome, when asked by Herod, immediately agreed, for she, "by the means of Julia [/Augusta/Livia A], Caesar's wife, earnestly desired leave to be married to Sylleus." Herod first "swore he would esteem her his bitter enemy unless she would leave off." However, Herod apparently decided that the marriage could occur if Sylleus "was...to come over to the Jewish religion" [--the Great commanded Sylleus first must be circumcised?]. Sylleus "could not bear that proposal, and went his way; for he said, that if he should do so, he should be stoned by the Arabs."

Pheroras reproached Salome "for her incontinency,...the women much more... [saying] Sylleus had debauched her." "Herod...compelled Salome ["against her own consent"] to be married instead to Alexas, "a friend of his; and that one of her daughters should be married to Alexas' son, and the other to Antipater's [III's] uncle by the mother's side"]. Salome "submitted" to marrying Alexas, on the counsel of Julia[/Livia A] that it would be to Salome's advantage to do so.

As for the "damsel [Salampsio] which the king had betrothed to his brother Pheroras, but he had not taken...because he was enamoured on his former wife," Salome I wanted the Great to give her to Antipater IV, Salome's son by Costobarus. The Great was willing, but Pheroras dissuaded him by the argument that Antipater IV would not take kindly to the daughter of the man who had killed his father, and it would be more that Pheroras' own son, "who was to be his successor in the tetrarchy, should have her." "Accordingly, the damsel, upon this change of her espousals, was disposed of to...the son of Pheroras, the king giving for her portion a hundred talents."

*AJ XVI.VII.6, XVII.I.1, Wars I.XXVIII.6.*

When Caesar earlier had given Zenodorus' prior territory to Herod the Great, inhabitants who previously gained their livelihood from thefts of neighboring areas were forced to cultivate the land, "which did not produce much." During the time that Herod sailed to Rome "to accuse...Alexander [III], and to commit Antipater to Caesar's protection, the Trachonites spread a report as if he [Herod] were dead." The Trachonites had revolted, returned to their prior behavior, and been subdued by Herod's commanders. Herod, on his return, had gone "all over Trachonitis,<sup>28</sup> and slew their relations," which fueled the foes to

<sup>28</sup> Trachon being "no small part of Herod's dominion."

“tear and rend every thing under Herod’s dominion with impunity.” About forty of the principal Trachonite revolutionaries took refuge with Sylleus in Arabia. “[T]hey overran not only Judea, but all Celesyria also, and carried off the prey,” while Sylleus (“after he had missed marrying Salome”) “afforded them...protection.”

Herod besought Saturninus and Volumnius, “then the presidents of Syria,” to employ punishment, which further fueled the foe. Its men increased to about 1,000; the pillaging increased correspondingly, and the “proceedings came to be like a real war.” Herod demanded Sylleus turn over the robbers and also repay an overdue loan Herod had made to Obodas. Sylleus, “who had laid Obodas aside, and managed all by himself, denied that the robbers were in Arabia, and put off the payment.” A hearing was had before the Syrian presidents, at which it was decreed that within 30 days’ time Herod be repaid and both Herod and Sylleus “should deliver up the other’s subjects reciprocally.” None of Sylleus’ subjects were found in Herod’s kingdom, “either as doing any injustice, or on any other account, but it was proved that the Arabians had the robbers amongst them.” On expiration of the 30 days, Sylleus had not performed under the agreement and “was gone to Rome.”

With permission of Saturninus and Voluminius, Herod himself undertook execution of the judgment and led an army into Arabia. “[I]n three days’ time [he] marched seven mansions” and made an assault on the “garrison wherein the robbers were...took them all, and demolished the place, which was called Raepta, but did no harm to any others.” Arabians under a captain Naceb entered the fray. Naceb, some 20 of his men and a few of Herod’s soldiers fell in that skirmish; the rest of Naceb’s men took flight. Subsequently, Herod “placed 3000 Idumeans in Trachonitis, and thereby restrained the robbers that were there.” A report by Herod to “the captains that were about Phoenicia”—which report, “upon an exact inquiry, they found to be...true”—demonstrated that Herod had done only “what he ought to do, in punishing the refractory Arabians.”

Word reached Sylleus at Rome, where he already had “insinuated himself into the knowledge of Caesar.” Sylleus told Caesar Octavian (a) that all of his kingdom was afflicted with war due to Herod’s laying waste to it with his army; (b) that 2500 principal Arabians had been destroyed, his kinsman and captain Nacebus slain, and the riches of Raepta carried off; (c) that the Arabian army could not be a marshalled presence without either himself or Obodas, and (d) that Obodas, “despised,” also was of an “infirm state of body...unfit for war.” Sylleus further told Caesar that he had absented himself only because he had “believed that Caesar would have provided that they should all have peace with one another,” but, “had he been there, he would have taken care that the war should not have been to Herod’s advantage.” The latter comment provoked Caesar to ask his own friends “who were come from Syria” and “Herod’s friends that were there” whether it was true that Herod had led an army into Arabia, which they could not deny. Caesar did not wait to hear additional explanation, “grew very angry, and wrote to Herod sharply...that whereas of old he had used him as his friend, he [Caesar] should now use him [Herod] as his subject.”

Sylleus’ report “elevated” the Arabians: they did not deliver up those who had fled to them; they did not pay any money due; they “retained those pastures also which they had hired, and kept them without paying their rent, and all this because the king of the Jews was now in a low condition, by reason of Caesar’s anger at him.” “Those of Trachonitis...rose up against the Idumean garrison, and followed the same way of robbing.”

“Now Herod was forced to bear all this, that confidence of his being quite gone with which Caesar’s favour used to inspire him; for Caesar would not admit so much as an embassy...to make an apology,” and twice sent his ambassadors away. While Sylleus continued at Rome, enjoying Caesar’s belief, in Arabia Obodas died. The government was taken by one “Aeneas, whose name was afterward changed to Aretas.” Sylleus undertook various means to have Aretas evicted from the principality (giving much money to courtiers and promising more to Caesar), while Aretas sent Caesar presents (one being a gold crown “the weight of many talents”) and an epistle, in which he accused Sylleus of having Obodas

poisoned, of debauching Arabian wives, and of borrowing money to gain dominion.

Caesar sent back Aretas' ambassadors and presents. "But in the mean time the affairs of Judea and Arabia became worse and worse, partly because of the anarchy they were under, and partly because...nobody had power to govern them; for of the two kings, the one (Aretas) "was not yet confirmed in his kingdom, and so had not authority sufficient...and as for Herod, Caesar was immediately angry at him." "At length," Herod--hoping his friends at Rome might have mitigated Caesar's attitude somewhat, sent Nicolaus of Damascus at the head of another embassy.

*AJ XVI.VIII.1-4 (also briefly at AJ XVI.IV.6).*

"Now," it was, "that this accident happened": Herod had "certain [here unnamed] eunuchs...and on account of their beauty was very fond of them. They respectively were entrusted to bring him drink and supper and put him to bed. "[O]ne was his butler...another of them got his supper...the third put him to bed, and lay down by him." The third "also managed the principal affairs of the government." Some [unnamed] person told Herod that the eunuchs had been "corrupted by Alexander [III]...with great sums of money." "Now Alexander had prevailed with these men, by large gifts, to let him use them after an obscene manner, which was told to the king.... [T]hey were tortured, and found guilty, and presently confessed...that the men of power did already pay respects to Alexander privately, and that the captains of the soldiery and the officers did secretly come to him." The eunuchs when first questioned allowed that Alexander III did have "criminal conversation with them...but knew of no further mischief." Afterwards, however, "they were more severely tortured...[and to] the utmost extremity [when the] tormentors, out of compliance with Antipater [III], stretched the rack to the very utmost." "They"<sup>29</sup> then stated that Alexander had said Herod had not long to live and had promised them, "if he [the eunuch] would apply himself" to Alexander, "he should quickly have first place in the kingdom," something which Alexander felt certain he would attain, in that many rulers and friends were on his side.

The eunuchs' statements "did so terrify Herod" although "he durst not immediately publish them." "[O]verrun with suspicion" he "sent spies abroad privately, by night and by day," and was unable to trust anyone--not "those who staid with him [who] had the most power to hurt him...[nor] those that did not...and he thought himself safer when they were destroyed. ...[H]is domestics were come to that pass...no way secure of escaping...they fell to accusing one another." Their contrivings for personal security, and attempts by some to ensnare their enemies at the same time, would backfire; and although Herod "soon repented" of his actions ("because he had no clear evidence of the guilt of those whom he had slain"), instead of desisting he would "inflict the same punishment upon their accusers."

Herod expelled from the palace Andromachus (whose son was a companion of Alexander III) and Gamellus (who had been with Alexander from youth and while he was at Rome); ambassadors and tutors of Herod's sons, both men had been friends of old of Herod. Herod also refused to allow many others of his friends to either come to the palace or appear before him. "Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this," fueling his father's paranoia to be enable pursuit of his own interests, when "every one that could oppose him was taken away."

After the loss of Andromachus and cessation of Herod's discourses with other friends, Herod "in the first placed, examined by torture all whom he thought to be faithful to Alexander ...but these died without having any thing to say" about attempts by Alexander against Herod, "which made the king more zealous." Antipater III provoked Herod to "torture of great numbers," for Antipater "was very sagacious to raise a calumny against those that were really innocent, as if their denial was only their constancy and fidelity" to Alexander."

*Note: The following two paragraphs appear to contain parallels. (Chronology between AJ and Wars becomes increasingly difficult to follow.)*

<sup>29</sup> Or one of them (--as will be noted, the account changes to the singular).

One [unnamed] person of the many tortured first only said that he knew Alexander III often had remarked that Herod's envy of Alexander's natural attributes and skills caused Alexander to try to appear shorter when walking with his father, and to miss the mark purposely when they hunted together. After the rack was loosened, the man then said that Alexander, with Aristobulus IV's assistance, had considered while hunting to lie in wait and kill Herod, and afterward "fly to Rome, and desire to have the kingdom given them. There were also letters...found," in which Alexander complained to Aristobulus that Herod had given Antipater a country with revenues of 200 talents a year. "Now it was Antipater who was the cause of all this." With Alexander "under his misfortunes," Antipater got a stout company of his kindred together, and raised all sorts of calumny against him...[until] the king was brought to such a degree of terror by those prodigious slanders and contrivances, that he fancied he saw Alexander coming to him with a drawn sword."

Herod, felt he had enough evidence to warrant it and "caused Alexander to be seized upon immediately, and bound." On reflection--that the young men "had only made juvenile complaints, and that it would be "incredible" that Alexander should think he could kill him and then go openly to Rome--Herod "was desirous to have some surer mark of his son's wickedness." He proceeded to torture "the principal of Alexander's friends, and put not a few of them to death, without getting any of the things out of them which he suspected. And while Herod was very busy about this matter, and the palace was full of terror and trouble ["horribly unjust proceedings"], one of the younger sort, when he was in the utmost agony, made a confession. Alexander, he said, "had sent to his friends at Rome...that he might be quickly invited thither by Caesar," and would uncover a plot wherein Mithridates, king of Parthia, was joined with Herod against the Romans. He also said that Alexander had had a poisonous potion prepared at Askelon. Others of those tortured, "forced to speak falsely" from the pain, said that Alexander and Aristobulus had plotted to kill Herod while hunting and escape to Rome. The confessions "were readily believed by the king...[as] some comfort to him, after he had bound his son, that it might appear he had not done it unjustly."

*AJ XVI.VIII.1-4; Wars I.XXIV.7-8.*

Herod sought to discover the alleged poisonous potion but found none.

Alexander III attempted to resolve his calamity and prove himself innocent by composing four books of defenses, with a plea that his father not torture more persons. Alexander acknowledged that he had been included in a plot, but that "the greatest part were...chiefly Salome and Pheroras"--to such point as Salome entering his room uninvited and forcing seduction upon him. The books "were put into Herod's hands, and made a great clamour against the men in power," who "were come to be of one mind, to make away with him as soon as they could, and so get clear of the continual fear they were in from him. Among these were accused Ptolemy and Sapinnus," the most "faithful" of Herod's friends. There no longer "was...room for defence or refutation...all were at random doomed to destruction! so that some lamented those that were in prison, some those that were put to death, and others...that they were in expectation of the same miseries...."

*AJ XVI.VIII.5; Wars XXV.1.*

"[N]ow it was that Archelaus," the Cappadocian king--hearing of the state Herod was in, and of Glaphyra and Alexander's distress--"came on purpose" "hastily into Judea" to compose their differences." Archelaus carefully avoided being critical of Herod; he expressed anger, instead, at Alexander (he would dissolve Glaphyra's marriage, and woe be to her if she had failed to tell Herod of any wrongdoings). Archelaus proposed that he and Herod together investigate the matter completely. By this stratagem, Archelaus "obliged the king not to execute what he had threatened," in that Archelaus' posture effected a remittance of Herod's angry state and brought Herod "to a more moderate temper." Herod declined dissolution of the marriage and gave Alexander's books to Archelaus, which books Archelaus

<sup>30</sup>  
Josephus editors insert "[of the courtiers]."  
*App4B.II*

carefully considered together with Herod. “[B]y degrees” Archelaus “laid the blame on those men whose names were in these books, and especially upon Pheroras,” “the principal subject of the four books,” advancing that there was more reason to suspect Pheroras and others of Herod’s “friends...[in that] it must be owing to them that so young a man, and one unacquainted with malice, was corrupted,” giving reasons to consider “whether the young man may be not himself plotted against.”

The preponderance of Herod’s anger now changed from Alexander III to Pheroras, to whom Archelaus then went, sympathetically, advising that “he did not see how he could get him excused, now he was directly caught in so many crimes, whereby it was evidently demonstrated that he had plotted against the king, etc..” Archelaus, pledging to assist Pheroras in any way possible, convinced Pheroras that his only hope was to re-win the king’s good will gradually, and first willingly confess all. “When he had persuaded him to this, he [Archelaus] gained his point with both...and the calumnies raised against the young man (Alexander III) were, beyond all expectation, wiped off.” Pheroras, wearing black cloth, tearfully prostrated himself before Herod, confessed his guilt “and lamented that disorder of his mind, and distraction, which his love for a woman, he said, had brought him to.” Archelaus then argued clemency for Pheroras “and mitigated Herod’s anger towards him...by using certain domestical examples” to emphasize it was of greater importance to heal such difficulties not uncommon in kingdoms.

Archelaus continued to show indignation toward Alexander, stressing that he wanted to maintain good relationship between his and Herod’s kingdoms. Archelaus made Herod “strongly believe that he would permit [his daughter Glaphyra] to be married to any one else, but not to Alexander.” Herod, however, petitioned Archelaus to allow Glaphyra to continue as Alexander’s wife, “especially since they had already children,” and reasoning that Alexander’s deep love for Glaphyra “would be a great preservative to him, and keep him from offending.” Archelaus complied, “but not without difficulty, and was both himself reconciled to the young man, and reconciled his father to him also. However, he said he must, by all means, be sent to Rome to discourse with Caesar, because he had already written a full account to him of this whole matter.”

“[W]hen these reconciliations were over, they spent their time in feastings and agreeable entertainments.” “[A]t this juncture of time,” Archelaus was “the most agreeable person to Herod in the world, was given rich presents when he left Judaea [70 talents, a golden throne set with precious stones, some eunuchs and a concubine named Pannychia],” it being accepted “that he would go to Rome.” Herod traveled with Archelaus as far as Antioch, where he “made a reconciliation between Archelaus and Titus, the president of Syria, who had been greatly at variance, and so returned back to Judea.”  
*AJ XVI.VIII.6; Wars I.XXV.1-6.*

Subsequently, the travels of a notable Lacedemonian named Eurycles brought him into Judea. Eurycles “was so corrupt a man, that out of the desire of getting money, he chose to live under a king, for Greece could not suffice his luxury.”<sup>31</sup> Eurycles presented gifts and cultivated Herod’s “blind side.” Insinuating himself, he “became one of the most intimate of the king’s friends” while he otherwise contrived that each royal member—including Aristobulus IV—believed Eurycles to be his or her own particular friend. Eurycles, who lodged with and “was principally hired by Antipater,” also advanced himself as one in great favour with Archelaus, thereby cultivating Alexander. Alexander was “persuaded [to] open his grievances to him...how his father was alienated from him...[and] also the affairs of his mother, and of Antipater”—how Herod “had driven them [Alexander III and Aristobulus IV] from their proper dignity...had the power over everything...[of which ] no part of...was tolerable...his father was already come to hate them...would neither admit them to table, nor to his

<sup>31</sup> Eurycles “seems to have been the same” who Plutarch mentioned as companion 25 years before to Mark Antony, and as living with Herod.... “[H]is being a Spartan rendered him acceptable to the Jews [cf. public records demonstrating kinship between them].” *Wars I.XXVI.1, footnote.*

conversation,” etc. Eurycles “procured Aristobulus to say the same things.”

Eurycles, professing concern for Antipater III and support for him as Herod’s eldest son, reported all of the brothers’ discourses to Antipater, for which he received presents. Conversely, Eurycles lamented with Alexander that he, “born of a queen, and...married to a king’s daughter, permitted one [Antipater], born of a mean woman, to lay claim to the succession.” Eurycles “received a great sum of money” from Antipater and proceeded to commend Antipater before Herod, “and at length undertook the work of bringing Alexander and Aristobulus to their graves.” He revealed to Herod the young men’s confidences. He outlined the methods by which Alexander believed he would supervene and not be found guilty of parricide, once he gained Caesar’s audience without Herod’s intervention and could, among other things, bring inquiry into the fates of his grandfather Hyrcanus II and his mother, Mariamne I.

“[A]lthough Herod found the proofs too weak, he gave order to have his sons kept in custody; for till now they had been at liberty.” But he “called...Eurycles his saviour and benefactor” and “immediately” gave him reward of 50 talents. Eurycles next wrote Archelaus a flowery letter commending Alexander and depicting himself as furthering reconciliation in the kingdom. Eurycles went immediately into Cappadocia, “got money of Archelaus also, and went away, before his pernicious practices were found out.”<sup>32</sup>

Euaratus of Cos, “one of Alexander’s most intimate friends, [had come] to him in his travels, at the same time that Eurycles came.” Herod questioned Euaratus of the truth of the accusations against Alexander, and Euaratus “assured him upon oath that he had never heard any such things from the young men...[but] Herod was only disposed...[toward those] that would believe they were guilty.” Eurycles had “brought the king to that pass...[of] increased hatred to him [Alexander], and made him [Herod] implacable.” Herod “was now come to that pass as to hate them [Aristobulus and Alexander]...and to urge men to speak against them.... ...[A]t length he heard that Euratus of Cos was a conspirator with Alexander; which thing to Herod was the most agreeable and sweetest news imaginable.”

Antipater III bolstered Eurycles’ results by sending others to Herod to accuse the brothers of having private talks with two discharged royal horsemen, Jucundus and Tyrannus—former “guards of Herod’s body”—strong, skilled men who rode with and were gifted by Alexander. Herod now put them to the torture; and, although they “endured the torture courageously for a long time...at last confessed that Alexander would have persuaded them to kill Herod” by feigning a hunting accident. They further revealed hidden money buried in a stable and implicated Herod’s chief hunter as having provided Alexander with hunting spears and weapons.

While Herod was “in a very great rage at these informations,” there was produced a letter purportedly written by Alexander III to the [unnamed] “governor of a castle”/“commander of the garrison of Alexandrium,” concerning refuge for the brothers once Herod had been killed. The governor/commander “was accused to have promised to receive the young men into his fortress, and to supply them with that money of the king’s which was laid up in that fortress.” The said governor/commander himself did not acknowledge the communication; “but his son came in, and said it was so, and delivered up the writing, which, so far as could be guessed, was in Alexander’s hand.” Alexander, however,<sup>33</sup> claimed the letter was drafted by Antipater and forged by Diophantus, the king’s secretary.

“...[T]he commander of the garrison of Alexandrium was caught and tortured;” and

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<sup>32</sup> “but when Eurycles was returned to Lacedemon, he did not leave off doing mischief; and so, for his many acts of injustice, he was banished from his own country.” (“He passed over into Greece.... ...twice accused before Caesar, that he had filled Achaia with sedition, and had plundered its cities...he was sent into banishment.”)

<sup>33</sup> “...cunning in counterfeiting; and after he had counterfeited a great number, he was at last put to death for it.”

34

Herod “produced those that had been tortured before the multitude at Jericho ...to have them accuse the young men, which accusers many of the people stoned to death; and when they were going to kill Alexander and Aristobulus likewise, the king...restrained the multitude, by the means of Ptolemy [undesigned] and Pheroras. However, the young men were put under a guard, and kept in custody, that nobody might come at them...and the reproach and fear they were in was little or nothing different from those of condemned criminals.”

“Salome exasperated Herod’s cruelty against his sons; for Aristobulus was desirous to bring her, who was his mother-in-law and his aunt, into the like dangers with themselves; so he sent to her to take care of her own safety, and told her that the king was preparing to put her to death,” on account of her consortment with Sylleus. (Salome I conveyed to Herod a remark made to her by Aristobulus IV concerning her involvement with Sylleus--“Art thou not in danger of destruction also?”) Salome “came running to the king, and informed him.” “[T]his it was, that came as the last storm and entirely sunk the young men.” Herod ordered that the brothers be bound and kept apart, and that they “write down the ill things they had done against their father.” They wrote “that they had laid no treacherous designs, nor made any preparations against their father, but that they had intended to fly away...by the distress they were in, their lives being now uncertain and tedious to them.”

*AJ XVI.X.1-5; Wars I.XXVI.1-4, I.XXVII.1.*

“About this time” king Archelaus sent an ambassador named Melas, before whom the bound Alexander was questioned by Herod. Alexander stated that he and his brother had planned to escape to Archelaus, “who had promised to send them away to Rome;” but that they otherwise were innocent of all charges made by their adversaries, “and that their desire was that he [Herod] might have examined Tyrannus and Jucundus more strictly, but that they had been suddenly slain by the means of Antipater, who had put his own friends among the multitude [at Jericho].”

Herod next placed Alexander III and Melas before Glaphyra [B] with the question “whether she did not know somewhat of Alexander’s treacherous designs against Herod?” It was “so miserable a spectacle to those present”--Glaphyra groaning at seeing Alexander in bonds; Alexander in tears--“for a great while, they were not able to say or to do any thing,” until “Ptolemy [undesigned], who was ordered to bring Alexander, bid him say whether his wife was conscious of his actions.” Alexander replied, “How is it possible that she, whom I love better than my own soul, and by whom I have had children, should not know what I do?” Glaphyra then exclaimed that, if it would serve to preserve Alexander, she even would testify to her own disadvantage, but she knew of no treachery on his part. Alexander continued, “There is no such wickedness as those...suspect, which either I have imagined, or thou knowest of, but this only, that we had resolved to retire to Archelaus, and from thence to Rome. Which she [Glaphyra] also confessed.”

Herod, “supposing that Archelaus’s ill-will to him was fully proved,” commissioned his army general, Olympus, and his friend, Volumnius, to sail for Rome with written information for Caesar--that, “in case they found Nicolaus had gained any ground, and that Caesar was no longer displeased at him,” they should give to Caesar Herod’s “letters, and the proofs which he had ready to show against the young men.” Herod bid them also to “touch at Eleusa of Cilicia, and give Archelaus the letter” which Herod wrote also to him. Archelaus’ defense was, yes, he had promised to receive the brothers in that it equally would be of benefit to king Herod, given the fearfully risky situation in his household; but that he, Archelaus, had not promised to send them to Caesar or do any other act of ill-will toward Herod.

Meanwhile, at Rome, Nicolaus, who found “the Arabians...were quarrelling one with another,” went beyond his original assignment and made accusations against Sylleus,” and “some of them left Sylleus’s party.... ...[J]oining themselves to Nicolaus...[they] produced to

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<sup>34</sup> Fifteen miles from Jerusalem and the Temple. (It appears that this assembly would have occurred about the same time of Mary [A]’s discharge from the temple and her betrothal to Joseph [A].)

him evident demonstrations of the slaughter of a great number of Obodas's friends by Sylleus... [having] carried off with them those letters whereby they could convict him." Nicolaus used the situation to gain position to make a plea on Herod's behalf. On the day that the Arabian cause was heard before Caesar, with Aretas' ambassadors present, Nicolaus accused Sylleus of the destruction of the king [Obodas], of borrowing money for ill intent and of adultery with both Arabian and Roman women (as Aretas had charged, in his earlier epistle), and that, "above all the rest he [Sylleus] had alienated Caesar from Herod, and that all that he had said about the actions of Herod were falsities."

At that point Caesar directed Nicolaus to elucidate Herod's behavior--whether he had not led an army into Arabia, slain 2,500 men, taken prisoners and pillaged the country. Nicolaus gained Caesar Octavian's full attention when he responded that he would "principally demonstrate" that very little, if any, of the imputations were true. Nicolaus proceeded to relate (a) "that there was a debt due to Herod of 500 talents, and a bond, wherein it was written, that if the time appointed be elapsed, it should be lawful to make seizure out of any part of his [Sylleus'] country;" (b) the granting by Syria's presidents of Herod's application to make a seizure, for which he took a party of soldiers; and (c) that the only captives taken were those "robbers that dwelt in Trachonitis," with whom Sylleus was involved. Nicolaus concluded, "I venture to affirm that when the forces of the Arabians came upon us, and one or two of Herod's party fell, he then only defended himself, and there fell Nacebus their general; and in all about 25 others, and no more; whence Sylleus, by multiplying every single soldier to a hundred, he reckons the slain to have been 2,500."

Sylleus hesitated when Caesar, provoked, asked how many Arabians in fact had been slain. "The covenants also were read about the money he had borrowed, and the letters of the presidents of Syria, and the complaints of the several cities, so many as had been injured by the robbers. The conclusion was this, that Sylleus was condemned to die ["was sent away to answer Herod's suit, and to repay the debt that he owed, and after that to be punished"], and that Caesar was reconciled to Herod. Caesar still was "offended" that Aretas "had taken upon himself the government, without...consent first obtained, for he [Caesar] had determined to bestow Arabia upon Herod." At that point Herod's ambassadors "thought fit immediately to deliver...the letters" about Aristobulus IV and Alexander III. Caesar, upon reading them, decided "it would not be proper to add another government to him [Herod], now he was old, and in an ill state with relation to his sons." Caesar instead formally admitted the ambassadors from Aretas (although he "reproved him for his rashness") "and accepted of his presents, and confirmed him in his [Arabian] government." *AJ XVI.X.6-9.*

As to the information delivered by Herod's ambassadors, Caesar "was mightily troubled at the case of the young men; yet did not think he ought to take the power from the father of condemning his sons; so he wrote back...and appointed him to have the power over his sons." Caesar advised Herod "would do well to make an examination into this matter of the plot against him in a public court, and to take for his assessors his own kindred, and the governors of the province. And if those sons be found guilty, to put them to death ["as parricides"]; but if they appear to have thought of no more than flying away...he should moderate their punishment." Caesar ordered Herod to assemble a court at ("some place near") Berytus,<sup>35</sup> "and to take the presidents of Syria, and Archelaus king of Cappadocia, and as many more as he thought [of friendship and dignity]...and determine what should be done by their approbation."

The assembly included presidents Saturninus and Pedanius, their lieutenants, and procurator Volumnius; "next to them, the king's kinsmen and friends, with Salome also, and Pheroras;" after them, "the principal men of all Syria, excepting Archelaus; for Herod had a suspicion of him" ("he either hated him...or he thought he would be an obstacle to his designs"). Neither did Herod produce Aristobulus IV and Alexander III in open court, "for he knew well enough that had they but appeared only, they would certainly have been pitied;

<sup>35</sup>"Berytus, now *Berut*, an ancient town of Phoenicia, on the coast of the Mediterranean." L 106.

and...Alexander would easily have answered what they were accused of." The brothers were kept in custody nearby, at "Platana [/Platane], a village of the Sidonians."

"[W]hen there were 150 assessors present, Herod came by himself alone, and accused his sons, and that in such a way...very vehement...nor would he suffer the assessors to consider the weight of his evidence, but asserted them to be true by his own authority...and exaggerated what they [his sons] had said, as if they had confessed the design against him.... At last he said that he had sufficient authority, both by nature and by Caesar's grant to him"--that as their parent he was ready, according to "a law of their country," to initiate in his own kingdom his sons' deaths by stoning by standers-by. "[Y]et did he wait for their [the court's] determination."

Without Aristobulus IV and Alexander III to make a defense for themselves, "the assessors perceived there was no room for equity and reconciliation, so they confirmed his [Herod's] authority." Saturninus' pronouncement was troubled: "he condemned Herod's sons, but did not think they should be put to death." Saturninus' three sons, who were their father's legatees, joined in their father's pronouncement. "The two lieutenants also gave the like vote; some others there were also who followed their example." "Volumnius's sentence was to inflict death on such as had been so impiously undutiful to their father; and the greatest part of the rest said the same"--"all those that came after him condemned the young men to die, some out of flattery, and some out of hatred to Herod; but none out of indignation at their [the brothers'] crimes." "And now all Syria and Judea was in great expectation, and waited for the last act of this tragedy; yet did nobody suppose that Herod would be so barbarous as to murder his children."

Immediately after the court's conclusion Herod took the brothers to Tyre, where he met Nicolaus returning from Rome and asked him what the general opinion at Rome was relative to the case. Nicolaus replied that the consensus was that, although the brothers' overall behavior had been "impious," Herod ought only to keep them imprisoned and suspend further action until the situation was proved permanently "incurable." Herod, who bid Nicolaus to sail with him, remained silent and thoughtful.

On the ship's arrival at Cesarea, "every body was there talking of Herod's sons, and the kingdom was in suspense, and the people in great expectation of what would become of them; for a terrible fear seized upon all men, lest the ancient disorders of the family should come to a sad conclusion...nor was it without danger to say any rash thing about this matter, nor even to hear another saying it, but men's pity was forced to be shut up in themselves." One exception was "an old soldier of Herod's, whose name was Tero, who had a son of the same age with Alexander and [had been] his friend." Tero "was so very free as openly...to cry out often among the multitude...that truth was perished, and justice taken away...while lies and ill-will prevailed." While all others themselves kept silent, they "heard what he said [his "reasonableness"] with pleasure," and acquiesced to "a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased." Tero at last ventured to go to Herod and reproached the king for his sagacity, and for failing to consider resulting risks given the convoluted interests of the other members of the royal family. Herod was most affected by Tero's admonishments that "the very silence of the multitude at once sees the crime, and abhors the fact," and that the "whole army and the officers have...hatred to those that are actors in this matter;" that "of the captains, a great many show their indignation...openly," and "he named those."

Herod ordered that Tero and "all whom Tero had named...should be bound and kept in prison." "One Trypho, who was the king's barber," "leaped out from among the people in a kind of madness," and he related that "Tero would often have persuaded him, when he trimmed [the king] with a razor, to cut his throat." Herod then had Tero tortured; "but as the others denied the accusation, and he said nothing further, Herod gave order that Tero should be racked more severely." Tero "bore up himself" until his son, "out of pity to his father, promised to discover the whole to the king" and would "tell the truth"--"that there had been an agreement that Tero "should lay violent hands on the king." However, "uncertain it is

whether...it were [but] a contrivance...to procure his own and his father's deliverance from their miseries." As to Herod, "there was now no longer any room left in his soul," for "he had banished away whatsoever might afford him the least suggestion of reasoning better..., so he already made haste to bring his purpose to a conclusion."

"And now Herod accused the captains and Tero in an assembly of the people, and brought the people together in a body against" "three hundred of the officers that were under an accusation, as also Tero and his son, and the barber...whom the multitude stoned with whatsoever came to hand, and thereby slew them. Alexander [III, "the eldest"] and Aristobulus IV were brought to Sebaste, by their father's command, and there strangled." Their bodies "in the night time [were] carried to Alexandrium, where their uncle by the mother's side, and the greatest part of their ancestors, had been deposited. (Herod "commanded that their dead bodies should be brought to the fortress Alexandrium, to be buried with Alexander [II], their grandfather by their mother's side. And this was the end of Alexander and Aristobulus.")

*AJ XVI.XI.1-7; Wars I.XXVII.1-6.*

Herod had sent Glaphyra, Alexander III's widow, back to Cappadocia "together with her portion," as soon as Alexander was dead.

After "Antipater [III] had thus taken off his brethren...yet did he find it a very hard thing...to come at the kingdom"--"intolerable hatred fell upon Antipater from the nation...all knew that he was the person who contrived all the calumnies." Although he "governed the nation jointly with his father... ..he was more than ever set upon the execution of his attempts against Herod [the Great]," in order to secure the kingdom before his father discovered his true involvement. Antipater carried the good will of his father's friends through bountiful gifts of money, to "friends at Rome particularly...and above all to Saturninus...as also...the king's sister, who had married one of Herod's chief friends," but "the receivers bore him no more good will than before [and] those to whom he gave nothing were his more bitter enemies." Antipater "got into Pheroras's favour...by presents; "but he could not impose upon his aunt [on the paternal side, Salome I], who understood him of a long time," and was married to "one of Herod's chief friends."

Herod, growingly repentant, "brought up his [dead] sons' children with great care." "Herod got together his kindred and friends and ("as his friends were once with him"), he presented the children before them," stating his wishes for their good futures. "He also caused them to be betrothed against they should come to the proper age of marriage."<sup>36</sup> Upon the betrothals, "Antipater was in great disorder immediately and lamented publicly at what was done," being "in terrible fear." "[H]e saw the posterity of those that had been slain growing up," and anticipated that they "would become greater than ever his brothers had been; while Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son," while "the multitude...would so commiserate...that all would come out [for them]." Antipater saw himself at risk of losing the government "even in his father's lifetime, "if Alexander's sons should have both Archelaus and Pheroras...to support them."

Antipater III contrived, therefore, to overturn his father's settlements" and "prayed him to change these marriages." Initially Herod peevishly dismissed Antipater, for he then "perceived what disposition he [Antipater] was in towards these orphans...[and,] angry at it...a suspicion came into his mind...whether [the deaths of Alexander and Aristobulus] had not been brought about by the false tales of Antipater." "Yet was he afterwards prevailed upon cunningly by his [Antipater's] flatteries, and changed the marriages. A new "determination now was, that Antipater himself should marry Aristobulus's daughter, and Antipater's son should marry Pheroras's daughter. So the espousals for the marriages were changed after this manner, even without the king's real approbation."

*AJ XVII.I.1-3; Wars I.XXVIII.1-6.*

<sup>36</sup> Refer to Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, Detail A, for these betrothals and all betrothals.  
**App4B.II**

Meanwhile, the Great--“desirous of securing himself on the side of the Trachonites”--determined he would build a “village as large as a city for the Jews, in the middle of that country,” both for sallies against the Trachonites and to protect his own territory from assaults. The Great learned that one Zamaris--“a Jew come out of Babylon” who had crossed the Euphrates with 500 horsemen and 100 relations--had come to abide “at Antioch by Daphne of Syria, where Saturninus, who was then president, had given them a place for habitation, called Valatha.”

The Great sent for Zamaris, “with the multitude that followed him, and promised to give him land in the toparchy called Batanea, which country is bounded by Trachonitis...to make that his habitation a guard to himself [Herod],” and to possess Batanea tax- and tribute-free. Zamaris accepted, took possession, and built a fortress and village named Bathyra. A “great number came to him from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed, and the country became full of people, by reason of their universal freedom from taxes. This continued during the life of Herod.”

*AJ XVII.II.1-3.*

“When the affairs of Herod were in the condition described” and Antipater III was governing jointly with his failing father, “all public affairs depended on Antipater” but “the hatred of the nation against him...was very great.”

“Pheroras was greatly enslaved to his wife, and to her mother, and to her sister.”<sup>37</sup> Now it was that a different complex took sway in the palace, in that Antipater III and his mother Doris proceeded to cultivate the Pheroras group, until “a company of women in the court...excited new disturbances; for Pheroras’ wife, together with her mother and sister, as also Antipater’s mother [Doris], grew very impudent in the palace. She also was so insolent as to affront the king’s two [unnamed] daughters,<sup>38</sup> on which account the king hated her to a great degree; yet although these women [Pheroras’ wife, mother and her sister] were hated by him, they domineered over others.” Antipater III “cunningly encompassed [Herod] by [that] company of women...as guards about him [Herod]...[but] notwithstanding the hatred he bare them for the indignities they had offered to his virgin daughters [y]et did he bear them and nothing was to be done without the women who had got this man [Antipater III] into their circle, and continued still to assist each other in all things.” Those “four women [Doris included] said all one and the same thing [while] the opinions of Pheroras and Antipater were different in some points of no consequence.”

“...[T]here was only Salome [I] who opposed.” She “searched out every thing...and then told her brother of them,” declaring among other things that “their counsels taken in a clandestine manner, which if they were not in order to destroy him, they might well enough have been open and public.” The Great, despite relating to much of what Salome told him, initially “durst not depend upon it, because of the suspicions he had of [her] calumnies.” At that point the others “left off their public meetings, and friendly entertainments of one another; nay, on the contrary, they pretended to quarrel one with another when the king was within hearing,” which “like dissimulation did Antipater make use of; and when matters were public, he opposed Pheroras.” “However, Salome knew every thing they did, and told every thing to Herod.”

Additionally, “this set of women [in the Pheroras camp] were inveigled” by “a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God.... These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were (“being above six thousand”), and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting and doing mischief,” and who, “when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good-will to Caesar, and to the king’s government, these very men

<sup>37</sup> These three women appear never named.

<sup>38</sup> Salome III of Elpis and Roxana of Phaedra?

did not swear...and when the king imposed a fine upon them, Pheroras's wife paid their fine for them." The Pharisees "foretold...that Herod's government should cease, and his posterity should be deprived of it; but that the kingdom should come to her and Pheroras, and to their children."

Salome I told the Great both of the Pharisees' predictions and that "they had perverted some persons about the palace itself; so the king slew such of the Pharisees as were principally accused, and Bagoas the eunuch,<sup>39</sup> and one Carus, who exceeded all men of that time in comeliness, and one that was his [the Great's] *catamite*." Herod "slew also all those of his own family who had consented to what the Pharisees foretold...."

AJ XVII.11.4; Wars I.XXIX.1.

"But he [Herod] was inflamed with anger at them [the Pheroras camp], and chiefly at Pheroras' wife; for Salome had principally accused her. So he got an assembly of his friends and kindred together, and there accused this woman ("Pheroras's wife") of many things, and particularly of the affronts she had offered his daughters; and that she had supplied the Pharisees with money...and had procured his brother to become his enemy, by giving him love potions," and of bringing Herod and Pheroras "into a state of war, both by her words and actions." Herod told Pheroras he "would do well...to put this wife away" and value more the relationship with him. Pheroras, hard-pressed, replied "that as he would not do so unjust a thing as to renounce his brotherly relation..., so would he not leave off his affection for his wife; that he would rather choose to die than to live, and be deprived of a wife that was so dear unto him."

Herod, "not knowing what to do further, turned his speech to Antipater, and charged him ("and his mother") to have no intercourse with Pheroras's wife, or with Pheroras himself, or with any one belonging to her." ("The report went also, that Antipater had criminal conversation with Pheroras's wife, and they they were brought together by Antipater's mother.")

Antipater III continued, however, attending secret night meetings. Then--afraid that Salome would gather fresh fuel and that Great's suspicion might increase--Antipater "procured, by the means of his Italian friends, that he might go and live at Rome." Such friends wrote to the Great that it would be proper for Antipater to be sent and abide a time with Caesar. "Herod made no delay, but sent him, and that with a splendid attendance, and a great deal of money, and gave him his testament to carry with him--wherein Antipater III had the kingdom bequeathed to him and ("if Antipater should die first") Herod ["B"] was named for Antipater's successor; that Herod, I mean, who was the son of Mariamne/[Miriam II], the high priest's daughter."

"[T]ogether [at the same time] with Antipater, there went to Rome Sylleus the Arabian, [who] had done nothing of all that Caesar [previously] had enjoined him." "Sylleus also, the Arabian, sailed to Rome, without any regard to Caesar's injunctions, and this in order to oppose Antipater with all his might, as to that law-suit which Nicolaus had with him before." Sylleus "had also a great contest with Aretas his own king; for he had slain many others of Aretas's friends." Antipater accused him of the same crimes which he had been formerly accused."<sup>40</sup> Aretas joined in the accusations against Sylleus, claiming he had slain many of

<sup>39</sup> Who "had been puffed up by them, as though he should be named the father and the benefactor of him who, by the prediction, was foretold to be their appointed king; for that this king would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten."

<sup>40</sup> These accusations against Sylleus were occasioned as follows: Sylleus had bribed one Corinthus, a trusted guard of the Great (albeit "by birth an Arabian"), to promise to kill the king. Fabatus/Phabatus, "Herod's steward," also initially had taken a bribe to assist; "but when Herod gave him more, he induced him to leave Sylleus, and by this means he demanded of him all that Caesar had required of him to pay." Sylleus paid nothing and accused Phabatus to Caesar of being a steward not to Caesar's advantage but Herod's, which in turn caused Phabatus to inform the Great of the plot. The Great tortured Corinthus into a confession, as also "two other Arabians" named by Corinthus--"one the head of a tribe, and the other a friend to Sylleus"--that they had stood ready to assist in the murder. "Saturninus, upon Herod's discovering the whole to him, sent them to Rome" after holding a further

the chief of the Arabians at Petra; and particularly Soemus/Sohemus, “the most potent man in the city Petra,” who “deserved to be honoured by all men; and that he [Sylleus] had slain Fabatus, a servant of Caesar.”

Herod remained unable to force Pheroras “to put away his wife; yet could he not devise any way by which he could bring the woman herself to punishment...till at length he was in such great uneasiness at her, that he cast both her and his brother out of his kingdom.” He “commanded Pheroras that, since he was so obstinate in his affection for his wife, he should retire into his own tetrarchy [Perea].” “Pheroras took this injury very patiently, and went away into his own tetrarchy, and sware that there should be but one end put to his flight, and that should be Herod’s death; and that he would never return while he was alive.”

“[I]ndeed... upon a sickness of the king” [“from which he recovered” subsequently], Pheroras did not answer a summons. However, when “a little afterward Pheroras himself fell sick...Herod showed great moderation...came to him, and pitied his case, and took care of him; but his affection for him did him no good, for Pheroras died a little afterward. ...[Y]et was a report spread abroad that he [Herod] had killed him [Pheroras] by poison. However, he [Herod] took care to have his [Pheroras’] dead body carried to Jerusalem, and appointed a very great mourning to the whole nation for him, and bestowed a most pompous funeral upon him.”

“This became the origin of Antipater’s misfortunes, although he were already sailed for Rome....”

*AJ XVII.III.1-3; Wars I.XXIX.2-4.*

Two of the Great’s “much esteemed” freed men told him that Pheroras “had been destroyed by poison” and urged him to investigate and avenge Pheroras’ “murder”--words [which] seemed to him to be true.” Thee [unnamed] freed men claimed (a) that Pheroras’ mother-in-law and wife’s sister “had been at the places where lived” an intimate friend of one of Sylleus’ mistresses, who had brought the substance “out of Arabia...under pretence indeed as a love-potion” (“Arabian women are skilful in making such poisons”); (b) that they had persuaded her to sell the it to them and returned with it the day (“two days”) before Pheroras’ death; (c) that Pheroras’ wife “had supped with his wife the day before he fell sick, and that a certain potion was brought him in such a sort of food as he was not used to eat; but that when he had eaten, he died of it”--“that his wife had brought him somewhat that was prepared after an unusual manner, and that upon eating it, he presently fell into a distemper; and (d) that the deed “was done by the management of Sylleus, who was acquainted with that [Arabian] woman.”

The Great “had the maid-servants and some of the free women tortured,”<sup>41</sup> but none of them confessed it until at length one cried out “under the utmost agonies,” praying that like agonies would be sent upon Doris, who was “the author of all these our miseries,” which “prayer induced Herod to increase the women’s tortures, till thereby all was discovered”--the friendship of Doris to Pheroras, the secret meetings, etc. Herod then separately tortured the maid-servants, “who all unanimously agreed in the foregoing discoveries”--how Antipater III hated his father and lamented to his mother that it looked like he, himself, would die of old age before becoming king in earnest, and that Antipater and Pheroras “oftentimes talked” about how Herod’s proven beastliness would not spare them or their families, and ultimately the Great’s successor would be Herod [B].

“[T]he women upon torture said also that Pheroras had resolved to fly with them to Perea.” The Great gave credence to their confessions, in that they mentioned 100 talents he had given Antipater to refrain from intercourse with Pheroras, whereas the Great “had no discourse with any body about them, but only with Antipater.”

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examination.

<sup>41</sup> Including Pheroras’ women--see two paragraphs below.

The Great stripped Doris of “all her ornaments and cast her out of the palace a second time.” He “took care of Pheroras’s women after their torture, as being now reconciled to them” [he “entered into friendship with Pheroras’s women”]; however, “inflamed upon every suspicion...had many innocent persons led to the torture [so as to not] leave any guilty person untortured,” including “Antipater of Samaria, who was steward [“procurator”] of Antipater [III].” The steward claimed (a) that Antipater III, himself, “had sent for a potion out of Egypt, by Antiphilus, a companion; (b) that it was delivered to Pheroras by Doris’ brother, Theudio/Theudion; (c) that Antipater III wanted Pheroras to administer it while Antipater was in Rome; and (d) that Pheroras had put the poison in the care of his wife.

Pheroras’ wife, questioned by the Great, admitted that her husband had given her the Egyptian box that held the potion. She was ordered to produce it; but, “as she was running to fetch it, she threw herself down from the house-top [“to prevent any examination and torture”]; yet did she not kill herself, because she fell upon her feet [“not upon her head, but upon other parts of her body”].” The Great “took care of her...[when she,] “at first quite senseless from her fall,” was brought to him, and promised her and her domestics full pardon if she confessed all, threatening to have her torn to pieces if she did not.

Pheroras’ wife corroborated the account of Antipater’s steward but claimed that, as Pheroras lay dying he had repented of all ill will toward his brother, who kindly had come to him in his illness, and told his wife to burn in his presence the poison “left with us by Antipater...in order to destroy him (Herod).” She had done so, but she had kept a little for herself against the future; and she gave the king the box “which had a small quantity of this potion in it.” Antiphilus’ mother and brother then were brought to the torture and, “by the extremity of pain” corroborated that Antiphilus had obtained the box and poison out of Egypt from a brother-physician in Alexandria.

There then “were brought out such as were [even] the freest from suspicion to be examined; whereby it was discovered that Mariamne, the high priest’s daughter, was conscious of this plot; and her very brothers when they were tortured declared it so to be. Thereupon the king (a) “blotted Herod [“B”] who he had by her, out of his testament;” (b) he took the high priesthood away from his father-in-law, Simeon the son of Boethus, and appointed Matthias the son of Theophilus, who was born at Jerusalem, to be high priest in his room.” It is not reported what became of Miriamne II.

*Resumed in Appendix 4B, III.*